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P. V. KANE H. D. VELANKAR
ASAF A. A. FYZEE GEORGE M. MORAES

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URVAŚĪ AND PURŪRAVAS

BY D. D. KOSAMBI

One of Kālidāsa's finest plays, the *Vikramorvaśīyam*, has for its theme the love, separations, and final reunion of King Purūravas of the lunar race and the nymph Urvaśī. The *apsaras*, on her way to heaven, is abducted by the demon Keśi, from whose clutches the mortal king rescues her. This led to their falling in love. She finds the divine city of Amarāvati no longer attractive, and proves her lover's reciprocal sentiment by a masked visit to his park. From the joy of this discovery, she is recalled to heaven, to act the part of Lakṣmī in a play staged before Indra. But the divine stage-director Bharata sentences her to assume human form for mispronouncing Viṣṇu's name Puruṣottama as Purūravas. The curse is no great burden, as it enables her to mate with Purūravas, but the course of their true love is interrupted again and again. The heroine is turned into a vine, but restored to her husband by a charmed jewel. The jewel is stolen by a bird of prey ; the bird is found shot dead by an arrow bearing a legend which tells the king that Urvaśī has borne him a son. This means another reunion, which would be terminated by Urvaśī's restoration to heaven ; but Indra, having a war on his hands, allows her to remain on earth till her husband's death.

This crude analysis of a beautiful play by one of the world's great poets and India's great dramatist does no justice to the consummate skill with which the theme is handled and embellished. What interests me here is the theme itself. It can be traced right back to our oldest extant records, namely the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Ṛgveda. The oldest report still contains some features of the play, being a dialogue between the two principal characters, totally foreign in appearance to anything else in the Ṛgveda. The action takes place at a crucial moment when the hero pleads with the heroine and she refuses his request. Thus the happy ending is a much later invention. As we shall see, there is a greater change than this in the structure of the story. This change reflects precisely the difference between Vedic society and the Gupta period, being in fact a transition from ritual to drama.

2. Kalidasa's Treatment

The theme attracted Kālidāsa sufficiently to be treated more than once, being for him simply the reunion of lovers separated by circumstance, or by disfavour with the gods. On the purely human level, we have his play the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which contains some of the most brilliant and moving passages composed by the poet. There, however, the heroine is a princess forced to serve as a handmaid. On the other hand, the *Śākuntala* finds the hero unwilling to recognize either his wife or their son after a period of separation, some petty miracles being needed to bring him back to his senses. However, the lovers are always royal, the entire level is that of the court, but for an occasional scene in the forest or a hermitage. The king is always noble in character with his full complement of courtiers. In two of the three plays, there is at least one other queen between the two lovers, a variety of the eternal triangle that caused no difficulty in polygamous society, for the extra queen yields gracefully while still remaining a queen. The characters are certainly oriented towards the contemporary reigning family, presumably the Guptas, as is seen from the language, and the title Vikrama. Also by the fact that Purūravas is the founder of the lunar line of kings while the son of Śakuntalā is Bharata (the eponymous ancestor of the greatest Ṛgvedic tribe) who is again enrolled into the Soma line of descent. The women and servants speak Prākṛt, a practice which reflects a situation prevalent to this day in many parts of the country where formal school education has not yet made its way or is still confined to the males of a small upper class. For example, the men of the landholder class in Goa believe their language to be Marāṭhī or Portuguese, according to their religion, but the women speak Koṅkaṇī. Similarly in many parts of the Gangetic basin, where the Hindi spoken by the men of the upper class differs very much from that spoken by the womenfolk, and of course from that of the peasants. But the aristocrats also generally speak the supposedly cruder language or dialect, particularly when addressing women or servants, which never happens with Kālidāsa or any of the other Sanskrit dramatists. We have here one of the concomitants of a peculiarly Brahmanic renaissance, which did its best to create a class language, refusing to acknowledge the failure that was absolutely inevitable. Their only success was in preserving a dead language for religion, as with Sumerian for the priesthood in Mesopotamia. The Sanskrit renaissance was due in fact to concessions made to the popular idiom such as Mahārāṣṭrī or its prototypes. Language is a means of communication for the whole of society. It develops, just as does value and the concept of money, from social intercourse.* At most, a class can *mark* its unity by means of a specialized vocabulary, or a particular accent, but both must belong

* K. Marx *Capital* 1.1.4 "Value does not wear an explanatory label. Far from it, value changes all labour products into social hieroglyphs. Subsequently, people try to decipher these hieroglyphs, to solve the riddle of their own social product—for the specification of value is just as much a social product as language is"; cf. also J.V. Stalin (on Marxism in linguistics, *Soviet Literature*, 1950, 9, pp. 3-31.

to the whole of their society for comprehension. In much the same way, no class can have a special currency for itself, nor can it monopolize all the means of barter-exchange (money) in the realm. Kālidāsa, therefore, has not even depicted his own times very carefully, beyond the brahminized concept of a royal court. But in the earliest times the story could not be meant to delineate a royal court, which had not come into existence. Though the scriptures in which it seems to originate became a monopoly of the Brahmin class, their purpose was liturgical. So, we have to look much deeper into the details of the story, and into their historical development, before coming to any understanding of its origin.

3. Modern Interpretations

Before trying our own analysis, let us consider what has been done by scholars of repute. Keith [1] admits that the explanation does not suffice for the earliest stage ; the Ṛgvedic hymn is 'of considerable interest and obscurity'. He finds the sun-dawn myth of Weber and Max Muller 'quite unnecessary.' The whole story has no deep significance according to him : "The hymn clearly refers to one of those alliances of nymphs and men, which are common in all literature as in the stories of Thetis and of the German swan maidens, who often for as long as seven years are allowed to stay with mortal men....the taboo of seeing the hero naked is of interest and primitive in nature....Purūravas is simply a hero, not necessarily ever a real man, but conceived as one : later tradition derives the lunar race of kings from him." The trouble with this is that it explains nothing. If the legend is common, and primitive, it has to have some fairly deep significance, particularly in view of its later survival and repetition in different ways.

Max Muller [2] had a very simple formula for these primitive myths, which he succeeded in translating into purely almanac language : "Thus—'Urvaśī loves Purūravas' meant 'the sun rises' ; 'Urvaśī sees Purūravas naked' meant 'the dawn is gone' ; 'Urvaśī finds Purūravas again' meant 'the sun is setting'. Against this sort of fatuous equivalence, as in the Nirukta and Kumārila, there is no argument. Muller, however, gives an abstract of Kālidāsa's play, yet only explains the *Śatapatha* legend ; for there is no mention in Kālidāsa of the taboo against Urvaśī seeing her lover naked. Just why the simple sun-dawn myth had to undergo all these changes doesn't transpire from a reading of Muller's critique.

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[1] A. B. Keith : *The Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Harvard Oriental Series vols. 31-32, Cambridge, Mass, 1925 ; p. 183.

[2] Max Muller : *Chips from a German workshop* (London 1868), Vol. ii, 2nd ed. pp. 117 ff, particularly p. 130.

This is not to deny either Muller's substantial contributions to Indic philology or the legend's similarity to a sun-myth. To Muller, India owes the first complete edition of the Ṛgveda, the circumstances being explained in detail in the very book cited : the Veda was generally misquoted by learned Brahmins who used this method at will to refute any inconvenient legal decision supported by the Manusmṛti or similar works, and even to justify the practice of widow-burning (*satī*). The East India Company's officers forbade the latter practice, but wanted as far as possible to yield to Brahminism, as it was always a convenient tool for subjection of the 'natives.' So came into existence Muller's edition of the *Ṛksaṃhitā*, giving the Brahmins themselves a complete text which hardly any of them possessed in Bengal and none could have edited there at that time. One may note that it was the Germans who took and maintained the lead in Indic studies, though one should have expected British scholars to occupy that position. The British attitude is shown by Colebrooke's sneer against the Vedas, "They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole ; and what they contain, would hardly reward the labour of the reader ; much less, that of the translator." The contrast is surely to be explained by the satiety of a nation which had completed its industrial revolution and wanted only to exploit its colonies, as against a nation that had begun to catch up with and surpass its older rival by means of superior technique, which necessarily implied the profound scientific method and outlook that characterized Germany of the last century.

Now, if the difference in the means of production explains so much even in the attitude of modern European scholars, is it not necessary to ask just what differences in social structure prevailed at the various stages of the Purūravas-Urvaśī legend ? But this is precisely what has not been done. As we saw, Keith never gave the matter a thought. Geldner, whose account represents the heaviest labour of mature German scholarship, [3] saw nothing essential in the earliest version that did not survive in its developments. To him, the whole episode was just one more of many such Itihāsapurāṇas. The same attitude led Geldner to see a far greater continuity between the Veda and later Sanskrit literature, just as Sāyaṇa did, than the facts (as now exemplified by archaeology) justify. When he said (p. 244) of Urvaśī "Sie vermag die Natur der Hetäre nicht zu verleugnen," did he realize that the hetaerism (strictly speaking, hierodule-prostitution, but I shall continue to use "hetaera" loosely) originates in, and in many parts of India still remains connected with, temple cults ; at the earliest stages, with the cult of the mother-goddess ? For our purpose, Geldner's main service was a painstaking report on the principal versions of the story ; to these we may proceed forthwith, with the remark

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[3] In R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, vol. I, Stuttgart 1889, pp. 243-295. Hereafter, Ṛgveda references will be indicated with or without the preceding abbreviation RV.

that Geldner's essay well repays close study in spite of its insufficient explanation of the original legend.

4. Versions of the Story

Geldner reported upon eight different sources, in his order: 1) the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.5.1 ff. 2) The Kāṭhakam, 8.10. 3) Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's commentary to the Sarvānukramaṇī. 4) Harivaṃśa (noting virtual identity with the Vāyu-purāṇa 2.29). 5) Viṣṇu-purāṇa 4.6.19 ff. 6) The Bṛhaddevatā. 7) Kathāsaritsāgara 17. 4. 8) The Mahābhārata (Crit. ed.1.70. 16—22).

Of these, the first is given at the end of this section for comparison with RV.x. 95, from which it shows some important differences, even at so early a stage. Geldner noted that accounts 1,4,5 follow much the same lines, 2 is a dry excerpt; 3 adds the story of Ila, a son of Manu metamorphosed into a woman by stepping into a grove sacred to the mother-goddess Pūrvatī, and in that state bearing Purūravas as a son to Budha ; 3 also gives a motif to the curse upon Urvaśī by adding the legend of Vasiṣṭha's birth from the combined semen of Mitra and Varuṇa poured into a *kumbha*.

