Dr. B. R. AMBECKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

HYDERABAD-500 033.

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Title)	listery s book shou	cf edu	Accession P. Cotion ed on or before	m Irdia
				·

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

PART I (ARYAN PERIOD.)

ΒY

V. P. BOKIL M. A., S. T. C. D. PROFESSOR, SECONDARY TRAINING COLLEGE. BOMBAY.

All rights remerved) 1925

CONTENTS.

	Page.	
Chapter I — Introductory	•••	A. Company
Do — II — The Vedic Times	•••	15
Do - III- The Epic Times	•••	42
Do - IV The Rationalistic Times	•••	121
Do - V- The Puranic Times	•••	221
Do - VI- The General Characteri	stics	258
Appendix	•••	293

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 Rig Vedic India A. C. Da
- 2 History of Civilisation in ancient

India -R. C. Duit.

- 3 History of Aryan Rule in India Havell-
- 4 Dnyanakosha Edited by S. V. Ketkar.
- 5 The Conclusion of the Mahabharata C. V. Vaidya.
- 6 Sacred Books of the East Series
 - a) Digha Nikaya
 - b) Milinda Panna.
 - c) Sutta Nipata.
 - d) Dhamma Pada.
 - e) The Rig Veda Samhita.
 - f) Shata Patha Brahmana.
 - g) The Code of Manu.
 - h) The Upanishads.
- 7 The Thirteen Principal Upanishads Translated by Hume.
- 8 The Religion and Philosophy of India Deussen.
- 9 A History of ancient Sanskrit Literature - Max Muller.
- 10 Classical Sanskrit Literature Keith.
- 11 A History of Hindu Chemistry P. C. Ray.

- 12 Indian Philosophy Radhakrishnan.
- 13 The age of Shankara Narayanshastri
- 14 Indan Wisdom Monier Williams.
- 15 The Hindu Realism Jagadish Chatterji
- 16 Indian Logic and atomism Keeth.
- 17 Vicissitudes of Aryan civilisation in India M. M. Kunte.
- 18 A History of Education -
 - (a) Before the middle ages-
 - (b) During the middle ages Graves.
- 19 The Hindu Mind Training an Anglosaxon Mother with an introduction by S. M. Mitra-
- 20 Ancient Indian Education-Keay.
- 21 Education in ancient India Muzumdar
- 22 History of Education Davidson.
- 23 Sarskrit Classics.
- 24 A number of articles by scholars like

 Messrs. Pavagi. Mukerji, Bodas, Ogale,
 and others in different periodicals.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

---***---

India has been an attraction to many in different lights at different times. As a land of gold it was the target of many an invader's shot; as a country of natural beauty it was visited by many an adventurer; as a flourishing market many a tradesman frequented it by different routes; as a seat of learning and religion many a student from Chaldea to China, and from Greece to Germany spent years of his life in it. People have expressed quite a variety of opinions about India from prehistoric times to the present day, and in particular European scholars of Sanskrit and of Indian philosophy or theology, either in the original or through translations, have said and written so much about it that their words have become an eyeopener to its own people. Some call them † 'unprogressive', while others‡ class them with 'barbarians' and a third group* look down upon them as 'superstitious heathens'. There is also a fourth

t The philosophy of the Upanishads—by Gough.

[#] History of Education-vol. I.-by Graves.

^{*} History of Education-by Davidson.

class of scholars who go deep enough and form a proper estimate of Indians, their literature and religion. Hearing all such discordant notes, the Indian is naturally led to enquire into his own nature, the nature and education of his forefathers; he pauses a while and asks himself if he is really 'barbarian' or if his ancestors were so all the while, if his society has been really stagnant and contained all meek followers of the existing order all the time, or if he is actually superstitious to the present day.

To speak of Indians in general terms and referring to any period is far from truth. Firstly, India is such a vast country that its area is nearly equal to that of Europe without Russia. Secondly, the geographical conditions are such that many parts of it have very little in common with others so as to let the inhabitants feel that they belong to one and the same nation. Thirdly, the languages and customs in different provinces are, and have been, different from each other so much so that the idea of nationality never took a firm root in this land. Lastly, at different times waves of different people entered India and either held sway over it or left their own impressions on the society there to a more or less lasting degree. To speak of Indians as 'sages who have given up all the worldly

greed or as warriors who look upon death on the battle-field as the best reward ' or as 'savages who know not the ordinary rules of morality 'is a vain attempt to give a correct idea of the people. Indians included, and do include, sages, warriors and savages among them, but they are none of them exclusively. Anthropological enquiries have revealed that Indians have among them four main types of races distinguished, viz., Dravidian, Aryan, Scythian and Mongolian. Besides these at different periods of history there have been introduced into India in smaller numbers Parsees, Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Moghals and European Christians. The four main types are not to be traced as distinct from each other, but there has been a fusion of them all on a large scale. The Dravidians represent the earliest known inhabitants of India: but it is the Aryans who have carried the lion's share in controlling the destiny of the country.

The history of India divides itself into three main periods: (1) The Aryan period, extending from times immemorial to the 11th century A. D. Nobody knows exactly when the Aryans entered India. Various theories ranging from 800 B. C. to 80,000 B. C. have been set forth by different scholars, of whom the westerners* have dis-

^{*} History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature-Maxmuller.

played a tendency to prove the later date, while the natives seem to try for the earlier date. It is clear that recent scholarship and researchwork has been able to trace the presence of the Aryans in India backwards step by step, till at last* geological theories about glacial periods have come surprisingly near to the calculations given in Indian calendars. It is sufficient for our purpose here to say that the Vedic times range from an unknown date to about 3000 B. C., which is now accepted as the probable year of the Bharati war ‡ between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The second epoch may be styled as the Epic times from about 3000 B.C. to 1000 B.C., including the compilation of the four Vedas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and some of the Upanishads. To these times belong the historical poems, namely, Ramayana and Mahabharata and the six sciences known as Vedangas—phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody and astronomy. During

[†] The Arctic Home of the Vedas-B. G. Tilak.

Aryavartic Home and its Arctic Colonies; Vedic Fathers of Geology—N. B. Pavagi.

Great Ice Age---Geikie Climate and Cosmology--Croll.

[†] Conclusion of the Mahabharata—C. V. Vaidya.
The Age of Shankara-Narayana Shastri.
Indian Astronomy—S. B. Dikshit.

all these years the Aryans went on spreading to the east and south of the Punjab, the place of their original settlement in India; various dynasties of kings ruled in different provinces that were brought under their power, each carving out a principality for itself. The fusion of the Aryans with the Dravidians, who were conquered and held under sway by them, also commenced at this time. Negotiation, industry, learning and arts progressed a good deal, both the races combining their qualities in a peculiar division of labour, and then evolved the Rationalistic times, which saw the composition of the Sutras, the origin of the six systems of philosophy and the birth of Bauddha and Iain religions. This rationalism prevailed in India from about 1000 B. C. to the first century A. D. The Buddhist and Jain religions reached their zenith at that time and by the latter date they were on the eve of decline. The Aryan clans quarrelled with each other and there was never an idea of nationality among them. The internal feuds of that type were the most welcome opportunities to foreign conquerors, of whom Alexander visited India and defeated Porus during this epoch and the reigns of Chandragupta, Asoka and Vikramaditva were the outstanding features of the same. With the fall of Buddhism, Brahminism was again

revived by philosophers like Shankara and Kumaril Bhatt, a number of Puranas were written and the caste-system was again made as rigid as ever. Idol worship and Bhakti cult dates with these works. These may be called Puranic times, of which classical Sanskrit writers and Harsha Vardhana have been the prominent figures—100 to 1000 A. D.

(2) The Mahomedan period extends from about 1000 A.D. to about 1800 A.D. In Asia, Europe and Africa the Mahomedans, being inspired by the teachings of Mahomed the Prophet, carried on their successful arms and occupied large territories. For about four or five centuries the Mahomedan name was a terror to the Hindus. Christians and Negroes alike. In India the Mahomedan power was ushered by the successive twenty-four invasions of Mahmud, the Sultan of Gazni, and was later on established at Delhi first by the Afghans and then by the Moghals. The northern part of India was completely subjected to their rule, but the southern peninsula in spite of the Bahamani kingdoms, Nizam dominions, etc. continued to be Hindu all along. Vijayanagar kings and Maratha chiefs held their ground against Mahomedan aggression for some centuries, the latter having overthrown the Moghal rule even in upper India during the

eighteenth century. The whole of this period is full of intrigues, struggles, fights; of oppression and religious intolerance; of unexpected attacks and plunders, allowing very little peace for the growth of industry, cultivation of art or advancement of learning. Yet at short intervals here and there great minds like Akbar, Shahu, Nanasaheb or Krishna Rai, did their best to give encouragement to such useful human activities. It was durring these lightning flashes of the cloudy atmosphere that different vernaculars of India rose to the esteem, and helped for the amelioration, of *their respective readers on the strength of the writings of Tulsidas, Chaitanya, Ramdas, Tukaram and many others. During these times European Christians discovered sea-routes to India, established factories for commerce and trade and commenced their struggles for political power here.

(3) The last is the British period commencing from about 1800 A. D. and running down to the present day. Up to 1795 A. D. the Marathas were the paramount power in India for over half a century and the British seemed to be their rivals in the field since 1765. The balance turned here and there after the death of Madhaorao II, Mahadji Shinde and Nana Phadnavis, and at last the forcible hand of Wellesley wrested from the weaklings.

Baji Rao II, Daulatrao Shinde, Yeshwantrao Holkar and Raghuji Bhonsle, the sceptre and worked for the permanent establishment of the British power in the whole of India. The British rule was the forerunner of western education and civilisation among the Indians. The study of the English language and the close contact with the Europeans have changed the outlook of the inhabitants of this country. There is complete social freedom and the government do not interfere with any matters of religion. Education was so long a private concern. The rulers looked into or visited educational institutions only for the sake of encouragement. Charity, either private or state, was the only source of income for them. No uniform standard of attainments was codified or insisted on by any central authority. The master or guru had his own way in teaching and managing except in so far as he respected the suggestions or criticisms of his patrons. But now under the British rule an educational department has been started and the organisation, control and management of schools of all types are concentrated in the hands of its head. These changes, introduced and revised at different intervals, deserve a careful scrutiny.

Education is not a physical science. Its aim and organisation have always been determined by

man according to his own ideals and convenience. Therefore, in order to write a history of education among the Indians we shall have to trace the progress of their culture during all these periods-In the infancy of humanity education was quite unconscious. In trying to get food, shelter and safety man originally learned to observe nature. to use it to his ends and to keep aloof from danger. Thus in addition to the inborn instincts, which he had in common with other animals, he brought into play his own special powers physical and mental. Experience was the next means of training. The younger generation learned from the elders what was wholesome and what harmful, how to enjoy pleasures and to keep away from pain, etc. The arts of cutting, hunting, building, defending, etc. contributed to the development of human intellect. the observation of the striking phenomena in nature laid the foundation of the man's ideas of worship and religion, and both increased his knowledge of the physical world. The inventions of fire and language must have been great steps in the advancement of his worldly welfare, of at settled life and of his idea of social relations. This was the beginning of conscious education imparted by the elders to their children. Man learned to rise above his brutal instincts first in the family under

the power of the patriarch, later in the village under the rule of the headman, and again in the society under the bonds of customs and laws. These early lessons in intellectual and moral education can be traced only in the accounts of the growth of humanity and it is proposed to follow the same procedure in the next chapters dealing with the training of the Indian mind.

Such a survey of the Indian society will be useful in a number of ways. India is at present in transition state. Her contact with the west for the last century and a half has revealed to her eyes the defects in her hereditary ideals and culture. Seeing the successful advance of the western civilisation over the whole world she is dazzled to blindness. At the first thought the Indians may well be inclined to condemn the whole of the east and to appraise the whole of the west, to give up their ancient ways as being out of date and to blindly imitate those of others. When the social equilibrium is thus upset, the members are but too eager to shake off the old discipline and take a good deal of time before they can pick up the new one: the interval being a motley scene of confusion and disorder, a regular combination of the defects in both without the merits of either. Happily the

society of the Hindus is so vast that side by side with each other perfectly westernised and thoroughly orthodox members are easily to be seen and that by the time a new fashion permeates through the upper strata the lower ones are fairly clear of it to note the different sides of the change. Happily they have at their back an enormous past and a noble record on the strength of which they can test an innovation before it is completely grafted on. A review of the past will surely be helpful at such a turning point in fixing upon the ideal and selecting the means to it. It may lead us to the real past by warding off our pre-possessions which might be the result of the immediate past. It will show us what our ancestors really were, how they progressed and why changes were deemed necessary and desirable at different stages. It may also throw light on the expediency of the steps taken at particular dates--whether they were considered to be only a temporary measure or a permanent mould.

The sources for such a work are vast and varied. The Vedas † are known to be the most ancient works on the whole surface of the earth.

^{† &#}x27;The Vedas are the most ancient literature'---Weber's History of Indian Literature.

^{&#}x27;The Vedas have a two-fold importance—in the history, of India as well as in the history of the world.'—
Maxmuller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

They stand out like mount Everest, lofty and lustrous with total darkness as the back ground. The hymns of the Rig-Veda treat of various subjects relating to human life either chiefly or incidentally, and, thanks to the European scholars of Sanskrit, one can easily see from scannings like the Vedic Concord or Vedic Index references to the activities of the then society therein. Later works. Brahmanas. Aranyakas and Upanishads. tell their own tale. The sciences emanating from the study of the Vedas, the systems of philosophy. the Epics and the Sutra-Puranas are replete with stories of the progress of the Hindu mind. Buddhist and Jain works mark the waves of independent thought and show the formation of the Prakrit taking the place of Sanskrit as a spoken language in the beginning and later on even in writing. The revival of Brahminism and classical Sanskrit literature speak well enough about the systems of education and the state of society. Then there are the inscriptions on rocks, pillars, caves, plates, etc. which have helped the scholars much in fixing the dates of important events. The relations between India and other countries go a great way in enhancing the value of her past. The recent excavations in Chaldea, the references in Greek and Arabian writings, the traces of ancient Indian life in Java and other islands testify to the activities of the people of India in pre-historic times. It is said that Indian works lack in chronology. This is no doubt partially true, but it is also true that Indian chronology lacks in recognition. Hindu calendars and Puranas do give chronological references either directly or indirectly, but they are set aside as fabulous by modern scholars, not for any definite proof against them but through mere prejudice against, and want of imaginative grasp of, such a distant line of time. Latest geological researches have at last come to the help of Indian scholars to demonstrate that not only thousands but tens of thousand years are quite in the natural state of things to be counted in the history of humanity. Foreign travellers like Fa Hien, Itsing and Houen Tsang have contributed their share in offering written proof for some of the later dates and events in India. Ferrista. Abul Fazel and some other Mahomedan writers have handed down to posterity a few gleanings referring to their own periods. English and German literature on Hindu religion and philosophy is only to be surpassed in quality and quantity by the original objects of study.

Ample as these sources are, there is scarcely any among them which deals mainly with the

educational systems. All have indirect bearing on the subject at hand to a more or less extent and references of the kind have to be picked up and put together. There is proof enough for the fact that the ancients taught and trained their children. We can also find out what was taught and how it was taught. Slight glimpses of their educational aims can also be caught up at intervals, and their ways and means of educating the young may be inferred from occasional descriptions. But nowhere is education treated as a separate subject or art in detail in any of the old works of India, the idea being quite recent and peculiarly European in origin.

CHAPTER II.

Vedic Times.

(From unknown antiquity to about 3000 B. C.)

Admittedly the Rig-Veda is the earliest piece of literature known to humanity. It consists of 1028 hymns, comprising more than ten thousand verses in different metres, which are divided into ten Mandalas or books. With the exception of the first and the tenth, each of these books contains hymns said to have been heard and proclaimed-not exactly composed-by one Rishi or poet, called the seer of the songs. The first book contains 191 hymns which are generally ascribed to fifteen different Rishis; the second is by Gritsamadha; the third by Vishwamitra; the fourth by Vamadeo; the fifth by Atri; the sixth by Bharadwaja; the seventh by Vashishtha; the eighth by Kanva; the ninth by Angiras; and the tenth with 191 hymns passes under the names of many fictitious authors.

This marvellous and mighty collection of hymns must have been made some centuries after their composition, and stands up to the present day the mainstay of the Aryan religion, life and civilisation. It is different from the records of other

nations like Chaldea or China. Those people have definite accounts of royal dynasties, wars, historical dates and incidents. The Rig-Veda is defective in these respects. But kings, wars and dates do not make up the whole history of a nation. The great bulk of the population take very little part in such events and find no place in the so-called 'historical' works. The real history of a people should contain a clear and connected account of their arts and industries, of the advancement of learning, of the progress of their mind and of the evolution of their ideals, in addition to mere dates and names of kings. The Rig-Veda, with the literature that followed, satisfies these expectations and is a perfect picture of the Hindu civilisation of that period. Inscriptions on stones and tablets and writings on papyri are recorded with a design to commemorate passing events. The songs and spiritual effusions of the Indo-Aryans are an unconscious and true reflection of their thought and civilisation. The Vedic hymns were not originally committed to writing. They were the inspired utterances of the Rishis in the 'pre-conscious' state of the mind, their flow was full and unrestricted like a fountain. and they were preserved in the faithful memory of the pupils and handed down from century to century with a scrupulous exactitude regarding the pronunciation of words, syllables and accents.

Nations vie with each other in claiming an unequalled antiquity. Assyria and Babylon, Greece and Rome point to their inscriptions and writings and reach more than 300 B.C. and 500 B.C. respectively. But the Indo-Arvans overreach these dates by far. Setting aside the Hindu belief that the Vedas are coeval with the whole creation as having no positive proof in its favour, rational evidence in the body of the Rig-Veda take us so far back as the pre-glacial periods. The hymns to the dawns [1, 113, 8 and 10; clearly show that the Aryans lived in the Arctic regions in the pre-glacial ‡ period, otherwise it would have been impossible to speak of long dawns, long nights, extending for months together. (India has very short dawns, and scarcely any twilights). Verse VII. 95.2* refers to the Saraswati river rising in the Himalayas and flowing into the sea. This means that what is now the sandy plain known as Rajputana must have been a part of the sea then. Such a geological change takes tens of thousand years to come off. Refer-

[‡] Geikie's Great Ice Age. Dr. Croll's Climate and Cosmology,

Dana's Manual of Geology,

^{*}N. B. Pawagi's Aryawartic Home and Arctic Colonies (p. 381.)

^{&#}x27;Vedic Fathers of Geology (pp. 63-75.)

ences* to the constellation Orion and to Soma juice are considered as pointing to the same conclusion. MaxMuller, the greatest oriental scholar said in one lecture before a European assembly that it was impossible for a human being to prove the exact date of the Rig-Veda.

The word Veda means 'knowledge,' 'something that is known, as distinguished from learning, and refers to the intuitive faculty of the human mind. Intuition is just the most natural and most spontaneous action of human intelligence. by which the mind seizes a reality without any effort hesitation or go-between. If the thing concerned is an idea, a reality beyond the reach of the senses. the human mind seizes it in a self-sufficient manner without any external help or proof. Philosophers say that this is possible in a 'preconscious' state of the mind. The Vedic Rishis probably experienced such a blissful spiritual consciousnessis known as the turiya state to the what Vedantist—when they sang the hymns intuitively. or, as it were, heard † them from within, or saw ‡

^{*} B. G. Tilak's 'Arctic Home of the Vedas.—Rig,—I. 28-1.

[†] Shruti-the well-known title of the Vedas.

i Seers of the songs.

them written on the mental canvas. This is well nigh a divine origin in the absence of a script, which is said to have been invented not before the compilation (*Smhiti*) of the hymns. In this sense the authorship of the Rig-Veda seems to be divine, as has been the belief of the Hindus.

Almost all the hymns are prayers to the various gods and deities. The Aryan Rishis picked up what was beautiful and striking in nature. looked upon that as the governing force in their regions and tried to propitiate it by prayers for their own welfare. The sky, the atmosphere and the earth exhibited such attractive phenomena at different times and the Rishis sang out praises to them: from the first the sun received greatest attention followed by the dawn (I. 115: III. 61: VII. 75); from the second Indra, Parjanya. Vayu and Rudra were offered frequent worship-(II. 12; IV. 46; V. 83 etc); and from the third Agni. Soma, Varuna, and Pushan carried highest respect—(I. 1; V. 26; VI. 53:) VII. 86, etc.). The devotion and fervour with which these songs were sung seem to be simply deep and sincere. The seers sometimes rose above this nature-worship, caught a glimpse of the head of all these deities and praised him in stirring and sublime verses—(X. 90, 121, etc.). Agni making his appearance in the form of the sun in the heavens, of the lightning in the atmosphere and of fire on the earth, was soon considered to be the mouth or representative of all the gods. While sharpening a stone into some weapon man originally saw sparks and then found out how to produce fire: or a conflagration was observed clearing forests, burning down various animals, melting ores, and he got the idea of keeping fire, of using it for cooking and of offering oblations to it. In this way probably the Rishis marked the usefulness of the various phenomena in nature and out of cheerful simplicity made them objects of their worship. Fire was to be kept up by every householder, oblations offered to it and hymns sung in its praise. In the morning and evening prayers were also said by riverside to the sun as it rose and set. This was, in short, the religion of the Arvans both in the Arctic regions and in the Punjab, at once simple and sanguine, devotional and free from superstition. Thus even in the Rig-Veda sacrifice appears to be the centre of all religious activities, though its elaborate development and varied classification was the work of later generations that collected all these hymns and composed the other three Vedas, and Brahmanas. (Vide Maharashtriya Dnyanakosha-Part II. pp. 359 to 371).

We can have a fairly full picture of the Arvan society in those early days from the occasional references in various hymns. The race had then passed the savage and the nomadic stages of life and made regular settlements. The people lived peacefully under the rule of their kings advised by learned seers (VII. 83. etc.). The families were under the power of the patriarch and all devoted to their head. Laws of inheritance and social relations were well known and respected, being based on the principles of religion (III. 31.). Though there are some references to the three classes, the priests, the protectors and the producers, based on the division of labour, yet they were not air-tight compartments (III. 34. 9; VII. 11. 6.). In the Rig-Veda Kshatriya means strong and brave, Vipra means wise, Brahmana means a composer of hymns, and so on, the terms showing the occupation of the person and not his caste by birth. In IX. 112. 3 one Rishi says 'I am a composer of hymns, my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. We are engaged in different occupations.We worship thee, O Soma, for wealth.' The women had their own rights and received education in general. (V. 28. 3; II. 17. 7; I. 124. 4.). They co-operated with their husbands in offering oblations to fire and in most other religious or social ceremonies. That the Aryans used cooked food and wore clothing goes without saying (III. 52. 1 & 2; I. 61. 12; V. 29. 7; etc.). They used money as the means of exchange and had dealings in loans and usury. (V. 27. 3; I. 126. 2). Commerce was fairly established among them. Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas sailed in boats up and down the rivers of the Punjab for trade and wars. (IV. 24.9; I. 116.3; VII. 88.3.). The communication on land needs no mention: carts and chariots were freely used as vehicles in travelling and in fighting (III. 53.19; IV. 16.20.).

Arya means the cultivator and shows the chief occupation of the people in peace times. The father of the family sang hymns in worship of his gods, tilled his own soil and took arms for fighting when the battle conch was blown. In agriculture horses were used for cultivation and fields were watered by irrigation canals or by wells and Ghatichakra (I. 45; X. 99. 4; X. 25. 4; etc.). The Aryans also kept sheep and cattle and led them on pasture lands, calling on Pushan, an imaginary god of the place, to nourish them (I. 42; X. 19). The use of clothing presupposes the practice of the art of weaving, for which wool was more often supplied than cotton. (II. 3. 6; X. 26. 6; etc.). Carpentry and smithy were well known, as is clear

from references to chariots, carts, big houses, iron and gold works, etc. in IV. 2.14; V. 9.5; VI. 3.4; II. 41.5; V. 62.6. Forts and fortified towns have also been mentioned, showing such an advance in the military science. Weapons, armours, war horses and elephants are described here and there (I. 140. 10; V. 52. 6; VI. 27. 6; IV. 37. 4; VI. 46. 13; IV. 4.1.). Civil quarrels are also to be met with in some verses (VII-18; etc.).

In such an advanced society education could anot be unconscious as in the infancy of humanity. The Aryans had observed and experienced the ways of the actual world for centuries in the past and left valuable records for posterity. Language, which is the most effective means of the communication of thought, was well formed to facilitate the exchange of views, the earlier stages in its formation having long passed by. Education in the formation of the actual world was, as a rule, given by the father to his son at home, on the field, or in the workshop. The arts and industries followed by the former were learned by the latter by actual doing. The son was an apprentice to his father, helped him in doing small and easy things in the beginning, observed him at work and thus took his first lessons by imitation and example. The various arts and industries referred to above were followed by particular families, the younger generations thus finding it more paying and convenient to tread the foot-steps of their elders than to choose different occupations. Apprenticeship at home or at a neighbour's was the only means of training in the absence of any definite organisation by rulers. In this case the relation between the teacher and the pupil was most affectionate and the lessons were free from the artificiality of the school-room. The boys were taught to observe and to handle real things and the elders would take a great delight in passing their skill on to them.

In those early days though the craftsmanship was making its appearance, yet it was not quite specialised. Agriculture was indeed the main source of income and almost all families followed it by themselves. There are numerous direct allusions in the Rig-Veda to this industry which distinguished the civilised man from the barbarian and all the Rishis worked at it for their maintenance. In hymns like IV. 57 and X. 101 there are graphic and cheerful descriptions of the different duties and implements on the field and of the conditions of success in that work:—

"1. We will win (cultivate) this field with the lord of the field; may he nourish our cattle and our horses; may he bless us thereby.

- "2. O Lord of the field! bestow on us sweet and pure and butter-like and delicious and copious rain, even as cows give us milk. May the lords of the waters bless us.
- "3. May the plants be sweet unto us; may the skies and the rains and the firmament be full of sweetness; may the lord of the field be gracious to us. We will follow him uninjured by enemies.
- "4. Let the oxen work merrily; let the men work merrily; let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily; ply the goad merrily.
- '5. O Suna and Sira! accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky.
- "6. O fortunate furrow! proceed onwards, we pray unto thee; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop.
- "7. May *Indra* accept this furrow; may *Pushan* lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year.
- "8. Let the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily; let the men follow the oxen merrily; may Parjanya moisten the earth with sweet rains. O Suna and Sira! bestow on us happiness. (IV. 57).

This is a beautiful song in which the humble hopes and wishes of the simple agriculturist are so naturally described. The Aryans saw the necessity of a permanent supply of water for the cultivation of some crops and in the next passage there is a clear mention of their ways to get it done:—

- "3. Fasten the ploughs, spread out the yokes and sow the seed in this field which has been prepared. Let the corn grow with our hymns; let the scythes fall on the neighbouring fields where the corn is ripe.
- ."5. Prepare troughs for the drinking of the animals. Fasten the leather-string, and let us take out water from this deep and goodly well which never dries up.
- "7. Refresh the horses; take up the corn stacked in the field; and make a cart which will convey it easily. This well full of water for the drinking of animals, is one *Drona* in extent and there is a stone wheel to it. And the reservoir for the drinking of men is one Skanda. Fill it with water." (X. 101).

As the boys worked with their elders on the field in this way, they listened to their hymns and learned to sing them just by imitation. The pupils observed nature so well described therein, practised the various operations and thought of the difficulties to be solved.

Book-learning was not known in those days and in learning these arts and industries in the domestic system of education reading and writing would not be essential. Reckoning was of course known and learned by pupils during the course of actual dealings, as is clear from the existence of coins, the knowledge of exchange and the usage of loans. The education was entirely vocational, its nature and scope changing with those of the occupations followed in different families. Storytelling and folk-lore and the moral tone of living were important factors in keeping it from being too narrow and the method of instruction prevented it from being tedious.

The Aryans had formed the notion of an ideal world also. The gifted members of the society naturally led the way and inspired the neighbours with their own ideas either by precept or by example, or at times by both. Long life, prosperity, progeny and success in this world against all enemies known or unknown were the ideals and the different deities concerned were worshipped for their attainment:—

"O Varuna! may I not be forced to enter into your earthly home; O you mighty, give me happiness and have mercy on me; etc."

(VII. 89.). After describing the various exploits of Indra in II. 12, poet Gritsamadha says—

"O Indra! you are unconquerable; you give strength to him who prepares Soma juice and offers oblations; you are the real (element). Let us be always dear to you and may we with virtuous and valiant progeny sing your praises."

Agni is the greatest benefactor of mankind and in I. I the Rishi praises him with requests 'to minister to the keeper's welfare on all sides like the father to the son.' Sage Atri in V. 80 and Kanya in VI. 64 sing prayers to the dawn and ask for 'all wealth to the sacrificer.' The sun is looked upon as not only the regulator but the very life of human beings, nay, of the whole creation. In twelve hymns in the first book this god is worshipped for 'long life, all wealth and sharp intellect.' (I. 114 and onwards). Vayu is often praised as the mainstay of the life of all beings and worshipped in poetic hymns to be kind to the devotee (X. 168). In this way the various forces of nature at once striking and powerful. sublime and beautiful were observed by the ancient Aryans, who tried to propitiate them by sweet songs openly and heartily sung for the attainment of all worldly happiness. Some sages went even further and caught a glimpse of the omnipotent and omniscient god behind the visible nature and sang praises to him. In X.90 and 121 the seers pray to the universal being for all kinds of bliss heavenly and earthly*. The funeral hymn X. 14 clearly shows that the poet in his flights of imagination saw something of the life after death and prayed to the god of the dead for their 'health and wealth,' 'peace and prosperity.'† Attempts were also made so early as that to solve the problem of the universe. In X. 129 it is said—

- '1. Then (in the beginning) there was neither non being, nor being, neither atoms, nor the sky; nothing beyond the sky. Then what was to pervade which, and where, and for whose welfare? Where was then the unfathomable expanse of water?
- '2. Then there was neither death, nor immortality, no knowledge of night and day. At that time the Absolute (Brahma) was in union with his power (Maya).....; there was nothing else than that (Brahma).
- '6. To whom is it really known as to how and whence this creation came into existence?

^{*} I. 164, 46; VIII. 89-5.

[†] X. 16-4; I. 31-7; X. 17-4.

Who can explain this problem? The gods are all recent in origin; who then knows the source of this universe?

"7. The Absolute, Supreme and Self-luminent: may or may not know the origin and the support of this creation!"

Such ideas of the ideal world were clearly nown to the Vedic poets and from them the society in general picked them up gradually. The village life of the Aryans in the Punjab carried with it some advantages. Each settlement could have at least one seer or the descendant of a seer in it and hence was easily influenced and trained by him directly or indirectly. The children went to him for regular schooling while the grown-up members tried to follow him just by observing and imitating his ways and by hearing his discourses at times.

The connecting link between the actual world and the ideal was not wanting among the early Aryans. Not only did they see and explain them both to their society but the way of using the first for the accomplishment of the second was also clearly and definitely set forth by them. The leading members of the different clans set examples of offering regular worship and prayer to the various

deities. Over five thousand years ago the Aryans realised and practised the truth, namely,

'More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of!'

Early in the morning the elders got up and sang praises to the sun, the life of the world, with a devotion that made them forget themselves for the time being; and the younger people in the family, could not but be induced to follow suit:—

- '1. The bright face of gods is gone up the sky, the eye of Mitra, of Varuna, of Agni: Surya has filled the heaven, the earth and the mid sky. soul of the moving and standing world.
- *3. Bringing us blessing the yellow horses of the sun, bright, swift, worthy to be praised, bend and climb the steep of the sky; in a moment they go over heaven and earth.
- '4. This is the god-head, this the greatness of the sun; while yet it was forming he has rolled the web of darkness away; for, when he yoked the horses from the stall, night was spreading her garment over all.
- '6, To-day, O gods, at the rising of the sun free us from trouble, free us from sin; this boom may *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Aditi*, *Sindhu*, heaven and earth fulfil to us.' (1, 115).

- Vishnu was another name given to the sun and here is another beautiful hymn sung to him:—
 'I will sing the mighty deeds of Vishnu, how in three great strides he measured out earth's fields, and fixed fast the heavens to be his seat on high.
- '3. Vishnu makes loud boast of this, like a fierce lion roaming on the mountain tops; under his three steps all worlds abide.
 - '4. Let the loud song go out to Vishnu,.....
- '5. O that I may come to that dear home of his, where god-fearing men live in bliss! there is the fellowship of the god of the mighty strides; in Vishnu's seat on high there is a spring of honey.
- '6. I long to go to that home of yours, oh, twin gods;here that highest seat of the god of mighty strides shines bright on us.' (I. 134).

Similar prayers are said to Varuna, Indra, Vayu, Agni, Ushas and Vishve Devas (VII 49). This was surely the most effective religious instruction given to the young, whereby their higher self was roused and nourished. Fire became the foremost object of worship and sacrifices were offered to it at regular hours of the day. At first this was a simple duty performed by every house-holder, by which he satisfied all gods, Agni being considered the mouth of them all. Later on this practice

grew into a mighty and elaborate institution, the source of various branches of knowledge and centre of chief activities of the people. The Vedic hymns refer more to the sacrificial rites, management, and benefits than to anything else:—

- 1. 'May *Indra* and *Agni* protect us and promote our welfare; may *Indra* and *Varuna* pleased by the oblations do us good.....
- 2. 'May Bhaga (fortune) make us happy ; may our songs make us happy;
- 3. 'May the Dhata (the creator) grant our wishes; may the Dharta (the patron) grant our wishes; may the earth and the sky...... (VII. 35).

In this way blessings are invoked by the sacrificer while offering oblations to the holy fire. There are hundreds of other allusions to the materials and performances of sacrifices and the designations of priests at them in all the books of the Rig Veda, which it is not necessary here to quote. (Dnyankosha—II. pp. 359 to 387.) These duties for med regular habits and righteous feelings in the young. A third means of reaching the ideals was morality and the family tice. In the Rig Veda there are some references to deceit, theft, fie, sex crimes etc. but they do not prove that the

Society was savage or barbarian. No Society can be absolutely chaste at any time. There will always be some criminal spirit lurking here and there, Nor were the Aryans an extremely civilised people. They were an active, cheerful and fighting race and lived a simple virtuous* life. Family was the centre of all activity and the tie required all members to be well-behaved under the supervision of the Patriarch. The composers of the Vedic hymns, being men of great mental powers, were at once the law-givers and religious heads of the Society and commanded respect from the royal houses as well as the masses. Thus then law was religion and religion was law among the Aryans, leading to the development of moral virtue in the individual. Mercy, penance and charity are described in many hymns (e.g. X. 117) as the way to happiness in the long run. But in spite of these religious and moral tendencies the Vedic Aryans were not fatalists. They were industrious and cheerful workers. Even the composers of hymns worked on the field or on the pasture and invoked blessings of the powers of nature for success in their occupation. There being no rigid rules of castes, all had to do physical

^{* (}X. 34. 13 & 14; X. 85. 36 to 44; I. 143. 6 to 8: VI, 6. 6 & 7.)

labour for their maintenance and the Aryans willingly put forth their energy in their respective walks of life.

In these four ways the Aryan Seers trained their brethren and young generations to use their knowledge of the actual life for the attainment of their ideals. A study of these three points—the actual world, the ideal world and the way to use the one for the other—gives us a fairly clear notion about the education of the young in those times, which always followed the threefold path in any society in general. The elders in the family trained their own children at home in the performance of the practical duties in the daily life; and the gifted members of the society directly or indirectly taught them the ideals of a higher life and the way to reach it.

Each of the Vedic Poets was probably the family priest at the court of some chieftain or nobleman who wanted to propitiate the gods for prosperity and success by sacrifice with his help. Each Rishi handed down his own hymns to his descendants, some of whom probably made additions to the original composition. Each Mandal or Book of the Rig Veda was thus a family collection, handed down from generation to

family inheritance. In each clan or settlement such a poet Seer commanded great respect and influenced the dealings and moulded the ideals of all the members thereof, from the prince to the pauper. Later on, a sort of competition probably arose among such priestly families to possess the best hymns and led to the formation of a dignified and expressive literary dialect. This is a probable history of the Rig Veda appealing to the ordinary reason of man, but the orthodox Hindu will have nothing of it and will stick to the tradition that the Vedic hymns are the spiritual revelation occurred simultaneously to the Seven Principal Seers.

