

I am now much inclined to believe that many of the symbols on the early coins were intended to refer to the Jain religion, which probably is older than the Buddhist. The rhinoceros is especially significant. It occurs on Nos. 48, 58, and 59 of my *I. M. Catalogue* (p. 132, pl. xix, 5, 6). The animal is the emblem of Śreyāmsānātha, the eleventh Tirthankara, and does not seem to be used as a symbol by either Buddhists or Brahmanical Hindus.

The dog on the *caitya* (Theobald, p. 212, fig. 49, in JASB., part i, vol. lix, 1890) suggests either Zoroastrian or Tibetan influence. I may remark in passing that there was much more of the latter in ancient India than is generally recognized.

The reference to Jain symbols on coins leads me to observe that speculations about the origin of primitive Buddhism, by which I mean "Buddhism before Buddha", cannot be dissociated from consideration of Jainism, which may well be still older.

Dr. Spooner boldly affirms (p. 429) that "Chandragupta [Candra-] was a Parsi", and (p. 453) that "Buddha was a Persian". Again, he states that "Buddhism . . . stands for the spiritual acclimatization of a section of the domiciled Iranians" (p. 455). Those propositions need examination which cannot be attempted now. I only utter the caution that the Jain problem is closely associated with the Buddhist one. A great mass of tradition connects the early kings of Magadha, whether Śaśunāga, Nanda, or Maurya, with Jainism.

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MALAVA-GANA-STHITI

This will be, I hope, my last contribution to this unprofitable discussion, in which, indeed, I would not have taken part at all, but that Dr. Thomas, in starting it,¹

¹ JRAS. 1914, p. 413.

did not state rightly something that I had said.¹ At any rate, if he should say anything more, I do not contemplate making any further rejoinder.

No one wishes, as far as I know, to deny that the Sanskrit word *gaṇa* and our word 'tribe' have certain special meanings, according to the context. But I think that many people would agree with me in disputing that *jāti*, which has now been brought on the scene (p. 534 above), is the only, or even the best, rendering of 'tribe'. However, the question here is simply whether *gaṇa* in expressions in which it is coupled with names of peoples may be appropriately rendered by 'tribe'; the word 'tribe' being taken in its customary general sense, which seems to be that of a body of people, mostly of the same original stock, governed by the same laws and customs, and usually dwelling in some particular territory but in some cases leading a nomadic life.

A special merit of Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, which presents 'tribe' as a meaning of *gaṇa*, is that it gives so good a choice of English renderings of the Sanskrit words. The assertion that a citation of that dictionary "will have no weight with any scholar of Sanskrit" (p. 534 above) speaks for itself. And so does the proposition that we are to reject a meaning given in it because that meaning is not found in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, when we bear in mind that the lexicon was made some forty years earlier.

Dr. Thomas has challenged me now to adduce "any passage from Sanskrit writing where this meaning [viz. 'tribe' for the word *gaṇa*] is either authorized or appropriate."

¹ In a footnote (p. 535 above, note 3) he now seeks to disclaim having "misrepresented" me. I did not use that term: but certainly "it will be seen upon inspection" by any careful reader that, whatever he may have "intended", he distinctly did misrepresent me (as he puts it) in connection with my original rendering of the expression *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti*.

We have such a passage in the *Raghuvamśa*, 4. 77,¹ where Kālidāsa, describing the *divvijaya* or tour of conquest of Raghu and mentioning the various peoples whom he subdued, and having brought him to the point when he invaded the Himālaya range, says :—

Tatra janyaṁ Raghōr=ghōraṁ parvatīyair=gaṇair=abhūt ।

Mr. G. R. Nandargikar in his translation below his edition of the text has rendered this line by :—“There a terrible battle ensued between Raghu and the mountain-tribes.”²

So, also, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit in his edition of the poem explained *parvatīyair=gaṇaiḥ* by :—“With the mountain-tribes.”³

Further, Mallinātha in his commentary, in which he explained *gaṇaiḥ* by *Utsavasamkēt-ākhyaiḥ saptabhiḥ saha*, quoted from the *Mahābhārata*, 2 (Sabhā). 1025, in its account of the *divvijaya* of Arjuna :—

Gaṇān=Utsavasamkētān=ajayat=sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ ।

And Protap Chandra Roy's translation (*Sabhā*, p. 81) has rendered this by :—“The son of Pāṇḍu brought under his sway the seven tribes called Utsava-sanketa.”

In my opinion, no sensible person could hesitate to use ‘tribe’, in its general sense and without any special technical implication, as the most natural and appropriate rendering of *gaṇa* in these two combinations and in any similar ones, including such expressions as *Mālava-gaṇa* and *Yaudhēya-gaṇa*.

It may be added that neither of the two passages which I have cited, nor any similar one, is referred to under *gaṇa* in the *St. Petersburg Lexicon*. This deficiency is quite enough to account for that work not including ‘tribe’ among the meanings of the word.

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¹ I am indebted to Mr. Pargiter for this reference.

² Second ed., Bombay, 1891, p. 95.

³ Second ed., Bombay, 1897, Notes, p. 38.