The most important admission made by Geldner is that there are essentially two versions of the latter half of the legend, of which the older was tragic. The lovers never were united, at least in this world. Of course, this can be seen by any translation of the Ṛgvedic hymn, but it is essential to know that it survived in Indian tradition though Kālidāsa could not accept it for his romance. What the German scholar failed to inquire was what was supposed to have happened, in the original version, to the pair after they parted. On this point, the Ṛgveda gives no direct information while the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ends by saying that Purūravas himself became a Gandharva by performing the correct sacrifice ; the Gandharvas are the superhuman beings assigned as natural consorts to the Apsaras, but some doubt is added as to exactly what happened by the further statement that anyone who sacrifices in the manner of Pūruravas becomes himself a Gandharva. However, Geldner should have followed the Mahābhārata version further in the Purāṇas. The relationship is rather confused, in the absence of any extensive analysis ; but specimen legends have shown that the Mahābhārata in its critically edited form contains the source of many important puranic stories, though both may be derived from some older common source. The epic says briefly (Mbh. 1.70. 16—22) that "the learned Purūravas was born of Ilā, *who was both his father and his mother*, or so have we heard. Ruling over (*aśnan*) thirteen islands of the sea, the victorious one was always surrounded by superhuman powers, though himself human. Intoxicated by (his own) prowess, he crossed the Brahmins,

tore their treasures from the Brahmins in spite of their protests. O king, Sanatkumāra, having come from the Brahmā-world, gave him advice which he did not take. Then cursed by the angered sages he was at once destroyed, he the king who had been overcome by greed and lost his reason by force of pride. The same hero brought from the Gandharva-world, along with Urvaśī, the fires arranged into three for sacrificial purposes. Six sons were begotten of Aila (Purūravas) : Āyu, Dhīmān, Amāvasu, Dṛḍhāyu, Vanāyu, and Śrutāyu, the sons of Urvaśī."

Of these six sons, only Āyu is known at the earliest stage ; seeing that the last three have *āyu* as termination of a compound name, it may be admitted that an Āyu tribe derived their descent from Urvaśī and Purūravas. At least two of the Purāṇas allow this story to be traced, the direct influence being proved by the fact that there the Nahuṣa story follows immediately after, as in the above Mahābhārata section. The moral of both epic and purāṇic narrative is that it is dangerous for any king to rob Brahmins, to tax them, or levy forced labour. But the Vāyu Purāṇa i.2.13-21, which is copied with only trifling variants by Brahmāṇḍa i.2.14-23, gives the exact manner in which Purūravas came to die. His greed for treasure was never satisfied. Once, while hunting, he stumbled upon a golden altar made by Viśvakarman at which the seers of the Naimiṣa forest were sacrificing, and tried to loot that. The angry sacrificers struck him with the sacrificial grass which had become as Indra's *vajra* ; so crushed, the king yielded up the ghost.

Clearly, *Purūravas was killed at a sacrifice*, according to this Brahmin tradition ; that his greed was the cause is merely a warning to later kings. I submit that the cause may have been invented, but the killing cannot have been wholly divorced from current inherited legend. At this stage, let us repeat the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa version, in Eggeling's translation :

xi. 5·1 : "The nymph Urvaśī loved Purūravas, the son of Iḍā. When she wedded with him, she said, 'Thrice a day shalt thou embrace me ; but do not lie with me against my will, and let me not see thee naked, for such is the way to behave to us women.' (2) She then dwelt with him a long time, and was even with child of him, so long did she dwell with him. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, 'For a long time, indeed, has this Urvaśī dwelt among men : devise ye some means how she may come back to us.' Now, a ewe with two lambs was tied to her couch : the Gandharvas then carried off one of the lambs. (3) 'Alas', she cried, 'they are taking away my darling, as if I were where there is no hero and no man !' They carried off the second, and she spoke in the selfsame manner. (4) He then thought within himself, 'How can that be (a place) without a hero and without a man where I am ? And naked, as he was, he sprang up after them : too long

he deemed it that he should put on his garment. Then the Gandharvas produced a flash of lightning, and she beheld him naked even as by daylight. Then, indeed, she vanished : 'Here am I back', he said, and lo ! she had vanished. Wailing with sorrow, he wandered all over Kurukṣetra. Now there is a lotus lake there called Anyatahplakṣā : He walked along its bank ; and there nymphs were swimming about in the shape of swans. (5) And she (Urvaśī) recognising him, said, 'This is the man with whom I have dwelt.' They then said, 'Let us appear to him.'—'So be it !' she replied ; and they appeared to him. (6) He then recognised her and implored her (RV. x. 95·1) 'Oh my wife, stay though, cruel in mind : let us now exchange words ! Untold, these secrets of ours will not bring us joy in days to come ;'—'Stop, pray, let us speak together !' this is what he meant to say to her. (7) She replied (x. 95·2) 'What concern have I with speaking to thee ? I have passed away like the first of the dawns. Purūravas, go home again : I am like the wind, difficult to catch ;'—'Thou didst not do what I told thee ; hard to catch am I for thee, go to thy home again !' this is what she meant to say. (8) He then said sorrowing (x.95.14), 'Then will thy friend rush away this day never to come back, to go to the farthest distance : then will he lie in Nirṛti's lap, or the fierce wolves will devour him ;'—'Thy friend will either hang himself, or start forth ; or the wolves, or dogs, will devour him !' this is what he meant to say. (9) She replied (x.95.15), 'Purūravas, do not die ! do not rush away ! let not the cruel wolves devour thee ! Truly, there is no friendship with women, and theirs are the hearts of hyenas ;'—'Do not take this to heart ! there is no friendship with women : return home !' this is what she meant to say. (10) (RV. x. 95·16) 'When changed in form, I walked among mortals, and passed the nights there during four autumns I ate a little ghee, once a day, and even now I feel satisfied therewith.'—This discourse in fifteen verses had been handed down by the Bahvṛcas. Then her heart took pity on him."

Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa account is a commentary on the Ṛgvedic hymn, though not explaining its most obscure features. The Brāhmaṇa then goes on (by itself) to say how Urvaśī gave him a night of her company, and gave him his son. The Gandharvas granted him a boon, which he chose as being one of themselves. Thereto, he received directions for the proper sacrifices. The account ends : (17) "He then made himself an upper *araṇī* of Aśvattha wood, and a lower *araṇī* of Aśvattha wood ; and the fire which resulted therefrom was that very fire : by offering therewith he became one of the Gandharvas. Let him therefore make himself an upper and a lower *araṇī* of Aśvattha wood, and the fire which results therefrom will be that very fire : by offering therewith he becomes one of the Gandharvas." Kālidāsa retained the heroine on earth till the hero's death, rather than translate him to heaven forthwith.

The last sentence of the Śatapatha quotation is meant for any later sacrificer. The similarity of Urvaśī—Purūravas (or for that matter any human coupling) with the two portions of the fire-plough[4] has been noted, the more so because the son's name *āyu* is also used as an adjective for *agni*. This is one more natural interpretation of the whole myth. But let us remark for the time being that a definite locality was recognized for the dialogue, and that the 'happy ending' was not part of the Vedic discourse, being clearly a later addition. The Ṛgvedic hymn is in eighteen instead of fifteen verses, which has been taken by some to denote a difference of version. Finally, what is the original meaning of 'became a Gandharva' ? This could not have happened while Purūravas was alive, for the Gandharva at the time of the Brāhmaṇas is recognised as a spirit who could possess women, say the spirit that caused their hysteria : Bhujyu Lāhyāyani in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 3·4·1 says to Yājñavalkaya. . . ."we were travelling around as wanderers among the Madras. As such we came to the house of Patañcale Kāpya. He had a daughter who was possessed by a Gandharva. We asked him, 'Who are you ?' He said : 'I am Sudhanvan, a descendant of Aṅgiras' ". Patañcala Kāpya could not have had a very happy family life, for Uddālaka Āruṇi reports a little further : (Bṛ. Up. 3·7·1) "He had a wife possessed by a *gandharva*. We asked him 'Who are you ?' He said 'I am Kabandha Ātharvaṇa' ". The Aṅgirasas left human descendants, and the Atharvan is clearly at one time a human fire-priest. Hence, though the Gandharvas possess a separate minor heaven of their own, a human being can attain it only as a spirit. For a Buddhist the Gandharva is a condition of existence between death and rebirth.

If we combine the Brāhmaṇa with the purāṇa account, the common feature is that Purūravas became a spirit, i.e. lost his life, in some way connected with a sacrifice.

5. Ṛgveda x. 95

At this stage, let me introduce the original hymn which forms our ultimate source at present, and which will have to be accounted for if some new interpretation of the legend is to be proposed.

haye jāye manasā tiṣṭha ghore vacāṃsi miśrā kṛṇavāvahai nu
na nau mantrā anuditāsa ete mayas karan paratare canāhan (1)

(Purūravas) "Alas, o wife, desist from your intentions, o dreadful one, let us discourse together. If our chants remain un-uttered, they will bear no fruit for distant days."

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[4] For the fire-drill as Urvaśī and Purūravas, cf. Śat. Brāh. iii. 4.1.22 ; for the fire drill and any human procreation, Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad vi. 4. 22, and other places.

kim eta vācā kṛṇavā tavāham prākramiṣam uṣasām agriyeva
purūravaḥ punar astaṃ parehi durāpanā vāta-ivāham asmi (2)

(Urvaśī) "What shall I do with these discourses of yours? I have gone over like the first of the Uṣas. O Purūravas, go back to your destiny; I am as hard to get as the wind".

iṣur na śriya iṣudher asanā goṣāḥ śatasā na raṃhi
avīre kratau vi davidyutan norā na māyuṃ citayanta dhunayaḥ (3)

(Pur.) "Like an arrow to the target that wins cattle a hundredfold. Without heroic determination there is no shining; the chorus sets up a keening like (bleating) lambs."

sā vasu dadhatī śvaśurāya vayya uṣo yadi vaṣṭy antigṛhāt
astaṃ nanakṣe yasmiñ cākan divā naktaṃ śnathitā vaitasena (4)

(Extra.) That Uṣas giving wealth and nourishment to the father-in-law, as long as wished, reached her destiny (*astaṃ nanakṣe*) from the inner house, which pleased her; rammed night and day by the (lover's) member.

triḥ sma māhnaḥ śnathayo vaitasenota sma me'vyatyai pṛṇāsi
purūravo'nu te ketam āyaṃ rājā me vīra tanvas tad āsīḥ (5)

(Urv.) "Thrice a day didst thou ram me with the member, and impregnated me unwilling (as I was). Purūravas, I yielded to thy desires; o hero, then wert thou king of my body".

yā sujūrṇiḥ śreṇiḥ sumnaāpir hradecakṣur na granthinī caranyuḥ
tā añjayo'ruṇayo na sasruḥ śriye gāvo na dhenavo'navanta (6)

(?) This excited .... line, knotted together, moving, reflected in the pool; these dawn-red ointments flowed; they lowed like cows, the cattle decorated (?).