The technical lore of language and of hymns was taught by the Poet priest to his sons and this was no doubt the beginning of Brahmanic education. Sanskrit was no doubt a spoken language in those days and was also the medium of instruction. In a hymn belonging to one of the Books of the Rig Veda there is a reference to what was probably the earliest form of the Brahminic School. It is a poem which compares the meeting together of the Brahmin teacher and scholars with the gathering of frogs in the rainy season:—

'Each of these twain receives the other kindly while they are revelling in the flow of waters.

When the frog moistened by the rain springs forward, and Green and Spotty both combine their voices, when one of these repeats the other's language, as he who learns the lesson of the teacher, your every limb seems to be growing larger, as ye converse eloquence on the waters,' (VII 103). The children of his relatives possibly went to the priest to learn the hymns and those of even neighbours were admitted, for the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas were also allowed to recite them. The school met in his cottage or under the shade of a tree near his dwelling at some suitable hour of the day in the morning or at noon. There was then no register, no fee, no government control. The teacher by his personal character and influence supplied all the wants of an organised institution. He received no regular pay from the chieftain, but was allowed tax-free enjoyment of the lands round his cottage and was awarded occasional presents by rich members of the society at sacrifices or at their visit to the school. Even the chieftain sent his sons for training to his Purohit and sometimes paid visits to him at his Ashrama (residence) to show his respect. The pupils worked with the teacher at his household fire and on the field or pasture. Thus the moral

atmosphere of the hermitage, the intimate relations of the teacher and the taught and the constant supervision of the former who was highly regarded by one and all in the community helped a great way to make the education effective.

The method of teaching the Vedic hymns to the pupils was purely oral. There is no convincing proof as to the existence of a script in those early days, but it seems probable that in the case of such an advanced language as Vedic Sanskrit some sort of writing was known to the Aryans, Max Muller says that the Aryans knew no script before 400 B. C. (History of Ancient Sanskrit literature—P. 262). Barnett endorses this view in his South Indian Paleography (p. 9.). Buhler goes more backwards and says that it might be possible to show that the Aryans knew writing about 1000 B. C. But recently Indian Scholars have tried to prove that even in the Rig Veda there are references to akshara (letter)—e. g. VII. 15.9; I. 164.39; X. 13.3; etc. and that mere oral methods of teaching the hymns do not prove the absence of the script. (vide Dnyankosha-V. pp. 37 to 80). The tradition of the oral teaching of the Vedas stands on some rational principles: the Rishis knew the hymns by internal inspiration

before they were committed to writing, the swarns (accents) were best learnt from the teacher orally, the teacher being the source of all learning commanded respect, and learning committed to memory was of most use at the sacrifice, school or assembly. In VII. 103.5 of the Rig Veda there is an allusion to pupils reciting the syllables dictated by their teacher, who carefully saw that not a single accent (Swara) was wrongly pronounced.

The School-work commenced and ended with sacred invocations or prayers. The pupils said out their old lessons to the preceptor who corrected mistakes if any. Individual attention was the rule. When a new lesson was to be taken up some sacred words (like Om!) were again deeply uttered. The teacher dictated a few syllables and got them recited by the pupils seven to ten times each with the necessary accents shown by the movement of the head or hand. When a whole hymn was thus done, explanation was next taken up. This was known as Arthawada, and with this the students understood the meaning of the song quite well. These lessons were not necessarily tedious. The Vedic hymns treat of different subjects like natural phenomena, arts* and in-

^{* (}IX. 112).

dustries, travels, fights and expeditions, stories and allegories, performance of sacrifices, commerce and wordly dealings, human characters and natures of animals, ceremonies and prayers, etc. They are again replete with keen observation,† graphic description, lofty flights of imagination, similes ‡ and comparisons, devotion and sanguine energy. Of the subjects referred to in the Rig Veda, Prosody, Astronomy, Arithmetic and Geometry afforded variety of lessons to the ancient students. There was then no definite age fixed for commencing the study of the Veda. The relatives of the priest naturally had an advantage over others, as they heard him every now and then reciting Vedic songs and learned some of them just by imitation.

The composer of the hymns was indeed the ideal before the pupils, who were taught to imitate him in devotion, virtue || and learning. This was surely a potent factor in making the training successful and the results of that were seen in the next period when the various hymns were collected and books compiled to form the Rig Veda as known

^{† (}X. 146; I. 42; X. 168). || (X. 71. & 117.)

^{‡ &#}x27;Away like thieves the stars depart,

At the all-seeing sun's approach. (I. 50).

^{&#}x27;Daughter of Heaven in shining rainent, Auspicious Dawn, shine to-day upon us.' (I. 113).

to the present day. The preparation of the students was tested at royal sacrifices or at convocations of the learned. In X. 71. there is a reference to Pandits meeting together for debate:—

'All friends are joyful in the friend who cometh in triumph, having conquered in assembly.

He is their blame-avertor, food-provider; prepared is he and fit for deed of vigour.

One plies his constant task reciting verses; one sings the holy psalm in Sakwari measures.

One more, the Brahman, tells the lore of being, and one lays down the rules of sacrificing.

The success in such a debate refers probably to the passing of some test required before a young Brahman was considered eligible to take part in a sacrificial ritual or to be a teacher himself.

CHAPTER III.

Epic Times.

(——3000 B. C.——1000 B. C.——)

We have closed our account of the Vedic times, when the Hindu Aryans gradually conquered and occupied the whole tract of the country watered by the Indus and its tributaries and when India beyond the Punjab was almost unknown to them. The sole work of this age which comes down to us is the collection of hymns known as the Rig Veda Samhita and we have seen how these hymns illustrate the civilisation, and indirectly the education, in those days. We now proceed to describe the civilisation and education of the Epic Times, when the Hindus crossed the Sutlei, moved down the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, passed beyond the Vindhya and Satpuda Ranges and founded powerful kingdoms along the entire valley in the East and in the Deccan. As in the last chapter, so in this one, our source of information is the contemporaneous literature.

At some time between the Bharatiya War and the emigration of the Aryan colonies to the east and south of the Punjab and in some unknown way the Vedic hymns, referred to in the last chapter, came to be collected and amalgamated into one big work called the Rig Veda Samhita. Samhita means a collection and the work must have been carried out by some great sage under the direction and patronage of some powerful Prince who wished to gather for his own benefit all the sacrificial literature. The performance of sacrifices, known as Ashvameda, Somayaga, etc., became more and more common and public as the Princes grew in power and pomp. On such occasions priests wellversed in the ritual were necessary and hence the study of the various duties of them became more or less specialised. Some hymns of the Rig Veda. mention different classes of priests who perform different duties at sacrifices. (I. 94.6: X. 91-10: IV. 9-3: IV. 9-4: I. 162-5; II. 43-2; I. 58-7; X, 41-3; I. 162-10; etc.). The Adhvaryu was entrusted with the material performance of the Sacrifice, the Udgata with the duty of singing, the Hota with the recitation of hymns, and the Brahma presided over all the rest. Of these four neither the Hota nor the Brahma required any special manual, but the Adhvaryu and the Udgata required

special training. Special sacrificial formulas called Yajunshi and meant for the Adhvaryu were compiled together from original hymns in the Rig Veda and amplified into what is known as the Yajur Veda. A stock of the Rig Veda hymns called Samans and meant for the Udgata were separately collected, set to music and came to be known as the .Sama Veda. Thus were compiled the three principal Vedas-Rig, Yajus and Sama-keeping time with the advance of the Arvan sword and civilisation in India. The Atharva Veda was a later work and required special pleading to be recognised as the fourth Veda (vide Gopatha Brahman). It consists of mantras intended to protect men against the baneful influences of divine powers, against diseases, noxious animals and curses of enemies. and meant for doing harm to enemies, bad neighbours, unwelcome rivals, etc. The first kind are called Atharcans and the second Angivas, after the names of ancient Indian venerated families. who were worshippers of the Fire (like the Atharvan of Avestu) and domestic priests of some royal houses. This work is divided into twenty books and contains nearly six thousand verses and a sixth of this is in prose. Some of the hymns and mantras are taken from the Rig Veda.

In course of time the sacrificial ritual grew more and more elaborate and complex. The Yajur Veda containing the principal formulas of the manual acts at sacrifices had two branches,—the black called Taittiriya samhita and the white called Vajasaneyi samhita. The first was probably compiled or promulgated by Tittiri with the assistance of other Rishis mentioned therein. It consists of mantras with explanations and accounts of ceremonials belonging to different sacrifices. The second was a more recent work ascribed to Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya at the court of king Janaka in the Videha kingdom. It is divided into forty chapters, containing mantras only (without explanations). Of these the first eighteen are found in the Black Yajurveda, and the other compositions seem to be later additions expressly called Parishista or Khila, i.e., supplement.

By this time different kinds of priestly schools had become well developed and they were learned associations with a growing reputation. Priests learned to be proud of the school in which they received their training and none could take part in a sacrifice without having passed through one of such institutions. The first duty of the student was to learn by heart the particular Veda of his

school. This he did by repeating after his teacher till perfect accuracy was secured. He would also receive a great deal of instruction on his duties as a priest and also explanations of the hymns and ritual acts. The instruction was called Vidhi and the explanation arthavada. For a long time these lecures were given orally by the teacher in his own language, but in each school this didactic material tended to become more and more traditional and finally became stereotyped in the prose works known as the Brahmanas. These treatises were supposed to elucidate the texts and to explain their hidden meanings and they contained the speculations of generations of priests. A single discourse of this kind was called a Brahman and later on all collections or digests of such discourses were called by the same name. The Brahmanas are connected with the different Vedic schools. and contain such material as the students of each Veda require, but their general characteristics are the same. Besides instruction and explanation relating to the sacrificial rites, they contain mythological stories and legends, speculation and argument, and we can trace in them the first beginnings of grammar, astronomy, etymology, philosophy and law. They exhibit a peculiar sacerdotalism, but at

the same time signs of considerable intellectual vigour. The language of the original Vedic hymns had now become archaic and unintelligible to the multitude and hence the necessity of such prose writings. This is referred to in Shatapatha Brahmana (III. 2-1-24) and it was no doubt one of the reasons why the power of the priesthood increased. Originally there must have been numerous such Brahmanas as is obvious from various extracts appearing in those that are extant. The Rig Veda has two Brahmanas, namely Attariya and Kaushitaki; the Yajur Veda has two,—Taittiriya and Shatapatha; the Sama Veda has three—Tandya, Shadvinsha and Jaiminiya; and the Atharva Veda has one—Gopatha (vide Dnyanakosha II p. 150).

After the Brahmanas came the Aranyakas, works to be read in the forest.* They reflect the retiring attitude of some old or thoughtful priests, who liked to lead a life of plain living and high thinking away from the bustle of society and free from the pomp of sacrifice. These men lived a peaceful life in forests. They performed no actual sacrifices, being tired of as many meaningless actions neccessary therein or being disgusted with the

^{*} This is the explanation given by Sayanacharya and accepted by all to be true.

sleughter of animals, but meditated on their import. These works are somewhat allegorical expositions of the sacrificial ritual and on account of their mystic sanctity they were only to be studied in the solitude of the forest. Another explanation of the origin of the Aranyakas is given by a recent scholar in the Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society (No. XXII, 71). In every sacrifice there was the arani, wooden pieces, by the friction of which fire was produced whenever required. During the course of public and great sacrifices discussions were often held by the priests or kings with learned visitors or among themselves at intervals of rest on the significance of such performances, on the nature of deities or on the propriety of a particular procedure. Such debates at times resulted in philosophical investigations and the pompous hollowness of the ritual appealed to some thoughtful minds. They were then put down in black and white in course of time for the guidance of future generations and these writings came to be known as Aranyakas or discussions near the arani; and later on probably it became the tradition to read them in solitude and not in the presence of the common people who liked the external form of anything more than the underlying truth. Whatever their origin, the

Aranyakas testify clearly to the thoughtful nature and investigating spirit of the then Hindus. The Rig Veda has its Kaushitaki and Aitareya Aranyakas, the Black Yajur Veda its Taittiriya and the last book of the voluminous Shatapatha Brahmana is its own Aranyaka. The Sama and Atharva Vedas have no Aranyakas.

What gives the Aranyakas a special importance is that they are the proper repositories of those eelebrated religious speculations known as the Upanishads, to which they form a regular transition. The Upanishads are treatises wholly given up to deep philosophical thinking and represent the last stage of the Brahmana literature. They are recognised as the Vedanta (the end of the Vedas)—the completion and crown of Vedic learning. There are about two hundred books passing under the title of Upanishads, but only twelve of them are really ancient and important: Aitareya and Kaushitaki belong to the Rig Veda; Chhandogya and Kena to the Sama Veda; Isha and Brihadaranya to the White, and Taittiriya, Katha and Shvetashvatara to the Black, Yajur Veda; and Mundaka. Prashna and Mandukya to the Atharva Veda. The origin of this marvellous portion of Sanskrit literature is explained by different writers in dif-

ferent ways. Max Muller says that the word 'Upanishad' occurs in the sense of a secret doctrine and that the same name is given to writings containing such thoughts. This view is supported by passages from some Upanishads-Kath * iii. 17; Shvet. VI. 22; Chh. ii. 5-2; Ait. Ar. iii. 1-63; Tait. 1-3. Deussen suggests that 'Upanishad' means (उप + नि + सद्) 'sitting near' and then an 'assembly;' the pupils sat near their teacher to hear such deep philosophical ideas or in an assembly learned men met and discussed them, the whole account being then called by the same name. "Upanishad' is nowhere used in the sense of an "assembly" and the first meaning explains not the origin, but the future teaching of the doctrines. Oldenberg traces the word to 'Upasana' (उपासना); but बास is different from सद, as in the former only one man can sit engaged in worship of his god. Shankaracharya's explanation is very ingenious; he takes 'Sad' (बद्) in the sense of 'to destroy' and 'Upanishad' (उप + नि + सद्) means 'that knowledge which destroys all worldly ties and leads the student to Brahman.' Sayanacharya construes the word to mean 'something in which the highest good is embedded ' (उपनिषण्णमस्याम् परमं श्रेय : । इति उपनिषद्).

^{* &#}x27;परमं गुद्धं '। 'गुद्धा आदेघः ',

^{* &#}x27;बेद गुह्मम्'।..

But the most probable explanation seems to be this: when kings performed great sacrifices lasting for days together, learned men from different provinces were invited to them and during intervals of rest discussions took place in the sacrificial hall by the side of the holy five. These discussions were called Brahma-vad (ब्रह्मबाद) and references to them are often met with in Shatapatha Brahmana, Brihadaranyaka or Chhandogya Upanishad. It was customary in those days to arrange some interesting and instructive functions (like this) at some convenient hour of the day, which could be attended by the public at large. It was during sacrifices that Suka Deva recited Bhagawat to Ianameiav that Suta told Puranas to Rishis, that Usasti Chakrayana challenged the priests to explain the nature of their duties and on their silence did so himself (chh. I. 10, 11.), that king Ashvapati instructed the six Brahmins headed by Uddalak Aruni regarding the Vaishwanara-self chh. V.). These discussions of learned Brahmins 'sitting near' the sacrificial fire were later on written down and called Upanishads.

These philosophical works of the Hindus are worthy of the name given to them—the crown of Vedic learning. They try to solve the problem of

the universe, to explain the fundamental relations of man to nature and to God. The most important of the doctrines set forth in them are (1) the universal soul, namely, the Brahman, (2) the individual Atman and its union with the Brahman. (3) the world as an illusion and ultimate pure unity, (4) the transmigration of individual souls, and final beatitude. (5) the outcome on practical life, morals and means to that end. Many tendencies helped these works in their progress and many centuries must have elapsed between the first and the last of these speculations recorded, from Brahadaranyaka and Chhandogya to Maitri. The thinkers were earnest in their search for the truth, and they unhesitatingly abandoned conclusions which had been reached, when in the light of further reasonings and new considerations they were proved inadequate. The changes from the realistic materialism to the final speculative idealism form an interesting chapter in the history of philosophy. What appeared to Herbert Spencer in the nineteenth century A. D. as 'the Unknown and the Unknowable 'was 'known and knowable' to the Hindus four thousand years ago. Above all what is peculiar to Indian philosophy is the direct experience and actual realisation of the All-pervading Light by the disciple at the hands of his Guru; which is typically described in Brahadaranyaka Upanishad (I. 3.28):—

'From the unreal lead me to the real. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality.'

Arthur Schopenhauer was so much pleased with the study of the Upanishads that he once exclaimed, 'It is the most rewarding and most elevating reading which there can possibly be in the world. It has been the solace of my life and will be of my death.' He was the foremost European philosopher who appreciated the Pantheism in these Hindu works. Professor Deussen said in one lecture before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 'The Vedant, in its unfalsified form, is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death. Indians, keep to it.'

With the Epic Age the so-called revealed literature of India ends. From the works that are available the reader becomes conscious of missing links and of a number of writings lost; because he meets with many quotations and allusions from still more ancient authors. Even the first hymn of the Rig Veda refers to Rishis prior to its com-

poser. Western scholars of Sanskrit in their attempts to prove comparatively recent dates for the said portion of Hindu literature are also forced to say to themselves. Whenever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself. (W. Jones). In addition to these works the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were composed during this very age. The Ramayana commemorates the Aryan conquest of the South. In it the gifted poet, Valmiki, places before the world the ideal characters of humanity, Rama and Sita, observing the laws of their religion almost to a fault. It is there that we find the self-less devotion of Laxman, the divine fraternity of Bharat and the unparallelled service of Hanumana. Leaving aside the fancifulness of some descriptions there, we read in it a true picture of the then Society, its civilisation and religion-The Second epic is the memorial of the war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The Mahabharata is a regular history of the Aryan kingdoms in the North India about 3000 B. C. In it a number of stories are told, and subjects discussed, and the ultimate success of religious and moral conduct is set glowing everywhere as an outstanding feature. Ayur Veda, Dhunur Veda,

Gandharva Veda and Vastu Veda are mentioned as the branches of the original four Vedas respectively. The first treats of the science of medicine, the second of the art of fighting, the third deals with singing and other fine arts, and the last with various industries and crafts producing wealth. But all these are lost to us now. Then the six sciences, known as Vedangas, originated in these very times, though regular books on them available to us belong to a later age-!. Shiksha (Phonetics), 2. Kalpa (Ritual) 3. Vyakarana (Grammar), 4. Nirukta, (Etymology and lexicography), 5. Chhandas (Prosody), and 6. Jyotish (Astronomy). Besides these, arithmetic and geometry must have progressed, as is obvious from the elaborate preparation of sacrificial altars and from minute calculations in it. in astronomy, in wars, etc.

The progress of the Sanskrit literature from the Rig Veda hymns on to the Upanishads suggests an obvious comparison to the life of a man. The cheerful simplicity and the open fervency of the Punjab Aryans was the youth of the race appearing in the poetic hymns. The elaborate ceremonial and the artificial culture of the Gangetic Aryans was its manhood, peeping out of the

Brahmana Works and specialised study of the ritual. Next follow the Aranvakas evincing the disgust of hollow karma and the tendency to retirement from the wordly hankerings, signs of the mature age of the society. Lastly come the Upanishads, the serene and sincere inquiries into the truth, the realisation of the unity of the Atman and Brahman, the only wish of a thoughtful man nearing the end of his worldly existence. These four stages strangely enough coincide with the four Ashramas of man's life laid down by the Arvans-1. The Brahmachari, 2. The Grahasta, 3. The Vanaprastha, and 4. The Sanyasi. In a different light these very portions of Sanskrit literature trace the development of the Aryan mind—the poet of the Vedic hymns, the priest of the ritual lore, the philosopher of the universal principle. Some Sanskrit scholars say that the Upanishads display the gloomy nature of the Hindu mind, the effect of the enervating climate of the eastern and southern parts of India. The geographical and climatic conditions of these tracts are really not so bracing as those in the Punjab or in the Arctic regions and a superficial study of the philosophical books does lead to such a conclusion in as much as therein the visible world is looked upon as an illusion. But to a

keen observer the change from oral prayers to deep meditation seems to be a natural development of spiritual consciousness. All the Indian sages preach this same principle and declare that they can enjoy realisation of the Brahman after having prayed, worshipped and meditated. Originally man prays to God for some worldly gain; in course of time he takes delight in offering simple and fervent prayers: then he gets disgusted with begging for perishable things every now and then and out of pure love he implores his god with tears in eyes for Darshan; and lastly he learns to meditate being guided by some Guru and on realisation of the all-pervading Light he likes to be one with it always and to forget the physical world including his body. In this higher state man hears, sees and experiences what ordinary people cannot hear, see and experience with their senses or reason. And this is the striking difference between Indian and European philosophy that in the latter the principles and truths are only read and understood by study and reasoning, while in the former they are actually seen and experienced by reason and penance under the supervision of a Guru. The teachings of the Upanishads are then not the product of sullen idleness, but the outcome* of

^{*} R. C. Dutt's Civilisation in Ancient India-Vol, I. p. 191.

'vigorous' and 'healthy' wakefulness of the intellect.

Another charge is that the Brahmin priests carried the monopoly of all learning and that the other castes were kept in darkness. It is true that only a few families of the Punjab Arvans learned the Vedic hymns, their valuable inheritance, and that at sacrifices they were called to guide the performance by reciting necessary mantras on proper occasions. But it is also true that the study of the hymns was open to all Aryans in the Puniab and that even when the caste system hardened into social barriers in the Epic age the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were allowed to read the Vedas, to perform sacrifices and to give charity. It is the Rishis' families that kept living and intact the Vedic learning and handed it down to generation after generation when writing or printing was unknown and the other people engaged themselves in productive arts and industries. The Brahmins kept to themselves the teaching of the Vedic lore, the guidance of sacrificial performances and the receiving of charity in addition to the other three rights referred to above and common to all.* But with these privileges they elected to lead their

^{* &#}x27; अध्ययन-अध्यापन, यजन-याजन, दान-प्रतिप्रह '.

lives in poverty, while the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas with necessary education and high status followed occupations productive of wealth. Thus out of free choice the Brahmins took to learning, the Kshatriyas to fighting and the Vaishyas to arts, industries and commerce. No doubt the Brahmins later on took undue advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the other two castes, but they were not responsible for having kept them in darkness. This can be further proved by looking into the pages of some principal Upanishads. Very often Kshatriya Kings baffled the Brahmins in deep thinking, as the latter in most cases spent their energy in the outward form of religious ceremonies. Once Driptabalaki Gargya went to Ajatashatru, the King of Benares, saying, 'I will tell you about Brahma' Ajatashatru welcomed the boastful Brahmin with the promise of a thousand cows for a successful discourse of that kind. Gargya's theory could not stand the searching criticism of the king, and he had to fall at the feet of the Kshatriya for the real knowledge of Brahman. (Bri. Up. II. I). In the Chhandogya Upanishad (Chapter V) we read that once five Brahmins headed by Uddalaka Aruni went to king Ashvapati to have instruction regarding Vaishwanaraself and the latter satisfied them all by convincing explanations. Another time king Pravahana Jaivali taught two Brahmins the real nature of the Udgitha (Om). (Chh.) Up. I. 8.). King Janaka is a well-known name and is to be seen in many places cross-questioning, defeating and teaching Brahmins in discussions on the nature of the Universal Soul (Brahma).

With the advance of the Aryans to the east and to the south of the Punjab their civilisation progressed. Various kingdoms were established in both the parts,—the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Videhas, Kosalas and Kasis on the Ganges and the Jamna, and the Saurashtras, the Vidarbhas, the Avantis etc. in the Guiaratha and in the Deccan. The descriptions of the royal courts in the Ramayana and in the Mahabharata tell us much of the ways and customs in those days. The kings had sufficient wealth and lived in great pomp; yet they carefully attended to their duties regarding administration. The society was quite law-abiding and happy, though somewhat priest-ridden. Their law was religion and religion law, resulting in compulsory moral conduct and thoughful behaviour on the part of the individual, not for any mercenary object, but with a view to self-upliftment. Agri-

culture and commerce prospered by canal waters. safe communications and honest dealings. This is quite clear from the sympathetic enquiries made by Narad of king Yudhisthira.* The relations between the ruler and the ruled were very cordial and there was to be no room for a feeling of estrangement or indifference. Under the patronage of such dutiful princes arts and crafts were greatly developed. In the 30th chapter of the white Yajur Veda we meet with many names which indicate professions only,—carpenters, potters, jewellers, arrow-makers, bow-makers; keepers of elephants, horses and cattle; cooks, painters and engravers; washermen, dyers, barbers; tanners, fowlers, smiths of all sorts and musicians. Useful and learned professions are also mentioned there,—physicians, orators, frequenters of assemblies, poets etc. In the two Epics there are references to skilful kitchens. graceful dress, charming toilet and shining ornaments of gold, pearls and jewels, used in high-class families. In a verse in chapter 45 of Karna-Parva†

(महा-भारत)

^{*} Shanti-Parva Mahabharata.

^{ैं} जाह्यं पांचाला : कोरवेयाश्व धर्म्यं । सत्यं मतस्या : शोरसेनाश्व यहम् ॥ प्राच्या दासा वृषला दाक्षिणात्या : । स्तेना बाल्हीका : संकरा वै सुराष्ट्रा : ॥

different provincialisms are described:—'The Panchalas are famous for Vedic learning, the Kurus for religious conduct, the Matsyas for truthfulness, and the Shaursenas for sacrificial performances; but the Magadhas are slavish, the Southerners irreligious, the Balhikas (in the Punjab) stealthy and the Saurashtras cosmopolitan.' Character was most respected and best cultivated by all the people in general and by the Brahmins in particular:—

'Oh, Yaksha, listen: high moral character is undoubtedly the only valuable qualification for being a Brahmin, not so much race, nor learning; character should be scrupulously cultivated by all and in particular by the Brahmin....... a Brahmin without good character is less than a Shudra*.....'. Man was enjoined to lead his life according to religious commandments through the four Ashramas and had before him the ideal of Moksha to be attained. These are accounts of dealings in peace. Even in war the Hindus advanced a good

^{* &#}x27; श्रुण यक्ष कुळं तात न स्वाध्यायो नच श्रुतम् । कारणं हि द्विजत्वे च वृत्तमेव न संशय : ॥ ८ ॥ वृत्तं यत्नेन संरक्ष्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषत : । चतुर्वेदोऽभि दुर्वृत्त : स श्रुद्दाद्दियते । (स. मा. व. प. ३।३)

deal; a number of missiles and weapons, vehicles and fortified places were used; infantry, cavalry, charioteers and elephant riders took part; and many tactics and manoeuvres were practised by both parties. (M. B. Drona P.). Rules of fightings and ‡ diplomacy were quite honourable and chivalrous, being based on religion, the mainstay of the society.

A mention of the four Ashramas in the life of the Hindu leads us to consider their system of education. Ashrama comes from the root Shram, which means to exert oneself or to perform austerities; hence it indicates a hermitage, i.e. a place where austerities are performed, or the performance itself, and ultimately the period of life when such duties are to be done. This explains the Hindu ideal: during his whole life man has to work up for the attainment of one goal, the highest spiritual consciousness, and to that end he has to direct his energy in its different stages. Thus three of the four Ashramas are devoted to the study for the accomplishment of the ideal in the case of all the members of society, and in the case of the Brahmins there is no break in their

[§] Shanti-Parva-Chap. 95.

[‡] Krishna-Shishtai.

onward march to it. The Brahmacharya continues to the twenty-fourth year as a rule and this is the time of studentship. Then the pupil gets married and becomes a Grihastha, keeping up a household, earning wealth, bringing up his projeny and doing the necessary duties of a citizen; a Brahmin Grihastha, however, has to do such work during this period also as does not make him forget his goal,—to teach his pupils, to guide the performance of sacrifices and in general to act as the religious law-giver of the society. The third is the Vanaprastha Ashrama which generally begins with the age of fifty or so and in which the subject becomes isolated from the society, learns to forget his worldly dealings and relations and performs physical and mental penance for the realisation of the self. The last stage is the Sanyasa in which he on experiencing the final Beatitude in union with the absolute becomes free from all worldly ties, rights and obligations, has little consciousness of his physical existence, keeps no home, eating his bread wherever and whenever he happens or likes to have it. This complete theory of the four Ashramas was not laid down all at once. It was worked out gradually and unconsciously. In the earlier Upanishads we see only its beginnings.

(Chh. Up. VIII. 15. 1; Brah. Up. III. 5. 1; IV. 4. 22; etc).

In the Atharva Veda (XI, 5) there is a mystic hymn which describes the Sun, or the primeval principle, under the figure of a Brahmana student (Brahmachari), who brings firewood (Samid) and alms for his teacher. This offering of sacrificial fuel to a teacher became the regular way by which a youth sought to be recognised as his pupil, and implied a desire to partake in his domestic sacrifice and to accept the duty of helping to maintain it. It also came to be a duty for students to collect alms (Bhiksha) for their own support and for that of their teacher. Similar references are found in the Shatapatha Brahman (X. 6, 5, 9.) There is given a line of teachers who have transmitted the sacrificial science to that time, which is traced back to Prajapati (the creator) and Brahmana students are spoken of as guarding their teacher, his house and cattle, lest he should be taken away from them. This book contains an account of *Upanayan* (the initiation cere.nony) of a Brahanical student. He is made to say to the preceptor, 'I have come for Brahmacharya (studentship); let me be a Brahmachari (student)!' Then the teacher asks him, 'what is your name?'

and takes him by the right hand saying 'Indra's disciple are you; Agni is your teacher: I am your teacher, Om! He utters some mantras committing the pupil to the various gods and deities for security from injury. Next, some instructions are given to the Brahmachari. 'Do your work.....put on fuel (Samid, sticks of Pippal tree), do not be idle,...sip water (Amrita)'†. The teacher then recites to him the mantra known as Savitri—' We meditate on the celestial lustre of the Primeval Principle, the Sun; may He stimulate our understanding.'. (Rig. Veda, III. 62. 10).

Were taken near a teacher for their education and this now became a regular sacred rite to be performed by every householder, Brahmana, Vaishya or Kshatriya. In the Vedic Times instruction was confined to particular families and there was no such initiation ceremony; but now it came to be regarded for all Aryan youths as the preliminary to school life. The three castes which had this privilege, the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, were then called Dwija (twice-born), because Upanayana was looked upon as a second birth. So much importance was given to education, the commencement of which was a sort of

^{*} Shet. Br. XI. 5-4.

rebirth of the pupil. Man is made up of two main elements—the physical and the spiritual. The development of the first begins in the mother's womb and that of the second in the teacher's home, the latter being as significent as the former, if not more. This admission to school life was again a religious sacrament (Sankskara), compulsory on all the Arvans, meaning that the education for the young was also compulsory in the case of all the castes, excepting the Non-Aryans. The sacred thread came to be used at this time for the performance of sacrifice daily or special. It was called Yadnopavita, i. e. the srcrificial cord. common for all the Aryans. (The followers of Avesta also used such a cord at the worship of Fire). In the Shatapatha Brahmana (II. 4. 2) it is told that the gods and the fathers went to Prajapati, wearing the 'sacrificial cord'; and also in the Kaushitaki Upanishad (II. 7) the all-conquering Kaushitaki adores the Sun at its rise, having put on the 'sacrificial cord.' After the initiation ceremony the boy goes to the house of his teacher and lives with him during the whole course of his instruction which concerned purely with religion and sacrifice. While on duty there, the Brahmachari was free from all fear of injury or death, The Brahma delivered the creatures over to Death, the Brahmachari alone it did not deliver

over to him ' (Shat. Br. X1, 3, 3.); and so long as he supplied fuel (Samid) for the fire, begged alms and did the teacher's bidding obediently, he enjoyed that security. Twelve years was looked upon as the normal period of studentship. This was a regular, disciplined and busy life under the direct supervision of the teacher. The student had to do all sorts of work for the teacher and his family, and was as good as a member thereof during that period. Sometimes heavy work was imposed on the pupils by the teachers, who abused their privilege and authority (M. B. Adi-Parva III). Dhaumya Rishi made his student Veda draw the plough in the field. But these cases were very rare. Even princes like Krishna and Rama did menial service to their Gurus very willingly. In the Chhandogya Upanishad (VI. 1, 2, 3) 'Shvetaketu Aruneva went to his teacher when he was twelve years of age and returned to his father when he was twenty four, having studied all the Vedas.' Some students continued their Brahmacharya, and along with it the study of the Vedic learning, life long. This was called Naishthika Brahmacharya. In the Taittiriya Brahmana (III 10, 11, 3) it is said, "Bharadwaja lived through three lives in the state of a religious student. Indra approached him when he was lying old and

decrepit, and said to him 'Bharadwaia. if I give you a fourth life, how will you employ it?' 'I will lead the life of a religious student,' he replied. chapter 243) the daily routine of the student is desribed: 'One should lead a fourth of one's life as Brahmachari. In guru's house these days should be passed in gaining knowledge of theology. The student should go to bed after his teacher and rise before him. He should not grudge to do the work of a menial. Such daily service being done, he should sit by the guru and learn. He should be all along quite chaste and dutiful. He should not dine before the teacher. He should take simple food, not much of seasoned, pungent or sweet articles. He should pay his respects to the guru and guru's wife every day in the morning by touching their feet with both hands. In this way the student should satisfy his teacher by his conduct, finish his course of study, pay some dakshina to him and go home with his permission to marry and to become a householder.' The student was to have a sacred bath at the time of leaving teacher's house, the ceremony being called Samavartan (a successful return).

The guru was sometimes boy's own father in the case of Brahmins, but nobody was to learn

anything, the Vedas in particular, except from a teacher. In the Mahabharat (Vana-P. chap. 138) there is a story of Yavakrita who studied the Vedas without a guru and then had to suffer a lot of misery for that. From this it seems that the Vedas were written in books; because it is possible to learn anything from writings alone without a teacher. But the Vedas cannot be well read even from mere books (because of the accents), much less learned. From a teacher alone one could learn the proper pronunciation. Hence it became the custom that only from a teacher one should learn, and people believed that the lore learned from a guru could alone be successful and beneficial. In those days students travelled far and wide* in order to attach themselves to celebrated teachers. These things are of course possible for adult pupils. Renowned teachers also itinerated from place to place and there were those to whom pupils came from all sides 'as waters run downwards, as month go to the year' (Taitt. up. 1, 4,.3.). As a rule, a student remained with one teacher till the conclusion of his studies, but for specialisation there was no objection to his going to other teachers. On his dismissal the pupil received this advice from teachers: 'Speak the truth! Follow your Dharma!

^{*} Br. Up, III. 3-1; 5-1.

Do not neglect the study of the Vedas! After having brought to your teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda' etc.*

The teacher was called Guru or Acharya. Guru means 'heavy' or 'great' and the teacher was to be really great and influential. Originally the Vedic poets were themselves teachers and were respected for their learning and character by kings as well as commoners. Traditionally the teacher was expected to be very learned and of high moral character. Greatness then lay in personal virtue and moral conduct, and not in wealth. The word Acharya comes from char (to behave) and means one who trains others in good behaviour' (आঘাই माह्यति इति आधार्यः): it is also taken to mean by some as 'the source of all religion' (श्वमें आचिनोति इति आचायः). In either sense the teacher was expected to train the pupils in good behaviour, the essence of religion, and naturally to possess those qualities himself. Various descriptions are met with in the Ramayana and in the Mahabharata of celebrated

^{*} Taitt. Up. I. 11.

Gurus like Vashistha, Vishwamitra, Sandipani, Drona, Parshurama and Kanva, and they were said to be ideal characters, quite contented with their lot, free from all worldly hankerings and respected even by kings who sent their sons to them for instruction. Of course all the Brahmanas could not be like them, but the teacher was expected to possess such qualities. Generally each teacher lived in his own cottage in the centre of his lands and welcomed some pupils there. This was a Guru-Kula. In this Epic age education became widespread and specialised. To keep time with this development Shakha Kulas, i. e. schools of special learning, came to be established,—particular institutions sundertaking to train up pupils in some one of the offices at the sacrifice. This was a regular colony and a number of teachers lived together under the guidance of a head, called Kula-Pati. In the Mahabharata (Adiparva) we read the beautiful description of such a university college maintained by Kanva Rishi. It was situated on the bank of the Malini river and there 'many Rishis recited the hymns from the Rig Veda; and many others sang passages from the Sama Veda and the Atharva Veda. The combined voices of the students of vedanta, grammar, prosody. etymology, astronomy, of matter with its actions

and qualities, of logic, of the speech of lower animals.....of various other sciences, discussing with each other on points of dispute, were very sweet to the ear.....' This description seems to be of an examination held in the Ashrama. and such institutions taught as well as examined pupils. There are some instances of employing renowned teachers in royal families for the education of the princes. Dronacharya was the tutor to the Kauravas and the Pandayas. This was no doubt contrary to the usual practice, but it is expressly said that Drona was very poor and accepted this employment to have vengeance on King Drupad who had insulted him. In the management of guru-kulas or shakha kulas the kings had almost no hand. It was solely the work of the Brahmins who organised their own institutions, and the Kula Pati must have taken care to ensure uniformity of teaching. Tax-free lands of the teacher, alms and charitable gifts were the sources of income for such institutions, and the Brahmin authors and priests took great care to enjoin on others the duty of giving charity as a part of religion! There could be no instance of any school being closed for want of funds or of anv Brahmin pupil being unable to receive education for want of support. The performance of sacrifices gave occasional opportunities to the Brahmanas to receive food, clothing and even money. On the conclusion of their study the pupils asked their guru as to what dakshina he would like to have. He often declined to have anything and the poor students could not offer anything; but the royal students, if any, certainly gave considerable wealth to him. It was also the religious duty of kings to see that the Brahmanas who performed their religious six-fold functions honestly did not starve; but those Brahmanas who failed to do their duty were to be treated as Shudras (M. B.).

Religion was, of course, the end and aim of education. It started with Dharma, it was carried on by means of Dharma, it was meant for Dharma. Prayer, worship and sacrifice were the beginning as well as the conclusion of all training. The mind as well as the body was exercised during the whole course. In doing physical labour at the teacher's house, on his field and pasture the students developed their limbs and muscles all along in the fresh air and sunlight. The moral side of the mind received direct training in the study of the religious texts and in the manipulation of sacrificial retual. The intellectual side was but indirectly touched in hearing explanations of mantras and hymns, in the observation of nature and the preparation of the material at sacrifices, domestic or

public. Memory and imagination received the greatest attention, as from the start to the end lessons were learned by heart and as various mystical ideas about deities and gods were heard from the teachers. In fact, the marvellous and elaborate system of sacrifices were the products of the incomparable flights of imagination of the priesthood. But this was done at the cost of reason, and the simple, heart-felt prayers of the Vedic poets were buried under the pompous ceremonial of the sacrifice. The institutions of the Ashramas in individual life and of the castes in the national life made a great advance over the past so far as organic progress was concerned. The person had a place in the nation as a whole and was bound to do certain duties for it: but at the same time he was free to work for his own spiritual upliftment.

The woman had her own status in the house-hold. She managed it and took part in the sacrificial performances. Undoubtedly she received education not only in domestic science, but also in reading and writing. In those days the home was the place of all activity of the young and the old, of men and women; naturally Brahmin girls heard and saw a good deal of learning and picked up some of it incidentally. The wives of some teachers were reported to know as much of Vedic

learning and of the sacrificial ritual as to correct the mistakes of pupils in their absence. Some women were so well trained that they took part even in the philosophical discussions with their husbands. Maitreyi, Arundhati, Gargi and others were ideal characters as well as learned. They were, of course, solely dependent on their husbands, without whom they had no recognition in society. Kshatriya girls were better trained. In addition to incidental education of the religious texts, they were taught the fine arts of music, singing, dancing and painting over and above ordinary domestic arts. In the Mahabharta (Virat Parva-chap. 22) it is said that Arjuna in the disguise of a woman was employed to teach these arts to the princess Uttara and her friends. Draupadi is described as lovely, learned and chaste (प्रिया घ दर्शनीया घ पंडिता च पतिवता '-Vana-Parva, chap. 27), and her conversations with Yudhishthira and Krishna do credit to the best educated woman. Being asked as to where she learned all that by her husband, she answered that she had learned all that from a Rishi while at her father's home. The Vedas were not taught to women; but stories of all kinds with instructive morals, the subjects referred to above and the religious duties of a wife formed the curriculum, the formation of character being the ideal all through.

Up to the *Upanayana*, the time for which was not yet fixed, the children were brought up at home by their parents, who told them easy stories and made them do minor acts at the daily sacrifice. The young ones picked up a good deal just by the observation and imitation of the daily disciplined routine of their elders and even learned a few syllables of the texts recited by regular pupils. Prayer and worship they practised incidentally and in a crude form just at the instance of the father or elder brother and merely out of curiosity. The Kshatriya children observed the warlike feats and the use of weapons and instinctively caught an insight into them. The Vaishya children learned to help their elders in their arts, crafts and industries and naturally cultivated a liking for and skill in them. The existence of prose works like the Brahmanas leads us to believe that writing was known to the Hindus in those days and the children might be learning the alphabet, something of numbers, stories and songs at home. There is no direct and such conclusions; but they seen to the circumstances when the lone was of all activity.

On being initiated, the part was to learn the offering of prayers to the Surface of oblations at

the Fire in the Guru's house and the Savitri verse. otherwise called the Gayatri (Rig. Veda. III. 62. 10):- We meditate on the exquisite lustre of that God Sun; may he stimulate our understanding.' Along with this some simple hymns were probably taught and explained. But side by side with the religious texts other subjects for the cultivation of the understanding must have been taught. The Brahmanas, for instance, contain, besides explanation of the hymns and of the ritual, grammatical notes, stories and legends, etymological annotations, scanning of verses, elements of astronomy and rules of pronunciation. In this light the value of these works seems to be great. But along with these things there are often to be met with dogmatic speculations and mystic symbolism instilled into the minds of the young:

"Verily, Prajapati, the sacrifice is the year; the night of new moon is its Gate, and the moon itself is the bolt of the gate." (Shat. Br. XI. 1. 1.) "He (Sauheya) said "If at that very time, the garhapatya fire were to go out, doest thou know what danger

In another place (XI. 8. 4) of the same work a king sacrificer was threatened with death by the priests when the sacrificial cow was killed by a tiger. Such mystic and irrational generalisations of the Brahmins form the worst part of the Vedic texts. They attach more importance to accidents than to essentials, lay down a wrong process of thinking, divert man's energies from the useful known to the useless unseen and pave the way to fatalism and gloominess. It was in this that the Hindu priest abused his position, cleared the way for superstition and ignorance and turned the minds of the society away from reason. The mysticism was the origin of astrology and a baneful legacy to futurity.

In Chhandogya Upanishad (VII. 1.2) Narada says to Sanatkumara, 'I know the four Vedas, the Itihasa Purana, the Veda of the Vedas (grammar, the Pitrya (rules for sacrifices to the ancestors), the Rashi (Arithmetic), the Daiva (the science of portents), the Nidhi (the science of time), the Vakovakya (logic), the Ekayana (ethics),

the Deva Vidya (etymology), the Brahma Vidya (pronunciation, prosody, etc), the Bhuta-Vidya (the science of demons), the Kshatra Vidva (the science of weapons,) the Nakshatra Vidya (astronomy), the Sarpa Devanjana Vidya (the science of serpents and of genii); all this I know, Sir.' Similar lists of subjects are given in Brahadaranyaka Upanishad (II. 4. 10) and again in Shatapatha Brahmana (XI Book). Western scholars, like Weber, are doubtful as to the existence of separate works on these subjects and infer that the subjects might have been taught casually as in the Brahmanas But R. C. Dutt is of opinion that 'many of the subjects could scarcely have been taught properly and handed down from teacher to pupil without the help of special works on those subjects.' These works are now lost to us, because they have been replaced by more elaborate and scientific treatises of a later age on the same subjects. We do not know the order in which these subjects were taght and whether there were no stages of instruction as the primary, secondary, higher.

It is likely that there was some common primary course from the sacred texts for all the three castes. The Brahmins were teachers to them all, who had the right to study the Vedas and to perform sacrifices. In addition to that curriculum

the Kshatriyas learned the Dhanurvidya (the science of weapons) and Rajaniti (the science of administration and politics.). Mention is made of all this in the Mahabharata (Adi Parva), when the proficiency of the royal pupils of Drona was tested in a tournament witnessed by the public. In the Ramayana of Valmiki we read with regard to Rama and his brothers (in Balkanda):—

'The eldest Rama among all those princes. the special delight of his father, became the object of general regard.....All of them were yersed in the Vedas, were heroic and intent upon the welfare of others. All were accomplished in knowledge and endowed with virtues.....The excellent Rama could ride on horses and elephants, was an adept in the study of arms and in managing chariots, and was willing in doing service to his sire.' This shows that the chief aims of Kshatriva education were the study of the Vedas, military skill and right moral conduct. Inborn capacity. skilful teaching and pupil's own application are described to be the main factors in the education. The Vaishya children learned the principles of various arts. crafts and industries. In the Sabha Parva of the Mahabharata there is a separate chapter full of questions asked by Narada to king Yudhishthira in which enquiries are made by the

Deva-Rishi whether there was provision in the kingdom for the teaching of agriculture, architecture, sculpture, other industries, commerce, etc. These subjects belonged to the sub-Vedas, namely Dhanur Veda. Gandharva Veda and Vastu-Veda (Ayurveda being for the Brahmins), and the teaching of the mantras and hymns with explanations fell naturally on the Brahmins. In the Mahabharata advice is given to Brahmin teachers that they should train the pupils of different castes in such arts. sciences and industries as would be their means of livelihood in future. There is no positive proof as to the existence of separate schools for the teaching of these subjects. If they were taught by one and the same teacher, naturally the elements of each were learned by the students and they developed their knowledge and skill in them later on working as apprentices to their own fathers and guardians. However, specialisation there was as to the teaching of the Vedas and their Shakhas. 'One should study one's own branch (of learning)' runs a commandment of the Yaiur Veda.

So much for the education of the young. The Hindu system of the Ashrama aimed at continuing education of all individuals throughout

their lives. The householders had to perform daily worship or sacrifice and to recite some lessons from the Vedic texts which they had learnt. For education of the adults institutions did exist in those early days, and their curriculum was different from that detailed above. This is clear from Shvetaketu Aruni's story, in which it is said that he returned home at the twenty-fourth year after having completed his studies with the teacher and that later he was taught philosophy by his father (Chh. Up. VI). The Kena Upanishad opens with these questions from the pupil:—

'At whose wish does the mind, sent forth, proceed on its errand? At whose command does the first breath go forth? At whose wish do we utter this speech? What god directs the eye or the ear?'

In order to ask such questions to the teacher the student must have studied and thought a good deal and be a grown-up man. One general rule was followed, and was to be followed, by all the teachers: nothing was to be taught to a person who was not the proper receptacle for it. This was the Adhikari, i. e. a student fit for the lessons in a particular branch of learning. Advanced students often held mutual discussions in society—

even householders taking part therein at times of leisure, and many of them wandered far and wide in the country in the search of literary celebrities, who were not wanting because of the Vanaprastha and Sanyas Ashramas. At such meetings difficulties were set forth and solved. For instance. Uddalak Aruni goes from Kuru Panchala to the north to Saidayana Sanaka for instruction (Shat-Br. XI. 4). Similarly Swetaketu Aruneya, Somasushma Satva Yaini and Yainavalkya go to king Janak and get their doubts solved (Chh. Up. ii). Silaka Satavatya, Chaikitayana Dalbhya and Prabahana Jaivali have a discussion on the Udgitha (the syllable Om), in which the last-named, a Kshatriya, teaches the other two (Chh. Up. 1.8). Such learned debates between visitors and hosts. father and son, teacher and pupil, husband and wife brought forth the truth about the Atman. Thereby elementary learning was tested and advanced. There was then a sort of enthusiasm for learning, a pure religious study of course, and representatives of different schools went out 'driving' in the country to make conquests in such philosophical discussions. Secondly there was the Brahmavada at sacrifices open to the public, who willingly attended and learned a great deal there. And lastly national gatherings summoned

by kings afforded many opportunities for the students to try their preparation at and encouraged constant application to their own special subjects. Representatives from different provinces were sent for and discussions were carried on King Janaka was very famous for such activities. (Bri. Up; Shat. Br;). He gave a prize of a thousand decorated cows on such an accasion to Yajnavalkya for 'the best learning, reading and wisdom.' King Pravahana Jaivali was the member of a Panchala Parishad of scholars, which he attended every day.

Such institutions were the source of the Upanishadic philosophy and such religious bindings contributed to the advancement of learning of the young as well as of the old, of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas alike. This educational system was most economic and effective at the same time. The kings spent little on it directly and yet secured a devoted class of teachers, whose duty it was to lead a simple life, to cultivate high thinking, to keep learning (religious though it was) alive, and to help other members of the society to follow suit. The religious commandments had a great hold on the individual mind and such progress was achieved, which would have been impossible by the enforcement of secular laws. Of

course superstition and mysticism were great defects in the system, as propagated by the Brahmana works; but the Upanishads evinced a definite improvement upon them. In a number of places the mystic nature of several deities was challenged by bold seekers after the truth and pure rational philosophy was taught by them instead of dogmatic explanations. Ushasti Chakrayana went to a king's sacrifice and challenged the priests there to explain the nature of their respective deities; when he found that they could not do so he did it himself (Chh. Up. I. 10, 11). This was a clear tendency to go deep at the root of the ritual and to arrive at reasonable truth free from all superstitious belief.

In this sense the educational value of the Upanishads is very great. The doctrine of the Universal Soul was propounded by these works. They went to the root of the creation, explained the five elements (the sky, the atmosphere, the fire, the water and the earth) as building up the whole physical form and found out its perishable nature. The Primeval Principle pervaded everything, the vacuum and also the external mass, and existed before and after the material world, as during its existence it was ruled by the same omniscient

and omnipotent being. The individual soul was ultimately a part and parcel of the All-pervading, but could recognise this unity only after conquering the worldly desires and passions and on performing penance.† These principles have been taught by the Upanishads and generations of teachers have handed down to posterity the actual experience of the light. We may quote a typical passage or two out of the many that are to be met with and read with delight in these works:—

"All this is Brahman (the Universal Being; the word ক্ষান্ comes from ক্ষ্ or বহু to grow, to spread or to pervade). Let a man meditate on the visible world as beginning, ending and breathing in the Brahman,……..."

"The Intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet ordours and tastes proceed: he who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised."

^{† &#}x27;तपसा ब्रह्म विजिज्ञासस्व ।' (Taitt. Up. III. 1-8)

[&]quot; आत्मा वारे दृष्टव्यो श्रोतव्यो निदिष्यासितव्य :। '

[•] चित्तं कारणमर्थानां तास्मन्सति जगत्रयम्। तस्मिन्द्यीणे जगत्स्रीणं तचिकित्स्यं प्रयात्नतः । (Maitri. Up.).

"He is myself within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice,.....smaller than a mustard seed......

He is also myself within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all the worlds."† Hearing the questions of the pupil as to what god directs the senses or the mind of man, the teacher replies: "He is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, the breath of the breath, and the eye of the eye.......

"That which is not expressed by speech, and by which speech is expressed; That which does not think by the mind and by which mind is thought; That which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees the eyes; That which does not hear by the ear and by which the ear is heard; That which does not breathe by the breath, and by which breath is drawn; that alone know as Brahman,—not that which the people here adore." In the Isha Upanishad the joy of him who has comprehended the incomprehensible God is well described:—

"He, who beholds all beings in the self and the self in all beings, never turns away from it-

[†] Chh. Up. III. 74.

[‡] Kena Up, I.

"When to a man who understands, the self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity." In the Brahadaranya Upanishad we are told that all gods are the manifestations of the self, "for He is all gods," and that He exists in all men, in the Brahamana, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Shudra.

But when man dies without recognising this unity, without compehending the Universal Being, his soul migrates from birth to birth taking new and new bodies like a "caterpillar passing through the different stages in its life" or like "the different shapes given to a piece of gold by the goldsmith at different times." This rebirth happens only to the man "who desires." But as to a man, "who is free from all worldly desires and desires the self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere; being Brahman, he goes to Brahman.....And as the slough of the snake lies on an anthill, dead and cast away, thus lies his body; but his disembodied immortal spirit is Brahman only, is only light."†

Side by side with this metaphysics we find some principles of psychology as known to those

Brah, Up. IV. 4-

ancient Hindus. The body is the 'city' of Brahman, who lives in the breath. It has nine gates open and two more closed—the navel and the Brahman orifice at the top of the skull. 2 The body is made up of the five elements and has five 4 koshas (i.e. inner loops one within the other); the first is made up of food, the second of breath, the third of the mind, the fourth of knowledge and the last of eternal bliss. In order to recognise the Brahman one has to go through the first four into the fifth. The heart is given more importance than the head and is said to be the seat of breath and the mind. It is compared to the sun, as thousands of veins containing white, grey, brown, green and red fluids shoot from it like the rays of the sun. 6 Four states of the individual soul are described as the waking, the dream sleep, the deep sleep and the 'fourth' called turiya. The ordinary man experiences the first three in his daily life;

^{1.} Br. Up. 2-5-18. Chh. Up. 8-1-1.

² Kath, 5.1; Shvet. 3-18.

^{3.} Br. 44.5.

^{4.} Tait. 2-1.

^{5.} Chh. 3-12-4.

Ait. 1-2-4,

Br. 2-1-17.

^{6.} Kaush. 4-19.

Chh. 8-3-3.

and the fourth is to be reached on giving up all worldly desires and on concentrating the mind upon the inner principle. In the waking state the mind is all engrossed in worldly desires, pleasures and temptations. The man who wants to enjoy the eternal bliss in union with the Brahman must cultivate his reason by thinking of the real nature of the visible world and his dealings therein, secure 'inner freedom' by its help and lead a chaste life. This last is the ethical teaching of the Upanishads, most useful in practical life:—

'As to a mountain that's enflamed
Deer and birds do not resort—
So, with the Brahma-knowers, faults
Do never any shelter find.' (Maitr. 6. 18.)
'Not he who has not ceased from bad conduct
Can obtain Him by intelligence.' (Kath. 2.24.)
'He who has not understanding,
Who is unmindful and ever impure,
Reaches not the goal,
But goes on to transmigration.' (Kath. 3. 7.)

^{1.} Br. 2-1-16.

Ait. 1-3-12.

Mand. 7; Maitr. 6-19.

The pure reasoning in philosophy often leads to atheism and such tendencies did actually exist in the early period of the Upanishads, which, however, make no mention of them. Charvak was the leading materialist, a friend of the eldest Kaurava, Duryodhana. He preached that man should enjoy the pleasures of the world as long as he is living and that there could be no returning of the body once reduced to ashes. It is said that this Charvak censured Yudhishthira at his coronation ceremony and 'was burned to ashes by the wrathful utterances of the holy Brahmins there-Kapila was another thinker of the tendency. He rejected with evident scorn the remedies for the relief of humanity from worldly sufferings prescribed by the Vedic rites, and declared that knowledge and meditation were the means of salvation. He is said to be the founder of the Sankhya philosophy. Yoga was also known a little in those times. The Bhagawatgita of the Mahabharata refers to both of them; but the works on the two

भ वाबर्जावेत् सुखं जीवेत् । ऋणं कृता घृत पिनेत् ॥ भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य । पुनरागमनं कृतः ॥१॥

systems now available belong to a later period and we propose to consider their doctrines in the next chapter. The Mahabharata as we now have it belongs to later times and it is very probable that Sauti, who is the last of the three authors of this great epic, put in these references to the systems of philosophy existing in his own times.*

The methods of teaching were purely explanatory in consideration of the aims and condition of the then society. Education commenced with worship, prayers and recitation of lessons from the Vedic text. No trace is to be found of the 'development' theory of education in old writings, but the existence of inborn faculties was known to the teachers as is clear from so many metaphysical discussions in the Upanishads. It seems that the Hindus were the advocates of the value of impressions from without so as to stimulate the innate faculties and to direct them on right religious lines. In the 19th century the German educator Herbart upheld this theory and denied the existence of inborn capacities. He was the staunch supporter of the formation of character as the aim of education and insisted on having religious as well as

^{*} The concluding Vol. of the Mahabharata--C, V. Vaidya.

moral training for the young. Home education was considered to be a very important factor in the development of man by Pestalozzi, who also preached that the heart required training as well as the head (if not before it or more than it). By his self-sacrifice, sincerity and sympathy, he has left a lesson to future teachers unparallelled in the history of education except by the Jesuits and Hindu Brahmanas. All these principles were intuitively enforced in the Hindu educational system. In it lessons were given in the natural course of things as opportunities arose, but Pestalozzi's naturalistic studies had no place there-

Whether the boy learned from his father or from a teacher with whom he lived, he had a clear idea of what he studied and why he studied it. The sacrificial, military or industrial project was ready before the eyes of the Brahmana, Kshatriya or Vaishya during his whole course of education; there was no haziness about that. The study of the different subjects, purely humanistic in character, related to the particular aim and the pupils naturally worked with a definite motive for the ideal. Very probably a felt need was supplied by the teacher in his instruction, and they proceeded from point to point feeling necessary interest in their work. The ideal to be reached was in front of their eyes

always to be observed in the form of the priest, the warrior or the craftsman respectively and the teaching could not fail by the same person. The study of any subject carried on with sufficient attention and necessary motive and in graded steps not only imparts proficiency in that line but trains the mental powers for general use and application in other branches as well. This psychological principle was verified in this ancient system of education. The study started with repeating no doubt, but it was soon followed by explanation. Objects were freely used in giving pupils the necessary ideas. Such concrete illustrations are often seen used by teachers in the Brahmanas and Upanishads. Memory was not the only mental power trained or relied on, as is evident from the very first lesson, the Gayatri, in which the reciter prays for the stimulation of his understanding. The Hindu teacher laid great stress on the pupil's trying to reach the pre-conscious † state as soon as possil le. This state, as they believed and has now been corroborated, is the source of all powers Thysical and spiritual and the sooner it is sought for the better. 'The mind is like an 'ice-berg:

[†] Hindu Mind Training (by an Anglo-Saxon Mother)
pp. 15 to 20.

nine-tenths of it are below the conscious state. If the thoughts lying in the preconscious state are occasionally brought to the surface, as they could be by the Hindu system of mind training, a connecting link between the everyday commodity and its great storehouse is established. He who is in closest touch with the preconscious state solves difficult questions speedily, for all solutions which are called inspirations really come from within, and the preconscious in constant touch with the conscious mind makes the most successful combination useful for all purposes.

This education was literary, but the literature was in the mother tongue of the pupils; and as such better than that of the Renaissance period in Europe (when Greek and Latin were taught to German, French and English boys from the primary stage). 'Complete retention' was the procedure adopted and the text was often explained with reference to the object. Sanskrit was the spoken language of the Hindus then and the pupils probably found little difficulty in understanding the lessons. In the primary stage lessons were very short, and children had more opportunities and leisure than now to observe and to do. Of course the modern methods of investigation and questioning and induction could not have been

used in those ancient guru kulas, much less the class-room equipment. Teacher's learning. character, sympathetic insight into the pupils' minds and religious sincerity in his work more than made up for these defects. Formation of character was well achieved by the disciplined daily routine, carried on under the strict and constant supervision of the teacher. Physical health was gained and kept up by morning 'salutations' to the Sun every day and by regular work on the fields or in the workshop or at the altar. In the case of advanced students, free discussions with the teacher, questions and answers from either side, concrete illustrations and references to practical daily life, allowing some discount for the dogmatic mysticism of the Brahmanas.—form a clear evidence of the rational method of education obtaining in those times and consistent with the ideals of the society. It will not be improper, then, to conclude this chapter with a few select lessons from some of the principal Upanishads that throw some light on the ancient methods of teaching—particularly in the case of advanced students:—(1) Driptabalaki-Gargya tells Ajatashatru, the king of Benares, about Brahma.†

[†] Brah. Up. II, 1.

"Gargya said, 'The person who is yonder in the Sun-him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'

Ajatashatru said: 'Talk not to me about him! I worship him as the pre-eminent, the head and king of all beings. He who worships him as such becomes pre-eminent, the head and king of all beings.'

Gargya—"The person who is yonder in the Moon-him, indeed, I worship as Brahma!

Ajatashatru—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him as the great, white-robed king Soma. He who worships him as such, for him Soma is pressed out day by day. His food does not fail.'

- G.—' The person who is yonder in the lightning—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily, as the brilliant. He who worships him as such becomes brilliant indeed. His offspring become brilliant.'
- G.—'The person who is here in space—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him, verily, as the full, the non-active. He who worships him as such is filled with offspring and cattle. His offspring go not forth from his earth.'
- G.—' The person who is here in wind—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'

- A.—'Talk not to me about him! Verily, I worship him as Indra, the terrible, and the unconquered army. He who worships him as such becomes indeed triumphant, unconquerable, and a conqueror of adversaries.'
- G.—'The person who is here in fire—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as the vanquisher. He who worships him as such becomes a vanquisher indeed. His offspring become vanquishers.'
- G.—'The person who is here in water—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as the counterpart (of phenomenal objects). His counterpart comes to him (in his children), not that which is not his counterpart. His counterpart is born from him.'
- G.—'The person who is here in a mirror—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as the shining one. He who worships him as such becomes shining indeed. His offspring shine. He outshines all those with whom he goes.'
- G.—'The sound here which follows one as he goes—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as life. To him who worships him as

such there comes a full length of life in this world. Breath leaves him not before the time.'

- G.—'The person who is here in the quarters—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as the inseparable companion. He who worships him as such has a companion. His company is not separated from him.'
- G.—'The person here who consists of shadow—him, indeed, I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as death. To him who worships him as such there comes a full length of life in this world. Death does not come to him before the time.'
- G.—'The person here who is in the body—him, indeed I worship as Brahma.'
- A.—'Talk not to me about him! I worship him verily as the embodied one. He who worships him as such becomes embodied indeed. His offspring become embodied.

Gargya became silent.

Ajatashatru said: 'Is that all?"

Gargya said: 'That is all.'

Ajatashatru said: 'With that much (only) He is not known.'

Gargya—'Let me come to you as a pupil.'

Ajatashatru—'Verily, it is contrary to the course of things that a Brahmana should come to a Kshatrya, thinking "he will tell me Brahma." However, I shall cause you to know Him clearly.

The two then went up to a man who was asleep. They addressed him with these words: 'Thou great, white-robed king Soma!' He did not rise. Ajatashatru woke him by rubbing him with his hand. That one arose.

A.—'When this man fell asleep thus, where then was the Person who consists of intelligence? Whence did he thus come back?'

And this also Gargya did not know.

A.—'When this man has fallen asleep thus, then the Person who consists of intelligence, having by his intelligence taken to himself the intelligence of these senses, rests in the space within the heart. When that Person restrains the senses, the man is said to be asleep. Then the breath is restrained. The voice is restrained. The eye, the correct and the mind are restrained.

When he goes to sleep, the worlds are then he becomes a king, a K were that wreather Brahma.

As a spider might come district hierthread, a small sparks come forth from the line, even so from

this Soul come forth all vital energies, all worlds, all gods, all beings.....He is the real of the real.'

- (2). "Yajnavalkya said: 'Maitreyi! verily, I am about to go forth from this state (of a householder). Let me make a final settlement for you and that Katyayani. Then said Maitreyi: 'If, Sir, this | whole earth filled with wealth were mine would I be immortal?'
- Y.—'No. As the life of a rich man, even so would be yours. Of immortality, however, there is no hope through wealth.'
- M.—'What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal? What you know, Sir, that indeed tell me!
- Y.—'Ah, dear as you are to us, dear is what you say! come, sit down. I will explain to you. But while I am expounding do you seek to ponder thereon.'

Then he continued: 'Lo, verily, not for love of the husband is a husband dear, but for love of the soul is a husband dear......Not for the love of the wife is a wife dear, but for love of the soul is a wife dear.....Not for love of the sons are sons dear, but for love of the soul sons are dear.....Not for love of wealth is wealth dear, but for love of the soul wealth is dear...(and so on of castes, of all worlds, of gods and of everything)......Lo, verily, it is the soul

that should be seen, that should be hearkened to. that should be thought on,..... Maitreyi With the seeing of, hearkening to and understanding of the soul this world-all is known.....(Every thing deserts him who knows everything but the soul). This Brahmanahood, Kshatrahood, these worlds these gods, these beings, everything here is what this soul is. It is—as, when a drum is being beaten, one would not be able to catch the external sounds. but by grasping the drum or the beater of it the sound is grasped. (so of a conch-shell or flute) the soul is the source of all knowledge, the uniting point of all relations and vibrations, omnipresent as salt in water, infinite and limitless...... Arising out of the elements, into them also one vanishes away. After death there is no conscionsness.

M.—'You have bewildered me, Sir, in saying, "after death there is no consciousness!"

(Br. Up. 2. 4.)

(3) "Yajnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Janaka.— 'Jitvan Shailini told me that Brahma yerily is Speech.'

- Y.—'As a man might say that he had a mother, a father or a teacher, so did Shailini say Brahma verily is speech.''.....But did he tell you ats seat and support?'
 - J.—'He did not tell me.'
- Y.—'Forsooth, your Majesty, that is one-legged (Brahma).'
 - J.— 'Verily, Yajnavalkya, do you here tell us."
- Y.—'Its seat is just speech; its support, space.
 One should worship it as intelligence.'
- J.—'Udanka Shaubayana told me: Brahma, werily, is the breath of life.'
- Y.—'As a man might say that he had a mother.
 -----But did he tell you its seat and support?'
 - J.-- 'No.'
- Y.—'Certainly, oh king, that is one-legged (Brahma).'
 - J.—' Then, Yajnavalkya, do you tell us here.'
- Y.—'Its seat is just the breath of life; its support, space; One should worship it as the dear.'
- J.—'Barku Varshna told me: Brahma, veirly, is sight.'

Y.—'As a man might say etc......But did he tell you Its seat and support?'

J.--' No.'

Y.—'That indeed is one-legged (Brahma).'

J.—'Do you, Yajnavalkya, tell us here.'

Y.—'Its seat is just sight; its support, space. One should worship it as the true.'

J.— Bharadwaja told me: Brahma, verily, is hearing.

Y.—'....; but did he tell you its seat and support?'

J.—' No.'

Y.—'Then indeed, O king, that is one-legged (Brahma).'

J.—'Do you, Yajnavalkya, tell us here.'

Y.—'Its seat is just hearing; its support, space. One should worship it as the endless.'

J.— Satyakama Jabala told me: Brahma is mind.

Y.—'....But did he tell you its seat and support?'

J.- 'No.'

Y.—'That indeed is one-legged (Brahma).'

J.—'Do you, Yajnavalkya, tell us here.'

Y.—' Its seat is just the mind; its support, the space. One should worship it as the blinsful.'

J.— 'Vidagdha Shakalya told me: Brahma, verily, is the heart.'

Y.—'.....,But did he tell you its seat and support?'

J-' No.'

Y.- 'That indeed is one-legged (Brahma)'

J.—'Do you tell us here.'

Y.—'Its seat is just the the heart; its support, space. One should worship it as the steadfast.'

J.—'I will give you a thousand cows......

Y.—'My father thought that without having instructed one should not accept.....'(Br. up. I-5)

(4) 'When Janaka (king) of Videha, and! Yajnavalkya were discussing together at an Agnihotra, Yajnavalkya granted the former a boon. He chose asking whatever questions he wished. He granted it to him. So the king asked him: 'Yajnavalkya, what light has a person here?'

Yajnavalkya answered: 'He has the light of the sun, O king, for with the sun, indeed, as his light one sits, moves, works and returns.'

J.—'Quite so. But when the sun has set,. what light does a person have here?'

Y.—'The moon, indeed, is his light.....'

J.—'Quite so. But when the sun and the moon have set, what light does a person have here?"

Y.—'Fire indeed, is his light'

J.—'Quite so. But when the sun and the moon have set and fire has gone out, what light does a person have here?'

Y. Speech, indeed, is his light......'

J.—'Quite so. But when the sun and the moon have set, the fire has gone out and the speech is hushed, what light does a person have here?'

Y.—'The soul, indeed, is his light.....'
(Br. IV. 3.)

(5) Janashruti, having heard of Raikva as the one to whom goes whatever good men do, once approached him for instruction and said: 'Sir, teach me that divinity—the divinity which you reverence.'

Raikva said: 'The wind is, verily a snatcherunto-itself. Verily, when a fire goes out, it just goes to the wind. When the sun sets, it just goes to the wind. When the moon sets, it just goes to the wind. When water dries, goes up, it just goes to the wind. For the wind, truly, snatches all here to itself—thus with reference to the divinities.

Now with reference to oneself.—

Breath, verily, is a snatcher-unto-itself. When one sleeps, speech just goes to breath; the eye to breath; the ear to breath; the mind, to breath; for the breath truly snatches all here to itself.

Verily, these two are snatchers-unto-themselves; the wind among the gods, breath among the vital breaths......

These five [wind, fire, sun, moon and water] and the other five [breath, speech, eye, ear and mind] make ten, and that is the highest throw of dice. Therefore in all regions the highest throw is ten. That is Viraj* and an eater of food. Through it the whole world came to light. This whole world comes to light for him, he becomes an eater of food, who knows this—yea, who knows this.' (Chh. IV. 1-3.)

(6) Prachinashala Aupamanya, Satyayajna Paulushi, Indradyumna Bhallaveya, Jana Sharkarakshya, Budila Ashvatarashvi,—these great householders, learned in sacred lore, having come together, pondered: 'Who is our Atman (soul)? What is Brahma?' Then they agreed among themselves: 'Indeed Uddalak Aruni here studies exactly this Universal Atman. Come, let us go to him.'

Then they went to him.

He thought to himself: 'These great learned householders will question me. I may not be able to answer them everything. Let me direct them to another. Then he said to them: 'Verily, Ashva-

^{*} Mythological representation of original matter.

pati Kaikeya studies just this universal soul. Let us go to him.' Then they all went to him.

To them severally, on their arrival, king Ashvapati had proper attention shown. He was, indeed, a man who on rising could say—

'Within my realm there is no thief,
No miser, nor a drinking man,
None altarless, none ignorant,
No man unchaste, no woman unchaste.'

He spoke to them: 'Aupamanya whom do you reverence as the soul?'

- 'The heaven, indeed, O king,' said he.
- 'The universal soul is, verily, that shining one,thereby you see what is pleasing and have sacred knowledge in your family. That, however, is only the head of the soul.....'

Ashvapati—' Paulushi, whom do you reverence as the soul?'

- ' The sun, indeed, O king.'
- '.....That is only the eye of the soul......'
 Bhallaveya, whom do you reverence as the soul'?
 - 'The wind indeed, O king.'
 - '.....That is only the breath of the soul......'
- 'Jana Sharkarakshya, whom do you reverence as the soul?'
 - 'The space, indeed, O king.'

- ...That is only the body of the soul.....'
 Budila, whom do you reverence as the soul?'
 - 'Water, indeed, O king.'
 - "......That is only the bladder of the soul?"
- 'Uddalaka, whom do you reverence as the soul?'
 - 'The earth, indeed, O king.'
- ".....That is only the feet of the soul....."
 Then he said to them: 'Verily, you eat food, knowing this universal soul as if something separate.....That is of the measure of the span (from earth to heaven),—to be measured by thinking of oneself.....

The heaven is his head, the sun his eye, the wind his breath, the space his body, water his bladder, the earth his feet, the sacrificial area his breast,.....the fires his heart, mind and mouth......(therefore oblations to the fire should be offered saying 'Hail to the five breaths')......

If one offers the Agnihotra (sacrifice) knowing it thus, his offering is made in all worlds, in all beings, in all selves,.....in the universal soul.'

(Chh. V. 11-23).

(7) Shvetaketu Aruneya returned home from the teacher, conceited, thinking himself learned after having studied all the Vedas for twelve years.

His father seeing this said,...... Did you also ask for that teaching whereby what has not been heard of becomes heard of, what has not been thought of becomes thought of, what has not been understood becomes understood?

'How, pray, Sir, is that teaching?'