sam asmiñ jāyamāna āsata gnā utem avardhan nadyaḥ svagūrtāḥ
mahe yat tvā purūravo raṇāyāvardhayan dasyuhatyāya devāḥ (7)

(?Urv.) "As he was born, there sat the gods' wives; the self-made rivers made him grow. Thee, O Purūravas, the gods have raised for the great battle, for victory over the Dasyus."

sacā yad āsu jahatīṣv atkam amānuṣīṣu mānuṣo niṣeve
apa sma mat tarasantī na bhujyus tā atrasan rathaspṛśo nāśvāḥ (8)

(Pur.) "When I, though human, embraced the superhuman (females) who cast off their clothing, they started away from me like does (? *bhujyus*), or like horses touching the chariot".

yad āsu marto amṛtāsu niṣpṛk sam kṣoṇībhiḥ kratubhir na pṛṅkte
tā ātayo na tanvaḥ śumbhata svā aśvāso na krīḷayo dandaśānāḥ (9)

(Urv.) "If the mortal lusting after (us) goddesses mingles with the water-nymphs according to their will, then do they display their bodies like swans, nipping each other like stallions at play".

vidyun na yā patantī davidyod bharantī me apyā kāmyāni
janiṣṭo apo naryaḥ sujātaḥ prorvaśī tirata dīrgham āyuḥ (10)

(Pur.) "She flashed like falling lightning, bringing me the craved waters —from the water was born a noble lad. May Urvaśī grant (me) long life".

jajñiṣa itthā gopīthyāya hi dadhātha tat purūravo ma ojaḥ
aśāsaṃ tvā viduṣī sasminn ahan na māśṛṇoḥ kim abhug vadāsi (11)

(Urv.) "Thou wert surely born for protection ; this power didst thou hand over to me. I, the initiate, warned you on that very day. Thou didst not listen to me, why dost thou (now) speak like an innocent ?"

kadā sūnuḥ pitaraṃ jāta icchāc cakran nāśru vartayad vijānan
ko dampatī samanasā vi yūyod adha yad agniḥ śvaśureṣu dīdayat (12)

(Pur.) "When will the son that is born yearn after his father ? He will have shed flooding tears, knowing (what happened). Who dares separate the wedded pair in accord as long as the (ancestral) fire burns at the house of the fathers-in-law ?"

prati bravāṇi vartayate aśru cakran na krandad ādhye śivāyai
pra tat te hinavā yet te asme parehy astaṃ nahi mūra māpaḥ (13)

(Urv.) "I answer you, let him shed ample tears, he will not cry, heedful of (my) sacred office ; I shall send you that of thine that thou hast with us. Go to thy destiny ; thou fool thou canst not reach me".

sudevo adya prapated anāvṛt parāvataṃ paramāṃ gantavā u
adhā śayīta nirṛter upasthe'dhainaṃ vṛkā rabhasāso adyuḥ (14)

(Pur.) "Let (your) lover (*sudevaḥ*) today drop (dead) uncovered, let him go to the very farthest distance, never to return ; let him lie down in the lap of Nirṛti (the death-goddess), let him be eaten by raging wolves".

purūravo mā mṛthā mā pra papto mā tvā vṛkāso aśivāsa u kṣan
na vai strāiṇāni sakhyāni santi sālāvṛkāṇāṃ hṛdayāny etā (15)

(Urv.) "O, Purūravas, thou art not to die, not to drop (dead), the unholy wolves are not to eat thee." (Pur.) "There is no friendship with womenfolk, their hearts are the hearts of hyenas".

yad virūpācaraṃ martyeṣv avasaṃ rātrīḥ śaradaś catasraḥ
ghṛtasya stokaṃ sakṛdahna āśnāṃ, tād evedam tātṛpāṇā carāmi (16)

(Urv.) "When I wandered among mortals in another guise and stayed (with them) for the nights of four years, I ate just a drop of clarified butter once a day ; sated with that do I wander here now."

antarikṣaprāṃ rajaso vimānīm upa śikṣyāmy urvaśīṃ vasiṣṭhaḥ
upa tvā rātiḥ sukṛtasya tiṣṭhān ni vartasva hṛdayaṃ tapyate me (17)

(Pur.) "I, the best (of men) submit to the atmosphere-filling, sky-crossing Urvaśī. May the blessings of good deeds be thine ; turn back, my heart is heated (with fear)".

iti tvā devā ima āhur aiḷa yathem etad bhavasi mṛtyubandhuḥ
prajā te devān haviṣā yajāti svarga u tvam api mādayāse (18)

(Urv.) "Thus speak these gods to thee, son of Iḷā : inasmuch as thou art now doomed to death, thy offspring will offer sacrifice to the gods, but thou thyself shalt be blessed in heaven."

Hermann Oldenberg's discussion (*ZDMG* xxix, 1885, 52-90 : Ākhyāna-Hymnen im Ṛgveda ; our legend, pp. 72-76) postulates a (lost) prose shell for the vedic hymn without attempting to explain its many intrinsic difficulties. The original suggestion was made by Windisch, on the model of Irish myth and legend. The argument is that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa version is much more comprehensible than the bare Ṛgveda dialogue, hence some such explanatory padding must originally have existed. Unfortunately for this reasoning, Oldenberg himself shows at the end of his discussion that many details of the Śatapatha story arise from misread or badly understood phrases in the veda. For instance, the nymphs have been turned by the ŚB into swans from the ṛgvedic simile *ātayo na.* The ewes tied to Urvaśī's bed may derive from reading the vedic *urā na māyum* as *uraṇamāyum* ; the lack of a hero (to stop the Gandharvas taking away her darling) bewailed by Urvaśī may come from the ṛgveda's *avīre kratau,* the lightning flash from *vi davidyutan na.* For all that, Oldenberg agrees with Ludwig that "es kaum möglich ist die beiden Darstellungen (des RV und des ŚB) in Uebereinstimmung zu bringen." The conclusion is that the original dialogue had become incomprehensible by the time of the Brāhmaṇa, and if these very able German scholars understood the ŚB account better, it was only because that account was manufactured specially to provide such understanding, in place of that which had already been lost. Whether prose passages were lost therewith or not is immaterial, though the possibility seems to me very remote. There is a great deal in the Śatapatha and otherBrāhmaṇas which shows to what extent vedic rites had gained currency and the form in which they were practiced. But unconvincing prose stories inserted as explanations—for the whole of the Brāhmaṇic literature is meant as commentary to ritual practice—and fantastic etymologies show that in many cases the origin of the rite (and consequently the real meaning

of a hymn) had been forgotten, or was something entirely different from the modes of contemporary society. To give better-known examples of such development : we know that down into imperial Roman times a hymn was sung whose archaic Latin was incomprehensible to the singers ; that the opening of the Sybilline books meant reversion in times of the utmost civic peril to ancient and virtually forbidden sacrifices ; undoubtedly, that is why the praetor Petilius gave his opinion that certain books rediscovered after long burial should be burnt (Plutarch's *Numa Pompilius*). We must try to unearth for ourselves the original ritual whose lapse had led the ŚB to account so badly for ṛks fixed by the Bahvṛcas' memory.

6. Commentary to RV x. 95.

The hymn undoubtedly contains the germs of *all* the later stories that developed about Urvaśī and Purūravas, and from which Kālidāsa drew his material with such unrestricted freedom. But to take *some* of them and then seek to explain the obscurities of the hymn thereby with Geldner leads to nothing except a great exercise of ingenuity in twisting the meaning of Sanskrit words—a pastime to which the language unfortunately lends itself far too well. The meteorological explanation will certainly not do, for then all details vanish completely. The Buddha, Napoleon, and Gladstone (as by Andrew Lang) can all be written off as sun-myths. Nor does it do to say that prose explanations must have been lost or that such myths are found in many other people's folklore. We have to explain what survives, and to explain it on its own merits with reference to a form of society in which no prose additions were needed.

The primary reason for the survival of any vedic hymn is its liturgical function. If an odd hymn like this remains, it can only be because it had some very marked significance or utility which was lost after the composition of the particular verses. Of course, during the period of mere survival, all other parallel aspects are of the utmost help, including the fire-drill, the sun-myth, the romantic tale, the psychological image. The last may be seen in the preface to Grassmann's translation : "The hymn is of late origin...and seems to have been carried from an original religious idea into the region of crude sensuality, and to have been increased by further displacements that move within this latter region with ease. Purūravas, the 'much-calling', the son of Iḷā (the libation) and Urvaśī, the much-desiring or the much-offering, the spirit of ardour, appear here no longer in this ethico-religious relationship. On the contrary, the yearning of the man who calls to the gods and the granting of the goddess that awakens and recompenses ardour are here transformed into material desire and sensuality." This, naturally, raises far too many objections to satisfy anyone. There is still plenty of sensuality in the Ṛgveda, and if the movement of motifs be admitted,

it can in general have been only from the sensual to the ideal ethico-religious, not in the opposite direction. Why should that have happened here, and in so mysterious a manner that the very meaning of the actual hymn is lost?

My explanation derives from as literal a reading as possible, with the ambiguities left unresolved till the end, and then determined—as far as possible—by taking the sense of the whole. *Purūravas is to be sacrificed after having begotten a son and successor upon Urvaśī; he pleads in vain against her determination.* This is quite well known to anthropologists as a sequel to some kinds of primitive sacred marriage.

Most of the Ṛgvedic hymns are meant to be chanted by one or more priests. But there are a few exceptions where *the hymn can only be explained as what remains of a ritual performance.*[5] For example, three (or four) characters, Indra, Indrāṇī, and Vṛṣākapi (and perhaps his wife) take part in x. 86, which is unquestionably sensual with its quite erotic passages; the refrain '*viśvasmād Indra uttara*' is treated as a later addition by all scholars, and so ignored, simply because it comes at the end of every *ṛk* without fitting into the metre. Why was it added at all, and why so systematically, when we have plenty of other examples of refrains fitting into the ṛgvedic verse, and of later additions with smoother join? The only possible explanation is that this refrain is meant to be chanted by others than the principal characters, presumably by all those who attended the performance. The dialogue of Urvaśī and Purūravas is likewise meant to be *part of a ritual act performed by two characters representing the principals and is thus a substitute for an earlier, actual sacrifice of the male.* The extra verses are to be chanted by someone else, to round out the action. That is, Kālidāsa's play is very naturally based upon the oldest of plays. This is not a startling conclusion, seeing that even modern European drama develops from the mystery plays of the medieval church, which themselves develop from and supplement church ritual, while also offering a substitute for pagan, pre-Christian rites of similar purport. It has also been shown that Aeschylus at least among the Greek dramatists developed his plays from the mysteries related to tribal cults and initiation ceremonies, adopting the themes to changes in contemporary society.

It will be seen at once that this explanation serves to remove *all* the major obscurities of the hymn, without doing any violence to the meaning of the words; the explanation fits better than any of the others that have been offered, and shows at the same time why certain divergent accounts with a tragic ending survived in the Purāṇas. Let us look further into the details.

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[5] RV. x. 14-18 and 135 can only be meant to accompany various types of many-stage funerals. All the stages of a long and complicated marriage ceremony are followed in x. 85, and the whole of that late hymn cannot have been meant for recitation by any one individual inasmuch as the bridegroom has himself to speak some verses in the first person. As for dialogues, x. 10 (Yama-Yamī), x. 108 (Saramā and the Paṇis) were almost certainly meant to be acted; possibly also iii. 33 (Viśvāmitra and the twin rivers), i.165, i.170, i.179, iv. 42, and a few others.

Purūravas addresses his wife as *ghore*, which means the grim or dreaded one, used for gods like Indra ; hardly a lover's term, though later this is taken as denoting her hard-heartedness. But he is emphatic that if their *mantras* remain unspoken, there will be no benefit in distant days ; that is, the chant (and action) is meant to confer upon the audience the benefits associated with all fertility rites. Urvaśī apparently tells her lover to get back to his home, *punar astam parehi*, and this is supported by similar interpretations of the word *astam* in the fourth ṛk, which is admitted to be an extra verse. But look at the funerary hymn x.14·8 where the dead man is sent back to his ancestors and Yama with the words *punar astam ehi*. This has sometimes been taken as a request to be reborn in the original family, but such transmigration is not a Ṛgvedic idea. There is no doubt that Purūravas is to go to his final destiny, pass from the sight of men (*astam adarśane*, Amarakośa 3·4·17). He himself says that he is to die, in 14, where going to a far distance-lying down in the lap of Nirṛti and so on are familiar idiomatic circumlocutions for death. This has, again, been taken as a desire to commit suicide for being bereft of his love—a proposition far too romantic for the Ṛgveda, particularly as no word of endearment passes between these two ! Urvaśī seems to console him in the next *ṛk* by assuring him that he is not to die. But look closer, and it is clear only that he is not to die a common profane death, not to be eaten by wolves like any untended corpse in the Iranian *dakhma* (predecessor of the tower of silence) or the corresponding open corpse-enclosure, the *śmaśāna* described in so many Buddhist works, and even in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. No, he is to be sacrificed to or by the gods; that was his destiny. Purūravas was raised for the battle of the gods against the demons so it is not straining the sense to see in this (x.95·7) the necessity for sacrificing Purūravas. The assurance 'thou dost not die' is given in almost identical terms to the sacrificed, cooked, and eaten horse in RV.i.162·21 *na vai u etan mriyase*. In fact, the horse is going to the gods, freed from all his earthly troubles. We should not be surprised to find Purūravas assured at the very end that he is going straight to heaven. That is why he is *mṛtyubandhuḥ*, not an ordinary mortal, but one literally bound to death at the sacrifice. This surely explains why Urvaśī has the heart of a hyena (15), why Purūravas's son can never know his father, but must console himself with thinking of his mother's sacred office (12,13). Even when he asks Urvaśī to turn, *ni vartasva* (17) Purūravas does not ask her to turn back to him, but to turn away from him, for his heart quails with dread; quite naturally, seeing what she is about to do to him. Earlier, he had begged her for long life (10; Geldner's translation "die Urvaśī soll noch lange leben" is piffle, seeing that she is immortal anyway) to which her only answer (11) was that he had been amply warned in advance as to what fate awaited him, if he insisted upon mating with her. The light diet admitted by Urvaśī in (16) is perhaps a denial of cannibalism as a motive for killing the hero; the demon wives of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* derive or sustain

their supernatural powers by feeding upon human flesh. The Tulasī (holy basil) plant is worshipped throughout the country, being planted in the courtyard or near the entrance of every devout Hindu household, on square *vṛndāvana* pedestals which are really horned altars almost identical in form with those found at non-Israelite 10th century Megiddo and even further away from India. The plant goddess is married every year (now to Kṛṣṇa), the reason buried deep in the mass of her legends (*māhātmya*) being given that she is a widow. This can only mean the annual death (by sacrifice) of the husband, which brings us back to Urvaśī and Purūravas.

7. Urvasi's associates

There is some doubt still as to the translation of the first half of x.95·6. Are *sujūrṇiḥ . . . granthinī caraṇyuḥ* to be taken as names, or are they adjectives of *śreṇiḥ*? Taking the latter meaning, we might have a description of the line of dancers at sacrifice. In the first sense, they are other apsarasas, companions of Urvāśī. These particular names are not to be found anywhere else, while the peculiar hiatus in *sumnaāpi* can't be explained in either case. No apsaras is named in the Ṛgveda, except Urvaśī, if we leave out this passage. The Atharva-veda does have several others (AV.iv.37·3 etc.): Guggulu, Pīlā, Nāladī, Aukṣagandhī, Pramandinī whose names indicate some sort of a smell in each case. The Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (xv.15ff. cf. also Taitt. Sam iv.4·3) names a different lot, two by two, to accompany several gods: Puñjikasthala, Kratusthalā for Agni; Menakā, Sahajanyā for Vāyu, Pramlocantī, Anulocantī (both prone to strip themselves) for Sūrya; Viśvācī, Ghṛtācī; Urvaśī and Pūrvacitti (for Parjanya). These correspond to the later *śaktis*, or the regular mates of the gods (Lakṣmī for Viṣṇu etc.), and it is remarkable that they should occur so early. There are plenty more, as in AV.vi.118.1-2, Ugrajit, Ugrampaśyā, Rāṣṭrabhṛt though only two of these might be apsaras. Clearly, the number of these nymphs is legion. Menakā (the name is a pre-Aryan word for 'woman') is known in the Śakuntalā episode for her seduction of Viśvāmitra; her daughter Śakuntalā is, remarkably enough, herself called an apsaras in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii.5.4.11). But Urvaśī is the most prominent of these, and is unquestionably a water-goddess besides being able to traverse the air as in x. 95·17 above.

The apsarasas as water-goddesses appear in the legend of Vasiṣṭha's birth (RV. vii.33), where the sage is surrounded by these nymphs (vii.33.9). Vasiṣṭha is apparently clad in the lightning *vidyuto jyotiḥ pari saṃjihānam* (vii. 33·10) which recalls the lightning flash of the later Purūravas legend that disclosed the hero in his nakedness. The actual birth of Vasiṣṭha is obscured by vii.33·11-13 which report variously: *utāsi maitrāvaruṇo vasiṣṭho' rvaśyā brahman manaso'dhi jātaḥ*, then *apsarsaḥ pari jajñe vasiṣṭhaḥ*, and then that he was born from the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa poured into a *kumbha*,

urn, and that the all-gods culled him from the lotus-pond : *viśve devāḥ puṣkare tvādadanta.* Being born from or because of the *apsaras* Urvaśī and brought to human beings by the similarly born Agastya was Vasiṣṭha's origin as a Brahmin, obviously un-Aryan as we shall see later.

There is no doubt that the apsaras is a water-goddess (like the Nereids including Thetis, and Greek nymphs with names ending in-*neira*), though her consert the Gandharva is generally in the sky (but again the golden-heeled Gandareva of the deep, in Iranian mythology). In RV. x. 10·4-5, Yama and his twin sister Yamī, the first humans, are born of the Gandharva and the water-woman (*apyā yoṣā*), being fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ, even in the womb, to be husband and wife. In x. 85, the Gandharva seems to have special rights over all women, especially the virgins. This partly accounts for the *apyā kāmyāni* of x. 95·10, and the child born from the waters, *janiṣṭo apo naryaḥ*. Of course, there is a clear physiological erotic [0] factor also present. Psychoanalysts have maintained that "drawn from the waters" is an old representation for just ordinary human birth. The treatment by Freud and Otto Rank of this motive propounds that Sargon, Moses, or even Pope Gregory the great (in the *Gesta Romanorum*) being taken from the waters (like Karṇa in the Mbḥ.) is merely a birth story, the waters being uterine or those within the amnionic sac. Be that as it may, we do have two other points of support.

Iḷā is a prominent goddess in the Ṛgveda, remembering that goddesses in general are far less important there than the male gods. She is associated with Urvaśī and rivers in v. 41·19 : *abhi na iḷā yūthasya mātā sman nadībhir urvaśī vā gṛṇātu ; urvaśī vā bṛhaddivā gṛṇānā abhy ūrṇvānā prabhṛthasya āyoḥ.* The Āyu at the end may be Urvaśī's son. The Mbh tells us that Iḷā was both father and mother of the hero, and the change of sex in later accounts is clearly ment to link Purūravas to Manu in spite of his having no father, nor any known parent except Iḷā. The implication is that Purūravas is a figure of the transitional period when fatherhood became of prime importance; that is, of the period when the patriarchal form of society was imposing itself upon an earlier one. We shall have to consider whether this happened in India, or represents some extraneous change preserved in Aryan myths brought into India. But it is clear as far as x. 95 goes that Purūravas is pleading the newer type of custom in marriage in the twelfth *ṛk* when he asks, who can separate the married pair as long as the ancestral fire burns in the husband's paternal house? (The plural *śvaśureṣu* is rather intriguing). That the Purūravas of x. 95 is actually the son of Iḷā and not some other character is clear from the appellation Aiḷa in the concluding lines of the hymn. He is mentioned in just one other place

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[0] For the erotic significance of the waters, compare *tuñjāte vṛṣṇyam payaḥ paridāya rasaṃ duhe* of RV.i.105.2, and Sāyaṇa on *yāduri* in i. 126.6 ; also the "Anna Livia Plurabelle" chapter in J. Joyce, *Finnegan's Wake.*

in the whole of the Ṛgveda : *tvam agne manave dyām avāśayaḥ purūravase sukṛte sukṛttaraḥ* (i. 31·4), where the word *manave* may imply a separate favour by Agni to Manu, and not necessarily that Purūravas is a son or descendant of Manu (or just 'the human' Purūravas); just why thundering from the sky is a sign of special favour is not clear, nor whether that was the favour received by Purūravas rather than Manu. We have, therefore, necessarily to concentrate upon Urvaśī's side of the story, more being known about her.