'Just as, my dear, by one piece of clay everything made of clay may be known,.....; by one copper ornament everything made of copper may be known,.....; by one nail-scissors everything made of iron may be known,....so is that teaching.'

'Verily, those honoured men (the teachers) did not know this; for, if they had known it, why would they not have told it me? But do you, sire, tell it me?

'So be it, my dear. In the beginning this world was just Being (Sat), one only, without a second—[not Non-being, as some say, for how can Being come out from Non-being?] It bethought itself: "Would that I were many! Let me procreate myself." It emitted heat; from heat water; and from water food.......That Being entered in these three divinities and made each of them threefold.......Whatever red form the fire, sun or moon has is the heat, whatever white it has, the water; whatever dark it has, the food...... Food is divided in three parts when eaten—the

'Then for fifteen days he did not eat; then Shvetaketu went to his father saying, 'what shall I say, sir?'

'The Rig verses, the Yajus formulae, the Saman chants.'

Verily, they do not come to me, sir.'

'......Eat and then you will understand from me.'

Then he ate and answered everything.

The father said to him: 'As by covering it with straw one may make a single spark of fire blaze up; so with you now........'

[The father then uses various similes to explain the nature of the soul: just as a bird, fastened with a string, after a lot of fluttering here and there, comes to its fastening for rest; so does the mind in sleep. As the bees prepare honey by collecting the essences of different trees and reduc-

ing them to a unity—even so, all creatures here reach the Being. As all rivers on reaching the ocean become one with it and with each other, so all creatures......Then he tells his son to take a fig, to divide it, to divide the seed in it and askawhat he sees there.]

The son says—'Nothing at all, sir.'

'Verily, my dear, the finest essence which your do not perceive...from that very essence this greating tree thus grows. Believe me—that which is the finest essence is the reality, the Soul in this world. That art thou.'

Swetaketu was then asked to put some salt in water, and the next morning he was told to sip the water in the pot at various places. It was all salt, '.....The Soul, the reality in this world, is like that finest essence, all-pervading.' (Chh. Up. VI).

(8) 'Teach me, sir!' with these words Narad went to Sanatkumara, who asked him then to say what he knew already. Then Narad told him the whole list of subjects (detailed above) studied by him and said:—

'Such a one am I, knowing the sacred mantras, but not knowing the soul......Do you, sir, cause me to cross over sorrow.'

'Verily, whatever you have learned is merely Name.....Reverence name as the Universal Soul.

- ".....' 'Is there, sir, more than name?'
- 'Surely. Speech is more than name—reverence speech as Brahma......'
 - 'Is there, sir, more than speech?'.
- 'Yes. Mind is more than speech.....Worship the mind as Brahma......'

[And thus Narad is led on to conception (Sankalpa), thence to thought (chitta), to meditation, to understanding, to strength, to food, to water, to heat, to space, to memory, to hope, and to life (Prana or breath). Then he is instructed to speak the truth, to understand, to think, to have faith, to be active, to experience pleasure, to understand the Plenum (Buman)].

'The Plenum, indeed, is everywhere,....in the world. (!t is the Ego and the Soul.) He who sees this is autonomous (Swaraj), has unlimited freedom in all the worlds.

The seer sees not death,
Nor any sickness, nor distress,
The seer sees only the All,
Obtains the All entirely.

(Chh. VII).

(9) Brigu Varuni approached his father Varuna and said: Teach me Brahma, sir-

To him he taught that as food, [as breath, as what, as hearing, as mind, as speech.

Then he said to him: 'That, verily, whence beings here are born, that by which being born they live, that into which on deceasing they enter—that be desirous of understanding. That is Brahma.'

He performed austerity. Having performed austerity he understood that Brahma is food. For, truly, beings here are born from food, when born they live on food, on deceasing they enter into food.

Having understood that he approached his father Varuna and said: 'Teach me Brahma, sir.'

Then he said: 'Desire to understand Brahma by austerity. Brahma is austerity (Tapas).'

He performed austerity,... and understood that Brahma is breath; for, truly, beings are born from breath, when born they live by breath, on deceasing they enter breath.

Having understood that he again approached his father Varuna and said: 'Teach me Brahma, sir.'

Then he said: 'Desire to understand Brahma by austerity.'

He performed austerity......and understood that Brahma is mind;

Having understood that he again approached his father Varuna and said: Teach me Brahma,

Then he said to him: 'Desire to understand Brahma by austerity.'

Then he said to him: 'Desire to understand Brahma by austerity.'

Then he performed austerity.....and understood that Brahma is bliss (ananda), for, truly, beings here are born from bliss, when born they live on bliss, and on deceasing they enter into bliss.

This is the knowledge of Brigu Varuni, established in the highest heaven. He who knows this becomes established. He becomes an eater of food, possessing food. He becomes great in offspring, in cattle, in the splendour of sacred knowledge, great in fame.

One should not blame food. That is the rule. (Taitt. Up. III. 1-8.)

(10) Nachiketas (with faith kindled in him) said to his father: 'Papa, to whom will you give me?—a second time—a third time.'

To him he said (angrily): 'To Death I give you!'

[In the house of Death] Nachiketas reflects ?

'Of many I go as the first,
Of many I go as an intermediate.
What, pray, has Yama (Death) to be done
That he will do with me to-day!
Look forward, how (fared) the former ones.
Look backword, so (will) the after ones.
Like grain a moral ripens!
Like grain he is born hither again!'

[Voice:] As fire, enters a Brahmana guest into houses. They make this the quieting thereof:—

Fetch water, Vaivasvata!

In whose house a Brahmana lives with eating, From him that guest snatches away all (wealth.)

[Yama (Death), returning from a three days' absence and finding that Nichiketas has not received the hospitality which is due to a Brahmin, says:]

Since for three nights thou hast abode in my house, Without eating, O Brahmana, a guest to be reverenced. Reverence be to thee, Brahmana! Well-being be to me. Therefore in return choose three boons!

[Nachiketas said that his father should cheerfully greet him back at home, for the latter had angrily sent him to Death.]

[Yama granted this first boon]

[Nachiketas wished then to understand the real nature of the sacrificial fire.]

THE HISTORY OF

[Yama named that fire ofter Nachiketas and told him that those who keep it and offer ablations go for ever in peace to the heavenly world, having cast off the bonds of death.]

[Thirdly Nachiketas asked for knowledge concerning the effect of dying].

(Upon this Yama told him not to ask for that knowledge as to which even gods had doubt and to choose another boon).

[Nachiketas:]

Even gods had doubt, indeed, as to this, And thou, O Death, sayest it is not easily to be understood. And another teacher of it like you is not to be obtained. No other boon the equal of it is there at all.

and the best of worldly pleasures and told him to have another boon in place of that one.]

[Nachiketas called Yama's offers 'ephimeral things' and persisted in his third boon, namely the knowledge concerning the effect of dying.]

[Yama was pleased to hear it and said]:

The wholesome (Shreyas) is one thing, and the pleasant (Preyas) quite another. Both these, of different aim, bind a person...........The wise man chooses the first;the stupid runs after the second. The two are like Vidya (knowledge) and Avidya (ignorance); O Nachiketas, your

[Yama]:........Apart from the right and from the unright, from what is done and from what is not done, what do you see here?

[Nachiketas being unable to mention that absolutely unqualified object, Death continues to explain:]

The word which all the Vedas rehearse,

And which all austerities proclaim,

Desiring which men live the life of religious studentship. That word to thee I briefly declare.

That is om !

That syllable, truly, is Brahma!

That syllable, indeed, is the supreme!

Knowing that syllable, truly, indeed,

Whatever one desires is his?

That is the best support. That is the supreme support. Knowing that support one becomes happy

in the Brahma-world......Unborn, constant, eternal, primeval, this one is not slain when the body is slain.....More minute than the minute, greater than the great is the soul that is set in the heart of a treature here........The great, all-pervading soul; on recognising him the wise man sorrows not:

This soul is not to be obtained by instruction,

Nor by intellect, nor by much learning;

He is to be abtained only by the one whom He chooses;

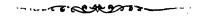
To such a one the Soul reveals his own person.

Not he who has not ceased from bad conduct, Not he who is not composed or tranquil,

Not he who is not of peaceful mind,

Can obtain Him by intelligence.

(Katha. Up. II).



CHAPTER IV.

Rationalistic Times.

(B. C. 1000 to 1st Century A.D.)

By the end of the Epic times the spread of the Arvan civilization was almost complete in the east and south of India. The kingdoms that rose to power on the Jumna and the Ganges threw out colonies into Bengal and Orissa, the rule of the Saurastra extended to the Arabian Sea and waves of Arvan adventurers penetrated beyond the wastes and jungles of central India and founded powerful principalities on the banks of the Krishna and the Godavari up to the blue waters of the ocean. The Magadhas, the Angas, the Vangas, and the Kalingas of Eastern India, the Saurashtras of Gujaratha, the Andras of the Deccan, the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas of the south flourished during this new age of advance. In the Vedic times the Punjab was the centre of activity. in the Epic times the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, now in these Rationalistic times the south, the centre and the east of India attracted most

attention, the original home of the northern Doab being almost forgotten. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans was now almost complete having a telling effect upon the customs and language. In the Epic times the Vedic language required explanation and there was the beginning of provincialism in spoken Sanskrit. Some Brahmanas and Aranyakas refer occasionally to twoforms of speech current in those days.—1 † Daivi (language of divine service and of the revealed texts): 2 Manushi (that of daily speech in common dealings). Hanumana at the time of addressing Sita in Ashoka Vana mentions two languages and decides as to which of them he should use ‡ There are allusions in Shatapatha Brahmana (III. 2-3-15) and in Kaushitaki Brahmana (VII. 6) that the North Kurus and Kuru Panchalas were known for the best form of Sanskrit and that advanced students often went there to study it. Vratyas used impure language, easy of utterance and this was the origin of the Prakrit, and instructions were

t Ait. Br. VII. 18-13. Ait. Ar. III- 2-5; Kath. & Maitr. Up.

[‡] Ramayana Sundarkanda-- 'वाचं माजुषी संस्कृतं वा द्विजातिवाचं :

given at times to avoid barbarisms in speech. The prakrit dialects developed very rapidly between B.C. 1,000 and 500 and the common people felt great difficulty in understanding the sacred texts. This necessity and the practical spirit of the age showed themselves in the form which the new literature assumed and appeared more boldly in the teachings of Buddha and Mahavira.

Sutras were the characteristic compositions of these times. The word means 'threads' literally, 'aphorisms,' or 'pithy phrases,' or condensed expressions, metaphorically. All learning, all sciences, all religious teachings were reduced to concise practical manuals. Brevity was the characteristic of this Sutra literature, as against verbosity of the Brahmanas. The writers went from one extreme to another and replaced verbose prose by obscure aphorisms requiring commentaries later on for explanation. It was a common saying then often quoted in learned circles in application to the Sutra literature that the saving of a single syllable in a Sutragave more pleasure to the author than the birth of a son! These Sutra schools multiplied all over India rapidly, each Shakha (branch) having its

[्]र ∥ Shat. Br. (III. 2, 1, 23. 24.)—' दीक्षित वाक्' &ः " अदीक्षित वाक.'

separate composition, called Charana and studied by its own pupils. In a work named Charanvavyuha (a catalogue of all schools or charanas) there are mentioned five charanas of the Rig Veda twenty-seven of the Black Yajur Veda, fifteen of the White Yajur Veda, twelve of the Sama Veda and nine of the Atharva Veda. The Sutra works again fall into three classes according to their subjects of treatment: The Shrauta Sutras deal with the details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices. Each Veda has its own Shraut Sutras and the noteworthy writers of them are Ashvalayana and Sankhyayana belonging to the Rig Veda, Latyayana and Drahyayana to the Sama Veda, Baudhayana, Apastambha and Hiranyakeshin to the Black Yajur Veda and Katyayana to the White Yajur Veda. Almost each charana mentions its line of teachers tracing it as far back as the Vedic times. Next come the Dharma Sutras. which present to us the customs, manners and laws of the society and have thus a greater importance historically than the former. Shrauta Sutras show us what the Hindus were like as sacrificers; while the Dharma Sutras tell us all about them as citizens, treating of the religious, social and legal duties of the individual.

present codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya are later forms of original Dharma Sutras, as has been shown by modern Sanskrit scholars. In addition to the duties of the worshipper and of the citizen. one had to do domestic rites and fulfil family obligations and these last duties of the householder were codified into Grihya Sutras. These works set forth the rights and obligations of the son, the husband, the wife, the father, etc. towards each other and lav down distinct rules for the conduct of each one. They contain interesting accounts of the Hindu activity by the domestic fireside, of the offerings to the ancestors and of the sixteen sacraments (Sanskaras) to be performed from the birth to the death of a person. Thus we get a complete idea of the domestic life among the ancient Hindus from these invaluable books, it being admirably surprising that after a lapse of over two thousand and five hundred years we are still practising the same rites sometimes in slightly different forms and names. The Shulba Sutra is a separate work and deals with geometry purely, as was required for the preparation of sacrificial altars. The Dharma and the Grihya Sutras contain the rules concerning the education of the young Hindu and we shall draw upon them largely when

we come to that point later on in this very chapter. All these Sutras are classed as the literature of the ritual (Kalpa).

The science of pronunciation was now embodied in separate works called Pratisakhyas, which were the collections of phonetic rules applicable to each Shakha or recension of each Veda. Originally the Brahmanas contained these rules very probably and as scientific books appeared later on that subject they were then omitted from them. science is known as shiksha or phonetics. Many of the Pratisakhyas are, however, lost to us and only one for each Veda (except the Sama Veda) has been preserved. The renowned teacher Shaunaka is said to be the author of the Pratisakhya of the Rig Veda and Katyayana of that of the White Yaiur Veda. A Pratisakhya of the Black Yajur Veda and one of the Atharva Veda are also extant. but the names of the writers are forgotten. In one of these works the name of Valmiki appears among other teachers.

Next comes Chhandas (or metre). This science has been alluded to even in the Rig Veda, Twhich mentions seven metres, namely Gayatri, Ushniha, Anushtubh, Brihati, Pankti, Trishtubh

[†] Rig Veda-X. 130. 4-5.

and lagati. Chhandas literally means 'to desire.' and then 'to sing out of one's own pleasure this was a spontaneous flow of sweet sounds, it pleased the gods as well as the singer, and hence it came to be called Chhandas † Shankhyayana Shrauta Sutra, Nidana Sutra and some others contain certain chapters on this subject, but Pingala's Chhandas Sutra is the best and earliest known scientific treatment thereof. Pingala gives the numbers of syllables that are to be found in different metres, lays down rules for the long and short syllables and for the first time mentions the seven notes on which the whole musical science of India was later on based. This work refers often to the names of ancient teachers—Yaska, Kraushtuki. Tandin, Kashyapa, Saitava, Rata, Mandukya, etc. Two classes of metres are alluded to in it—(1) those used in the north ‡ and (2) those used in the east; which shows that in Pingala's time Sanskrit was assuming changes leading up to later dialects.

'It is in the philosophical field and that of grammar that the Indian mind attained the highest pitch of marvellous fertility in subtle distinctions,'

Shat. Br. (VIII. 5.21. † Dnyana Kosha (V. pp. 240-145.)

^{🗓 &}quot; उदीच्यवाति ' & 'प्राच्यवाति '.

says Weber, and surely Sanskrit Vyakarana (grammar) is a most perfect science. There are references to nearly three hundred original works on this subject and it is no exaggeration to say that no other people studied this science so well as the ancient Hindus.† Early references to grammar are to be met with even in the Rig Veda (X. 125) and forms of words attracted the attention of the Rishis. But the greatest and oldest work on this subject is that of Panini known as Ashtadhyayi (made up of eight chapters), consisting of about 4.000 rules. The date of this grammarian is approximately fixed by scholars to be nearly 800 B.C.† He belonged to the extreme north-west corner of India. called Gandhara. Max Muller says that there is no more comprehensive collection and classification of all the facts of a language than we find in Panini's Sutras. But this work was not the first of its kind, and in fact could not be. Panini himself refers to no less than sixty-four predecessors. He was followed by Katyayana who wrote Vartikas or notes on his rules. Somewhat later came forth the Mahabhashya or the great commentary of Patanjali. These three writers are still

[†] History of Sanskrit Grammar-by Dr. Belwalkar-

[#] Lects. on Origin of Religion, Ch. iii,

considered to be final authorities in Sanskrit grammar. Later books and manuals were all based on these standard works.

Nirukta or etymology is the next science that was studied in detail during these times. Yaska is the great author known to us of such a work. He himself mentions about eighteen predecessors. His work is a commentary on a lexicon known as Nighantu: this latter work is a sort of dictionary written in such a way that the reader could find the synonyms of a word all together. It contains almost all the words in the Vedas, selected, classified and arranged, and Yaska tries to explain their meanings with quotations from Vedic hymns and on systematic lines of etymology. This author lived some time before Panini. He mentions in his work the various affixes and suffixes, terminations and participles, showing that the study of language was fairly critical in his days. This science of lexicography continued to be studied in India and later writers produced simpler and smaller books for the use of pupils. The Amarkosha is such a one and is studied even now in Sanskrit schools (Pathashalas).

Jyotish or astronomy was the sixth science that arose out of the sacrificial institutions and the

study of the Vedas. The knowledge of this subject was obtained by the Vedic Aryans and used for fixing the time of sacrifices and for establishing a sacred calendar. The Vedic hymns refer to the earth, the atmosphere and the heavens with stars and planets as being one above the other; to the rotundity of the earth and to its being without support; to days, fortnights, lunar months, solar years and an additional month in three years to compromise the months with the years.† The Atri family seems to have known sun oscillated to the north and south equator, that there were five or of the six seasons and twelve months (with names -Madhu, Madhav, Shukra, Shuchi, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Isha, Urja, Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas, Tapasya—different from those of the present day). and twenty-seven constellations and solar and lunar eclipses caused by shadows (Taitt. Br.). ‡ The twelve signs of the zodiac or Rashis first appear in the Sutras of Baudhavana. In the Mahabharata the computation of ages, and the modern names of months and seasons are first seen. Later on.

[†] Rig Veda-x. 190; 1, 35,6; 1,50,11; 1,105,11; 1,164,2 1,33.8; 1,25,8;

[†] Dnyanakosha V, pp. 288-300

various theories regarding the preparation of the calendar came to be propounded; the important of them being Pitamaha, Pulisha, Surya, and Romak. The oldest known works on this subject in Sanskrit seems to be Vedanga-Jyotisha written probably by the end of the Epic times. This was followed by the writings of Aryabhatta, Varahamihira and Brahmagupta who introduced mathematical calculations with the use of algebra and made minute observations.

These six branches of knowledge rose out of the Vedic literature and sacrificial ritual and received scientific treatment in separate works during these times (B. C. 1000 to A. D. 100). The expansion of the Hindu world had thus its effect on the Hindu mind. The Hindus became more venturesome and their ideas became more expanded. They would not be satisfied now with simple religious faith and sacrificial learning and practices. Secular sciences attracted their minds. Ancient literature was scanned and condensed into practical shapes and new discoveries in every department of science were made with the boldness of new explorers and conquerors. In addi-

Each Veda has an Anukramanika or Index prepared during this Sutra age.

tion to the said six Vedangas, philosophic enquiries were made on the basis of the teachings of the Upanishads and they resulted into the six systems of Hindu philosophy. Abstrusest questions of spirit and matter, of creation and future existence were dealt with now, not with the Upanishadic guessing and speculation, but with the strictest method and relentless logic. Superstition was thrown to the winds and free rational thinking was resorted to on naturalistic lines. These six schools of philosophy are Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Mimansa and Vedanta. Seeing the sceptical ideas and the materialistic tendency of the first four systems, the orthodox Hindus became alarmed and came forth reasserting the great doctrines of the Upanishads with convincing arguments and rationalistic explanations, Williams describes the works of the first four schools in these words: 'Indeed if you pardon the anachronism, the Hindus were Spinoziates more than two thousand years before Spinoza, Darwinians many centuries before Darwin, and evolutionists many centuries before the doctrine of evolution had been accepted by the Huxleys of our time and before any word like evolution existed in any language of the world. 'This is the highest

compliment that could be paid to any people and the Hindus of this Rationalistic age really deserved it. And with these deep investigations and profound researches the Hindu mind was not void of religious faith and devotion for God. Max Muller appreciates this in the following manner: 'Philosophy in India is what it ought to be-not the denial, but the fulfilment of religion ... the highest religion, the oldest name for the oldest system of philosophy, in India is Vedanta, that is, the end. the goal, the highest object of the Vedas.' Thus the Mimansa and the Vedanta schools accomplished this object, explaining that as the material, linguistic and philosophical branches of knowledge were offshoots of the Vedic learning, so the essence of them all culminated in the highest teaching of the Rig Veda, namely the Unduality of the Soul.†

Kapila was the founder of the Sankhya philosophy. The word Sankhya comes from Sankhya or number and the numbering of the elements in nature form an important part of the work; or it is also taken to mean 'the discrimination of the real from the false'. The followers of Kapila were chiefly Vijnana Bhikshu, Ishwara Krishna, Gaudapada and Vachaspati. The object of Kapila's

[†] एकमेवाद्वितीयं **ब**ह्म.

philosophy is to relieve mankind from the three kinds of pain, viz., (1) bodily and mental. (2) natural and extrinsic, and (3) divine or supernatural. Nature and soul are eternal and self-existent. From nature (Prakriti) is produced the intellect. the consciousness, the five subtle elements the five grosser elements, the five senses of perception, the five organs of action and the mind. The soul (Purusha) produces nothing, but is only linked with nature, with the corporal body, until its final emancipation. Kapila does not accept the orthodox opinion of the Upanishads that all souls are portions of the universal soul. He asserts that each soul is separate and has an independent existence after its emancipation from the bonds of nature. When the functions of the brain were imperfectly understood, Kapila declared that the mind, the consciousness and even the intellect were material in their origin, The elements also proceeded from consciousness and they were ten in number—five gross (ether, air, earth, fire & water) and five subtle ones (sound, tangibleness, odour, visibility and taste). Kapila recognises only three kinds of evidence—perception, inference and testimony. The Nyaya school recognises four,—dividing Kapila's perception into Anumana or perception and Upamana or analogy. The Vedant school adds a fifth called Arthapatti or an informal kind of presumption: "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat; it is presumed therefore that he eats by night." Kapila believes in causation but does not admit that the supreme deity is knowable by his philosophy.

The Yoga system had its origin in the Upanishadic times but was set forth in an independent book by Patanjali, the great commentator on Panini's grammar. Patanjali was a native of Gonarda, a place in the eastern part of India, he resided for some time in Kashmir where he read Panini's work and lived about the second century B. C. Yoga is a sort of supplement to Sankhya, as it adds to its cold and agnostic philosophy the doctrine of faith in the supreme deity, some mystic practices and meditation by which final emancipation could be obtained. Patanjali's Yoga Sutra comprises 194 aphorisms, divided into four chapters. The first is Samadhi Pada dealing with the nature of meditation on the syllable Om as an indication of the Omniscient: the second is $S\alpha$ dhana Pada and details the exercises necessary for the performance of Yoga including special postures, regulation of breath, abstraction of the sense organs from the external world, steadfastness, etc; the third is $Vibhuti\ Pada$ and describes the occult powers or Siddhis that a Yogi commands after long and patient meditation; the last chapter is the $Kaivalya\ Pada$ advising the Yogi not to think of or use the Siddhis and to wish for the final emancipation of the soul with a fervent devotion to god. Thus it will be seen that as a system of philosophy Yoga is valueless; it lays down the various practices by which mystic powers could be cultivated, encouraging to a certain extent the popular superstition.

Gautama is the Aristotle of India, and his system of Nyaya is the Hindu logic. His date is unknown, but he lived some time after Kapila. His Nyaya Sutra is divided into five chapters and the subjects discussed therein are these:— (1) Pramana or proof, and (2) Prameya or the thing to be proved; subsidiary to these principal points there are fourteen more to be considered—(3) doubt (4) motive (5) example (6) determined truth. (7) argument or syllogism, (8) confutation, (9) ascertainment, (10) controversy, (11) jangling (12) objection, (13) fallacy, (14) perversion, (15) futility and (16) controversy. The first two are again subdivided and the objects of knowledge

are said to be (1) soul, (2) body, (3) the senses, (4) the objects of senses, (5) intellect, (6) mind (7) production, (8) fault, (9) transmigration, (10) fruit, (11) pain, (12) emancipation. The soul is different in each person and separate from the body and the senses, and is the seat of knowledge. This Nyaya first set forth the psychological process of receiving knowledge or external impressions. *' The soul is in touch with the mind, the mind is in intimate connection with the senses, and the senses come in contact with the external objects.' The knowledge arising from the contact of the senses with the external object is said to be direct and is of two kinds-material and conceptual. Memory comes into being on a number of impressions gathering together, and it is of two kindsright and wrong t Concept is of a different nature and also of the two kinds. The right concepts are four-fold-(1) direct through perception, (2) arising from inference, (3) arrived at by analogy, and (4) derived from verbal testimony. The ‡mind is the means to secure pleasure, etc, it

^{*} आत्मा मनसा संयुज्यते मन इंद्रियेण इंद्रियमर्थेन.

^{† &#}x27;संस्कारमात्रजन्यं इतनं स्मृतिः ' 🖫 ' सुखायुपलब्धिसाधनं मनः '

is eternal, limitless and atomic. The† intellect is made up of memory and concept and is the means to all practical dealings. The soul alone has these nine peculiar qualities—intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition, feeling, merit and demerit. Intellect, will and effort are each two-fold; (1) fallible and transitory; (2) infallible and eternal. The former belong to the individual soul and the latter to God. The speciality of Nyaya is its development of inference by the construction of a true syllogism: e. g.

- 1. The hill is fiery.
- 2. Because it smokes.
- 3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen.
- 4. The hill is smoking.
- 5. Therefore it is fiery.

These were the five parts of a syllogism originally insisted on in Nyaya, but later writers found out the redundancy of the first two or the last two parts and used only three as in Aristotle's logic. This was purely Hindu logic and, in Davies' words, 'right methods of reasoning have been discussed with as much subtlety as by any of the western logicians'. There are references to the fact that Gautama was preceded by some writers

[†] सर्वे व्यवहार हेतुर्बुध्दिर्ज्ञानम् । स्मृतिरनुभवश्व : ।

who required ten premisses for a syllogism. This has been a very favourite study of many Hindu pupils and Nadia in Bengal has been noted as the greatest seat of this learning for the last twenty-five centuries.

Kanada's atomic philosophy is supplementary to Gautama's logic, as Yoga is to Sankhya. Kanada preaches that all material substances are aggregates of atoms, to which the whole world can be thus reduced. The atoms are eternal, the aggregates only being perishable by disintegration. The mote which is visible in the sun-beam is the smallest perceptible object. But being a substance and an effect, it must have been composed of what is smaller than itself. The ultimate atom only is not a compound, but is simple. The first compound is of two atoms; the next consists of three double atoms, and so on. The mote in the sun-beam is thus an aggregate of six atoms. This Vaisheshika system recognises seven categories of objects (Padarthas):(1) quality, (3) action, (4) community larity, (6) coherence and (7) nonsubstances are nine: (1) earth (2) water, (2) and (4) air, eternal all in atom in aggregates; (5) ether, which ransmi no atoms, but is infinite and eternal

(7) space are not material and hence infinite and eternal; (8) the soul and (9) the mind or the internal organ, infinite and eternal. Light and heat are considered as only different forms of the same essential substance. The mind is supposed to be extremely small and minute. This is more physics than philosophy and Kanada was the first in India to attempt an enquiry into the laws of matter and force, of combination and disintegration.

In all these four systems matter is supposed to be eternal and distinct from the soul. Such materialistic tendencies led away hosts of thinking men from the teachings of the Upanishads. The Buddhist religion was embraced by many of the lower classes as a relief from caste inequalities and eleborate rituals. The conservative phase of the Hindu mind was roused to action at such a critical time and Jaimini set forth on rational lines the value and usefulness of the old Vedic rites and practices. His work is known as Purva Mimansa with a commentary by Shabar Swami Bhatta Jaimini's Sutras in Purva Mimansa are divided into twelve lectures: the first treats of the authority of enjoined duty and proves that the Vedas and Brahmanas are eternal and † revealed

^{† &#}x27; वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वे गुर्वेध्ययन पूर्वकं वेदाध्ययनसामान्याद्शुनाध्ययनं यथा '

literature, commanding respect and obedience from all Hindus; in the next three chapters the varieties and the purpose of duties are dealt with: the fifth considers the order of their performance and the sixth its qualifications; the seventh and eighth chapters explain the indirect precept; the ninth and the tenth discuss inferable changes and exceptions respectively; efficacy is considered in the eleventh lecture and the closing one contains a discussion of co-ordinate effect. The cardinal idea of Mimansa is to teach man his Dharma or duty which, according to Jaimini, consists of Vedic rites and sacrificial performance. But in insisting on these, he has forgotton to speak of Vedic faith and belief; while enjoining the performance of the sacrifices inculcated in the Brahmanas, he lost sight of the universal soul in the teachings of the Upanishads.

In order to make good the defect in the Purva Mimansa, Vedanta or Uttara Mimansa was taught later by Badarayana. The Vedant or the end, the goal of the Vedas tells us of the Supreme Being, the direct outcome of the Upanishadic teaching. It starts with an enquiry into the nature of Brahma or God.† It uses the logic of Gautama and refutes

^{† &#}x27; अथातो ' त्रम्हाजिहासा '

the teachings of Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, and Vaisheshika as being imperfect; it rises above the Karma Kanda or the theory of ritual and shows the philosophy of the Vedas to be superior to Bauddha or Jaina faith. It is said that the Bhagavatgita in its present form was compiled (along with Mahabharata) about this time and that its object was to unify the Hindu schools of philosophy by supplying the defects of them and to bring back the Hindus to Vedic faith from the teachings of Buddha and Mahavir, that had become very popular for the time being. Colebrooke sums up the principles of Vedanta philosophy in these words: 'God or Brahma is the omnipotent and omniscient cause of the existence, continuance and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. He is both efficient and material source of the world, creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consumation of all things, all are resolved into him......The Supreme Being is one, sole existent, secondless, entire,infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all. universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness.'†

t The Philosophy of the Hindus.

Such are the six* systems of philosophy which were developed in India in the rationalistic times. With them all salvation is the sole purpose of life and knowledge of the universe the means to it. Each system is a mixture of logic, metaphysics, psychology and theology, and has grown out of religious instincts. Each tries to explain in its own way the inter-relations of man, nature and god. The history of philosophy in India is the history of the Hindu mind. The public performance of sacrifices became rare and the study of these subjects attracted most Brahmin pupils.

The Dharma and Grihya Sutras, among other things, lay down definite rules for the *Upanayana* or the initiation ceremony by which a Hindu boy entered upon studentship.† The initiation of a Brahmin shall ordinarily take place in his eighth year; but for particular reasons it may be performed in the fifth or the ninth, the number of years being calculated from conception. The Upanayana is as important as a second birth.

^{*} In the world's Eternal Religion it is said 'There are these seven systems of Hindu philosophy—1 Sankhya, 2 Yoga, 3, Nyaya, 4 Vaisheshika, 5 Karma Mimansa, 6 Daivit Mimansa or Bhakti cult, and 7 Vedanta.'

[†] Gautama Dharma Sutra - 1-4-15.

For the Kshatriya and Vaishya the initiation time is fixed in the eleventh and twelfth years respectively, and in peculiar circumstances the ceremony may be postponed to the twentieth and twentysecond year. The time for the instruction in Savitri can be extended in unavoidable cases to the sixteenth year of a Bramhin. The Dharma Sutras of Manu, of Vashishtha and of Apastambha contain similar regulations; and all enjoin this Upanayana ceremony to be compulsory for the Aryans, meaning that education was compulsory. Thus the Hindu boy commenced his regular education in the seventh year, which is considered by many educationists as the proper time for it, as then the brain has its physical form fully developed. The study of the Vedas was not to be commenced earlier: but it is not known whether this meant the exclusion of all other study. Story-telling existed all the time and probably the children learned the alphabet: moreover, they had much to observe and to imitate at home, the home being the centre of activity all through. One may wonder why a later age was fixed for the Kshatrivas and Vaishyas to enter upon studentship. were, of course, not expected to attain that proficiency in the Vedic sciences which the young

Brahmin was required to have, as he alone could guide sacrificial performances, act as the priest and undertake the training of younger generations, and their course of literary studies could not last so long as his. The modern educationist might have expected them to start at the same time and to leave the studentship at an earlier age, because they had to learn their hereditary crafts and industries. Perhaps the Brahmin lawgivers by showing this difference emphasised or took for granted the intellectual superiority and the ancestral spirituality of the Brahmin, who was thus fit to begin his studies at a younger age than his non-Brahmin fellows; or the difference was deemed necessary as the young Brahmin in nine cases out of ten commenced his study at home with his father and as his non-Brahmin fellows were to leave their home and to live with their teachers away from their parents or guardians, for which an older age was quite suitable.

The Upanayana was now made an imposing and eleborate ceremony with a number of technicalities to be gone through in it. The father of the boy invited all his relations and neighbours and friends and made great preparations. On the previous day a procession was held to visit the

holy placest in the town or village and to invoke blessings of gods. The particular hour of the investiture was fixed with the help of astrologers and from the sun-rise on the auspicious day minutes and hours were carefully marked and counted. and gods were propitiated by prayers and offerings. When that holy moment came, the boy was made to stand before his father, both being clad in silk, with a silken or woollen curtain held between them by two priests. Hymns and chants were then recited by the Brahmins who had gathered for the ceremony and the whole pavilion resounded with the holy notes, the assembly being up on their legs to see the boy initiated. This ended in a peal of clapping and a chorus of drums and trumpets. The father then taught the boy the Gayatri with the help of the priest. The pupil now put on a sacred girdle and cord made of Munja grass (in the case of a Brahmin), of a bowstring (for the Kshatriya), of woollen or hempen thread (for the Vaishya), and upper and lower garments consisting of skins of animals (buck or deer) or barks of trees, and was supplied

[†] Temples and images of Gods were in existence by the time of Panini (Vide-Conclusion of the Mahabharata – pp. 427-30-C. V. Vaidya)

with a holy staff. If cloth was used for garments, pieces of skins and barks were still to be worn along with that to show respect for antiquity! With this equipment the student proceeded to kindle the sacred fire and to offer oblations to it with Vedic hymns. Begging alms was the duty taught to the initiated and the mother was the first to offer her share with instructions to carry on the study of the Vedic learning (which was thus a qualification for receiving charity) in Brahmacharya.

Being thus invested with the right to study the Vedas the student lived with the teacher (who might be his own father in some cases). The length of the course varied according to the number of Vedas he studied. Twelve years for each Veda was the general rule, exceptions being allowed either for shorter or longer period in the case of clever or dull brains. The majority studied some one branch only; those studying more had to pass twenty-four or thirty-six years (if not forty-eight) at Guru's house in continued Brahmacharva and the latter were honourable exceptions. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, who visited India about 300 B. C. mentions some cases of Indian pupils spending thirty seven years in study. Out of the twelve months about six made up the annual term

to be spent in study. Fresh classes commenced work in the month of Shravana, in the rainy season: which shows that the teachers selected suitable time when heat was less intense. Numerous holidays were allowed and some long vacations; the former included the new-moon, the full-moon the eighth, the fourteenth days of the Indian calender, days set apart for religious ceremonies and annual festivals; and the latter relieved teachers and pupils for performing duties to dead relatives, enjoying great festivals and rest in the hot season.† During these long vacations the students were to continue their work of revision. had to take part in debates at assemblies.‡ and were called on to use their learning in important ceremonies and performances, or to get examined in portions done. Again minute instructions were given not to continue the study of the Vedas when the whirlwind sent up dust by day, when the wind was audible at night, when the sound of a drum or of a chariot or of a person in pain was heard, when there was the barking of

t The study of the Vedas was to be done from Shravana to Magha regularly. During the remaining days the pupils revised the portions done and learned other subjects, viz. geometry, astronomy, grammar etc. according to their ability and age.

[†] Commonly in the Spring.

dogs, howling of jackals or the chattering of monkeys, when the sky was scarlet or when it showed a rainbow. The actual time in learning was probably much reduced by such possible hindrances, real or unreal, superstitious or reasonable.

As said in the last chapter, the pupil was to live with the teacher. The composers of Sutras laid down detailed and strict rules for his conduct there. He was to obey the teacher and all the elders in his family. (An order, however, to commit crimes that.....involved loss of of caste could be disobeyed). The teacher commanded great respect from him and was not to be contradicted rudely. The pupil was to occupy a seat lower than that of the teacher. He was to rise early in the morning and to do some helpful work in the household, like bringing water, collecting fuel or sweeping rooms, washing the clothes and preparing a seat for the Guru. He was not to answer while lying down or sitting on a coach any question from the teacher, but to rise modestly, approach him and speak out the answer in a respectful tone. Every time before and after lessons the teacher was to be saluted by touching his feet with both hands. The pupil was not to pronounce his name bu to indicate it by some synonymous term like Acharya or Guru.

The ideal conduct of the pupil is seen in the rigid rules laid down by the Sutrakaras. It was his duty to bathe early in the morning every day, to avoid 'perfumes, garlands, sleep in the day time, ointments, a carriage, shoes, love, anger, covetousness,..... garulity, playing musical instruments,..... elation, dancing, singing, calumny, and terror;' to speak the truth, to avoid bitter words, and gambling. In the presence of his teacher he must not 'cover his throat, cross his legs, lean against a wall or stretch out his feet.' He was to keep in subjection all his senses and to have a control over human passions. He was not to spit, yawn, laugh or crack his fingers. Taking things unoffered, injuring animate beings, and using liquors were unlawful to a student. Purity of character was the chief object of education and he was not to gaze at or touch women or play with them or have a private conversation with them. In the evening and morning he should worship the sun and meditate on his light within himself and offer oblations to the sacred fire every day.

The student was to beg for food as in duty bound. Food could be accepted from men of all castes, except the outcastes and non-aryans. Returning from his begging tour, he was to show his teacher the contents of his bag and with his permission to eat he was to take his meal. He was not to eat too much; he was to eat in silence, contented and without greed. Honey or other sweets, meat, all pungent articles, highly seasoned or heavy food were forbidden. During his dinner he was to keep his mind full of holy thoughts and to be all peaceful. Only once he could get alms, out of which he might preserve some for the supper or go without it occasionally.

All these rules seem to be very severe to us now: they must have made the life of the student miserable, as he was denied all pleasures in the world and had to live a beggar's or a menial's life in the house of a stranger! Indeed, such restrictions might kill all cheerfulness, free thinking, originality and individuality! But they really and materially helped for the attainment of spiritual ideal of the then education. They made students highly moral in conduct, and greatly respectful in behaviour. Under these restrictions which were based on hygienic principles, the pupil kept good health and had no distraction from

his chief concern, namely, education. The physical work that he had to do in the teacher's household gave him sufficient exercise. The Hindu teachers thought that one who was after pleasure could not learn and that one who was after learning could have no pleasure. They created such an atmosphere, as kept the aim of his stay in the teacher's house brightly before the pupil's eye and as such created a necessity for him to put forth great voluntary effort to accomplish it. Educationists tell us that to stimulate the effort on the part of the pupil and to enlist it in line with our aim is the chief purpose of teaching. Pestalozzi did not give so much importance to 'interest'in education as to 'self-effort' of the student. The Hindu law-givers were then so far successful in their attempts, though the effort of the student was accompanied with something like ascetic gloom.

This gloom disappeared a good deal, when the teacher stepped forth with his kind and considerate treatment, his ideal and elevating character, his own dutiful and disciplined life. He was to love the pupil as his own son, to give full attention to him in the teaching of the sacred learning and to withhold nothing of it from him. The Guru was to make his greatness felt not by issuing

peremptory orders to, and by exacting rigorously menial work from, the student, but by selflessness and sympathy for him. In the family or school system of the Hindus it was the formed habit of each member to care more for others than for himself and thus a practical training was imparted to all in willing social service. The teacher generally knew something of philosophy, which taught him to pay due regard to each and every being, and thus it was irreligious for him to ill-treat his pupils. In invoking blessings from the sacred fire after daily worship he wished for their welfare along with that of others. In a colophon to be recited in the beginning and end of lessons they both prayed, 'May He protect us two; may we both enjoy happiness; may we both perform heroic deeds, * The traditional fame of a school was to be scrupulously maintained and this was possible only when the teacher longed and worked for the progress and character of his students. He was not to use them for his own purposes except in times of distress. He was to instruct them in the rules of personal purification, of conduct, of the fire-worship, and of the twilight

सहनाववतु सहनोभुनक्तु सहवीर्यं करवावहै.

prayers. In the following passage Manu† gives some excellent advice to the teacher for his behaviour towards his disciples: 'Human beings must be instructed in whatever concerns their good without giving them pain, and sweet words must be used by a teacher who desires to follow the sacred law. Indeed, he whose speech and thoughts‡ are pure and ever completely balanced wins the whole reward which is conferred by the Vedanta. Even while in troubles he should not hurt the feelings of others by harsh words, or injure them in thought or deed; let him not utter a speech which frightens others, because it will prevent him from reaching a happy state in after life.'

As regards the intellectual qualifications of a teacher we read in the Pratishakhya of the Rig Veda: 'The Brahmin must himself have passed through the recognised curriculum and have fulfilled all the duties of Bramhachari, before he is allowed to become a teacher. Whatever branch of learning he selected must be studied by him in detail and in full and he must have received from

[†] Manu-Smriti II. 1159-161.

[‡] Free from 'avarice, anger, temptation, jealousy, intoxication and selfishness.'

his teacher permission to go home, to get married and to teach others'. Moreover, the success in a debate or in an examination was also necessary to make one's name known to the public as being well-versed in learning. It was considered a sin to undertake the teaching of a subject which one did not know oneself quite well, as also to 'give medicine to a patient without knowing the medical science'. Manu mentions two classes of teachers, namely,*(1)Upadhyaya and (2)Acharya. The former was a family priest and gave primary instruction to · the children of his patron in reciting Vedic hymns or in the elements of the Vedangas. He did this work in return of some regular gains and had one-sided knowledge (possibly of the rituals), knew not the different sciences and philosophy and could only repeat Vedic text. The second was a sound scholar and could teach the sciences to his pupils with a critical insight. He not only knew the texts by heart, but understood them and could explain the meanings of passages to them.

The teacher was forbidden to accept fee from the pupils and the institution depended solely on the charity of the kings and people, tax-free lands,

^{*} Manu II-140-141.

daily alms, etc. As mentioned in the last chapter the pupils gave some presents to him at the Samavartan ceremony (i. e. returning home).

The system was in general against harsh punishments. Manu allows that a pupil committing serious faults should be beaten with a cord or a piece of cane on the back part of the body only, never on the noble part; if a teacher strikes him otherwise he will incur the guilt of a thief.' Apastambha seems to be more harsh and lays down a list of punishments that could be used by the teacher at his discretion: frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, striking with a cane and banishment from school.' Gautama is the most lenient of law-givers in this respect. He says that ordinarily corporal punishments shall not be given to a pupil and that the teacher shall by persuasion and admonition try to effect improvement. 'If these ways of dealing with pupil's faults prove ineffective and no other course is possible. a thin cord or cane may be used. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he shall be punished by the king.' In those days the Brahmin was exempt from punishnents under the criminal law to a certain extent. If, however, he failed to perform his religious duties, he could

be, and was to be, treated like a Shudra by the king. Maltreatment of the pupils was deemed a grave fault on the part of the teacher, exposing him to the deprivation of his birthrights and to be punished by the king as an ordinary man. This shows that teachers were expected to be very sympathetic and affectionate towards their pupils. The embitterment of feeling, that might naturally arise from corporal punishments, was to be wiped out by sweet advice soon after; and mistakes of the head.

The actual teaching was to proceed in the following manner: † The pupil shall sit on a seat of Kusha grass, the tops of which are turned to the east, after saluting the teacher and receiving his permission to sit down. He shall turn his face to the east or to the north while having his lesson. He will then say "(m)m" and such other sacred syllables ‡ and restrain his breath thrice. After this purification of the body he shall touch with kusha grass the seat of his life, $i \cdot e$, the organs of

t Gautama I-46.

[†] Making up the Gayatri: 'We meditate on the incomparable light of God Sun; may be stimulate our understanding.'

sense located in the head. Then with his right hand taking hold of the left hand of the teacher but leaving out the thumb free, he should fix his eyes and mind on him and say to him, "venerable sir, recite." The teacher then recites some syllables of the lesson and the pupil repeats them after him seven or ten times, the pronunciation being most carefully done. All these acts must be performed at the beginning and end of a lesson in the Vedic text. By this time all the books of learning must have been committed to writing but still the sacred text was handed down by oral methods of teaching.

This reading lesson was followed by instruction (Vidhi) and explanation (Arthavad). In vidhi the teacher showed the pupils the acts and actions to be actually performed during the ritual ceremony described in the text; and in Arthavad the meaning of the sentences was made clear in every-day language. This explanation did not necessarily mean that the rules and intricacies of grammar were taught from the beginning. After this instruction and explanation of the lesson the pupil was left to himself to learn it by heart, and in this stage he was corrected and assisted when necessary by advanced pupils or the son of

the teacher. This was a sort of monitorial system used by old Hindu teachers. It was meant not for any relief to them, but to enable them to look to other pupils individually. As a rule the system of teaching was individual and promotions were also individual, and in it the pupil was called on to put forth all possible energy, because nothing depended on others; he could progress on the strength of his own capacity and thus a sort of healthy competition arose, evoking all possible self-effort of the pupil. His memorising was not blind, as he learned how to pronounce the text. understood its meaning and significance and then made it by heart. In addition to the exposition of such lessons, the teacher probably used to give a general idea of the subject to the pupils either at the commencement or at the end of its study. This is illustrated by a well-known story about Vyas. He had four disciples—Vaishampavan. Sumantu, Paila and Jaimini. To each of them he explained the comprehensive view of each of the Vedas. These disciples were not beginners, because they asked some questions of deep significance.

As the systems of philosophy arose, new methods of exposition were necessary and were

found out by the sincere seekers after the truth. For the full understanding of the text a three-fold explanation was given: (1) Pada or word, (2) Vakya or sentence (3) Pramana or argument. To understand the word grammatical notes were required and yet this did not include the study of the whole science of grammar. Then the meaning of the sentence was to be made clear by showing the relations of words, phrases and parts therein by filling up gaps or supplying ellipses and by explaining allusions. Lastly the idea of the passage was to be clarified by setting forth the argument as explicitly as possible and by relating it to the previous as well as to the following points. One well-versed in the text was called toproficient in the three parts'. These steps in a language lesson carried on with the help of a text fairly tally with those used by the modern teacher in a similar lesson. We do not know whether the teachers of grammar, Nyaya or Vedanta first explained new lessons orally before opening the book. But this much is certain that the pupils were so carefully coached up to understand the text. It is not known whether the teachers used questioning during the lessons, but references are found to show that the pupils freely asked

questions for solution of their difficulties and that they were also asked some testing questions after explanations. The study of such branches was, of course, for advanced students who wished to specialise in any of them. They were also expected to know whole lessons by heart after the complete understanding of their meaning.

Even in the Sutras there is no mention of different curricula for the different stages of education. Indirectly we can gather some information about them from the references in almost all the works of the later systems of philosophy as to the competency of the student to enter upon the study. For instance, the study of †Nyaya and Tarka required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicon. For ‡Vedanta a previous knowledge of Vedic hymns, of Vedangas and a course of regular religious instruction and a pure righteous mind were necessary. Whoever was authorised to enjoy the fruit of the religious rites could study Mimansa.* Thus the different sciences laid

^{† &#}x27;अधीतव्याकरणकाव्यकोशोऽनर्धातन्यायो बालः'

^{‡ &#}x27; अधिकारी तुविधिवदधीतवेदवेदाङ्गत्वेनापाततो नितान्तनिर्मकस्वान्तः'

^{* &#}x27;फलस्वाम्यमधिकारः'

down different standards of previous preparation. the highest of them being that of the Vedanta. The Sankhya, Nyaya and Vaisheshika systems were a sort of realism and a student who understood written Sanskrit could commence their study, which made him observe and think of the matter and its properties. Modern Shastries tell us that actual objects used to be shown, described and experimented upon by their teachers while explaining the various portions in any of these books. No hard and fast rules were laid down anywhere as regards the primary or higher course. That was all left to the discretion of the teacher who marked the capacity of the pupil and led him on step by step from one book to another. Education commenced with learning from books and grammar was taught at suitable stages as arising from language lessons.

In books† on astrology auspicious days and hours were mentioned to commence the teaching of the alphabet to small children of all castes. In the fifth year the child was to make a start in reading and writing and this was to be a part of a small religious ceremony. The fourteen lores

and the sixty-four arts‡ supplied sufficient material for this primary training. From Lalita Vistara it seems that primary schools existed some time before Gautama Buddha, who following the usual custom of the world went to the writing school to practise well all figures, letters, calculation and reading, writing and moral precepts. It is said that Gautama neglected the manly and physical exercises which all Kshatriyas of his age were delighted in and his relations complained of this. These things go to show that before the Upanayana and the commencement of Vedic study the Hindu child did not pass his days idly and received an all-sided elementary training.

The spirit of realism and investigation led to the study of some other sciences than those spoken of in the preceding pages. The dissection of sacrificial victims was the beginning of anatomy. Experts in the rearing up of different animals and in the curing of their diseases were to be heard of. In the Mahabharata* Sahadeo is described to have stayed with king Virata as a cowherd and he is made to speak of his scientific

[‡] See appendix.

^{* &#}x27;Gaja-Sutra', 'Ashva-Sutra' & 'Ratha-Sutra' are also mentioned-i,e. works on elephants, horses & chariots.

knowledge of all cattle and of the cure of their diseases: Nakula became the manager of the horses at the same court and knew all their ways and could train them in different gaits. Medicine and metallurgical operations and many technical arts evolved out of the study of the properties and powers of the Soma and other herbs described in the Vedic hymns: (Rig Veda X.97, 1 & 2: Atharva Veda IV 17.1; V1 136.1 & 2). Two kinds of preparations were known: curatives and tonics (Bhaishajyani and Ayushyani). The Buddhists carried on the study of this branch of knowledge very seriously and after them a number of Hindu alchemists came forth with critical works on that subject. The elaborate rules for the construction of altars led to the development of geometry and algebra. The Shulba Sutras explain several problems for the construction of different figures with the same area. The geometrical theorem that the square on the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides of a rectangular triangle was known to the Hindu priests some centuries before Pythagoras. It is contained in these two rules-(1) the square on the diagonal of a square is twice as large as that square; and

equal to the sum of the squares on any two of its adjacent sides. Nearly sixteen different figures are referred to in this book with rules for their construction. Ancient writers used algebraical formulae for astronomical calculations, but their works are now lost to us, as later and more scientific works appeared on that subject. Regarding the origin of these sciences Dr. Thibaut remarks: 'Whatever science is closely connected with the ancient Indian religion must be considered to have sprung up among the Indians themselves.'

Arts and industries and commerce flourished in the whole of India during those days. Sauti, the latest writer of the Mahabharata, speaks of prosperous agriculture and mentions all the crops (except gram) as grown by the cultivators of his time.* Fruits like the mango were known to the people and probably grafting was also practised. Cattle-rearing was a common and popular business. Weaving was a well-organised industry and cotton, silk and wool were worked on. Colours were prepared from barks or

[•] Conclusion of the Mahabharata - C. V. Vaidyapp. 348 to 360.

flowers of plants. Greek writers like Hirodotus and Dissius speak of those things in describing the Hindu society. Mining was successfully carried on and gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, zink, etc. were purified, cast into various articles and worked into beautiful ornaments or decorations. Diamonds and pearls were common with the rich. Architecture and sculpture received great attention at the hands of princes and were cultivated on scientific lines. The means of communication on land and by water were freely used in commerce. All this description given by Sauti in his Mahabharata belongs to these rationalistic times.

These arts and industries were studied by the Vaishyas. Manu says, 'A Vaishya must not say "I will not keep cattle;" he must know the different values of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloths, perfumes and eatables. He must know sowing, weeding and reaping; the good qualities and bad of the fields; the use of weights and measures; the merits aud defects of commodities; the advantages and disadvantages of selling and buying in different countries; the probable profit and loss on merchandise; the proper wages of servants; the languages of different men;

the manner of keeping goods and the rules of their purchase and sale. This seems to be an ambitious curriculum for the Vaishya boy, but he did not feel it a burden to learn it all from his father in the most practical manner at home.

The Kshatriya received his special training in Varta, Dandaniti and Anvikshaki, Varta included the workable knowledge of the duties of the Vaishvas. Dandaniti was the science of government including a knowledge of civil and criminal law, of practical politics and of political economy. Anvikshaki comprised a study of the Sankhya and Yoga systems. Dhanurveda or the science of weapons was most essential for the Kshatriya pupils. The Dharma Sutras have very little to say of the education of the warrior caste; only Gautama's work gives us some idea of it as existing in his times. He says that the administration of justice shall be by the Veda, the Dharmashastra, the Angas, and the Puranas: so that the royal pupils were expected to study all these during their period of schooling. Kautilya's Arthashastra gives us a vivid picture of Kshatriya education by the end of the fourth century B. C., when the Maurya dynasty ruled in Northern India. This work also shows

how a sort of political organisation was attempted by the ruling princes with the help of this Brahmin politician. Kautilya, otherwise known as Chanakya, says: 'Dandaniti is the central point of Kshatriya education, because this science of punishment (Danda) alone can procure safety and security of life. It is based on discipline, which is of two kinds: artificial and natural. Those who are naturally undocile require artificial discipline by punishment; and those who are by nature amenable to discipline can be trained into obedience and good conduct by the study of the sciences mentioned above, which cultivates their grasping power, memory, inference and judgment. The sciences shall be studied and their precepts strictly observed under specialist teachers: government superintendents are necessary for the teaching of Varta, practical politicians for that of Dandaniti and learned Brahmins for that of Vedic lore and philosophy......The prince shall observe celibacy till he becomes sixteen years of age. Then he shall go through the ceremony of tonsure and marry.....In maintaining efficient discipline he shall ever keep company with aged masters in whom alone discipline has its firm root.....The prince shall spend the morning in receiving lessons

in the military arts about elephants, horses, chariots and weapons, and the afternoon in listening to Itihasa, including mythology, history, tales, illustrative stories, religious instruction and the theory of politics and economics. During the rest of the day and nights he shall revise his old lessons and have his difficulties solved ... From hearing ensues knowledge, from knowledge steady application is possible, from application selfpossession is possible. This is called efficiency in learning. The prince who is thus well educated and disciplined in sciences, devoted to the good government of his subjects and bent on doing good to all the people, will enjoy the kingdom unopposed.' This system of Kshatriya education gives more importance to practical wisdom than to theoretical philosophy or religious instruction. Kautilya has mentioned the Vedic texts in his curriculum, but in later details no reference is made to their study. Disciplined conduct and pure character has been considered superior to the rote learning of Vedic hymns. Theoretical training was to go on for about six years and then there was to be a wholesome combination of practical life with it. The work shows a remarkable tendency to adapt the system of education to the

needs of the times and lays down a fairly high ideal for a would-be king.

The education of women received no special attention of the Hindu law-givers, who are emphatic regarding their dependence on men. †Manu says, 'nothing is to be done independently even in her own house by a girl, by a young woman, or by an aged one. In her childhood the female is obedient to her father, in youth to her husband and on her husband's death to her sons: she must never be independent. She ought never to try to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons: by leaving them she would make her father's and husband's families degenerate . . . Day and night the women must be kept in subjection by the males of their families. . . . The woman deserves no independence.' Women were not to study the Vedas. Early marriage became the custom and they were expected to get prepared for all domestic work. 'The *husband employs his wife in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping the household clean, in the fulfilment of religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after all the details in the

[†] Manu's Code V. 147-149; IX, 2-3.

[.] Manu's Code IX.

domestic affairs.' The girl received training for all this from her mother and it was also continued under the supervision of the mother-in-law. The joint family system of the Hindus was quite suitable for such home education and it was at the bottom of such an extreme dependence of the women on the meh. Women were not to mix freely with men in the society: in fact they had few occasions to go out of their homes. Consequently they became narrow-minded and devoid of social or national ideals. The free intellectual discussions of the ladies in the Upanishadic times were not to be found in this Sutra age. But so far as personal virtue was concerned, the Hindu woman's life was a noble ideal. She received an effective religious instruction, learned mythological stories of Sita and Draupadi and was taught to be all pious and loyal to her husband. A passage in the Mahabharata tells us what a true wife was expected to be:-

'A wife is half the husband, his truest friend;
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife,
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
In solitude, a father in advice,
A rest in passing through life's wilderness.'

Wifely devotion and self-sacrifice was carried to the extreme by the law-givers, when the widow was enjoined to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre, a barbarous and horrible custom as it now seems to the modern world.

The wife was to look after the collection and expenditure of her husband's wealth.' This meant that she had some knowledge of accounts. however elementary it might be. This she learned from her father and elder brothers at home. Along with that she probably also learned to read and to write, as this was quite different from the study of the Vedas. Of course there were no schools for girls and no time was fixed for the commencement of their education (as in the case of boys); but the home being the place of all activity, literary or vocational, they could easily pick up the elements of whatever they observed. They also learned something of nursing, songs and stories from elderly persons in the house. Thus the intellectual side of female education received no special care and was left to circumstances that might be. The daughters of wealthy householders had family priests to teach them the three R's and to tell them moral tales. Religious and moral instruction was most carefully imparted both in

theory and practice. The girl was to rise early in the morning and to recite devotional songs with her mother. She would take part in making preparations for the household sacrifice and worship. She saluted every morning and evening her elders and the holy fire, and lent a helping hand in some of the household duties. In the noon time she would sit by her mother, learning needle-work. hearing stories, reciting songs, or play for a while with friends. Tales from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata excited great interest in these youthful listeners, trained their imagination and memory. and paved the way for the formation of good moral character by creating a righteous atmosphere in their minds. At the morning and evening worship boys and girls were regularly called up by the father to say their prayers and offer their salutations to the gods. Such a definite course regularly gone through could not fail, can never fail, to produce the desired effect. No special physical education was given to girls, but in doing domestic duties and in playing games they had sufficient bodily exercise.

In connection with the use of tales and fables made by the Hindus as a means for mental training, it is interesting to note Froebel's discussion on the same point. 'Children feel an

intense craving', says he, 'for all kinds of stories and legends, because they have a desire to obtain some knowledge of the nature, cause and effect of their individual life by comparing it with something and someone else. Comparisons with somewhat remote objects are more effective than those with very near objects......Their spiritual life furnishes the pupil with a measure of his or her own life and spirit......No practical application need be added, no moral brought out.' Storytelling conduces to smooth development and family life is most valuable in early education. Like the Hindu teacher Froebel attaches a great importance to these two factors. Again he says, 'To be wise is the highest aim of man......By education his divine essence should be unfolded...... Education in its first principle should be necessarily passive, following, not prescriptive. interfering......To give firmness to the will, to quicken it, and to make it pure and strong and enduring is the chief concern in education. European educationists lay so much stress on the formation of character and the ancient Hindu teachers worked for the same ideal, not only by means of or al lessons but with a strict and regular course of daily practices to be gone through by the pupils.

But there is a marked difference between the Hindu theory and the European view of sense perception. They agree to the mind receiving knowledge of the external world through the senses. The divergence is to be noted regarding the way to stimulate this mental process. European educationists say that pupils must be given a good deal of exercise in observation. i, e, in the use of their senses, because intelligence depends upon the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity. On the other hand, Hindu teachers believed in the reverse order of dependence, i.e. the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity depended on intelligence, and in the all-pervading nature of the human mind; they, therefore, tried to develop the pupil's mind in such a way as to use the preconscious thought as early as possible and thus to take the line of greatest connection in preference to the line of least resistance followed by the western thinkers. The Hindu pupils were taught to go to the root of the mind by means of prayers, meditation and righteous conduct and thus to stimulate and sharpen all its activities that are more or less correlated and co-ordinated.† 'According to the Hindu theory,

[†] Hindu Mind Training-by S. M. Mitra-pp. 18.21.

to confine one's study to matter directly bearing on the particular subject, in which one is anxious to excel, is not always the best way to develop fresh brain power. Some noted occidentals have acted on a similar principle: Sir Humphry Davy is said to have attended Coleridge's lectures on poetry to stimulate his imagination for his scientific work. Gladstone used to read the Bible before delivering his epoch-making speeches to throw into broad relief his political ideas in contrast with theology......There is, therefore, no fear of the development resulting from the study of texts like these extending merely a better comprehension of abstractions. The student will gain a wider grasp and a harder grip. The judgment in every phase of life will be improved. Though water poured into a tank may flow in at one spot, it finds its level, and eventually fills up the tank evenly and smoothly. Similarly the Hindu system improves not one special part of the mind, but the whole more or less together.' The Hindu method added nothing from outside to the mind, but removed something detrimental to powerful personality. This was similar to the hypnotic treatment of a patient, during which the physician disentangles his confused mental

processes. The Hindu pupil was trained to reach the fountain† of all inspiration in the preconscious state of his mind, and not to hover about the sprays in the form of its external working. Even the nutrition of the body was considered to be modified by mental states, a calm and meditative attitude being highly desirable. This kind of training helped a great deal to clear all confusion of thought. Thus the Hindu teacher tried to nourish the child mind from within by religious exercises and moral tales and to prepare it for work in wordly life.

The oral methods of teaching used by the Hindus have been advocated by some western educators of modern times. Montaigne says that judgment is of more importance than reading, and that learning is of no use if understanding be not with it. The eminent French educationists of the seventeenth century, Port Royalists, made a point to bar books as far as possible and laid great stress upon conversation as a means of developing mental faculties. Pestalozzi and Froebel were even more emphatic on this point so far as primary education was concerned. Locke ranked

^{† &#}x27; ज्ञानाधिकरणमात्मा । ' तर्कसंप्रह — i.e.

The soul is the source of all knowing.

instruction 'last' and 'least' in his 'accomplishments' of gentlemen's sons,—virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning; and Rousseau would have no use of books at all in any stage of education. Taking these views, exaggerated in some cases, with due discount, we see that oral methods of teaching are considered to be an effective means of training the understanding of children. India followed this mode of education from early ages with the result that 'without being literate many a Hindu was much better educated than the western observer, accustomed to consider illiteracy as ignorance, could possibly imagine'.

In one of his lectures in Europe MaxMuller said, 'The art of teaching had been at that early time reduced to a perfect system by the Hindus;' and judging from the results every one who studies the progress of the ancient Hindus will feel inclined to endorse that statement. Hundreds of pupils lived celibate lives in the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake. They were, of course, mostly Brahmins who stuck to Vedic learning and religious practices while others followed different occupations. Wisdom and virtue were, however, respected wherever they could be seen. The story of a Brahmin going to a hunter named

Dharma for instruction in religious matters is to be found in different books quoted to emphasize righteous conduct in preference to superficial erudition. Prince Yudhishthira when asked by a sylvan deity said that high moral character was the ideal of all education and that even the knowledge of the Vedas was useless without it. 'One ought to respect and learn supreme knowledge even from a man of the lowest birth,' says Manu-Such a noble ideal of education was aimed at by the Hindus and to accomplish it a strictly disciplined life was chalked out for the young as well as the old of all castes.

The Rise of Buddhism.

In the sixth century before Christ, India witnessed the commencement of a great revolution. Her ancient religion, which the Vedic Aryans had practised and proclaimed over three thousand years ago, degenerated into meaningless forms, cumbrous ceremonials and elaborate rites. 'The grateful emotions and heartfelt prayers and simple worship were transformed by the priestly class into hired ceremonies and external shows.....The ennobling study of the Upanishads fell out of use, the mass of the Aryan householders contenting themselves with the performance of unintelligible

rites described in the condensed form of literature. called the Sutras.....Ancient social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste......The Shudras were despised and degraded in the society and received no religious instruction. They, however, pursued industries, owned lands and gained influence in course of time.....When the new literature, legal or religious, upheld the cruel injustice against them, they became impatient and sighed for a changet.' Moreover, Sanskrit became the language of the learned and the illiterate masses began to speak Prakrit or Pali in wordly dealings The Brahmins would not stoop down to use the earthly dialect and looked upon Sanskrit as the divine tongue. The lower classes of the society who could not afford to spend so many days in learning Sanskrit had to go without any real education.

This state of things appeared quite anomalous to an earnest and benevolent soul like Gautama of the Shakya race, the prince of Kapilvastu. He was born in 557 B.C., an heir to the Shakya kingdom. His father Shuddhodana, the Shakya king of Kapilvastu, gave him a good education worthy of a prince. The boy was named Sidd-

[†] Civilisation in Ancient India-pp. 305-307-R. C. Dutt'

hartha and Gautama was his family name. This prince was well trained in the Hindu learning and religion of his age. Being naturally of a meditative and peaceful turn of mind, he neglected the physical exercises of the Kshatriya and spent most of his time in observing the society and pondering on the religious teachings. He was married at the age of eighteen to his cousin Yashodhara and ten vears after his marriage he resolved to quit his home, wife and an infant son for the study of philosophy and religion. It is said that the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit led him on to act up to that resolve. Whatever the truth in the legend, it is true that Siddhartha thought of the woes in the worldly life and that the holy calm of a retired life attracted him. After practising penance and meditation for over six years at different places in the Gangetic valley he became enlightened at Buddha Gaya and proclaimed his religion at Benares (522 B. C.). Thus he came to be called Buddha, the 'awakened' or 'enlightened', and also Shakya Sinh, or the 'lion of the Shakya race.' At first Gautama Buddha did not set himself up consciously as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary, he believed that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of

religion which had prevailed among the ancient Hindus, but which had been corrupted at a later date. As a matter of fact, Hinduism recognised wandering ascetics who renounced the world, called Sanyasis or Shramans, who performed no Vedic rites and passed their time in contemplation. Gautama's sect of ascetics was known as Shakyaputriya Shramans, who were also taught to relinquish the world, to lead a holy life, and to practise pious meditation.

Buddhism is in its essence a system of selfculture and self-restraint. Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in it. The effort to end human suffering by living a holy life, free from passions and desires, is the cardinal idea of this system. Buddhism is made up of four truths:—

- (i) The noble truth of suffering explains that all life is suffering.
- (ii) The noble truth of the cause of suffering explains that the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering.
- (iii) The noble truth of the cessation of suffering shows that the absence of passions and desires and the extinction of the thirst for pleasures lead to deliverance from life's sufferings.

(iv) The noble truth of the path shows the way in which the cessation of suffering can be brought about. This path is eightfold, namely:—

Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech;
Right Conduct, Fight Means of Livelihood;
Right Exertion, Right Mindfulness, Right Meditation;

This self-culture has been carefully elaborated by Gautama concerning thought, speech and action and is known as the seven jewels of the law. Nirvana, or Buddha's heaven, is the final goal to be attained after such a holy, tranquil and virtuous life. Buddhism offers no glowing rewards in a world to come; a virtuous peace on earth is the Buddhists' Nirvana. Though Gautama adopts the Hindu idea of transmigration in a modified form in his own riligion, yet it is only to encourage the Buddhists in their holy Karma (or actions) which leads to legitimate results in rebirths, if Nirvana is not attained in one life. He also adopts the popular belief in the thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda snd Brahma and Gandharvas and says that they are all living beings in the universe struggling to attain Nirvana. Buddha does not accept the caste-system of Hinduism and declares all Vedic rites to fruitless. Asceticism and penances are also disapproved. A benevolent life and the conquest of all passions and desires are enjoined in their place; and a retirement from the world is recommended as the most efficacious remedy to that end, leading to the Buddhist *Monastic system*.

Buddhist monasteries were open to all castes. In them the authority of the Vedas or the superiority of the Brahmins was not recognised. Buddha did not attack them directly, but his system implied the non-recognition. Buddha admitted two kinds of adherents in his order; (1) lay workers attended the monastery or Vihara only for a few hours in the day. This admission ceremony was called Pabbajja and could be performed at the eighth year from the birth of the child (similar to the Upanayana of the Dwija). For such a lay disciple five rules of discipline were laid down:—

- (a) 'Let him not kill or cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.
- (b) Let him abstain from taking anything in any place that has not been given to him, knowing it to belong to another; let him not cause

anyone to take, nor approve of those that take. Let him avoid all theft

- (c) 'Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another's wife.
- (d) 'Let one not speak falsely to another in the hall of justice, or in the hall of the assembly; let him not cause any one to speak falsely, nor approve of those that speak falsely. Let him avoid all untruthfulness.
- (e) 'Let the householder, who approves of this *Dhamma*, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness.' (Dhammika Sutta,-Sutta Nipata).

Three more were later on added to these, but not considered to be obligatory on all; they were recommended to the austere and pipeline particularly:—

- (f) Let him not at night equationally food
- (g) 'Let him not wear wreather or performes.
- (h) Let him lie in a bed spread on partification.

 All Buddhists were to take a solution vonce these precepts, known as the eight commandments.

 (Ashtanga Shila).

(2) The second class of adherents to Buddhism were known as Bhikkhus or priests. whose community was called Sangha. The conditions of admission were simple. The person seeking admission was to be twenty years of age and to have gone through a full course of instruction (to be set forth in the following paragraphs). To the upper eight commandments two more were added, namely (i) to abstain from dancing. music, singing and stage plays, and (j) to abstain from the use of gold and silver. These ten commandments were binding on all Bhikkhus and were called Dasha-shila (tenrules of conduct). This admission ceremony was called Upusampada (or a step nearer). The person to be initiated was to be free from certain diseases, and to be neither a slave, nor a debtor, nor in the king's service. If a minor, he was to take permission of his parents. Here are some details of the ceremony:-

† 'Let him who desires to receive ordination. first cut off his hair and beard; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper garment so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the priest with his head; and sit down with folded legs; then let him raise his hands and say: 'I take my

[†] Vinaya Pitaka-M. V. i. 38,

refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Sangha'. The monks begged for daily food. The novices performed the manual labour in connection with the Vihara, which was managed by a body of at least ten Bhikkhus, who had the power to punish the wrong-doers of the order.

The monks performed threefold duties in the monastery. Preaching on religious topics was their chief activity. The people in the village or town near the Vihara visited it at regular intervals and heard the sermons or discussions of the priests. To lead a holy life and to help others in doing the same was the Bhikkhu's duty and he was to do it most willingly, selflessly and regularly. The people also received some medical help in the institution. Buddha touched the right point in feeling the needs of the people. Bhikkhus were enjoined to study the science of medicine and to prescribe remedies on examining patients free of charge. Many monks like Nagariuna became eminent doctors and writers on the medical science, and by the time of Asoka's reign (260 B.C) hundreds of Viharas were famous hospitals where thousands of people ran for help. The third and the most important activity of the Buddhist

priests was teaching. The monastery was a regular school where villagers and townsmen sent their children for education, secular and religious. Originally the priests were instructed by Buddha to give only religious education to all those who joined Buddhism; but later on with the spread of the religion and with the rise of a number of sects among the Buddhists themselves secular subjects came to be taught to keep pace with the needs of the time and to attract more and more members. After the initiation ceremony the pupil was to choose one Bhikkhu as his preceptor. Then he was to go to him and say, 'Venerable sir, be my Upajjhaya (or teacher)' after a low salutation and with joined hands. This request was to be repeated thrice and if the Bhikkhu who was thus addressed complied with it by word or gesture, the choice was complete and the relationship of Guru and Chela began. The pupil had some duties to perform towards his teacher. † He was to look upon him as his protector and to obey him quite readily. He was to show his respect to him by rising in his presence and by saluting him in the morning and evening. Again he was to do ordinary menial work [for his master,

[†] Shigalowad Sutta; and Mahavagga, i. 25, 26; 27.

namely, the washing of his clothes, the cleaning of his pots, the sweeping of his place, the arranging of his things, etc. During his illness the pupil was to wait upon him very diligently and to nurse him very carefully. He was to attend to his lessons very eagerly, to ask questions to his teacher for the solution of his doubts and to satisfy him by his work.