To return to the birth from the waters, one may point out an episode whose parallelism has been partially recognised, namely, the story of Bhīṣma (Mbh. 1·91ff.). This great figure dominates the extant Mahābhārata even more than the god Kṛṣṇa. He is born of the river Ganges, who assumes human form to woo Pratīpa, but accepts consortship of his son Śaṃtanu instead. She kills her first seven sons by drowning them one after the other in the river, which is surely her own natural form ; hence the sons are sacrificed to her if one ignores the revision. The eighth is saved by the father's pleading, but then the river-queen leaves her husband. That son is Devavrata or Gāṅgeya (with two names, *dvināmā* as we are specially told Mbh. 1·93·44), later named Bhīṣma. The change of name is occasioned by his strict vow to remain celibate. This leads him to abduct or capture, for his step-brother, the three daughters of the king of Kāśī, named curiously enough Ambā, Ambikā, Ambālikā. *All three names mean 'mother'*, and are connected with water by the words *ambu* and *ambhas*. One should guess that they might be river-goddesses, even forms of the Ganges, who has a triune image at Elephanta. Their names are particularly notable because of their joint invocation in the horse-sacrifice (Śat. Brāh. xiii. 2·8·3· etc.). Of the three, the two younger are married off to Bhīṣma's step-brother Vicitravīrya, who dies without issue. Bhīṣma is asked to beget sons upon them for continuity of the family, but refuses though his vow is really to no purpose now. The eldest sister finds herself cast off by Śālva, her former chosen one and asks Bhīṣma to take his place, but is also rejected. She vows to kill Bhīṣma, though he has the boon of virtual immortality from his father, being able to live as long as he likes. Ambā commits suicide, is reborn as or is transformed after rebirth into Śikhaṇḍin, and ultimately kills the hitherto invincible Bhīṣma in battle because he cannot fight against a woman, not even against a man who had been a woman. I might add here that Śikhaṇḍin, which means 'crested', and might be used of a peacock, is given as name or appellation of a Gandharva in AV. iv. 37·7, so that the narrative is again closer to the Urvaśī story than would appear. Bhīṣma is killed by the river-goddess* whom he rejected ; the explanation that his opponent was a sexual invert will not suffice.

* According to Mbh. 5·187·39-40, Ambā became a river with half her body. This river is given as flowing in the Vatsa country ; a rocky, tortuous stream filled with crocodiles, dangerous to pilgrims (*dustīrthā*). All these details seem to indicate an existing river in the Gangetic plain above Allahabad which represented the mother-goddess Ambā. The moral is that getting any

We may compare the story of Bhīṣma with that of the doomed hero of another Aryan battle epic. Achilles is also the son of a water-goddess by a royal but human father. The mother dips him into the Styx to confer invulnerability upon him, not to drown him. The son spends some time dressed as a girl and living among girls as one of them. This is accounted for as an attempt to keep him out of the fatal campaign against Troy. But the matter cannot be so simple, for we have Cretan frescos that show boys in girl's clothing as attendants at a sacrifice or other ritual which is to be performed entirely by women. This must be some ancient story thrust upon the marauding, bronze-age, Aryan chief; the original connection between the sacred immersion, girl's clothing and life, and the hero's death must have been much stronger, if it be admitted that Thetis is also pre-Aryan in Greece.

8. The Dawn-goddess in the Ṛgveda

The most important of Urvaśī's associations has been lost in most translations. This is with Uṣas, the goddess of the dawn and possibly the *bṛhaddivā* of v. 41·19. In x. 95·2, Urvaśī says that she has passed over like the first of the dawns, and this seems a mere simile. The problem then is to explain away the *uṣo* in 4, and this is done in many different ways, none convincing. The explanation I offer is that Urvaśī has reached the status of an Uṣas, and that this status is that of a mother-goddess,[7] not of a mere goddess of the dawn. That was *her* destiny, as being sacrificed was her lover's. We proceed to consider this in detail.

In x. 95·8-9, we noted that the apsaras and her companions strip off their clothing; that was also the way in which Menakā and others seduced the sages. Quite remarkably, it is the goddess Uṣas who most often bares herself to the sight of men in this way. In i. 123·11, she reveals her body like a young woman decorated by her mother: *āvis tanvam kṛṇuṣe dṛṣe kam*. In i. 124·7 *uṣā hasreva ni riṇīte apsaḥ*, she reveals her secret charms like a lascivious woman, or like a smiling one, as you take *hasrā*. But in the same *ṛk* she goes towards men like a brotherless woman, mounting the throne, platform,

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history out of the main episodes of our epics is less paying than, for example, writing the history of Rome at the time of Theodosius and Maximus from the *Song of Wayland*, or the *Dream of Maxen Wledig*. One may even conjecture that the basic legends come from the pre-Aryan Nāgas, and have been Aryanized along with the remnants of the people. For, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is only a *nāga* in Buddhist legend as elsewhere in Sanskrit, and the capital Hāstinapura is often called *nāgapura*. The *Chanson de Roland* says more about a historical character.

[7] The Bṛhaddevatā takes Sūryā, Saraṇyū and even Vṛṣākapāyī as forms of Uṣas (Bṛd. ii. 10, vii. 120-21). The speech-goddess Vāc is there equated to Durgā, Saramā, Urvaśī, Yamī in the middle sphere (ii.77) and to Uṣas in ii. 79-80. Making all possible allowance for the syncretistic tendency of such post-Vedic explanatory works, it is clear that these goddesses had something in common. This common factor can only have been their being mother goddesses. For Saramā and all other goddesses whose names terminate in-*mā*, we have the clear though late testimony of the Amarakośa 1.1.29: *indirā lokamātā mā kṣīroda-tanayā ramā*.

or stage for the sake of wealth : *abhrāteva pumsa eti pratīcī gartārug iva sanaye dhanānām*, where the meaning of *gartāruk* is not clear. Obviously the reference is to one who has no brother to make a match for her, hence must display herself in some way to collect a dowry. Perhaps v. 80·4-6 contain the oftenest repeated mention of this self-exposure of the dawn goddess, but her revealing her bosom and charms to men is quite common. There is no shame attached to this : *nodhā ivāvir akṛta priyāṇi*, like a girl with yet immature breasts (*nodhā iva*, after Grassmann's suggestion). We can understand the bewitching *apsaras* doing this, for it is her function to attract men. But why Uṣas ?

In any case, why should this goddess of the dawn be so specially prominent in the Ṛgveda, when she seems to have no important function ; her counterpart Eōs is negligible in Greece. There are at least twenty one complete hymns dedicated to her, and she is important enough to be invited in the special sacrificial chants known as *āprī*-hymns. In these hymns, with their rigidly fixed structure, Uṣas comes just after the opening of the divine doors, to be mentioned either together with the night (*uṣasā-naktā*) or in the dual, which would again mean the same pair. That is too high an honour for a mere witch, or one who behaves like a hetaera. Clearly, she once had a higher position, for which we must search to explain the survival.

The former high position is not difficult to trace. She is the sun's wife on occasion, as in vii. 75·5 *sūryasya yoṣā*, but perhaps his sister and also his mother iii. 61·4 *svarjananti*. Yet this is not enough to explain her importance. In i. 113·19, she is the mother of all the gods, a numen of Aditi : *mātā devānām aditer anīkam*. Her real status slips out in a most important reference, which is in a hymn dedicated to Agni (iv. 2·15).

adhā mātur uṣasā sapta viprāḥ jāyemahi prathamā vedhaso nṛn
divas-putrā aṅgiraso bhavema adrim rujema dhaninaṃ śucantaḥ.

"We seven sages shall generate (or be born) from mother Uṣas, the first men sacrificers ; we shall become Aṅgirasas, sons of heaven, we shall burst the rich mountain, shining forth." Uṣas was, therefore, a high mother goddess, literally Mater Matuta. How did she come to lose this position ?

Vsiṣṭha says *abhūd uṣā indratamā maghonī* (vii. 79·3), where the past tense seems to me to indicate that Uṣas had once been but was no longer superlatively Indra's equal. The support for this is from the tale of conflict between the two deities. The mention is not isolated, for we find it in ii, 15·6, x.138·5, x. 73·6, but with greatest detail in iv. 30·8-11 :

etad ghed uta vīryam indra cakartha paumsyam
striyaṃ yad durhaṇāyuvaṃ vadhīr duhitaraṃ divaḥ (8)

divaś cid ghā duhitaraṃ mahān mahīyamānām ; uṣāsam indra saṃpiṇak (9)

apa uṣā anasaḥ sarat saṃpiṣṭād aha bibhyuṣī ; ne yat sīṃ śiśnathad vṛṣā (10)

etad asyā anaḥ śaye susaṃpiṣṭa vipāśyā ; sasāra sīṃ parāvataḥ (11)

"This heroic and virile deed didst thou also do, o Indra, that thou didst strike down (or kill) the evil-plotting woman, the daughter of heaven. Uṣas, verily the daughter of heaven, the great, to be regarded as great didst thou crush, o Indra. Uṣas fled from the shattered wagon in fright, when the Bull (Indra) had rammed her. Her wagon lay completely smashed to bits on the Vipāś (river), she (herself) fled to the furthest distance".

There is no reason or explanation given for this conflict. Indra is the young god, one whose birth is mentioned several times, and who takes the lead over all other gods,because of his prowess in battle. In fact, he reflects the typical Aryan tribal war-chieftain, irresistible in strife after getting drunk on Soma. His displacement of Varuṇa is just barely to be seen in a dialogue (iv. 42). Indra and the older chief god Tvaṣṭṛ (whose position I have traced elsewhere) have no such open conflict as this. To Keith, the wagon (*anas*) means merely that the image of Uṣas was carried around the fields in such a cart, like the Germanic field deities, or Demeter. But why was it smashed up by the new leader? Her fleeing to the furthest distance is equivalent to her death. She is ascribed only an ordinary horse-chariot (*ratha*) in most later hymns. The ox-cart, like the archaism *sīm*, must represent great antiquity. At the same time, she is an ancient goddess in spite of her virginity and youth, which are preserved by her being born again and again : *punaḥ punar jāyamānā purāṇī* (i.92 10). The only possible explanation lies in a clash of cults, that of the old mother-goddess being crushed on the river Beas by the new war-god of the patriarchal invaders, Indra. That she survives after being 'killed' can only indicate progressive, comparatively peaceful, assimilation of her surviving pre-Aryan worshippers who still regard her as mother of the sun, wife of the sun, daughter of heaven. Her behaviour is reflected in that of apsarasas like Urvaśī, who degenerate into the witches of the Atharva-veda by natural development of the combined society, which really and finally kills their cult.

The former (probable) role of Uṣas as the mother of creation and certainly on the Aṅgirasas—who claim affinity with the light-deities—can be untangled with some difficulty from the extant Ṛgveda. Later mythology takes creation as resulting from the incest of Prajāpati with his own daughter, the root stanzas being found in the RV. But in i.72·5, it is clear that the father is the sky-god (here a male though often elsewhere a female in the same veda, hence a later fiction coupled to the original mother-goddess), while Uṣas is emphatically

the daughter of heaven as both commentators and translators point out here ; the progeny are the Aṅgirasas. In iii. 31·1. *seq.* we have much the same theme, as also in x. 61·7, while in i.164·33, the daughter has become the Earth, showing heterogeneity among Brahmin traditions. Her connection with later hetaerism may be seen from Sāyaṇa's comment upon the word *vrā*, which he takes as a name of Uṣas, as for example in i.121·2, and iv.1·16 ; in the latter hymn, it would make much better sense to take Uṣas as the cow-mother, the goddess whose thrice seven secret names were known only to the initiates.