One could not be a preceptor to a boy without sufficient learning and competency and experience. He had to pass the tests in learning as well as in religion and to work as a Bhikkhu for ten years before he could accept the office of a teacher. He was to teach his pupil as kindly as his own son, but at the same time had to keep him under wholesome discipline. The teacher's conduct was to be quite pure, strict and regular. He was to see that the disciple was in want of nothing and had all necessaries supplied to him. He was to train him in good manners and virtue and to speak well of him to all. He was to instruct his pupil in science and lore and to train him to hold knowledge fast. He was to guard him from danger and to look after his health by oral advice and material help.

which the boys began to read after having mastered the alphabet. In addition to the reading and writing lessons based on this book, elementary arithmetic was taught in oral and written exercises. Religious teaching formed the main part of the daily time-table. The start and finish of the morning and evening sessions were marked by prayers and holy recitations. These were oral lessons, the pupils repeating the religious songs or verses after the monk, whose devotion helped to make a lasting impression upon the young minds. Story-telling was the most interesting part of the day's work. The teacher told them simple stories about the sayings and doings of lord Buddha, which had been handed down by word of mouth. After two or three years of such a study the boys were introduced to the five higher sciences, namely (1) grammar, (2) arts and crafts, (3) medicine, (4) logic and (5) philosophy (i. e. inner spiritual science). To these was later added astronomy. This curriculum for the secondary stage was made up of both secular and religious. philosophical and practical subjects and it must have served a good basis for general culture. Originally the monastic schools were intended to give instruction only in the principles of Buddhism but later on the Bhikkhus caught up the idea of competing with the Brahminic schools and began to teach their pupils the said subjects and also Sanskrit. When some Brahmins became converts to Buddhism, the competition was taken up in right earnest and it resulted in the establishment of institutions for higher education, which had never been thought of by Buddha.

The higher education was given through Pali and Sanskrit and comprised the specialised study of some one subject or more like philosophy. nyaya, theology, grammar, or yoga, etc. Mostly the members of the Sangha undertook this work. Of the eighteen sects of Buddhism, into which it was split up long after the death of Buddha Mahayana and Hinayana were the most prominent. Each sect had its own literature. The principal works in Pali studied by the advanced students were (i) Sutta Pitaka, (ii) Vinaya Pitaka and (iii) Abhidhamma Pitaka. The first is a record of the sayings and doings of lord Buddha; the second contains very minute rules for the conduct of monks and nuns as well as for the guidance of the lay disciple (Upasaka); the third is made up of disquisitions on various subjects, on the conditions of life in different worlds, on personal

qualities, on the elements, on the causes of existence, etc. Sutta Pitaka is the collection of over twenty books small and large, including the five Nikayas (i. e. treatises) & Dhamapada (collection of moral precepts). The second is made up of three big works—Vibhanga (a list of sins to be avoided with punishments), Mahavagga and Chullavagga (rules for the conduct of the young and the old at home or at school). Pariwara Patha (supplementary rules). When Buddhism became the state religion under the patronage of Asoka. the monasteries became great seats of learning. like modern universities. Sanskrit works were also studied by the advanced Buddhist students. The course for this higher education was indefinite. The work being quite voluntary, the disciples carried it on for a number of years out of pure religious enthusiasm and some of them made it even a life-long business.

The methods of teaching were almost the same as in Brahminic schools. The studies were all humanistic and required the recitation of the text with the understanding of its meaning. The Pali text was not so difficult as the Sanskrit works like the Vedas or Upanishads and hence the reciting took less time. The Buddhist pupil

was required to learn by heart each lesson after its explanation by the teacher. Individual attention was the rule and individual promotions were also made from grade to grade. Thus the dull, the ordinary and the intelligent received due care and none was stopped in his progress for another. Story-telling and moral lessons led to the development of boys' imagination and preconscious thought. The study of arts and crafts and medicine must have been carried on with the observation of the necessary material and practice lessons. So far as higher education was concerned, a general encouragement was given to learning and understanding by holding public debates. Advanced pupils were called on to take part in the discussions there and they boldly practised the exposition of the points at issue. Subtle distinctions in reasoning and rhetorical explanations of theories were the outstanding features of such meetings. The triumphant debators were highly praised, richly rewarded and led on backs of elephants in princely processions. Proficiency in various branches of learning was received with special honour.

The aim of all education was the freedom of the human soul from the sufferings of life as set

forth in the said principles of Buddhism, and discipline was the most effective means to accomplish it. It was brought about in five different ways. Firstly, the pupils were to be quite obedient to their master and to pay due respect to him and to all elders according to the usual custom, They had to do menial work for him with a view to please him and to secure his favour. This never meant that the relation of the master and the servant existed between the teacher and the taught. The whole organisation breathed that the teacher was the sole benefactor. of the pupils, who could attain the goal of their education and religion by exerting themselves to his satisfaction. Secondly, some definite practices for their moral growth were laid down to be observed by them at stated hours in the day. In the Hinayana sect, sitting in silent reverie. walking to and fro, or standing still was prescribed. While the followers of the Mahavana sect practised Samadhi, i. e. an exercise in the Yoga system by which the mind along with the breath is made calm and stationary. Thirdly, he head of the monastery, called Karmadhan, gave punishments to correct the faults of the pupils on the recommendations of the teachers The punishments were properly graded to suit the respective faults; oral remonstrance, bodily, penance, deprivation of pleasure or meal, and expulsion were commonly used. Fourthly, assemblies were held from time to time to bring high moral character into prominence. Spiritual attainments were tested there and adequately rewarded. The pupils whose conduct was known to be the best received great applause. Such occasions were most impressive to the good as well as to the lax, because they nourished the healthy mind of the former and nipped in the bud the evil tendencies of the latter. Lastly, a sort of heroworship was enjoined for all. Each sect worshipped its patron saints, in commemoration of whose work topes had been erected, or images set up, or holy texts preserved. Buddha's images were somewhat common by 250 B. C. and later. In addition to Buddha, the Vinavists worshipped Upali; Shramaneras, Rahula; Bhikkhunis (nuns), Anand (who after a great difficulty received permission from the Lord for their admission to the holy order); Samadhists, Mudgal-Putra; etc. This hero-worship placed before the pupils an exalted ideal to be followed and necessitated a regular, disciplined and holy life.

Such was the nature of Buddhist education as could be inferred from the existing manuals of Buddhism. It varied probably in different provinces and at different times in its scope and ideal. It is likely that after Asoka's patronage Buddhist monasteries greatly prospered, the education given by them became more extensive, and they grew into large universities in the following two or three centuries. Three Chinese Buddhist scholars't visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. and they have left us a valuable picture of the Buddhist educational institutions as seen by them. Fa-Hien was in India for about fifteen years from 399 to 414 A.D. and visited a number of places from the Punjab to Bengal. He gives a detailed descriptton of the monastery at Pataliputra or Patna, where he found about seven hundred monks, and says, 'The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements there are worthy of observation. Advanced students of the highest virtue from all quarters...... resort to these monasteries to find out truth. Mathura, Kanoj, Kapilvastu, Kushinagar, Vaishali. Rajagriha, Gaya, Benares, Champa and Ceylon are also mentiond in his accounts as places of learning, religion and medical help.

[†] Beals' translation of 'The Buddhist Records of the Western World.'

Houen Tsang was in India from 629 to 645 A. D. and during this time he visited almost all important places in the northern parts. He found that Buddhism had still a number of followers. though a revival of Brahminism had taken place. He says that there were about five thousand Buddhist monasteries still existing in India and in Ceylon with about three lakhs of monks in them. Some of these institutions were in decline and ill managed. The Bolar monastery, for instance, had irregular courses of study and was defective in observance of the order. But Kapisa. Gandhar, Udyana, Taxila, Jalandhara, Sthaneswar, Kanyakubia, Ayodhya, Jetavana, Sarnath, Nalanda. and Punyavardhana were the most famous centres of learning, each with about one hundred monasteries and nearly one thousand monks. The provinces in the central, eastern and southern parts of India had a number of Buddhist institutions in them managed by Bhikkhus, though not a single centre was famous enough. Nalanda was the most celebrated university and Houen Tsang stayed there in a convent learning Sanskrit and philosophy. It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasagara, Ratnodadhi and Ratnaranjaka, Ratnodadhi was nine-storied and contained a great

library. This institution received the support of the Raja of Kamarupa, with whom Houen Tsang went to pay his respects to king Shiladitya. King Dharmapala of Bihar founded another university at Vikramashila on a hill on the banks of the Ganges. It included 110 temples and six colleges under the management of about one hundred pious monks. A learned sage was always appointed as the head of this monastery, where students flocked together for the study of grammar, ritual and metaphysics.

During these times great tournaments for the test of learning were arranged as the Brahmanas and Buddhists challenged the truth of each other's religion. The followers of Jaina religion also took part in such discussions at times. A sourthern Buddhist scholar, Dinagha, made the university buildings of Nalanda 'resound with his expositions of various points at issue.' Another advanced student, Deva, with the permission of his master Nagarjuna went to Pataliputra and defeated the Tirthikas (Jain monks) there in a discussion lasting for twelve days. Shilabhadra, a Brahmin prince of Magadha, conquered a south Indian scholar who had challenged the learning of his Guru. Houen Tsang mentions the names

of monks from Ceylon, who went to Karachi and discussed Yoga with the teachers there. Another time, Gunavati, a follower of Buddhism, conquered a Sankhya student named Madhav in Magadha. In a seven days' discussion Dharmapala silenced one hundred Hinayana monks in Visoka manastery. References are found to the erection of five monasteries to commemorate the victories of five Buddhist scholars in Shrughna over Jain Tirthikas. In the next chapter we shall speak of the triumphs of Kumarila and Shankara over Buddhists and Jains.

Itsing was the third Chinese traveller who has written an account of his experience in India where he spent about fifteen years (673 to 687 A. D.). He did not travel so far and wide as his predecessors. For ten years he stayed at Nalanda which was still a flourishing seat of learning. In his account of Nalanda we have an interesting picture of the educational system. The primary and secondary courses of studies, referred to above, lasted for about fourteen years; from the sixth to the twentieth year of the pupil, after which he was promoted to higher grades. Composition and grammar received most attention and the methods of teaching laid great stress on

understanding and learning by heart. With regard to the higher education Itsing says, 'After having studied the commentary on Panini's grammar Sutras, students begin to learn composition in prose and in verse, and devote themselves to logic and metaphysics. In learning logic they rightly draw inferences and by studying the stories of Buddha in previous births (Jatakamala) their powers of comprehension increase. Thus instructed by their teachers, and instructing others they pass two or three years more in the same monastery......Eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men they become far-famed for their wisdom.......At a king's court when they are present in the house of debate, they prove their wonderful cleverness and refute heretical doctrines.....Then the sound of their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate and their renown flows, as it were, over the four borders. They receive grants Speaking about the oral methods of learning Itsing remarks, 'There are two traditional ways in India of attaining to intellectual power:(i) committing

to memory, and (ii) understanding the ideas. 'In this way, after a practice of ten days or a month a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain.... This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met with men who can commit to memory whatever has been once heard.' The Buddhist monks did not neglect or torture their physique like the Brahmin ascetics. They took walks at suitable hours in quiet places, pondering all the while on religious precepts or philosophical truths. Itsing mentions many learned and pious teachers by their names and says, 'I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them personally, which I would never have possessed otherwise.' Medicine was the special study of many Euddhist monks. Many hospitals and dispensaries existed since the time of Asoka down to the reign of Harsha. Nagarjuna, Charaka and Govind Bhikkhu were notable students of this science and wrote great works on it.

The Buddhist monasteries were greatly instrumental in the spread of religious and secular education. There is no definite evidence as to a high percentage of the population being literate; but the traditions in some Buddhist countries (e. g. Burma) show that all boys were expected to undergo the initiation ceremony and to pass through monastic schools. Those who did not intend to join the Sangha (holy order) studied the primary and secondary courses and then followed any occupation they liked. Thus they received sufficient training in the three R's and in religion. Asoka's edicts on rocks, in caves and on pillars were inscribed in the language of the masses and were intended for them to read and to obey. They proclaimed that all the subjects should receive religious instruction and medical aid; that they should not slaughter animals, tell lies or lead impure lives; that they should follow the religion of 'mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness'; that they should respect their father, mother, preceptor. Brahmanas and Shramanas. This may show that literacy in the Buddhistic times was fairly widespread, though not actually universal.

The Buddhist holy order included some nuns called Bhikkhunis. Buddha very reluctantly allowed his aunt, Mahaprajapati, to be admitted to his monastery as the first nun. This admission of nuns was cause of the downfall of Buddhism. The nuns were subject to the monks and could be admitted by them; but their number was ever small. Buddha followed the Brahmins in holding women

in low esteem. According to him they did not deserve independence. The nuns must have received some religious instruction on their initiation, but it was all oral. They were probably never taught to read and to write. No name of a learned or literate Buddhist lady is to be heard anywhere. There is no ruling in Buddhist works that nuns should carry on the education of girls, nor is there any mention of a girl's school started in a nunnery. Some Buddhist nuns are said to have visited women in their homes at intervals and at such meetings some oral teaching or discussion of religious precepts might have been taken up; but these were rare and irregular visits. The home was not the school under Buddhism and hence the Buddhist girls had not the opportunities of the Brahmin girls to pick up the elements of knowledge just by observation and imitation.

The Buddhist works, mentioned above, contain many interesting lessons like those in the Upanishads. It is proposed to quote some of them in abridged forms, so that the reader may get a concrete idea of the nature of education imparted to Buddhist pupils:—

(1)† King Ajatshatru wished one full-moon night to have some sage sent for, who could carry

t Digha-Nikaya-Samannafala Sutta.

on a learned discourse with him on philosophical points. The attendants named Kashyapa, Makhali, Ajit, Kakkayan, Sangaya and Nigantha, but the proposals were rejected. Jivaka, the physician, proposed Gautama Buddha of the mango grove. The King liked this suggestion and at once started for the place.

When he saw Buddha in yellow robes, seated under a mango tree, Ajatshatru made a low bow. Gautama Buddha welcomed him and made cordial enquiries as usual. The king took his seat in front of him and said to the Lord, I see many men following different occupations and arts, but do not think that any of them is quite happy. Mahouts, charioteers, heroes, weavers, cooks, barbers, washermen, potters, accountants and arithmeticians, all ply their trade, but do not seem to enjoy the eternal bliss. I wish to know its nature....... What is the advantage of being a recluse?

Buddha asked him whether he had approached any other persons before that time for the solution of his doubt.

Ajatshatru said that he had seen six sages for an answer to that question.

Buddha said, what did they tell you?'

Ajatshatru—'Kashyapa explained to me the theory of non-action; Makhali said that purification was possible through transmigration; Ajit taught me the theory of annihilation; Kakkayana analysed the world into the seven permanent elements—earth, fire, air, water, ease, pain and the soul. Nigantha spoke of the four-fold bond of man; and Sangaya evaded an answer to my question; therefore, Sir, I come to you for satisfaction.

Buddha—'Well, suppose your servant, who is just waiting on you here, became a recluse and went to your palace for alms; what would you think of him?'

Ajatshatru—' I would take him inside and give him a high seat and offer him good food, clothes and everything he might require.'

Buddha—' That is the first advantage, then, of being a recluse. This servant when turned into a Bhikkhu would receive respect even from you.'

(In this way Buddha proved that a recluse got respect, riches and realisation, and satisfied the king by his reasoning).

(2)† Ambatha was once sent by his teacher to Buddha to see if there were the thirty-two bodily signs of a great man on his person. He was told to do so in order to verify some observations in astrology. When he went to Buddha, the latter welcomed him, offered him a seat and enquired of his whereabouts. Ambatha took no seat, kept moving here and there and answered his questions rather indifferently.

When he was asked to explain why he acted like that, Ambatha said, Buddha is not a Brahmin. I shall respect only one who is a Brahmin.

Buddha-'He is proud of his birth as a Brahmin.

But does he know the origin of the Kshatriya and of the Brahmin?'

Buddha then told the story of a family of the Sakya race and proved that the Kshatriya and the Brahmin came from the same stock. He then said that it was the good conduct that counted for rank and honour rather than birth.

(3)* King Milinda says, 'Venerable Nagasena, does this sun always burn fiercely, or are there times when it shines with diminished heat?'

'It always burns fiercely, O king, never gently'.

[†] Ambatha Sutta-Digha Nikaya. * Milinda Panna-IV 7, 69.

'But if that be so, how is it that the heat of the sun is sometimes fierce, and sometimes not?'

'There are four derangements, O king, which happen to the sun, and affected by one or other of these, its heat is allayed. And what are the four? The clouds, O king, and fog, and smoke and eclipses;.......

'Most wonderful, Nagasena, and most strange that even the sun, so transcendent in glory, should suffer from derangement;— how much more then other lesser creatures. No one else could have made this explanation except one wise like you.'

(4)† 'Venerable Nagasena, why is it that the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer?'

In the hot season, O king, dust is blown up into clouds, and pollen agitated by the winds rises up into the sky, and clouds multiply in the heavens and gales blow with exceeding force. All these crowded and heaped together shut off the rays of the sun, and so in the hot season the heat of the sun is diminished. But in the cold season, O king, the earth below is at rest, the rains above are in reserve, the dust is quiet, the pollen wanders gently

[†] Milinda Panna- IV. 7, 70

through the air, the sky is free from clouds, and very softly do the breezes blow. Since all these have ceased to act, the rays of the sun become clear, and freed from every obstruction the sun's heat glows and burns. This, O king, is the reason why the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer. Thus it is when set free from the obstacles besetting it that the sun burns fiercely which it cannot do when the rains and so on are present with it.'

'Very good, Nagasena! that is so, and I accept it as you say.'

(5)‡ 'Venerable Nagasena, those seven qualities of the lion you say he (the Bhikkhu) ought to have; which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the lion is of a clear, stainless and pure light yellow colour; just so should the strenuous Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, be clear, stainless, and pure light in mind, free from anger and moroseness......

'And again, O king, as the lion has four paws as the means of travelling, and is rapid in gait: just so should the strenuous Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, move along the four paths of saintship....

Milinda Panna-VII.5, 41.

'And again, O king, as the lion has a beautiful coat of hair, pleasant to behold; just so the strenuous Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, should have a beautiful coat of righteousness, pleasant to behold.......

'And again, O king, as the lion eats regularly on, wheresoever his prey falls there does he eat whatever he requires, and seeks not out the best morsels of flesh; just so should the Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, stand for alms at each hut in regular order, not seeking out the families where he should be given better food, not missing out any house upon his rounds; he should not pick and choose in eating......

And again, O king, as the lion is not a storer of what he eats, and when he has once eaten of his prey returns not again to it; just so should the strenuous Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, never be a storer of food......

'And again, O king, as the lion, even if he gets no food, is not alarmed, and if he does, then he eats without craving, without faintness, without sinking; just so should the strenuous Bhikkhu, earnest in effort, be not alarmed even if he gets no food, and if he does then he should eat without craving or faintness or sinking, conscious of the danger in the lust of eating, in full knowledge of the right outcome of eating (the maintenance of life for the pursuit of holiness.)......

(6)* 'Uneven ground, unsafe and windy spots And hiding places and god-haunted shrines, High-roads, and bridges, and all bathing ghats These eight avoid when talking of high things.'

'The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,
The proud, the greedy, or the slothful man,
The man of one idea, and the poor fool—
These eight are spoilers of high argument.'

'The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,
The timid man, and he who seeks for gain,
A woman, drunkard, eunuch, or a child—
These nine are fickle, wavering and mean.'

'By growth in reputation, and in years,

[•] Milinda Panna-IV, 1, 8

By questioning, and by the master's aid,
By thoughtfulness and by converse with the wise,
By intercourse with men worthy of love,
By residence within a pleasant spot—
By these nine is one's insight purified.
They who have these, their wisdom grows.'

King Milinda:—This spot, Nagasena, is free from the objections,.....and I am a model pupil to you.....A teacher must have these twenty-five qualities. He must always and without fail keep guard over his pupil. He must let him know what to cultivate, and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest, and what he may neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep, and as to keeping himself in health, and as to what food he may take, and what to reject. He should teach him discrimination (in food), and share with him all that is put as alms in his own bowl. He should encourage him saying:" Be not afraid. You will gain advantage (from what is taught here)". He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep, and as to the villages and Viharas he should frequent. He should never indulge in foolish talk with him. When he sees any defect in him he should easily pardon it. He should be

zealous, he should teach nothing partially, keep nothing secret, and hold nothing back. He should look upon him in his heart as a son, saying to himself: I have begotten him in learning. He should strive to bring him forward, saying to himself: How can I keep him from going back? He should determine in himself to make him strong in knowledge, saying to himself: "I will make him mighty." He should love him, never desert him in necessity, never neglect him in anything, always befriend him when he goes wrong. Treat me, Lord, in accordance with these qualities........... It will be hard to find a teacher such as yourself."

Nagasena:—'These ten, O king, are the virtues of a lay disciple. He suffers like pain and feels like joy as the Order does. He takes the Doctrine (Dharma) as his master. He delights in giving so far as he is able to give. On seeing the religion decay, he does his best to revive it. He holds right views. Having no passion for excitement, he runs not after any other teacher his life long. He keeps guard over himself in thought and deed. He delights in peace. He feels no jealousy, and walks not in religion in a quarrelsome spirit. He takes his refuge in Buddha, in the Doctrine, in the Order. These qualities exist in you, O king,ask of me whatever you will.'

- (7)† 'Venerable Nagasena, this water when boiling over the fire gives forth many a sound, hissing and simmering. Is it then alive? Does it then cry at the torment inflicted on it?'
- 'It is not alive, O king, there is no being in water. It is by reason of the shock of the heat of the fire that it gives forth sounds, hissing and simmering.'
- 'But many teachers reject the use of cold water on the ground that it is alive......Dispel this doubt, O Nagasena.'
- '.....Does the water in pools, lakes, and reservoirs give forth sounds, hissing and simmering, when it is being evaporated by hot winds?'
 - 'Certainly not, Sir'.
- 'But if it were alive, it would make some sound then also.........Again, O king, if water with grains of rice in it is put in a vessel and covered up, but not placed on the fireplace, would it then give forth sound?'
 - 'No, sir. It would remain quiet and unmoved'.
- 'But if you were to place that vessel over a fireplace and then light up the fire, would the water remain quiet and motionless?'

t Milinda Panna- IV. 6-60,

- 'Certainly not, sir. It would move and agitate,.....rush up and down, and boil over with garlands of foam.........'
 - 'And why does it so happen?'
 - Because of the shock of heat.......
- 'Again, O king, does the water in big pots covered up tightly agitate and foam?'
 - 'No! It remains still and quiet.'
- 'Have you heard of the waters of an ocean rising high up and breaking against shores?'
- 'Yes, the waves go up a hundred, two hundred cubits high towards the sky.'
- 'But why, whereas the water in its ordinary state remains still, does the water in the ocean both move and roar?'
- 'That is by reason of the mighty force of the onset of the wind, whereas the water in the water-jars does not make any noise, because nothing shakes it.'
- 'Well, the sounds given forth by boiling water are the result, in a similar way, of the great heat of the fire......Now do not people cover over the dried-up mouth of a drum with dried cow-leather?'
 - 'Yes, they do'
 - 'Is there any soul or being in the drum?'
 - 'Certainly not, Sir.'

- 'Then how is it that the drum makes sounds?'
- 'By the action or effort of a man or woman.'
- 'Well, just so, O king, by the effect of heat the water sounds.........Again, is it true of every kind of vessel that water heated in it makes noises, or only of some kinds of vessels?'
 - 'Not of all, Sir; only of some.'
- 'Thus then you have yourself, O king, abandoned the position you took up. You have come over to my side—that there is no soul, neither being, in water. For only if it made noises in whatever vessel it were heated, could it be right to say that it had a soul. There cannot be two kinds of water—that which speaks as it were alive and that which does not speak and does not live.......

Jainism.

Comparatively Jainism was not an important movement. The founder of this religion was Mahavir of Kundagrama in old Magadha. He was a Kshatriya by birth and his first name was Vardhamana. At the age of twenty-five he entered the Holy Order and, after a penance for about twelve years, became a Jina, or Tirthakara or Mahavira, i.e., a saint and prophet. During the next thirty years of his life he organised his order of ascetics. Mahavir was a contemporary

of Buddha and his sect became a rival to that of the latter. In Buddhist works he is mentioned under the name of Nataputra as the head of the Niganthas (those who are without clothing). Houen Tsang speaks of Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism from whatever he observed during his travels in India in the seventh century A. D. This evidence goes against the theory of an independent origin of Jainism. But it is explained away by modern scholars like Buhler and R. C. Dutt in this manner: The Jain scriptures were committed to to writing only in the fifth century A.D.; the advance of Buddhism under Asoka's patronage led many Jain Monks to drift towards its tenets; the Buddhist scriptures, written six centuries before. formed a basis for the Jain records; and the Digambar sect (in which the monks and nuns used no clothing) in course of time made room for the Shvetambar sect (in which the monks and nuns wore white robes).

The religious tenets of the Jainas differ from those of the Buddhists only slightly. Like the latter they have their monastic order, and refrain from killing animals and praise retirement from the world. In some respects the Jainas even go further than their rivals and maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles in the

elements, fire, air, earth and water, are endowed with life. They reject the authority of the Vedas, accept the precepts of Karma and Nirvana and believe in the transmigration of souls.

The sacred books of Jainism are called Agamas and consist of seven divisions. Angas form the first and most important division, and contain, among many other things, rules for the conduct of monks and nuns and also of Jain laymen. For the former higher vows known as Mahavratani, and for the latter lesser vows called Anuvratani are laid down. The monks led an ascetic life, abstaining from all worldly pleasures, depending on alms for daily food, and spending their time in meditation and preaching. But the laymen, though observing all rules of morality, were free to enjoy the worldly pleasures of a householder (as is clear from the story of Ananda in Upasakadasah, who renounces a number of things and still has almost all the articles of luxury left for his use).

The Jain monasteries were scattered in Behar, Gujaratha and Karnatic. There the members of the Order prosecuted their studies and became learned men in some cases. This is proved from the references to debates in Buddhist

universities, where Tirthakaras are at times said to have taken part in discussions. Houen Tsang speaks of some discussions among Brahmins, Bhikkhus and Tirthakaras at some universities. But there is no evidence of any schools run in these monasteries for the education of lay pupils. Many of them, however, must have received good moral and religious training from their own parents and guardians who could read Jain scriptures containing rules of conduct and moral tales.

CHAPTER V.

Puranic Times.

(1st Century to 11th Century A. D.)

During these ten centuries—from 1st to 11th cen. A. D.—various dynasties of kings ruled in different provinces in India without any political co-operation among them. Kanishka, Vikramaditya and Harsha were the only towering figures who tried to bring a number of smaller princes under their central authority. In the northern Yu-chi, Andhra, Sena, Gupta and Shah royal families, and in the south Valabhis, Chalukyas, Cheras, Keralas, Pandyas, Cholas and Kalingas ruled; and plots, intrigues and revolutions were to be met with every now and then. This shows that there was no idea of nationality among the people. Powerful rulers like those mentioned above did work for political solidarity at intervals; but they were only individual efforts and no permanent organisation was ever thought of. The Rajputs played an important part in the latter half of this period in central India and everywhere they favoured Puranic Hinduism. Their exploits came to be described and recorded as those of ancient Kshatriyas. This part of Indian history finds a remarkable parallel in the history of Europe from the sixth to the tenth century A. D. Both in Europe and in India, ancient rule and ancient institutions were destroyed; new races asserted their rule and their authority over the land, and these new races, again,—the Germans in Europe and the Rajputs in India—had to face the invading power of the Mussalmans, whose religious enthusiasm and political organisation were also contemporary with their own.

Buddhism and Hinduism flowed in parallel streams in India during nearly the first half of this period. Orthodox Hindus, especially of the higher castes, adhered to the Vedic form of religion. On the other hand, the number of adherents to Buddhism increased all over the land, receiving recruits from the lower classes. Buddhist ceremonials and the worship of relics and images became popular day by day. There was hostility between the two creeds and the followers of both lived in friendliness for some centuries. The presence of nuns in monasteries, the insistence on celibate lives of the members of the Order, the patronage received from princes like Asoka, and the wealth and luxury that followed it resulted in a relaxation of the original rules of conduct.

This decay and degeneration worked for the fall of Buddhism, and it was swept away root and branch by the great Brahmin leaders, Kumarila Bhatta and Shankara, who again set aglow the teachings of Vedanta and the different forms of devotion to god. Idol worship was introduced by the writers of Puranic works and temples were built for public worship to match the Buddhist Viharas (monasteries) and images. Shankara preached that Hinduism in its essence gave more importance to philosophic meditation and moral conduct than to sacrificial ritual, and showed the artificial nature of Buddhist monastic order. He established convents at four principal places in India—Sharada, Puri. Dwarka, and Shringeri-and taught the necessity of Sanyas (renunciation of worldly life) to the house-holder at the age of about fifty. These Sanyasis were to work for their own salvation as well as for public good during the rest of their lives. This organisation was at once nationalistic and religious and left no room for decay. In this sense Shankara's work was original and farsighted, and had there been a political organiser to follow his footsteps, the history of India would have been quite different from the ninth century onwards.

But Shankara (or Shankaracharya) did nothing to solve the problem of castes. In Buddhism all were treated alike and admitted to the Holy Order. In the beginning this was a popular move but probably that proved a point of weakness later on, as it was not likely that all could be equally righteous and bent on attaining Nirvana. The orthodox Hindus remained as stiff as before regarding caste distinctions. They would have nothing of Buddha's cosmopolitan gatherings; and the Brahmin leaders of the Puranic age were even more severe in that respect, probably because they saw that it caused the fall of Buddhism. Purana works that were composed during these ten centuries the caste-system was held up as rigidly as ever. The most famous author, Manu, mentions about thirty different castes to be called non-aryans, and shows the various irregular interrelations among Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas as their origin. The 'mixed castes' were not the same as the profession-castes of modern India, that originated after the Moslem conquest. Even the Kayasthas or scribes and Vaidyas or physicians have been looked down upon as 'thieves' and 'prostitutes' by Yajnavalkya and Manu; and in fact all honest trades or industries (except that of priests) are said to be degrading in most of the works known as Dharmashastras.

The revival of Hinduism was also the revival of Sanskrit as the language of the learned and of the high-class people. We have seen that Buddha insisted on the use of the people's language in teaching and in preaching, and the edicts of Emperor Asoka were also issued in it. The masses must have found it a great blessing when they heard Bhikkhus speaking in their own dialect. Each province probably used its dialect or Prakrit in everyday oral routine, but scarcely any bookexcept those of Buddhism and Jainism-was written in it. Vararuchi, a learned man of Vikramaditya's court, wrote a grammar of Prakrit, but it is not known whether advanced students studied the language or composed books in it. After the fall of Buddhism, Sanskrit received considerable attention, but it was different from the Sanskrit of the Sutra or of the Epic age. This was the classical Sanskrit in which Kalidas, Bana, Phavabhuti, etc. wrote. Even Shankara, who was such a renowned philosopher and reformer and who wrote so many works in Sanskrit, never used Prakrit in writing and never advocated its use in teaching.

The religious literature of the period was characteristic of the revival of Brahminism. About

twenty Dharmashastras were written during these times, of which those by Manu, Vyasa, Parashara, and Yajnavalkya have been considered to be important codes of social laws. These works are known as Smritis (i. e. products of memory), as opposed to Shrutis (i. e. products of hearing) or the Vedas. They give us a fair picture of the religion and manners of the then Hindus, whose daily routine was remodelled after the decay of Buddhism. Unfortunately some of these compositions seem to belong to a later period and still pass under the name of ancient writers. The modern Hindu law is based on three principal Dharmashastras, viz. those of Manu, Yainavalkya. and Parashara, the commentary by Mitakshara on the last of them being considered an authority. All the Smritis mention the three gods, Brahma or the creator, Vishnu or the preserver and Shiva or the destroyer, and enjoin the worship of some one of them to all the Hindus. This Trinity has set aside the Vedic elemental gods and might have been borrowed from Buddhism. Image worship now took the place of the Vedic sacrifices to fire and this was also copied from the Buddhist worship of idols and relics. Some of these works fight for the supremacy of some one of the three gods and this often led to disputes between the different sects.

The next important part of this religious literature comprised the eighteen Puranas. Each of the three sects-Vaishnavas. Shaivas and Brahmas, i. e. the followers of Vishnu. Shiva and Brahma respectively, had their own collection of six Puranas. Each Purana has these five characteristics: (1) a description of the primary creation or cosmogony; (2) a story of the secondary creation or destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; (3) a genealogy of gods and patriarchs; (4) enumeration of Manvantaras, i.e. reigns of Manu; (5) and a history of the solar and lunar races and their descendants. Most of the Puranas have been recast in later times and the followers of Brahma have ceased to exist. Each deity has been coupled with a consort out of his own imagination by the writer. Most of the descriptions and stories seem to be too imaginary and fabulous and the authors have taken great care to relate every idea to ancient Vedic literature in some way or other. Of these Skanda and Padma Puranas are the most voluminous, containing about 81,000 and 55,000 stanzas respectively; and all these works contain about 400,000 verses in an aggregate. The idea of incarnations was newly inserted in these writings, based on the theory of evolution; and, to compromise the masses back to Hinduism

probably, the ingenious authors called Buddha as an incarnation of god. These Puranas, with other minor works known as Upa-Puranas, were responsible for the propagation of the idea of devetion to the various deities and also for the spread of superstitious ignorance. Idol worship was not in itself an evil. On the other hand, it must have helped the common people to cultivate a sort of love for god in the form of the image and an ideal moral character; but the imaginary explanations about the origin of the world and the incarnations and the mercenary ideas of worship for worldly aims made them fatalistic, lazy, ignorant and superstitious. The philosophical works of Shankara and his followers were, of course, an antidote for that mental poison in as much as they preached that salvation was the best goal of human life and that pure knowledge of the absolute and freedom from worldly desires were the only means to it. But the external forms and fanciful descriptions attracted the minds of the multitude who were hankering after earthly gains and had no insight into the domain of the higher self.

The secular literature of these days covered almost all the branches of human activity. In astronomy, arithmetic and algebra a good deal of

progress was made by *Aryabhatta, †Varahamihira, ‡Brahmagupta and §Bhaskaracharya. The signs of the zodiac were named, the revolution of the earth was proved, the eclipses of the sun and the moon were explained, and the earth's circumference was calculated. Heavenly phenomena like rain, meteors, thunderbolts, rainbow were also accounted for with vivid descriptions and actual observations. Earthquakes, winds, dust-storms were also explained with occasional references to portents. The Hindu calendar, both civil and religious, was composed, horoscopes were introduced and tables of mathematical calculations were framed. The astronomers made their observations in their own crude manner and fixed the formulæ to arrive at definite conclusions. Colebrooke makes this remark regarding the Hindu astronomy of ancient times: 'The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in astronomy, cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and the sun; the motions of these luminaries were carefully

The author of Aryabhattiya. † The author of Brihat Sanhita, † The author of Brahma-Sphuta Sindhanta. § The author of Siddhanta-Shiromani.

observed by them, and with such success.....that their calculations.....were much more correct than the Greeks ever achieved.' The said thinkers made discoveries in arithmetic, algebra, and trigonometry; and especially in Bhaskaracharya's works original solutions of several problems† in mathematics are to be met with, that were not heard of in Europe before the 18th century.

Medicine was another branch of scientific literature carefully studied by the Hindus. In the Vedic literature the healing properties of some herbs were spoken of and several remedies, mostly spells and incantations, were laid down for different diseases. But the people now began to look at this subject from the scientific point of view. A number of Buddhist monasteries were charitable dispensaries and to compete with them many a Hindu scholar took up the study, carried on experiments and wrote books wherein he recorded his own theories or discoveries. Atreya, Agnivesha, Charaka, Dhanvantari, Sushruta and Vagbhata were some of the famous writers on medicine. Chemistry was studied side by side with, or as a hand-maid to, medicine, and even to-day there are

[†] Colebrooke's translation of Lilavati; Wilkinson's translation of Goladhyaya.

about *twenty-five good works on the subject written by eminent scientists. 'The number of medical works and authors is extraordinarily large. The former are either systems embracing the whole domain of the science,† or highly special investigations of single topics, or, lastly, vast compilations prepared under the patronage of kings and princes. The sum of knowledge embodied in their contents appears to be most respectable. Many of the statements on dietetics and on the origin and diagnosis of diseases bespeak a very keen observation. In surgery, too, the Indians seem to have attained a special proficiency, and in this department European surgeons might perhaps even at present learn something from them, as indeed they have already borrowed from them the operation of rhinoplasty. The information, again, regarding the

Various operations were made with the help of about 127 surgical instruments; seission, excission, inoculation, puncturing probing, extraction of solids and fluids, sewing, etc.

A History of Hindu Chemistry-by Sir P. C. Ray.

[†] Branches of medical science; -1. Shalya: the art of extracting extraneous matter. 2 Shalakya: treatment of external organic diseases. 3 Kaya Chikitsa: treatment of the body—internal working. 4 Bhutavidya: mesmeric treatment. 5 Kumara Bhritya: care of infants and mothers. 6 Aqada: antidotes. 7 Rasayana: Chemistsy. 8 Vajikarana: human vitality.

medicinal properties of minerals,.....of plants, and of animal substances, and the chemical analysis and decomposition of these, covers certainly much that is valuable. Indeed, the branch of Materia Medica generally appears to be handled with great predilection;.....on the diseases, etc. of horses and elephants also there exist very special monographs......'†This Weber's estimate of the Hindu medicine is really creditable.

The Hindus achieved great distinction in the technical and formative arts; though the literature on the subject is scantily represented. Painting was in a rudimentary stage. Perspective was not well studied but the best skill was to be seen in portrait-painting, for which it was not required. In sculpture and architecture 'the most marvellous' exhibitions of human labour' are to be met with. Buddhist carvings led the way and then Hindu temples from Orissa and Rajputana to Mysore and Rameshwaram saw the arts carried to great perfection. A Hindu temple was nothing if not profusely ornate and elaborately carved: images, pillars, canopies, domes, etc. were done 'with exquisite sharpness and precision,......and produced an

[†] The History of Indian Literature-by Weber,pp. 269-270.

[‡] Fergusson-(p. 401)

effect richer and in better taste than anywhere else' in that style. Rich, perfect, artistic and scientific as was the architecture of India, it displayed a lack of 'pure intellect' and 'a joyous exuberance of fancy and pure feeling.'* The first defect was due to the disinclination of the upper classes to apply themselves to vocations requiring manual exertion, which was later hardened into a social rule under the caste-system; and the second to the Hindu conception of the whole life as a part of his religion. 'The skill of the Indians in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones, the preparation of essences, and in all manner of technical arts, has from early times enjoyed a world-wide celebrity: and for these subjects also we have the names of various treatises and monographs. Mention is likewise made of writings on cookery and every kind of requirement in domestic life, as dress, ornaments, the table.'t

Music was from earliest times a favourite pursuit of the Hindus, as could be gathered from the numerous allusions to musical instruments in the Vedic literature. The Puranic times saw its

[•] Fergusson - (p. 403)

[†] History of Indian Literature-Weber-(p. 275)

reduction into a regular system. Panini refers to some Nata Sutras (or works on music and dancing) and Bharata, Ishvara, Pavana, Kalinatha, Narada, etc. are known to be some of the early teachers of this science. Dancing was of three kinds: (1) Lasya for women, (2) Tandava for men and (3) Nritya for both with gestures. In the dramatic works of that age, to be soon referred to, singing and music were studied very carefully in a scientific spirit under the patronage of kings and princes, and new musical instruments were invented. The westerners have never appreciated this activity of the Hindus; regarding which W. W. Hunter says, 'The contempt with which Europeans in India regard Indian music merely proves their ignorance of the system of which the Hindu music is built up.'

The chief speciality of this age was the production of classical Sanskrit literature. The dramatic works of Kalidasa ¹, Shri-Harsha ², Bhavabhuti ³, Bhatta-Narayana ⁴, Jayadeva ⁵, etc. ⁶ stand

^{1.} Shakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Vikramorvashiya. 2. Ratnavali, Nagananda. 3. Malati-Madhava. Mahavir-charita, Uttara-Rama-charita. 4. Veni. Samhara. 5 Frasanna-Raghao. 6. Mrichchakatika of Shudraka; and Mudra-Rakshasa of Vishakha Datta.

foremost in style and arrangement. The topics selected by the authors are either mythological or historical. The productions of these poets are finished in form, brilliant in diction, rich in variety and imagination, and skilful in adaptation. They contain vivid pictures of civil life in the respective days and evince a critical insight into human nature. The principal pathos in most of them is love between man and woman, and they are all comedies. Veni-Samhara and Mudra-Rakshasa are different from other works in this respect, heroism being the running sentiment of the former and diplomacy of the latter. Bhavabhuti's Uttara-Rama-Charita displays the celestial love—as opposed to the earthly love in Shakuntala, Malati-Madhava. etc.—between Rama and Sita, has also some glimpses of youthful heroism and parental love, and moves the reader to tears in a number of places. This is the best of Sanskrit dramas in view of the ennobling and righteous sentiments that pervade its parts, as against worldly passions made so much of elsewhere.

The poetical works in classical Sanskrit are of two kinds—(1) court epics, namely, Raghuvamsha and Kumara-Sambhava of Kalidasa, Kiratarjuniyam of Bharavi, Bhatti-Kavya of Bhartrihari, Naishadha

of Shri Harsha, Shishupalavadha of Magha and Gita-Govinda of Jayadeva; and (2) lyrics, namely, Meghaduta and Ritusamhara of Kalidasa, the three Shatakas-Niti, Shringara and Vairagya-of Bhartrihari and some poems relating to devotion by Amaru. The topics described in the epics are historical and mythological. The reader is struck with the polished style, minute observation, variety of figures and descriptive details in these works. Kalidasa's lyrics are full of descriptions of the natural phenomena and the others are religious and devotional. Prof. Macdonell makes this observation in estimating Hindu poetry: 'The proneness of the Indian mind to reflection not only produced important results in religion, philosophy and science, but it also found a more abundant expression in poetry than the literature in any other language can boast of 't

Ethical fiction makes up the third part of the Sanskrit classics. Pancha-tantra, Hitopadesha, Kathasaritsagara are well known for the use of younger students; while Dandin's Dashakumar-charita, Bana's Kadambari and Subandhu's Vasa-vadatta are meant for more advanced pupils. The former books contain both prose and poetry, and

[†] A History of Sanskrit Literature-Macdonell.

relate a number of beautiful fables and fairy tales. Their style is simple and their object is to make teaching instructive as well as interesting to small pupils. The works in the second group are ornate, artificial and extravagant in style, too imaginary and fanciful in plot, profuse and redundant in figures of speech. Some sentences—particularly in Kadambari—with strings of adjectives and long compounds run through pages together! Several other books and manuals, specially meant for children, came to be written in these days, which it is not possible, nor necessary, to mention here.

With the decline of Buddhism Pali dwindled into different dialects, namely, Maharashtri, Shauraseni, Paishachi, Magadhi, etc. These were derived mainly from Sanskrit and also contained some words of the non-Sanskrit origin, which must have belonged to the language of the non-Aryans and must have come into use on their fusion with the Aryans. The leaders of Hinduism wanted the people to forget everything of Buddhism and they gave an encouragement to the use of these dialects. Vararuchi, a scholar contemporary with Kalidasa, wrote Prakrit grammar and therein he principally dealt with the formation of the said derived languages. Shankara's triumphant debates with Buddhist

and Jain leaders marked an epoch in the history of Hinduism. A number of stories have been told about him and his illustrious rival, Mandanmishra, who was an advocate of dualism in philosophy. Shankara, by his convincing logic and enchanting speech, proved non-dualism as the mainstay of Hindu philosophy and tried to unite the various sects of idolators-Shaivas, Vaishnavas, Shaktas, Ganapatyas, and Sauryas†—by preaching them that the deities they worshipped were the different incarnations of the same primeval principle and that none of them was superior or inferior to the other-Shankara's writings are numerous indeed, philosophical, critical and devotional, and all of them in Sanskrit. It was then a fashion among the learned to use Sanskrit even in conversation, and really it not a dead language vet; otherwise such a voluminous literature would have been an impossibility.

In the last chapter we have seen that up to the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Buddhist monasteries continued the work of imparting education along their own lines. The Brahminic schools were also doing their traditional duty side

[†] Worshippers of Shiva, Vishnu, Devi (called Shakti). Ganapati, and Surya (the Sun), respectively.

by side with the Buddhist institutions, but more silently and with less royal recognition or support. With the decline of Buddhism Hindu education received an impetus. Shankara's victories over Bhikkhus and Tirthikas were decisive steps in the revival of Brahminic education. Its organisation. control and all other external aspects remained much the same as detailed in the last chapter. A number of references to them are to be met with in the descriptions of hermitages and seats of learning in some of the works of Kalidas, Bhavabhuti and others; and in doing this the poets must have set forth the conditions obtaining in their own times. In Raghuvamsha kings Dilipa and Atithi are said to have made adequate provision for the education of their subjects, not by starting an educational department or opening government schools, but by encouraging and patronising the already existing Brahminic institutions known as ashramas and guru-kulas. In Bana's Harshacharita a province is described as being resorted to quite joyfully by multitudes of people 'like a school by pupils'. This shows that educational institutions were very popular in those days. Regular attendance and willing co-operation on the part of students are the essential conditions of success in

teaching and it seems ancient Hindu teachers commanded them. In Shakuntala King Dushyanta says that he receives from the Brahmins a sixth of their penance as tax, meaning that they had to pay no tax whilst they kept themselves engaged in religious and educational duties. Of the greatest of presents given by pupils to their teachers on the completion of their studies, fourteen crores of rupees are said to have been paid by Kautsa to Varatantu in return of the fourteen lores he had learned†. In this story the teacher first asked for nothing and gave the pupil permission to go home, saying that he was pleased with his devotion; but the latter pressed him rather in an unmannerly tone to ask for something and hence angrily the teacher told him to produce that enormous sum. But how could the poor Brahmin pupil secure it? It is described that he got it from King Raghu. The respect paid by kings to learned Brahmins, and to teachers in particular, is illustrated in Dushvanta's visit to the hermitage of Kanva, § Rama's visit to that of Valmiki and * Pushpabhuti's visit to Bhairava.

The initiation ceremony is referred to very often as being in use according to the rules in

[†] Raghuvansha-Canto-VI,

[!] Shakuntala, Act.I.

[§] Uttara-Rama.Charita.

^{*} Harsha . Charita-III.

Sutra works, and the discipline of pupils is spoken of as very strict. Even the royal visitors had to observe the rules of discipline while in the premises of a school. King Dushyanta had to withdraw his arrow aimed at a deer at an injunction of an ordinary hermit! Prince Ayu was expelled from the school by Chyavan for having killed a bird with an arrow nearby. On the whole the relations between the teacher and the taught were very cordial. The former felt very happy on seeing his pupils getting on quite well, or on hearing that they kept their learning alive by constant application or that 'they excelled their Guru' in learning and fame. Occasional references to home education are to be seen in some works, expressing the moral tone of the householder's conduct. Small children received training at home in morals before their initiation ceremony. Kalidasa calls such a boy, well trained at home, as 'having a real father' and exhorts each and every father to bring up his children according to the religious injunctions by example as well as by precept.

The aim of education underwent some change during these times. The formation of character was still the ideal aimed at as before; but it was more practical than religious as of old. The idea of an all-sided development was probably conceived by some leading teachers in this epoch, and it is carried in the following expressions:—

- (1) 'Learning brings on modesty (or develops inborn power) which in its turn enhances the worth of a man,'s
- (2) 'Whoever learns by heart, writes, observes, asks questions (to get his difficulties solved), and waits upon the learned, has his intellect developed like a lotus by sun's rays.'t
- (3) 'Just as well-secured learning brings on enlightenment and helps to the formation of character' ‡
- (4) 'The King (Atithi), like the sun, removed all evil by his very presence and ignorance by proper education, and infused the right notions of liberty in the minds of his subjects.'

The word, used by many writers mentioned above to denote education, is Vinaya§ and comes from a root meaning 'to lead out in a particular way.' Thus it means literally 'an action in which (inborn faculties) are led out (i.e. trained) in a particular manner', or 'an action in which (one) leads (oneself) in a particular manner'. The first meaning is identical with that of 'education' and the second expresses the idea of the formation of character; and both of them really make up the whole idea of education. This is, indeed, a very

[•] Hitopadesha. † Subhashita. † Raghuvansha, § विनय—(वि+नो) education; विनेतृ— educator;

विनीत—educated; विनीतत्वं—educable capacity.

happy expression in that sense: it connotes an all-sided development of man—physical, intellectual moral and spiritual—accomplished on practical lines. Many other expressions like this go to show that the then teachers knew that the natural powers of man unfold of themselves if placed in favourable circumstances and in a healthy atmosphere. External interference with the process of internal growth was never attempted. The heart was to be trained before the head and the theory of impressions'* was thought to be the most useful plan. Bhavabhuti says:—

'The teacher imparts learning to the clever pupil in much the same way as to the dull. He does not indeed make or mar their power to receive knowledge. And a great difference is to be marked as regards the effect in their cases: the bright jewel is capable of receiving right impressions, but not the lump of earth'. (Uttara-hama-Charita).

The question of heredity† was well considered and great care was taken to ensure favourable results. The caste-system and the social barriers

^{*} Vide Herbart's theory of education.

[ं] निसर्ग-संस्का(-विनीत: 'well-bred on account of inborn qualities. 'स्वाभाविकं विनीतत्वं तेषां विनयकर्मणा. सुमूर्छ सहजं तेजो हृविषेष हिन्धिजाम्॥' (Raghu-Vansha). 'क्रिया हि इन्यं विनयति नाइन्यं ' Kautilya's Arthashastra) i. e. By efforts one can develop what exists, but not what does not exist.

consequent upon it were meant for the development of hereditary qualities. The society was a unit and the individuals contributed their best in the sphere in which their ancestors had elected to work. Psychological physiology tells us that a long and and continuous line of impressions go to produce a high degree of efficiency in any branch of science or in any field of industry. On the strength of practical prudence the ancient Hindus reaped the fruit of this principle; and thus their education was fairly nationalistic—whether the idea of a political nation was known to them or not—as well as individualistic.

The curricula of studies also underwent some changes in conformity with the reformed ideal of education. The primary course comprised reading, writing, counting, story-telling, drawing, modelling, singing, etc.; and dancing and sewing for girls particularly. This work was more oral than bookish, more practical than theoretical. The children were not troubled with abstract lessons like the long tables of arithmetical results. Writing was taught with thick reed pencils on wooden boards covered with sand. The education of girls like Shakuntala, Malati, Malavika, Rajyashri seems to be quite liberal and practical. The princes like Kusha, Lava,

Harsha, Raghu, and Brahmin pupils like Bana received early training in the said subjects, the former having special practice in physical exercises and military actions, while the latter in Vedic learning and linguistic study. In the literature of this age we scarcely ever meet with references to the education of the Vaishya. The rules in Manu's code still applied to them, but it seems they were fairly obsolete by that time and the class cared more for a workable knowledge of the three R's than for liberal education or Vedic lore. They threw themselves as soon as possible into the practice of their hereditary arts and industries.

In the list of Bana's youthful companions while on tour we find these:—

[†] Harshacharita-I. 26.

the sacrificial ritual is not even mentioned; the philosophical side is not very prominent; the general tone is quite naturalistic and breathes out the advanced state of the society, the scientific spirit of the age, the artistic taste of the individual. has to be remembered that Bana was a Brahmin boy and had such companions. The composers of Brahmana and Sutra works would have excommunicated him! The company of the modeller and the actor! The idea sounds to be quite modern, and speaks volumes to educationists who have studied the writings of Froebel and Montessori. The mention of the vernacular poet shows that the different vernaculars in India were studied as well as used in daily dealings. Very probably the children in the primary stage learned their vernacular and all other subjects through it, though there is no positive proof for such a conclusion.

The higher curriculum commenced with the study of Sanskrit lexicon and grammar, and the recitation of Vedic hymns. It included Smritis, Puranas and the classics. There was a good deal of specialisation in various branches. Those who specialised in the Vedic lore, the knowledge where-of was necessary for priests in religious ceremonies, depended solely on learning by heart the texts and

on instructions regarding the actions to be performed at different steps. They did not attempt to understand the text now; and in this sense theirs was the worst lot. While others, whether they took up philosophy, grammar, classics, medicine or theology, had to think and understand, though even with them wholesale recitation was insisted on. The Brahmins alone continued to go through the higher stages of education in this age. The names of kings Harsha and Bhoja only are heard of as appearing in learned circles, the former being (doubtfully) credited with the authorship of some classical works. In general the Kshatriyas kept themselves engaged in administration, fighting and luxury (which was the speciality of these times); and the Vaishyas were too busy with their arts and industries to undertake advanced studies. Public women rapidly grew in numbers and they tried to gain proficiency in singing, music and dancing.

With the revival of Hinduism the adult education received more attention than before. To take the place of Buddhist monasteries Hindu temples arose, dedicated to different deities. They gave a stimulus to the feeling of devotion taught by the religious works of the age. People learned to visit temples to attend the worship of the idol or

to say their prayers once or twice a day. Some interesting functions came to be arranged later on to attract men, women and children at some convenient hour of the day: discourses by some learned men on religious topics, or kirtans by bards who added therein singing and music to philosophy and story-telling. This developed into a most useful institution to impart religious and moral instruction to the populace in general in a very interesting manner. Learned men turned the pages and scanned the lines of the Smritis and Puranas to pick up occasions for such kirtans, and the birthday celebrations of the various gods, a number of holy days in the astronomical year, etc., filled up annual programmes. For more thoughtful persons the convents established by Shankara had in them occasional engagements, mostly philosophical debates arranged by the heads, who were Sanyasis. They were called Shankaracharyas and were required to tour from village to village within their own jurisdiction, settling disputes relating to caste, conduct or creed, solving the doubts and difficulties of local priests, advising the people to follow their Dharma, receiving obeisance as their religious authority and at times establishing institutions for the education of the young or for the support of Sanyasis. Householders were required by religious commandments to keep alive their learning by constant revision, and to offer private prayers and worship regularly twice a day. These were really very healthy activities, and must have served well as an educating and unifying agency: but the luxurious living of the wealthy and the lewd performances of the dramas were probably too powerful antidotes for them. Amateur theatrics dates from this epoch and the works of the different poets must have supplied a sufficient field for the cultivation of the new art. Possibly the higher classes of the society enjoyed such scenes and shows as they could understand Sanskrit better than others. In Uttara-Rama-Charita Bhavabhuti makes the boys in Valmiki's hermitage play Rama's story. This shows that the idea of dramatic acting was fairly popular in his days (about 740-A.D.).

The Hindu convents were not open to all castes like the Buddhist monasteries and hence their popularity was not so dazzling as that of the latter. Though sanyasa was meant for all Aryans, it became the tradition by this time that only aged Brahmins got themselves initiated into it. The Sanyasis were not to keep any wealth by them except the necessary garments and pots. They led a more

disciplined life than the Bhikkhus. Women were not admitted to the holy order. Thus there were many precautions taken by the founder of this institution for its permanency. He was right in admitting to it only those who were really tired of worldly life and honestly intent on reaching the origin of their very existence, and in keeping out women, as the promiscuous juxtaposition of the two sexes is, by their very nature, always an inevitable source of evil. The Buddhist monasteries decayed into so many hot-beds of vice, when the fervency of the originator was no longer felt, as a number of raw men and women came together with the outward garb of religion, but internally burning with worldly passions. Shankara advised people to live the life of the householder as long as they inwardly desired it and to join his order only when they felt a genuine attraction to it. Moreover, the Brahminic schools were more steady and better regulated than the Buddhist schools. The teachers in the former were householders and had a natural sympathy for their pupils and a traditional sincerity in their work; while those in the latter were devoid of parental love and had no hereditary capacity for teaching. Another difference between them was the same as between boarding schools and day schools. The only real defect in the Brahminic schools was the indifference showed by them towards the people's language, the vernacular, which went a great way in widening the gulf between the learned and the working classes.

As regards the methods of teaching in the schools of this age, there was no perceptible change. The old intensive study of the text was still the general rule. Even in the case of the classics memorising was insisted on, though it was not without understanding. Kalidasa often refers to intelligent repetition as the 'mother of study'. Knowledge was to be received very 'slowly'. The progress of prince Raghu from the primary into the higher stage is compared to 'sailing through a river into the sea. In another quotation referred to previously 'observing' and 'questioning' are said to lead to the development of the intellect. Illustrations and similes are so common in the classical literature tha twe can safely say the teachers used those teaching devices in their daily lessons. In Uttara-Rama-Charita prince Lava is told by his companions in the hermitage that they saw an animal commonly known as 'the horse'. Then he says, 'you fools! have you not studied in that part

describing Ashwamedha....?' Was this recognising so common an animal by the help of Vedic texts? Was this the method of teaching in Bhavabhuti's time? The generalisation would be too sweeping probably: but it is clear that the teaching was purely humanistic even now,-from books to nature and not vice versa. Much was left to teachers' discretion, but in general it seems that the modern principles of teaching (like 'from the simple to the complex,' from the concrete to the abstract,' 'from the known to the unknown') were followed by them. All Sanskrit teaching was with the help of books, while in the primary stage, probably no books were used. Mathematics was not given so much importance as story-telling or language. Experiments were necessary only in the higher stages when students studied medicine. The medium of instruction was always the vernacular of the pupils, though the Buddhist schools (where even the higher texts were in Pali) had used it more freely. In higher stages of education advanced Brahmin students used to hear lessons and to give answers in Sanskrit, which was still the spoken language of the learned. The western method of lecturing to advanced students was unknown to the Hindu teachers. They explained the text and asked questions to their pupils, who again freely appealed to them for solutions of their difficulties. This is quite clear from the lessons in Upanishads as well as in Milinda-Panna quoted in the last two chapters.

By this time two kinds of teachers came to be recognised in the society:(i) Diksha-Guru. who was the family priest, guided the boy through the initiation ceremony and dictated to him the first easy lessons from religious texts; (ii) Shiksha-Guru, who undertook the real education of the pupil after he was committed to his charge. (Probably the custom of sending boys to live with the teacher was falling into disuse now; because poet Bana and princes Rajyavardhana and Harsha were not sent out, but teachers went to them and trained them. This was, of course, the case with the rich or royal families, who could afford to engage tutors. Kalidasa (1st cen. A. D.), being removed from Bana (7th cen. A. D.) by about seven centuries, never refers to this point, as in his time the change was, perhaps, not perceptible). The former could give no explanation, as he knew the ritual learning only by heart; while the latter was proficient in some one or more branches of learning and equal to the work of teaching. Not only this difference but 'the individual skill in imparting one's knowledge to others was recognised to distinguish between teachers and teachers. Kalidasa says:—

- 1. 'A certain man knows a subject thoroughly well; while another can teach successfully what he knows. He who possesses both these qualities deserves to be the head of teachers'.
- 2. 'Though well-educated every body is not an expert in guiding or teaching'
- 3. 'The depth and quality of one's own knowledge is tested in teaching'. (Malavika-Agnimitra).

Here we clearly see the recognition of the teacher's skill as an independent art. The selection of subjects for specialisation by pupils required the approval of the teacher, who could tell from his personal experience whether a particular pupil was fit to study a particular subject or not. This is spoken of as professional skill by the same poet. The primary curriculum was to be fairly broad. When boys went through it, the teacher was to decide the lines they were to follow in future; otherwise he was to blame, if a boy took to a difficult subject for which he had no capacity and could not proceed with it after some time.

The pupils were not very frequently examined and, in fact, were not to be so often examined. Probably once, after the completion of the primary course, they were put to some test. Then they

were admitted to higher courses, which ran for some years. As there was no class system, no annual examinations were required for the formation of fresh classes. The pupils received individual attention, and the teacher could see in fresh lessons whether they followed him or not. This was quite sufficient. It is no use putting to test what has not quite settled in the mind', says Kalidasa. Much depended on the judgment of the teacher: if he found that a particular boy was quite well-up, he was encouraged on-wards. On the completion of the higher course some regular examination was necessary, and it was easily arranged by presenting the candidates before an assembly of the learned, which occasionally met and where their progress was tested. Kalidasa complains against the appointment of a single examiner, however learned he may be. 'His judgment can be the result of prejudice at times for some one reason or other. A board of examiners is necessary to secure a fair and impartial decision. Examinations were mostly oral. They tested more memory work than intelligence ordinarily; but in higher stages where there was specialisation full scope was given to originality.

New centres of learning arose with the revival of Hinduism. The convents established by Shankara

were, of course, foremost among them: Sharada in the north, Puri in the east, Dwarka in the west and Shringeri in the south. A host of learned men, like Vidyaranya, received their education in these holy places, and made a name in the learned circles of different provinces. These were purely the seats of Brahminic learning. No Kshatriya or Vaishva ever had an access to them; nor was it sought by either. How far was Shankara right in organising such sectarian institutions? Really, a reformer tries to remove some existing evil. Buddha was a reformer in this sense. Shankara taught the essence of Vedic religion to the people and was so very successful in driving out Buddhism from India and reviving Hinduism. He could accomplish this work within a comparatively short period. It is said that 'he entered a den' in the Himalayas at the age of thirty-two and that he was never seen in this physical world again. This was really a wonderful work and it is not strange that he is looked upon as an incarnation of god. Whatever the value of his work from the religious and philosophic point of view, Shankara's persistence in the caste-system and his discardence of the vernaculars gave a set-back to the national life of India, Kanoui, Benares, Mithila, Nawadwipa,

etc. in upper India and Paithan, Karavir, Giri, and Vijayanagar in the south were also famous places of learning. Each school or place was noted for the specialised study of some one branch of learning and even now several students lived in Brahmacharya in pursuit of knowledge. Discussions and debates were also quite common as in old times, energetic and learned pupils travelling far and wide to take part in them and to earn distinction. Hundreds of teachers were renowned for their depth of learning and purity of character and they attracted to their schools students from the various parts of the country. They still enjoyed the respect of the royal families and of the masses, preserving their ancient traditions even after the lapse of so many centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

General Characteristics.

We have thus traced the civilisation of the Aryans in India for over four thousand years and have seen what sort of education they received and what results they achieved thereby. In the present chapter we propose to have a digest of the vast material and to throw it for a while in modern perspective. It will help us to test how far the ways and means of the ancient teachers stand any comparison with modern developments, or how far the modern theory and practice of education, still in an experimental stage, are to be relied on in the light of the results of the ancient system. Education is not yet a science in the sense in which mathematics or medicine is called a science. Moreover, it is more difficult to perform experiments in education and far less certain to formulate any conclusions than in natural sciences: because the former is concerned with human powers that present various complications, dety the limits laid down and delude observations into prepossessions more often than not. A critical examination of the past education may be a surer guide in that respect. It is said that the nature of education depends upon the ideals of the people. This is true, but whatever the aims may be, the ways and means can be open to systematic prescription, for which a regular research is necessary. To aim at a thing is fairly distinct from the skilful use of the means to that end; and generally there is scarcely any dispute regarding the former, but the want of the latter is always to be felt.

To start with, we may clear the ground of the hasty and sweeping generalisations made by some American and European scholars while speaking of the civilisation and education in ancient India. Dr. Graves of the Ohio State University, a wellknown modern educationist, remarks that 'despite all the Hindu's fineness of intellect and his idealistic religion, adia seems typically barbarian'. This remark appears to be hurled against the presentday Indians; and as such it may stand as it is, because this is their dark age (from eleventh century A. D. onwards). But surely it cannot apply to the golden age of India, which has been briefly described in the past few chapters: the people used the forces of nature to their advantage, lived in an organised state, developed arts and industries and

⁺ Histor y f Education by Graves.

tried to solve the problem of the universe. These facts fully satisfy the conditions of a civilised community, laid down by Mr. Davidson in his history of education' which was probably one of the sources of Dr. Graves' information. Physically and mentally the ancient Indians were as much civilised as the Europeans in the seventeenth century. Again the same learned American says: 'education in India has been forbidden to ninety-eight per cent of the population.' This statement is totally unwarranted; because education has always been not only open but compulsory as a part of religious duty to all the Aryans. It was certainly denied to the non-aryans. This was, of course, the conqueror's selfishness; but who is not selfish even in this twentieth century? Have the African, American and Australian natives the same facilities and freedom as the new settlers there? Buddha revolted against this selfishness of the ancients and his monasteries imparted education to all alike including the non-aryans. 'It (education) is as little concerned with real mental culture as it is with training for manhood or citizenship'; this observation may well apply to the modern education in India, particularly so far as the latter part of it is concerned. Education surely was not thought of by the ancient Hindus as an independent subject; but judging from the results, the institutions that produced Janaka, Kapila, Kanada, Asoka, Kalidasa and Bhaskara cannot be said to be blind to mental culture. Many injunctions given in the Sutra works speak of the training for manhood and citizenship and Rama, Arjuna, Chandragupta and Harsha were admittedly great rulers trained in those old schools. There are many other similar statements in Dr. Graves' book which and student of Indian history could challenge; but they need not detain us any longer, for they seem to be based on prejudice or insufficient information.

A European writer speaks of the Upanishads that they are 'the mental produce of an unprogressive portion of mankind'.† It is very strange that he sees no progress from the Vedic hymns to the Brahmanas and from the latter again to the Upanishads. It is very strange that he sees no progress in the advance of the Punjab Aryans into the Gangetic valley and then beyond the Vindhya range. It is very strange that he sees no progress in the works of Panini, Gautama, Shankara and Sushruta, or in the teachings of Buddha and Mahavir, or in the politics of Kautilya and Vikramaditya.

The philosophy of the Upani hads by Gough.

Again in the same book it is said that 'in treating of Indian philosophy a writer has to deal with thoughts of a lower order than the thoughts of the every day life of Europe'! It is no use criticising this wanton remark from a materialist and it is sufficient to refer the reader to Shaupenhaur, Deussen and Maxmuller for a real appreciation of Indian philosophy as appearing in the Upanishads.

There are also some Indian thinkers who would run from one extreme to the other in the total condemnation or wholesale justification of the old order. The truth always lies midway between the extremes and every age has really something to learn or adopt from another that follows or precedes it. The new generation gains by the experience of the old, carries on its dealings on the strength of that capital and collects interest at times, which in days to come helps to increase the stock. Nature is always progressing and man must keep pace with her: he cannot look back for his ideal all the time, nor can he kick away the support under his feet. He has got to use his ancestral property to the best advantage and to transform or enlarge it in the light of the new requirements and fresh developments.

The caste-system had its own merits and demerits. The society was looked upon as an organic whole and there was a regular division of labour among its members. Each one in the beginning picked up that branch of human activity which he liked most; and afterwards his descendants tollowed the same, because on the Frength of heredity they were best fitted to to the saruggle for existence was then not at all here be social and economic pressure was too meet to require any change of occupation and have training was the cheapest and surest means of equation. Hindu teachers were very particular as to the fitness of the pupil for the different branches of learning or industry and this fitness was to be produced through inborn tendencies and suitable environments. There are many references to this point in some of the TSanskrit works and even modern thinkers testify to their validity. The ancient village organisation in India was simply splendid. it was only after the Mahomedan conquest and the industrial revolution

The goddess of learning says to the teacher 'mpart me to him who guards his treasure, is not careless, is pure of mind'... (Manu. II.)

[†] The highest mystery of Vodanta should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued...... (Shvet, Up, V1, 22,)

by machinery that the evils of the caste-system were experienced. An obvious comparison suggests itself in this respect. The stray cattle imprisoned in a fold begin to fight with each other as soon as they find their free movements hampered, thinking that it is the neighbour that prevents each one from going out and enjoying the open air on the pasture; whereas it is really the keeper of the fold who has chained them all and is invisible to them. Such has been the state of the Hindus under the Mahomedan rule and thereafter; but during the period that has been surveyed in the last four chapters it was quite different: then 'Brahmins were great in sacred knowledge, Kshvatrivas in valour and Vaishvas in wealth' and all of them maintained the greatness of the race as a whole

The education of the Brahmins during the four epochs affords an interesting study. In the beginning only such of them as belonged to the families of the Vedic sages and a few of their neighbours learned to recite the hymns. The object of this education was purely religious. The Brahmins did not then form a separate caste. They practised agriculture and acted as priests to princely families and at the performance of sacrifices. The word shiksh (to learn recitation) appears for over

fifty times in the Rig-Veda, meaning that the teaching was oral and consisted chiefly of learning by heart the songs with the necessary accents. During these days there was no Upanayana and no residence with the teacher. In the next age education was made compulsory by instituting the initiation ceremony. A sacred thread was to be worn at the time of worship. The pupil was to be sent to Guru's house where he was to reside till the completion of his studies. He was to beg for alms, to do every kind of service to the teacher and his household and to go through a course of regular discipline. In addition to the recitation of the text instruction and explanation were given. As the sacrificial ritual became more and more complex and elaborate, specialisation was aimed at by the priests and denominational schools arose everywhere. The object of education now became vocational, though its disciplinary nature was never lost sight of. The appearance of the Upanishadic philosophy gave a different turn to it: people got rather disgusted with the pompous ceremonial and animal slaughter at sacrifices and became more thoughtful. Self-culture was attempted and reasoning and meditation were probably the outstanding changes in the work of advanced students. This gave a lasting impetus to the love of learning and

long studentship became the rule. The curriculum developed itself with the growth of knowledge in the six systems of philosophy and it was also divided into compulsory and voluntary groups. The Sutras made the sacred thread to be permanently worn, fixed the age for Upanayana and made the rules of discipline more rigid than before. During these times Sanskrit was being replaced by the popular dialects in the daily routine. The Brahmin schools persisted in their teaching of the divine language and the cleavage between the higher and lower classes of the society was being keenly felt. The domination of the priestly class made the castesystem more and more rigid, and at last the dissatisfaction burst into the protest of Buddha and Mahavir. The curricula were widened still and secular studies found a place in school work. Buddhist monasteries threw into the back ground the Brahminic schools, which, however, continued in that forgotten state and kept alive their traditional lore with staur.ch conservatism. With the production of the Furanic and classical literature image worship was introduced and the human element received more recognition than before. Aesthetic sense was cultivated and intellectual training was more cared for than mere religious instruction. The study of the vernaculars was commenced and

an all-sided development of the mind, with the formation of character as the basis, was aimed at.

The education of the Kshatriyas was purely military in the warlike days of the Rig-Veda. They were the leaders and protectors of their clans, and the members followed them wherever they went. The composers of hymns and their descendants acted as their family priests and were solely dependent on them economically. But in the next age the warrior class fell victim to superstition and allowed themselves to be guided by the priests everywhere, especially at sacrifices. The latter undertook to educate their sons. The education commenced with Vedic learning in general and was then specialised in the study of the Dhanurveda and Rajaniti. Many princes studied philosophy later on as part of their education. In the Sutra times many other subjects were added to the primary curriculum. In the beginning the regulations about the Upanayana and residence with Guru were strictly followed: but after the lapse of some centuries they were treated as only formal. Kautilya's work laid down a practical outline for the education of princes, the literary, scientific and philosophical branches of learning being quite voluntary for them. The classical literature made the Kshatriya education more individualistic than ever, and the fine arts of human

expression received great attention. This change brought on luxury and love of pleasure with it, which, coupled with internal feuds and a want of the national spirit, caused the fall of the military class (that was easily crushed by the Moslems soon after).

The class of producers received little literary education when they settled in the Punjab. The skill in the hereditary arts and industries was passed by the father to his son. The presence of the poets' families influenced their dealings and ideals to a certain extent either directly or indirectly. When the Vaishyas received the designation of Dwija along with the other two castes, they had to send their children to the teacher's house for education which was chiefly elementary. The curriculum meant for these pupils contained some simple Vedic passages of general interest, arithmetic, elementary astronomy and the first principles of arts, industries and trade. They spent a comparatively short period with the tutor and then learned their hereditary occupation thoroughly. while acting as apprentices in their father's workshop. There is scarcely any instance of an artisan or an agriculturist or a tradesman having studied much of grammar or philosophy; because he did not require that knowledge in his future life. His education was purely vocational with a broad basis, viz. the formation of character: the former aim was accomplished under the father's instruction and the latter under the teacher's supervision. The knowledge of different vernaculars and commercial geography became unavoidable in the Sutra age and this was obtained by the producers in the course of practical dealings. This necessity probably led to the rise of vernacular elementary schools. Sooner or later the initiation ceremony became a formal function and the stay at teacher's house was dispensed with. The study of religious texts also fell into disuse during the Puranic times and the Vaishyas threw themselves headlong into business life, in which sphere their skill was specialised and carried to perfection, calling forth praise from many a foreign observer.