There is only one more reference to Urvaśī in the Ṛgveda (iv. 2·18 ; AV. xviii. 3·23), just after the striking mention of Uṣas with the seven seers :

ā yūtheva kṣumati paśvo akhyad devānām yaj janīm anty ugra
martānām cid urvaśīr akṛpran vṛdhe cid arya uparasyāyoḥ.

The Urvaśī's are here in the plural ; *āyu* can again be taken as the legendary son, or some adjective. Grassmann makes Urvaśī also into an abstraction 'der Menschen heisse Wünsche', but seeing that the Uṣās do also occur in the plural, and that Urvaśī had become an Uṣas before finishing with Purūravas, there is no reason why we should not take the word as still referring to the nymphs.[8] The proper translation of the second line, therefore, would be something like "The Urvaśīs have taken pity upon mortals, even to helping the later kinsman Āyu". Presumably, the son and successors of Aiḷa Purūravas were not sacrificed, patriarchy having conquered finally.

One further if rather slight bit of evidence points to the great antiquity of such goddesses, in spite of the patriarchal gods being predominant in the Ṛgveda. That is that they had wings at one time, a feature lost in our iconography that may be seen in the Mesopotamian representations of Ishtar, who is a mother-goddess and a dawn-goddess, being also mother, sister and wife of Tammuz, the sun-god whom she frees periodically from his mountain grave. The apsaras traverses the sky, without being called winged. Just where the Ṛgvedic seers got this notion is difficult to see unless originally the sun itself was the winged goddess ; for we have nothing like it in the known Indus valley glyptic, though bird-*headed* figurines, ideograms of homo-signs with four arms, and perhaps one (winged ?) symbol on a seal are found (M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā*, Delhi 1940, pl. 91·255). On the other hand Suparṇa is used of the sun, which reminds us of the winged sundisc of the Assyrians ; in i. 105·1, it refers to the moon. But the only male god with wings as well as arms is explicitly Viśvakarman in x. 81·3. There is a winged demon *suparṇayātu* against which the Vasiṣṭhas pray for protection in vii. 104·22.

[8] In RV iv. 2.18, the Urvaśīs must be the multiple Uṣās, as is shown by reference to these pawns in the imbedding verses, particularly 16 and 19.

But i. 22·11 hopes that the gods' wives would be with unbroken wings, *acchinna-patrāḥ sacantām.* That the dawns, or the dawn-night pair were winged seems quite clear from two prayers in distress : i. 105·11 *suparṇā eta āsate,*[9] and *mā mām ime patatriṇī vi dugdhām* (i.158·4). These goddesses reduce man's life day by day, and so are death-goddesses themselves as probably were also the terrifying bird-headed Indus terra-cottas. All the more natural if, as mother-goddess, one of them were to cause the death of her consort in a sacrifice.

The Ṛgveda shows fainter traces of a different type of "hetaerism", which seems related to survivals of Aryan group marriage rather than to the cult of the pre-Aryan mother-goddess, though the two need not be independent. The specific reference may be seen in RV. i.167·4, where the goddess Rodasī is common to all the Maruts, under the title of *sādhāraṇī* (plus the incomprehensible *yavyā*=fertile ?). Whether this indicates fraternal polyandry (as I incline to think) or a form of prostitution is not clear ; the question is further complicated by Rodasī (with a displaced accent) being elsewhere equated to the combination of earth and sky, hence two goddesses rather than one. The Aśvins are go-betweens for arranging the marriage of Sūryā (with Soma in x.85·8-9 hence originally of the sun-goddess to the moon-god), which would make them her brothers ; but they are clearly her husbands in iv.43·6, which again is not a contradiction in terms of group-marriage of the older sort. We have already noted the identity of Sūryā with Uṣas and Urvaśi in later tradition, while the later hymn reduces Sūryā's marriage to a still current ritual which can only have arisen by a human couple impersonating the divine bridal pair. The bridegroom in x.85·36 takes his bride by the hand at the crucial stage of the wedding, yet in the very next *ṛk*, the woman is spoken of as she who receives the seed of (many) men : *yasyām bījaṃ manuṣyā vapanti,* and it would be odd to have this generic mode of designation unless indeed, in some older days at least, she would automatically have become the bride of several brothers, or clansmen.* In RV. 1.126 5, the *viśyā iva vrā anasvantaḥ* seems best translated by Geldner's 'die auf Karren wie die Clandirnen fahrend. . .', for *viśyāḥ* is feminine plural ; Dirne, prostitute, is rather a strong word to use, and I should prefer to see here the nomadic common clan-wives by group-marriage, riding bullock-carts which might just be a means of transport not necessarily connected with the older vehicle of Uṣas. The later word *veśyā* for prostitute, from the same root as *viśyā*, presumably denotes the woman who dwelt in a house common to all men ; the *gaṇikā* clearly derives from group-wives. In most

[9] That these *suparṇāḥ* are not the sun's rays as Sāyaṇa and so many casual translators take them is clear from the sequence, for the sun does not rise till the next ṛk ; only the successive dawns can be meant.

*AV. xiv, 2,14 clearly supplements the Ṛgvedic ceremonial, in the direction of group marriage: "in her here, o men, scatter ye seed!"; the 17th ṛk hopes that the bride would be 'not husband-slaying', and the next that she would be *devṛkāmā*. The collective evidence is overwhelming.

developed societies whose primitive stages can still be traced, it is generally to be seen that prostitution arises as a consequence of the abolition of group marriage, both being concomitants of a new form of property, patriarchal private property which replaces communal possession of the means of production. AV. xv. shows the harlot prominent in *vrātya* fertility rites that were not generally fashionable.

9. Aryan or Pre-Aryan?

The character of Urvaśī and her higher form Uṣas has been delineated in the foregoing, but we have still to consider whether she was Aryan in the same sense as Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, or inherited from older civilizations. The parallelism with Ishtar-Innanna* is unquestioned, but there would seem to be no direct etymological connection, though we must mention the ingenious conjecture that the Indo-European word for star (*star* in the RV) is actually derived from Ishtar and her symbol, the star. It is not enough even to point out once again the hetaera-hierodule-bayadère character of our heroine and of the mother goddess which she claimed to have become. For, admitting this, and the fact that such attendance upon a mother goddess has no ancient basis in any Sanskrit text or scripture, we should still have to explain whether the actual temple cults of this sort still extant in India derive from religions outside India, or from the Indus Valley pre-Aryans. However, we find enough in the extant literature for our purpose to complete the analysis without pretending to solve all possible problems that may arise.

Of course, the question of some plausible mechanism for the adoption of pre-Aryan cults will be raised ; it will also be objected that, after all, the Indus seals portray exclusively male animals, the rare human figures being demonstrably masculine where identifiable. The reasoning is in full agreement with this, for the seals belonged to a different set of people than the female figurines, the men of the trader class which was destroyed along with the houses behind whose massive, undecorated walls they went on piling up their wealth. The women and their cults survived, either as wives or slaves, which would account for all the traces of their cults that we have shown in Aryan documents though at variance with the mode of living (not race) which is denoted by the word Aryan.

* Ishtar may not be the lady of the lake like an apsaras; but she is, like Uṣas, the great mother, an eternal virgin, as well as a hetaera. Her symbol, the eight-pointed star, associates her with the rising and setting sun as the 'morning star,' the planet Venus which is male in Sanskrit. The red oxen (v.80.5) that draw the wagon of Uṣas might be more than a figure of speech for the dawn colours, if it is accepted that Ishtar's ceremonial cart was hitched to red oxen in Babylonia. Both are immortal goddesses, but there is no reference to 'former Ishtars' as to former Uṣas. The Indian dawn-god less is born again and again, which seems to me to indicate a human representative, seeing that rebirth is inconceivable as well as unnecessary without death. This is not the equivalent of Ishtar's descent into the nether world, which is properly equated to the long stay of Uṣas in Varuṇa's realm (RV.i 123.8 *dirgham socante varuṇasya dhāma,*) so fantastically twisted by Tilak and co to derive an Arctic home for the Aryans.

The Ṛgvedic references to the dancing-girl are casual, as if the institution were familiar to all ; yet temples of any sort could not have been pastoral-Aryan-vedic, there is no direct mother-goddess worship, and we have seen that the Uṣas cult was smashed up by no less a personage than Indra. In i.92·3 we have women chanting at their work, presumably ritual : *arcanti nārīr apaso na viṣṭibhiḥ*. In the next *ṛk*, we have Uṣas wearing decorative clothes like a dancing girl : *adhi peśāṃsi vapate nṛtūr iva*. The patterned cloth appears again in ii.3·6 figuratively, as the woven pattern of the sacrifice : *yajñasya peśas*. This profession of weaving clearly belongs to the women, and is in the process of being usurped by men, as I shall now show.

In RV. v.47·6, the Mothers weave clothes for their son, the sun. The night weaves the sun's garment for him in i.115·4, and is a weaving woman again in ii.38·4 : *vastraṃ vayantī nārīva rātriḥ*. Most significant for my main theme, Uṣas is also a weaver with the night : *uṣasā-naktā vayyā iva. . . tantuṃ tataṃ saṃvayantī* (ii.3·6). Therefore it is again natural to find the apsarasas in vii.33·9 weaving the garment stretched by the all-regulating god of death, Yama : *yamena tataṃ paridhiṃ vayantas*. In vii.33·12, the sage Vasiṣṭha was born of the apsaras, the jar, and the lake to take over the work of these nymphs who are like the Norns in weaving the pattern of fate, besides being goddesses of a peculiar type. Nevertheless, men other than Vasiṣṭha succeed to less fateful types of weaving. The *yajña* being woven is not only a common figure of speech, but the male seer of ii.28·8 weaves his song, just as the paternal ancestors in x.130·1 weave the sacrifice.

This change over to patriarchal production must have occurred at the time early Ṛgvedic society was formed from pre-Aryan conquered as well as their Aryan conquerors. Men seem always to have monopolized ploughing (iv.57) while Brahmaṇaspati, a male priest-god, swedges the world together like a smith (x.72·2).

We are now in a position to understand why in x.95·4 Urvaśī claimed (as an Uṣas) to have given clothing and food to her father-in-law. That is, though she had a dread ritual to perform as *viduṣī* in x.95.11, she was initiated into certain arts as well which had been the prerogative of her sex, and weaving was one of them. Thus the Sāyaṇa gloss *vasu=vāsakam*, clothing, is quite correct. The word later comes to mean wealth in general, and the Brahmanical renaissance with its spicing and embalming of the Sanskrit language makes this synonymous with all other forms of wealth. Nevertheless, the original meanings of the three main terms seem to have been separate : *dhana* would indicate precious metals, loot in general ; *rayī* must have originally denoted wealth in cattle and horses, seeing that *gomat* is used as its adjective so often ; *vasu*, I take it, meant primarily wealth manufactured and worn, like

clothing. At the time of the Atharva veda (AV ix.5.14), weaving must have been a household industry carried on by women, for home-woven garments are there mentioned, along with gold, as a sacrificial gift ; spinning, and weaving but not needlework appear in the list of a good wife's accomplishments in the *Kāmasūtra* (4·1·33).

This raises the next question, in what way did Urvaśī supply food to her father-in-law? For the *vayas* in question might have been merely the result of her cooking. Of course, Uṣas is often *gavām mātā*, mother of the cattle, and the older ploughless hoe agriculture may have again been a prerogative of the women, as we find it in most primitive societies, but there is no direct evidence before us. However, we may use archaeology and anthropology to solve another riddle, namely the multiple account of Vasiṣṭha's birth in vii.33, where he is born of the apsaras, the lotus or lotus-pond, and also from the seed of Mitra-Varuṇa poured into a jar, *kumbha*. The answer is very simple, namely that *the kumbha is itself the mother-goddess*, in spite of the masculine gender of the word. It is known that prehistoric hand-made pottery, before the introduction of the wheel and mass-production, is fabricated by women. Moreover, the pots generally represent the mother-goddess, either by their decorations, the oculi or necklaces incised or painted on them as patterns, or by actual additions to complete the image. The latter has left its mark upon the Sanskrit language, for the word for ear *karṇa* means pot-handle as well. The demon Kumbhakarṇa must have had ears like the handles of a pot. The apsaras is a mother-goddess, from AV. *mātṛnāmāni* hymns.

We have already referred to the terra cotta figures that prove the worship of the mother-goddess to have been prominent in the pre-Āryan Indus valley. I now suggest that the 'Great Bath' at Mohenjo-daro is a ceremonial *puṣkara*. This curious building, situated apart from the city on the citadel-zikkurat mound, could not have been utilitarian seeing that so much labour had to be expended to fill the tank with water. There is no imagery or decoration of any sort, but the tank is surrounded by rooms, which may have been used by the living representatives, companions, or servants of the goddess, the *apsaras* of the day ; the water need not have been so laboriously drawn, unless for water-deities to whom it was essential. The range of seemingly unconnected meanings for the word *puṣkara* is highly suggestive : lake, lotus, art of dancing, the sky ; the root *puṣ* from which it is derived, like the very close *puṣkala*, denotes fertility, nourishment, plenty. The whole nexus of ideas is connected with the apsaras though she appears in the classical Sanskrit literature only as dancer and houri. According to the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā iv.3 and the preamble story to Jātaka 465, the Licchavi oligarchs of Vesāli had a special, heavily guarded, sacred investiture-puṣkara=*abhiseka-maṅgala-pokkharaṇī*. The Cambodian apsaras dancers of Angkor Vat are portrayed with the lotus

flower in one hand and lotus seed-pod in the other, the first symbolizing the puṣkara while the second is obviously a fertility symbol. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vii. 4·11 tells us that the lotus-leaf (*puṣkaraparṇa*) is the womb (*yoni*), and in 13 that the puṣkara is the lotus-leaf. Thus Vasiṣṭha's birth has a completely consistent account, multiple only in the symbolism used. The *gotra* lists mention a *Pauṣkarasādi* gotra among the Vasiṣṭhas. The gotra is historical, as a Brahmin priest of that gens was priest of king Pasenadi (*Dīghanikāya* 4), and a grammarian of that name is also known. The name means descendant of *puṣkara-sad*, he who resides in the puṣkara, which clearly indicates Vasiṣṭha. Neither the lotus-pond nor the apsaras that tarries there could be Aryan in origin. It would be difficult to explain the fundamental and distinctive role of the lotus in all Indian iconography without relating it to pre-Aryan cults, for the Aryan-vedic center about the sacred fire. One may note further that one of the holiest places of pilgrimage is a *tīrtha* named Puṣkara, identified with one of that name in Rajputana, but presumably representing earlier artificial tanks of the sort. The *puṣkara* is a necessary adjunct of every Hindu temple not actually by a river, even in well-watered regions.

The Mahābhārata birth-story of the hundred Kauravas and their sister tells us that they were not born directly of their mother Gāndhārī but from ghee-filled jars into which the undeveloped embryos were placed. Significantly, *kumbhā* is still used for harlot by lexica like the Viśvakośa. Mesopotamian glyptic represents two rivers flowing from a jar held by Ea or his attendant. As pointed out by Mr. R. D. Barnett, the flowing jar is a symbol of fertility. As the Mari statue of Ishtar shows her holding it, and seal 89762 of the British Museum shows the two rivers issuing from her shoulders, the guess would be justified that the jar was her special fertility symbol—hence the representation of an uterus—before her displacement by male deities. The Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka (Fausböll 545) gives an extraordinary rule for success (*gāthā* 1307), namely that a *kumbha* filled with water must always be reverently saluted with joined hands. The *udakumbha*, urn filled with water, does not appear to be particularly important in the Ṛgveda, but has a very prominent position in the *gṛhya-sūtras*, and in current practice. For example, the bridal pair must circumambulate the sacred fire which is accompanied by the water-jar, though the vedic god is *agni* alone, without the jar. The fire is addressed in some Ṛgvedic funerary hymns, but again the water-jar plays an important part in modern Hindu cremation rites.

The *kumbha* as representation of a mother-goddess still survives in many south Indian festivals, of which the Karagā at Bangalore may be taken as a specimen. It is the special annual fertility rite of the Tigaḷas, who seem to have come from North Arcot, and are professional market-gardeners about

Bangalore. The animal sacrifices formerly made to the pot are now reduced to one, the rest being replaced by cutting lemons, or by boiled cereals. In the final procession, the main participant (*arcaka* ; hereditary Tigaḷa priest) carries the pot on his head, but is dressed as a woman ; his wife has to remain hidden from the sight of men all during the festival. The Tigaḷa representatives, at least one from each family, cut themselves with sharp swords, but no blood flows during the ordeal. This festival, which is obviously not Aryan, has been Brahminized only during the last 150 years, is now associated with a temple dedicated to the eldest Pāṇḍava Dharmarāja, and the goddess made into his wife Draupadī, the main content* of the sacred pot being a gold fetish known as her *śakti*. An auxiliary Brahmin purohita (at present śrī Veṅkaṭarāya Vādyar, from whom I obtained these details) now attends even at the most secret part of the ritual which is performed in a shelter with two Tigaḷas, one of them the Tigaḷa priest mentioned before, the other a Tigaḷa who leads the way for the procession. Naturally, these secret rites are not divulged, but the whole festival is obviously a women's observance taken over by men. It is to be noted that though the Tigaḷas are a low caste, every temple in Bangalore sends an idol representing its god to follow in the final procession, and on the whole, this may be called the most impressive local festival. The untouchables have a similar one a couple of months later, the real Karagā ending on *caitra* (April) full-moon after nine days of observances and celebrations. The triple pot which is itself the Karagā is not made by a Tigaḷa nowadays, but by a professional potter. Nevertheless, it must still be made from the sediment of one particular artificial pond ; not turned on the wheel but hand-made, and not burnt but sun-dried; the final procession ends with the Karagā pot being thrown into the pond, though the golden *śakti* representing Draupadī is quietly rescued by the priest for use again next year.

There are two different conceptions of death in the Ṛgveda, which gives several distinct funerary rites in its later book, namely x.14, x.18, x.35. The earlier concept of death in the RV is unquestionably going to sleep, the long sleep from which there is no awakening. Many of the demons killed by Indra sink down into this eternal sleep. The Vasiṣṭha hymn vii.55 seems to have begun as a funeral hymn, then mistaken for and further transformed into a lullaby. Correspondingly, we have the lower level of the cemetery H at Harappā with extended burials, the dead sleeping peacefully, furnished with grave goods and supplied with jars that must once have contained the drink of

* Other contents are limes representing the five Pāṇḍavas, some ordinary water, and some coconut water, both in small quantities. It seems curious that coconut water should be included, and even more that the coconut, which cannot have been widely cultivated in India till after the time of Varāhamihira, should play an important part in virtually every Brahmin ritual today. Possible reasons might be the husked fruit's resemblance to a ritual pot, with its hard shell, oculi, contents of edible flesh so often divided and distributed as a sacrament, and of course the water. The multiple symbolism would be most suited to fertility cults after blood sacrifices went out of fashion.

immortality, Soma. This cemetery is undoubtedly Aryan, and the city itself to be identified with the Hariyūpīyā of vi.27·5-6, though the battle mentioned there might refer equally well to conflict between two waves of Aryan invaders as to the first Aryan conquest of the city. When we come to the top layer of cemetery H, however, the character of the burials changes abruptly. The dead adults survive only in jars, where their remains are placed after the body had been cremated or decarnated by birds of prey. The custom is mentioned in all the major ritual books, such as those of Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, and so on, and the jar where the bones are placed is specifically called the *kumbha*. This corresponds to the later Ṛgvedic concept of death (i. 164·32, *sa mātur yonā parivīto antar bahuprajā nirṛtim ā viveśa*), namely return to the mother's womb, and is proved very clearly in the case of cemetery H by the crouched position in which dead infants are placed within the jar; apparently, the bodies of children could be sent back to the mother directly, without being stripped of later fleshy accretions by fire or carrion-eaters. Further guesses may be made that the star-like decorations on the jars are developed oculi, but this would need closer proof. Incidentally, we are in a position to explain one peculiar decoration in this later Harappan grave pottery, namely the peacock containing a recumbent human figure within the disc that forms the bird's body. If the figure were sitting or upright, it might have been taken for some deity. The horizontal position excludes this, and a reference in the Mahābhārata (1.85.6) clarifies the situation. There, the dead are represented as having been eaten by birds and insects of various sorts, but specifically by peacocks (*śitikaṇṭha*), whence the figure within the peacock must be the dead man himself. The bird is not the common carrion-eater, so that he must have had a particular sanctity, which is confirmed by his being the companion and hence a totem of the river-speech-and mother-goddess Sarasvatī. With the particular name śitikaṇṭha, he is associated with the dread god Rudra-Śiva, and a *vāhana* of Skanda as well.