Women were not allowed to study the Vedas-No school existed for the education of girls, who were considered to be unfit for freedom. They were to be solely dependent on their parents in early days and on their husbands after marriage; apart from whose protection they had no status in the society. They were meant for domestic life and received home training accordingly. Literacy

and education did not go hand-in-hand in the case of Hindu women. Many of them were, perhaps, illiterate, but all were well educated in spite of that. This was a fact, strange though it may seem to the European mind, and it was accomplished on the strength of the religious ideal of life and by means of the home as the centre of all activity. Girls were trained by mothers and aunts in the performance of all domestic duties, in wife-like and maternal virtues, in self-sacrifice for the happiness of the members in the family and in heartfelt devotion to god, the source of all strength, satisfaction and bliss. The daily life of a Hindu girl was—and is to be seen even now in the orthodox families—marked by regularity, discipline and righteousness. This was similar to the studentship of boys in the teacher's house. The Brahmin women had an advantage over others, because their house was invariably a seat of learning, and incidentally they picked up some portion of what was dictated, recited and discussed. The Kshatriya ladies were always better off than others in this respect because of their high economical status. In most cases they had a private tutor to teach them reading and writing and tell them stories. They also learned music, singing, painting and dancing. These fine

arts were best cultivated in the days of Kalidasa and Bana. The Vaishya women were worse off than others. They had little to hear at home except the nursery tales. Only in very rich families private teachers might have been engaged for the training of girls and this, too, after the formation of the vernaculars. Ordinarily they learned to help their men in the hereditary art or industry and were thus able to earn something by productive labour. All Hindu women received very effective moral training. They had the ideals of Sita and Damayanti before them, lived a pure disciplined life and observed the rules of their religion. In times of necessity such virtuous and selfless characters could not fail to render good service to the cause of society. Kaikeyi once put her hand in the wheel of her husband's chariot, when the axle was broken and thus helped him to carry on the fight. Lopamudra assisted her husband. Agasti, in many wavs in establishing Arvan colonies in the Deccan. And many other royal princesses encouraged their men in the performance of religious as well as political duties from time to time, and rendered material help whenever necessary.

It is admitted on all hands that the education in ancient India stands justified by its results. Love of learning was so common then among the upper classes of society and particularly among the Brahmins. It was their religious duty to learn and to keep learning alive and they did it with such a success. Many of them lived celibate lives and continued to be students till death. Such men had to go through a rigorous course of discipline, the detailed regulations regarding which were intended to prepare their minds for the abstinence from every kind of sensual pleasure. Modern people may laugh at the old Brahmachari not taking sweets, living in a lonely place, having light meals, turning away his eyes from women and his ears from music, etc; but unless the bodily senses are trained and controlled in some such way, it is impossible for a human being to check his actions and desires. Such a regulated life results in 'inner freedom,' which cannot come off by itself or at will. Philosophers have proved that the unit of change is both physical and spiritual and that the one precedes the other. You cannot begin at the top. The bodily unit is the place where you can commence a change and make a slow and sure progress till in course of time (commonly about twelve years) you find your mind as well as body completely transformed. Such a discipline was consistent with the ideal of that ancient education. Learned men were greatly honoured

everywhere in India. It was a common saying then—'a king is respected in his own kingdom, while a pundit is worshipped everywhere.' The difference between military education and literary training was thus pointed out: 'both of them lead men on to distinction, but in old age the former becomes a butt of ridicule while the latter is received with respect all the time.' A poet once said: 'Of all the attachments in this world-and there are many of them-only two deserve the name; the one is a love of learning and the other a boundless devotion to god.' Whenever there is a description (in old books of India) of the meeting of learned men and kings, the latter are said to have honoured the former in the best possible manner.

A third good result of the ancient educational system of the Hindus was the organisation of the class of devoted teachers, whose life-work it was to learn and to teach. Their intellectual attainments were high enough. They had to pass twelve or more years with their guru in studying the particular branch or branches of learning, to undergo a severe test in an assembly of the learned and to receive permission to teach others, before they could start a school. They were not to

teach anything which they did not know thoroughly well. Many European scholars of Indian history have spoken of the fine genius of the Brahmin teacher; of them F. W. Thomas says: 'what was taught was well taught and the attainments of the Hindus were not inferior to those of any ancient nation, or to that of European scholars prior to the Renaissance.' Moreover, it was in moral and religious qualifications that the Brahmin teacher stood worthy of the name. His plain living, high thinking, disciplined routine, abstinence from pleasures, mental control and, above all, his sincerity of purpose were the principal factors of the success in his work. Such mental qualities could not fail-can never fail-to command respect from anybody; they were a living model for the pupils to follow and carried the lion's share in the creditable educational results when no state organisation existed. There was all self-government in education and, in the absence of any departmental inspection or control, all questions about the curricula, methods, discipline, examinations, etc. were so ably managed by the teachers on the strength of religious bindings. The Jesuits offer a fine comparison. Both were devoted, religious, learned and disciplined sects. Both produced

good results in their own spheres. Both imparted religious and secular knowledge and were respected wherever they went. The latter, however, kept no houshold and lived celibate lives in an organised society; in which respects the Buddhists had much in common with them. These very conditions of life led to the decline of both Jesuits and Buddhists, when the individual fervour, sincerity and virtue were on the wane. On the other hand, the Brahmin kept his household, enjoyed his simple family life and at the same time abstained from throwing himself headlong into intemperate worldly pleasures. He managed his own school. except in the case of a large institution where many like him worked under a kula-pati. Of the three the Brahmin institution appears to be the most natural and lasting, though the least dazzling.

Lastly, the ideals of education were, for all practical purposes, well accomplished. On completing their education the pupils found no difficulty in securing a means of livelihood. The struggle for life was not even half so hard as now, nay, there was scarcely any struggle then. Each one had his hereditary occupation to follow and his simple wants could be easily supplied. In this way the utilitarian aim of education was fulfilled.

The formation of character was the second object for the accomplishment of which the whole educational system made provision from the beginning to the end. The religious bindings, the social atmosphere and the daily routine combined to lead the individual along the righteous path. The young and the old had to perform the daily worship at stated hours. The rigorous discipline in the school and at home nipped in the bud the unhealthy instinct and nourished the pious feeling in the pupil's mind. The severe punishments laid down in the ancient codes of law were effectively deterrent, and there were, probably, fewer occasions for their enforcement than now. The discussions in royal assemblies, the discourses of learned persons, the entertainments in temples and the celebrations of religious festivals—all helped to stimulate and uphold the right moral conduct. The society was governed by religion. All actions from marketing to meditation were regulated by religious rules and they applied to all persons from the pauper to the prince. Such religious bindings could have some cramping effect on the intellect and free thinking, but they had a greater hold on the human mind than any secular law could ever exercise. In general, the former has a positive influence while the latter only negative. The one

helps to transform the mind itself, to uproot the germs of the disease and thus to prevent any recurrence thereof; while the other checks only a particular wave, does some patchwork on the surface and leaves the interior untouched to send up dangerous puffs again and again at suitable intervals. After all the real happiness of the individual and of the society lies in the peaceful mind and healthy interior rather than in the sharpness of intellect and polish of the exterior. And to be just to the ancient Hindus one has to admit that they did enjoy that kind of happiness both individual and social. The combination of the two aims of education was at once practical and perfect. Even in this twentieth century we see that one cannot live on 'liberal' education alone, that some means of maintenance has to be supplied to the pupil undergoing a particular course of instruction and that howsoever harmonious the development of man may be 'the heart still over-rules the head'.

It was the higher and adult education of the Hindus that carried most of the credit for the said salutary results. But the education of children was far from being scientific in the modern sense of the term. The gaining of knowledge from books was the direct object rather than the development of mental powers. The pupil was first

introduced to Vedic hymns, to reading, writing, etc. Whatever imagination was trained was about the nature of gods and sacrifices, of sins and ghosts, of birth and death. The teacher scarcely ever tried to stimulate the pupil's reasoning directly, as is now done in Montessori schools. Everything had its indirect effect of course: the memory work, the prayers and the duties in the household and at sacrifices. The exercise to any one power of the mind can affect others more or less and sooner or later, just as a long walk has an effect on the whole body. Allowing some discount for the superstitious beliefs regarding the nature of imaginary gods, etc. the discipline had a goodly share in shaping the pupil's character. Prof. James, the celebrated psychologist, speaks so well of the practice of morning and evening prayers among the Hindus.† Not only does it help to train the boy in right moral conduct, but also to stimulate his preconscious thought. It has a wholesome effect on the physical constitution. This same practice was probably at the bottom of the thoughtfulness of the Hindus, and the sacred nature of the whole learning influenced many minds to take to literary pursuits. Here is a question which may deserve

[†] Talks to Teachers on Psychology.

experiments: can regular prayers and sacred environments train children in imagination, reasoning and judgment as well as the modern methods of teaching through the senses? Should the intelligence be stimulated externally as modern educationists advise us to do, or should it be done internally? For the latter method the pupil will have to put forth a voluntary effort and it may be necessary for that to have a favourable surrounding and a course of discipline; whereas in the former case the teaching will be interesting to him and he will naturally attend to it involutarily. In any case, a fair combination of both these ways may produce ideal results: the present-day science hand in hand with the time-honoured faith. The scientific proof of the usefulness of the worship of the sun may encourage us in such an experiment.

The education of the Hindus was not entirely vocational. In the beginning of his school life the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, or the Vaishya had to go through an elementary course which was common to them all. The regulations about Upanayana are quite explicit. The boy was not to be introduced to his hereditary profession just then, but to a course of religious instruction. Again, the Brahmin teacher was to train the children of the three castes; which fact shows that there must

have been something common for them all. There were also compulsory and voluntary subjects in the curriculum and their selection was to be done when the pupil passed through the elementary stage so as to enable the teacher to form an estimate of his capacity and to help him in his judgment. Secondly the education was not purely religious. It commenced with religion—as in fact each and every branch of knowledge shot out from it; its ideal was also religious. But the study of secular subjects like grammar, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, physics, etc. was also taken up by Brahmin pupils. A perfect knowledge of the world was considered to be necessary even for moksha. Nor was the education totally dogmatic. The text was explained and the pupils were taught to think and to understand. The students of grammar, medicine, astronomy, logic, etc. could not have made such progress, had there been no observation, experimentation or discrimination. Original thinkers like Kanada, Buddha, Bhaskara. Vagbhat could never have appeared in a society where all education was dogmatic. Even for the realisation of god mere blind belief was not sufficient, and genuine conviction was insisted on. It is true that in the early stage of education children

were required to take things on faith; but even there so far as the formation of character was concerned the teacher was right, because for moral and religious training faith and practice are always essential. For intellectual training proof and experiments are necessary; and this he never probably attempted—in fact there was very little to be showed and proved to the younger pupils, in the initial stage of their schooling. For physical strength actual exercise is required, and this the Hindu boys in ancient schools were expected to take regularly.

We have seen (in the last chapters) enough about the nature of schools, their organisation and discipline. Originally, the boy was not to be taught anything before he was eight years old; and then he was introduced to the recitation of gayatri. This ruling held good all along so far as the Vedic learning was concerned. But before the time of Buddha the teaching of elementary reading and writing of the vernacular was commenced at the fifth year of the boy. The ancients never thought of the sub-primary stage in education, though they knew the value of early impressions on the mind of the child and that was attempted under the discipline at home by giving oral advice and by

supplying models for imitation. Even now we have no sub-primary stage in India, the education of our children still begins with reading and writing; but the ancient home education in the disciplined household is no more, because in this commercial age the centre of activity is not the home but the public place.

The methods of instruction in the early stages were confined to the training of the pupil's will in three different ways,—(1) oral advice, story-telling, or recitation of moral precepts, (2) the pure environment and (3) the daily religious practices. All this helped to develop the human element in him. Learning the text by heart was the rule and the pupil probably liked the rhythmical recitation out of a natural liking for it. The exlanation of the text was almost on the same lines as at present, the following steps being observed therein:—

- (i) अध्ययन—the hearing and recitation of the text,
 - (ii) शब्द—the apprehension of meaning,
 - (iii) জ = reasoning and generalising;
 - (iv) बुह्त्प्राप्ति—confirmation by some authority;
 - (v) दान—application.

These steps tally almost wholly with those of Dewey or of Herbart. The different schools of

philosophy found out such ways and means to make their pupils understand the principles. As has been said before, there was more intelligent teaching in the advanced stages than in the primary. The study of grammar, for instance, commenced with the learning by heart of the lexicon, rules and the forms of nouns and verbs. It was not taught along with literature or on inductive lines as in modern schools. Whatever the pupils learned they carried word by word in their heads. They were ever ready to reproduce any part of it. The nature of aphorisms, to which most of the texts were reduced, made it easy for them to learn and remember them; and when the aphorism was at the finger's end it was but the next step to remember the commentary thereon. The mental strain in remembering and learning the text by this old method was probably less than that caused by learning and remembering the ideas and principles (without the words and phrases) in the text in modern schools. Here is another point for experimentation. The old students were always ready for examinations and ever after carried their learning with them. On the other hand, the presentday pupil has to make special preparations for the examination and forgets most of his knowledge as soon as he leaves the answer-book to the examiner.

True, that the general impressions may be more lasting and the outlook wider in the case of the present-day student than of the old. But so long as our examinations require the reproduction and application of the knowledge from books studied, will it not be desirable to bring together the advantages of the ancient and modern systems? The ancient pundits were walking libraries and as such ready for reference at any time; while the knowledge of the modern educated man is in his books and scarcely ever can he make an authoritative statement without looking into his notes!

Thus the Brahmin schools followed the intensive method of teaching. Quality was aimed at more than quantity. Complete retention of the portion learned was the rule. This method had its own merits. Not only did the pupils understand the text thoroughly, but their reasoning power in general was also developed, and on the strength of the same they could take up the study of any other subject by themselves. The three words appearing in the literature of the three stages in the Aryan civilisation roughly explain the corresponding methods of teaching prevalent in those respective times. Firstly, the word Shiksh is to be found in the Vedic hymns for over fifty times. It means 'to learn to recite,' and the edu-

cation in those days consisted of learning to recite the holy text. Thus arose the science of phonetics called Shiksha. In the Brahminic, Upanishadic and Sutra literature the word Adhyayana occurs more often than any other, meaning to learn (and Adhyapana—to teach). It literally means 'to go near' and expresses the idea of the pupils going to some teacher for their education. Thus the initiation ceremony was instituted, and then the boys were sent to stay with their teacher who explained them everything. The word has the secondary sense of understanding something and shows the explanatory methods used in those days. Thirdly, the word Vinaya is met with in the classical literature that was produced after the beginning of the Christian era. Literally it means 'to lead out' and is almost synonymous 'education.' Kalidasa carries the credit of having used it very often in that sense. Here was a reference to the development theory of education: the inborn powers of the man both mental and physical were to be drawn out and developed. Side by side with this it also means 'modesty,' Prabodhu is used by the same poet to express the results of education. It means 'awakening' or 'enlightenment.' These two words carry a fine notion of education much the same as in the modern times.

So far the ancient theory of education concurs with that of the present day; but the old practice differed widely from the new. The modern educationist gives more freedom to the pupil, makes him observe and think, does not ask him to take anything on faith and puts nothing into his head from without. On the other hand, the old Hindu teacher subjected the pupil to severe discipline, prescribed humanistic studies for him and gave most importance to the impressions to be made on his mind from without. It is difficult to say which is the right course for us to follow. But it is obvious that the ancient system was quite consistent with its ideal, namely, the formation of character. Arnold, Herbart and Mill upheld the importance of humanistic studies in that respect. Modern researches tell us that religious studies have the least 'coefficient' of fatigue. The unity between the practical and the spiritual brought about in the Hindu system has also been considered to be very favourable for the attainment of its goal. No doubt, it often looked to the past for its ideals; but at the same time the

^{† &#}x27;The leading idea of the Hindu method of mind culture is development without strain' p. 14.

^{&#}x27;The Hindu sages aimed at clearing all confusion of thought from the child mind......' p. 22--Hindu Mind Training-S. M. Mitra.

spirit of adaptation was not wanting. It was in full working order during the Sutra and Puranic epochs. The works of Kalidasa, Bana and Harsha are full of its tales. The running sentiment of the Hindu education was religious piety and right moral conduct through all the ages. Who can blame the society for having stuck to it? Standing on that platform they modified their practical life as necessities arose.

In teaching questions and answers were freely used by the teacher. The extracts from Sanskrit and Pali works quoted above are a sufficient evidence for it. The lecture method was never used by the Hindus not even in higher stages. It is purely western in origin. Really when a lecture is given to a class of fifty or more students, it is useless to some of them who may be insincere. Its necessity is not felt by some others and a few of the rest prabably cannot follow it. This European method is again one-sided, because the lecturer alone is put to an exertion while the listeners are idle. In the Hindu schools the students would approach the teacher with questions to be solved and the answers were rightly appreciated. The classsystem was not used there and individual attention was the rule. The teacher was appealed to every now and then and he had sufficient opportunities

to judge their capacities and to influence their activities. On the other hand, the tendency in modern schools, run on the lines of the classsystem, is to avoid the teacher, who then cannot so well understand and impress his pupils. In this sense the Dalton plan may not sound to be an invention to the student of ancient Indian education. The modern school does little for the bright children and it is admittedly on them that the future of the society depends. In the old Hindu school every child received special attention, was encouraged and promoted from grade to grade in due consideration of his ability. There was no necessity to detain the clever one for the dull, or to yoke on the latter to the former; no waste of energy, no waste of time.

It is said that the monitorial system in the Indian schools was picked up by Dr. Bell and introduced into the schools in England. This system has its own advantages: the responsibility thrown on a particular boy trains him for that work and makes him bold and well-behaved; the leaders among boys are marked out, who may become the leading spirits in the society; the spirit of public service and self-sacrifice is cultivated; the democratic discipline is inculcated, as boys understand

boys better than others. Similarly the methods of teaching a language, especially classics, were also introduced by the same keen observer into the public schools of England, where Greek and Latin were taught. The output of those institutions included the men who worked for the foundation and the extension of the British empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by their adventure, patriotism and statesmanship.

Again, the 'project method' is not quite a modern invention. All the branches of knowledge known to the Hindus were the offshoots of their great sacred project, namely, Sacrifice. Even the boys in their early education were taught to work at it and it was a sufficient field for their native activities from brick-laying to drawing, from counting to reciting, from measuring to chiselling. The Kshatriya and Vaishya boys had more practical projects before their eyes in the form of warlike feats and industrial arts respectively and their training was sufficiently concrete, though rather empirical in the beginning. Vishnu Sharma, a Brahmin teacher, had the charge of the foolish and vicious sons of Sudarshana, the king of Pataliputra. The princes had a great liking for the rearing of pigeons. When the teacher observed this and saw that they would attend to nothing

else, he said that thenceforth they would do nothing but flying, feeding and looking after pigeons. The pupils were overjoyed to hear that. Then gradually he taught them how to count their pigeons and recognise them. As the number grew large the necessity of writing down accounts was felt. Then the pigeons required names such as ' A, B, C,,' which made the princes learn to read and write letters. More practical names were then suggested. Houses for them were to be built involving a knowledge of drawing, engineering, mensuration, physics and construction. In this way the skilful teacher taught the boys most of the subjects of instruction, including ethics and politics. Many story projects are to be found in Hitopadesha and Panchatantra: and in fact such manuals were written by teachers who had to educate some illbehaved boys of the rich in such an interesting disguise.

In the Hindu system the relations between the teacher and the pupil were simply unique and and ideal. There was all cordiality and frankness in the sacred seat of learning. Both were bound by religious ties to each other. Parental love on the one hand and deep respect on the other made such a sweet combination of feelings, that had

'Less of earth in them than heaven.'

Not a tinge of mercenary views was to be marked there. Nothing was formal or superficial in the Ashrama and not a germ of selfishness. The guru gave his lessons so sincerely and so sympathetically: the pupil received them so respectfully and so attentively. The teacher had to deal out punishments at times; but they were light and for the improvement of the pupil. The feeling of estrangement had no room there. The parting scenes † were often full of over-whelming sentiments. It was quite natural when ofter a stay of some years they were to part company with each other. And the touching advice to be given by the teacher to his pupil! Scarcely could the former say it out without tears in is eyes and the latter hear it just for his sighs and bursts of grief. The whole family felt as if some intimate relation was leaving them and the student felt as if he was going away from his real home to that of the worldly father. In passing his knowledge to the disciple the teacher was aware of the tradition to be kept aglow. The line of ancestral preceptors was always borne in mind; which influenced the younger generation and stimulated their efforts to a great extent. When the teacher heard that his pupils were doing quite well, he felt very happy, and particularly when some one of

[†] For example — between Krishna and Sandipani.

them became more learned and famous than himself.

The history of ancient education in India has probably little to teach the modern student of pedagogy as regards the technique or methods of teaching. But so for as the aims and results of education are concerned, he has some interesting account to read. And still more is he attracted by the brilliant pictures of the Brahmin and Buddhist teachers. The spirit with which those devotees worked, the sympathy which they felt for their pupils, the sincerity with which they followed their profession, and the selflessness which marked their life is a model worth imitating. Without the scientific knowledge of the educative process and the methods of teaching they produced those satisfactory results. Without their spirit the modern trained teacher may not turn out work even half so good With the right spirit and systematic training he can evoke the admiration of the society for his successful performance. The educational science is progressing day by day; but still the modern school may fail to reach the oft-repeated goal, because of the absence of an organised and devoted class of teachers. This is just what the study of the ancient Indian education can inspire us to bring about.

APPENDIX.

Δ

The following is a list of the sixty-four Arts considered appropriate for young persons—ladies in particular:

- I. Literary Accomplishments.
 - 1. Reading and elecution.
 - 2. Lexicography and versification.
 - 3. Excercises in enigmatic poetry.
 - 4. Filling up of stanzas of which a portion is told.
 - 5. Guessing unseen letters and things held in a closed fist.
 - 6. Use of secret languages.
 - 7. Knowledge of languages.
 - 8. Solution of riddles.
 - 9. Solution of verbal puzzles.
 - 10 Mimicry.

II. Domestic Arts.

- 11. Tailoring or sewing.
- 12. Making bows, sticks, etc. with thread,
- 13. Bed making.
- 14. Prestidigitation.
- 15. Ornamental Cookery.
- 16. Preparation of beverages.
- 17. Marking the cheeks before the ears with sandal and other pastes.
- 18, Display of jewellery on the person.
- 19. Perfumery.
- 20. Making of ornaments of flowers for the head.
- 21. Making of necklaces and garlands, etc.
- 22. Staining, dyeing and colouring of the teeth, cloth and the body.
- 23. Making use of unguents, pomades, etc.

APPENDIX.

- 24. Coiffure.
- 25. Changing the appearance of fabrics.

III. Manual work and occupations.

- 26. Drawing.
- 27. Pictorial Art.
- 28. Science representation.
- 29. Modelling.
- 30. wood carving.
- 31. Making ornamental designs on the flour with ricemeal and flowers.
- 32. Making beds of flowers
- 33. Making artificial flowers with threads.
- 34. Making of flower carriages.

IV Recreative Arts.

- 35. Making fountains.
- 36. Jugglery,
- 37 Making twist with a spindle.
- 38. Cock-fighting, quail-fighting, ram-fighting etc.
- 39. Teaching parrots to talk.
- 40. Devising different expedients to make the same thing.
- 41. Tricks.
- 42. Dice-playing.
- 43. Incantations to entice persons or attract things.
- 44. Assuming various forms
- 45. Tricks as taught by Kuchumara.

V. Scientific Arts.

- 46. Setting jewels.
- 47. Decoration of houses.
- 48. Testing of silver and jewels,
- 49. Knowledge of Metals.

- 50, Colouring gems and beads.
- 51. Ascertaining the existence of mines from external appearances.
- 52. Gardening, botony, etc.
- 53. Making of monograms, locographs and diagrams
- 54. Lapidary art.

VI. Musical Arts.

- 55. Vocal music.
- 56. Instrumental music.
- 57. Playing on china cups containing varying quantities of water to regulate the tune. जलतंग.
- 58 Tattooing.
- 59. Dramatics.
- 60. Etiquette.

VII. Physical Arts.

- 61. Dancing.
- 62. Juvenile sports.
- 63. Physical exercise.
- 64. Art of warfare.

(Vatsyayana-Kama-Sutra)

В

The following is a list of the fourteen lores:-

पुराण-न्याय-मीमांसा धर्मशास्त्राङ्ग-मिश्रिता: । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चर्तुदश॥ १ ॥ (याज्ञवल्यय-स्मृति)

- 1. The Rig-Veda.
- 2. The Yajur-Veda.
- 3. The Sama-Veda.
- 4. The Atharva-Veda.
- 5. Phonetics (शिक्षा)

6.	The	Ritual	(कल्प)
----	-----	--------	--------

- 7. Grammar (ब्याकरण)
- 8. Etymology (निरुक्त)
- 9. Prosody (छंद)
- 10. Astronomy (ज्यातिष)
- 11. Puranas (पुराण)
- 12, Logic (न्याय)
- 13. Philosophy (मीमांखा)
- 14. Theology (धर्मशास्त्र)

C

The well-known eighteen Puranas are the following:

bra.	hma

- 2. Padma
- 3. Vishnu
- 4. Shiva
- 5. Bhagavata
- 6. Bhavishya
- 7. Narada
- 8. Markandeya
- 9. Agni

10. Brahma-Vaivarte

- 11. Linga
- 12. Varaha
- 13, Skanda
- 14. Vamana
- 15. Kurma
- 16. Garuda
- 17. Matsya
- 18. Brahmanda

Some more Puranas of a later date :-

Vayu

∆di

Aditya

Kalika

Devi

Nandi

Nrisimha

Bhavishyottara

Vishuu-Dharma

Vishuu-Rahasya

Vishnu-Dharmottara

Shiva_Dharmottara

गभीएनेहे क र्रित बाह्मण र रिवाय र र म्भीदेशको गत्ने कोषु द्र अध्ययमित है । **मं. ३ — स्. ६२ न**ः-र्पृष्ट् छन्दे छट्टी विकीशह भीत**ठ** तत्सविदर्वरेण्यं भगों देवस्य धीमहि। धिसो हो तः प्रचेहसून । वेग्रह यामश्र यज्ञान्न कि मान्त्र कातन्त्र 🖵 🗲 🗸 🗜 🗝 🗸 म यदेवानस्यो अस्यस्य याचं,शाक्तृत्येव बुद्दृति विस्समाण्यः है। १ अस्यस्य सामि सर्वे तदेशां सम्बोब पर्वे यत्स्य गांची वृद्धभूगाच्युत्सः। कि १५०० । १५ मि च बार पर व के रिकार के स्वार्थ के प्रमुख्य के प्रमुख्य के प्रमुख्य के प्रमुख्य के प्रमुख्य के प्रमुख्य के प्रमु सर्वे नंदति यशसागतेन सभासाईन सङ्ग्रह्मान्युः के कि अ कि कि कि कि न्वयस्पृतितुषाणित्येषामरं हितो अनिति बस्कित्यः ॥ ११ १ १ १ १५ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ यज्ञत्रवर-िरुकुपूरःग्य—३१० : कार जीवन मेरी पर रेड मार्थ का अध्यान होते हैं। -खंदर्ः --भेत्रहेत्र्व्वकृष्य अप्यानं हैं, इ. भिन्नोनाय भेत्रकेतो तय सहात्र्यं कर नेवित का नेवित सह ह दर्शनूर्य विदेश क्यानिक क्यानिक विवर्ध । स्वितिक विदेश स्वितिक स् मानी स्तब्ध एयाय। नितृद्धायपारता घन्नवं च निवितः । भधीह भगव इति होपससाद सन्दर्भार्त नाइहरू ततस्त उद्भै वस्थामीति । स होवाद्युवेदः चतुर्विमितिहासपुराणं पंचमं वेदानां बेदं पुत्रुश्चे गार्थि देव विद्यां ब्रह्माविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां Sध्येमि । सो द्वं भगवे। मंत्रविदेवास्मि नाम्मिक्तिम् हो हो नि हिन छ जानिति तैतिरीयापनिषत् व०१-- अ०१ धियाच्च. दर्शनीयाच पंडिलाच धियवता ' सत्यं वद । धर्म चर स्वीर्ध्यानमा प्रमंदः । सेवितन्यानि । नो इत्रराणि । न होदि अणियातेन परिश्रेन सिया । स्वन्निर्दि

गर्माष्टमेद्वे कुर्वात ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम् ।
गर्भादेकादशे राक्षो गर्भानु द्वादशे विशः ॥ ३६ ॥
उपनीय गुरुःशिष्यं शिक्षयेच्छै चमादितः ।
भाषारमामेकार्येष संध्योपासनमेवच ॥ ६९ ॥
वेदास्त्यागस्य यद्वास्य नियमाश्य तपांसिच ।
व विश्रदुष्टमावस्य सिद्धिं गच्छंति कर्हिंचित्।॥ ९० ॥
भाभेवादनशोलस्य नित्यं बृद्धोपसेविनः ।
पत्वारि तस्य नर्गन्ते आपुर्विया यशोवं अम् ॥ १२१ ॥
उपनीय तु यः शिष्यंवेदमध्यापयेद्विजः ।
सकल्पं सरहस्यंच तमाचार्यं प्रचक्षते ॥ १४० ॥

विष्णुपुराज-अ०१--

कालः क्रीडनकानांते तदन्तेऽध्ययनस्यच । ततःसमस्तभागानां तदन्तेचेध्यतेतपः ।

राम।यण —बालकांड—सर्ग —१८—

डीमंतः कीर्तिमंतश्च सर्वज्ञा दीर्धदर्शिनः । तेषामेवं प्रभावेण सर्वेषां दीप्ततेजसाम् ॥ पिता दशरयो हृष्टो ब्रह्मा लोकाधिपोयथा। ते चापि मनुजन्याच्या वैदिकाध्ययने रताः॥ ४ पितृशुश्वषणरता धनुवेदेच निष्टिताः।

महाभारत -अगृदिपर्श-अ०१४२-

सतान्शिष्यान्महेशासः प्रतिजप्राह् कौरवान् । पांडवान्धार्तारष्ट्रांश्व द्रोणो सुदितमानसः ॥ तान्सर्वान् शिक्षयामास द्रोणः शक्तभ्रतांवरः । अये शक्तेष शाक्षेष रथनागाश्वकर्मणि ॥ नीतिमान् सकतां नीति विवुधाधिपतेस्तदा ।

प्रियाच दर्शनीयाच पंडिताच प्रियनता ॥ (वनपर्व-२७)

^{पका} शक्तीता—

तद्विदि प्रणिपातेन परिश्रेष्ट्रेन सेवया । उपदेश्याति ते ज्ञान ज्ञानिनस्तत्वदाधीनः ॥ स्टितिविस्तार—अ.१२-— अह्घानः शुभां विद्यामाददीतावरादपि । अन्त्यादपि परं धर्मे बीरत्नं दुष्कुठादपि ॥ स्राणक्य---अर्थशास्त्र---

लालयेत्वंचवर्शाणि दशवर्षाणि ताडयेत् । प्राते तु **षोडशे वर्षे पुत्रे मित्रवदाचरत्** ॥

कामन्दकी---

भुभूषा श्रवणं चैव प्रहणं घारणं तथा। ऊहः(पोहार्थ-विज्ञानं तत्वज्ञानं च धीजुणाः॥

तर्कशास्त्र--१--

अधीतव्याकरणकाव्यकेशि ८नधीतन्यायी बालः ।

वेदान्त--(शंकराचार्य)--

ब्रम्ह सत्यं जगान्मिथ्या जीवी ब्रम्हेव नापरः।

काछिदासग्रंथा-:-रघुवंश---

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्वरणाद्वि । स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्मदेतवः ॥

दुरितं दर्शनेन ग्रंस्तःवार्थेन नुदंस्तमः।

प्रजाः स्वतंत्रयांश्वके शश्वत्सूर्य इवे।दितः ॥

सम्यगाराधिता विद्या प्रबोधविनयाविव ॥

भूर्जपत्रगतोऽक्षरविन्यासः ।

लिरेर्यथावत्प्रह्णेन वाब्ययंनदमु**क्षेनेव समुद्रमाविशत्** ।

स्वाभाविकं विनीतत्वं तेषां विनयकर्मगा।

मुमूर्च्छ सहजं तेजो हाविशेव हविर्मुजाम् ॥

विद्यःमम्यसनेनैव प्रसाद्यितुमईसि ।

िष्टा किया कस्याचिदात्मसंस्थासंकातिरन्यस्य विशेष यस्यामंय साध्र स शिक्षकाणां धरि प्रतिष्ठापयितव

॥ — नाट्यग्रंथाः —

तपः षड्मागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्याकाहि नः ॥ विनीतवेषेण प्रवेष्टव्यानि तपोवनानि नाम ॥ विनेतुरह्न्यपरिष्रहोऽपि बुद्धिलाषनं प्रकटयति ॥

सर्वह्नस्याच्येक्काकिने निर्णयाभ्ययुप्तामी दोषाय ॥ ११११ वर्षे ११११ वर्षे १८१६ विकास १९११ वर्षे १९४५ । चित्रकर्मपरिचर्येन ते अंगेषु विनिमयं कुमैः ॥ भारत है भेटा के किया यथेव तथा जड़े। नतु खल तथाक्षीने शक्ति करोत्यपदांतिना ॥ ११८७ गणान गण्डम कर्ण गणान गण्डम कर्ण गणान भणान । विशुद्धेक्तकवेस्त्व,श्रेतु मम भक्ति दृष्ट्याति ॥ विशुद्धेक्तकवेस्त्व,श्रेतु मम भक्ति दृष्ट्याति ॥ बाणभट्टग्रंथ: हर्षचितिम् - उ० १-**इ**तापनयनःदिक्षियाकलापस्य समावृहस्य चतुद्दे वर्षदेशीय कुलादः हैरिक चित्रकृति ... वांशिको लासकपुवा कंश्वको । मेस्करी : हिस्तर सहीयीक्षी । हिमाणका। व गाँगे विशासा गाइनभावसभावति । स हारन दर्भन में ल्हार्यन स्टेस्स: । समाषित--यः पद्मति जिखति पश्यति परिपृच्छिति पूर्वितानुपासुर्यति । र्वाशंभारते छ ः। हार तस्य दिवाकरिकरेणैने जिनीद्र मेव विकस्यितं बुद्धिः ॥ सर्च जगनाऽक्षरिकच्यातः । विद्या ददाति विनयं विनयाद्याति पात्रताम । । है विश्वन प्रदर्णन वाकार्यनद्वि के विस्तान के किस्तान के विश्वन प्रदर्णन वाकार्यनद्वि के विस्तान म्ययतो वृद्धिमायाति क्षयमायाति सैचियत्हितीय कि कि कि कि कि छेलू हु भने तसंश्योच्छेदि परोक्षार्थस्य दर्शकम् । । कंके हिन्द्र विकार करिन्द्र मण्ड ा कि गा कर गचेदा **मसःयासिकारिक्रकृति के के सिन है। के नच के नच** व्यसनानि संति बहुरो अवस्मात्विमिक दिन्दे किसंग्रह कृति म मिन मिना अ विद्याभ्यसनं व्यसनं यद्वा हरिपादसेवनं व्यसनन् ॥ े 💳ः छोत्रहरूकः 💳 । त्यः षड्मागमक्षर्यं ददन्यारण्याकादि नीमीठक्कीह ।घाष्ट्रकी प्रक्रिकि है है विनातवं रेण प्रनेष्टव्यानि तपेवनानि :तिमितं हो एक तिनम्हनि । विनेतु रहव्यपारं महोऽ। वु दिलाचवं प्रकट्याति ॥

#