A little later, as in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 8·3·3, the Earth herself becomes the mother, into whose lap the bones are poured out from the *kumbha*, but clearly the original mother or at least her womb was represented by the pot. Therefore it is clear that Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, in being born from the urn, are giving a good Aryan translation of their birth from a pre-Aryan or non-Aryan mother-goddess. The effective change is from the absence of a father to the total denial of a mother, a good Marxist antithesis necessitated by the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy. After all, Aryan means a particular manner of life and speech, not a race. We may conclude, seeing that extended burial comes first, that the Harappan groups of Aryans had not the general habit of cremation, and that the later idea of a return to the womb is acquired from some of their former enemies whose remnants after the conquest were absorbed by comparatively peaceful means, unless, of course, it

represents a second wave of invaders. We cannot prove directly that the manufacture of pottery was also a monopoly of women in the earliest stage here, or that Urvaśī-Uṣas was a potter. But ritual pots continue to be made by the priest's hand without the wheel, as in Śat. Brāh. xiv. i. 2·7 ff., and the spade with which the clay is dug is to be formally addressed by the priest 'thou art a woman', as again in Śat. Brāh. vi. 3. 1·39. I think that this goes back to the period when both digging (for agriculture) and pottery were women's work. That the mother-goddess should weave the pattern of her son's fate and sew or embroider it (like Rākā in ii. 32·4 *sīvyatv apaḥ sūcyācchidyamānayā*) is most natural.

Another survival of the mother-goddess cult into later times seems quite clear from the story of Aiḷa Purūravas' parentage. He is the son of a prominent (for the Ṛgveda) goddess, Iḷā, and the Mbh says that Iḷā was both his father and his mother. The Purāṇic account then changes Ilā's sex, Ila the son of Manu having become a woman by stepping into a grove sacred to the mother-goddess Pārvatī. Such places are to be found in other parts of the world, as for example, among the Attonga,[10] where any man who enters the sisterhood house even by accident is initiated as a woman and has to live like one thereafter. But this is not merely a later affair, for such initiation appears quite explicitly in the Ṛgveda, though its meaning has been obscured by mythological accretions (as perhaps with the Greek seer Teiresias). We have in viii·33·19 :

adhaḥ paśyasva mopari saṃtarāṃ pādakau hara
mā te kaśaplakau dṛśan strī hi brahmā babhūvitha

"Gaze downwards, not up ; hold your feet close together ; let not your rump be seen ; for thou, o priest, art become a woman". Nothing could be clearer than this, which shows (with the preceding ṛks) that a male priest has been initiated as a woman, and told to behave accordingly. And this cannot be Aryan for the mother-goddess plays no part in the warring life of bronze-age pastoral invaders and plunderers, whatever their past might have been. The conclusion is that the Ṛgveda shows the absorption of a pre-Aryan stream of culture, which goes into the very source and origin of Brahminism.

The ṛk cited above occurs in the Kaṇva family book of the Ṛgveda, the Kaṇvas being demonstrably latecomers into the vedic fold, like the Kaśyapas,

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[10] R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, (London 1927) vol.ii. pp. 531-536, 550 *et. al.* Briffault's powerfully documented and inspiring three-volume work could not be used more directly here simply because archaeology now tells us a great deal about the pre-Aryan element in what was once regarded as a purely Aryan Indic culture. The lack of historical analysis, for which Briffault's sources are far more to blame than he is, does not vitiate his main thesis, but does make it dangerous, on occasion, to carry some of his detailed conclusions over without close examination.

though the latter occupy a much higher position in later Brahmin tradition.* The Kaṇva Nārada is reported by several purāṇas to have become a woman by bathing in a sacred pool ; he regains his manhood by another immersion, but only after a considerable period as a woman. Nārada enjoys a very high position as a sage, being quoted or addressed from the Atharva-veda down ; yet he is still called a Gandharva in the epics. In Buddhist records, he and Pabbata are gods ; a Nārada is a Brahmā, another a former Buddha ! Most important of all, the Anukramaṇī makes him and his brother or nephew Parvata joint authors of RV. ix.104, but with an alternative ascription to 'the two Śikhaṇḍinīs, apsarasas, daughters of Kaśyapa'. Referring back to the Bhīṣma story where that hero is killed by a Śikhaṇḍinī metamorphosed into a man, one may recognize traces of a very deep layer of myth regarding the tradition of mother-goddess cults, apsarasas, human sacrifice.

At the end of *Śākuntala* act v, the wailing heroine is taken up by a shape of light which carries her off to the *apsaras-tīrtha.* At the beginning of the very next act, the nymph Sānumatī (or Miśrakeśī) comes from that sacred pool to spy upon the hero. She has just finished her turn of attendance upon men at the ritual investiture bath, *'jāva sāhujanassa abhiseakālo'*. Thus Kālidāsa balances the *Vikramorvaśīyam* with another play where the apsaras heroine (whose name makes her a bird-goddess) is rejected by the hero, directly inverting the original Urvaśī legend. The 'Great Bath' at Mohenjodaro, instead of being the 'hydropathic establishment' that Marshall calls it with consistent ineptitude, was probably the prototype of such tīrthas; consorting with the (human) apsaras was part of the ritual. This would be the Indus valley analogue of Mesopotamian ritual hierodule prostitution in temples of Ishtar.

The Urvaśīs faded away, but they are responsible nevertheless for the goddesses of the later pantheon that are married peacefully to the major gods. They are also responsible for the unholy institutions associated with temple-cults in the least Aryanized parts of India. Finally, they gave birth to two leading Brahmin clans, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Agastyas. When the jar-born sage Agastya 'nourished both colours', *ubhau varṇau pupoṣa* in RV. i.179·6 it cannot mean two castes, but both Aryans and non-Aryans, for he belonged to both, and his hymns show clearly the character of the compromise.

* Though negligible in the Ṛgveda, the Kaśyapas had gained sufficient sanctity by the time of the Brāhmaṇas to rank high among their caste, and must have been specially prominent in UP and Bihār of the 6th century BC, as is seen by the way they have managed to write themselves into Jain and Buddhist legends. Mahāvīra, who surely was a Kṣatriya, is ascribed the Kaśyapa gotra. The three (supposed) Buddhas preceding Gotama are Kaśyapas (Dīgha-nikāya 14). Asita Devala sheds tears over the infant Gotama, in the prophetic knowledge that he himself will not be alive when the child grows up to attain Buddhahood. At the level of tradition that is in all probability historical, we read of Pūraṇa Kassapa as a leading ascetic teacher at the time of the Buddha and king Ajātaśatru. The three Kassapa brothers had the greatest following among those converted by the Buddha himself. Mahākassapa convoked the first council after the Buddha's death, which gives him virtual leadership of the Buddhist monastic order.

KAṆVA IN ṚGVEDA

By N. G. Chapekar,

Sāyaṇa derives the word Kaṇva from Kaṇ to sound. When the letter 'va', is added to the verb Kaṇ it becomes a noun like 'aśva' from 'aś'. Kaṇva therefore means one who sounds, speaks—sings prays. In this sense Kaṇva has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa in several hymns of the Ṛgveda[1] where it is taken to mean a priest whose function is to sing praises and invoke gods to attend to the sacrifice. Kaṇva also means intelligent (Medhāvin)[2]. For priests are well versed in the art of sacrificial performance. In not less than twelve hymns Sāyaṇa interprets the word (Kaṇva) to mean a singer of praises (Stotṛ) ; and there is no doubt that in many more places that sense fits quite satisfactorily. It can therefore be reasonably argued that Kaṇva was not the name of any particular individual but was an appellation generally given to all those who invoked in poetic language the heavenly gods to grace by their presence the sacrificial performance and to drink *soma*.

The case variations of the word Kaṇva found in the Ṛgveda are :—

Kaṇvaḥ—(twice) ; *Kaṇvāḥ*—(12 times) ; *Kaṅvāsaḥ*—(10 times) ; *Kaṇvam*—(7 times) ; *Kaṇvebhiḥ*—(once) ; *Kaṇvāya*—(5 times) ; *Kaṇvasya*—(4 times) ; *Kaṇvānām*—(twice) ; *Kaṇve*—(4 times) ; *Kaṇveṣu*—(thrice).

We do not meet with *Kāṇvāḥ*, but we have *Kāṇvāyanāḥ* (once), *Kāṇvam* (once) and *Kānvasya* (6 times). The other derivations and formations are *Kāṇvawat* (twice) ; *Kaṇvamantam* (once), *Kaṅvatamaḥ* (twice) ; the compound *Kāṇvahotā* occurs once.

There are 65 Ṛks relating to Kaṇvas specifically ; 31 hymns are indicative of the function of singing praises at the sacrifices ; in 7 Ṛks the sages beseech the gods for protection ; in 10 they pray for bestowal of favours. By three verses Gods are invoked. Ṛg. 1-139-9 merits some consideration. The authorship of this hymn is attributed by Sarwānukramaṇī to one Paruchhepa, but the hymn itself affords no justification therefor. However, it matters little who the author was. The importance of the hymn lies in the fact that it offers some elucidation of that mystic statement about the knowledge of birth. The substance of the verse may be briefly stated in these words. Dadhyak, Aṅgiras of the bygone days, Priyamedha. Kaṇva, Atri and Manu knew

[1] 1—14—5 ; 1—37—1 ; 1—39—7, 9 ; 1—44—8 ; 1—46—9, etc.

[2] 1—48—4 ; 1—47—10, etc.

my birth. They knew mine (for) they (were) ancient (pūrve) and intelligent ; the word is 'Manuḥ'. I agree with Sāyaṇa in translating it as intelligent ; singular for plural. (Any how it is not a proper noun here). (For) They are born of Devas ('teśam deveṣu āyatiḥ'), (and) we are born of them ('asmākam teṣu nābhayaḥ') ; on account of their greatness I bow with praises Indrāgnī ; I bow with praises. In my opinion this verse is pregnant with suggestions of historical matter of an anthropological nature. It is necessary to emphasize certain points in order to justify the conclusion that is sought to be deduced from this Ṛk. In the first place, it is well to remember that *āyatiḥ* and *nābhayaḥ* must mean one and the same thing. Now, the meaning of *Nābhayaḥ* is beyond any doubt. It means the source or the origin from which anything springs up. In fact, that to which descent is traced. Briefly, the poet says we are descended from Dadhyak, Aṅgira,—Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri and Manu ; and these latter were born of the Gods (devaḥ). Deva primarily meant shining. What was shining such as sun etc. was called 'deva'. Later on, it came to mean the Divine powers as conceived by the Ṛgvedic sages controlling the elements of nature. Logically therefore it follows that Atri, Manu etc. were those that partook of the nature of those natural elements. This renders the belief that they were the human ancestors of men rather shaky.

The Ṛks in which the word Kaṇva and its derivatives occur number 65. Of these 22 relate to Indra ; 18 to Aśvins ; 12 to Agni ; 7 to Maruts ; 2 to Uṣas ; 1 to Indrāgni ; 1 to Viśvadeva and two are respecting what they technically term as 'dānastuti'.

In the case of Agni Ṛks the sages simply mention the fact that they are kindling the fire ; that they invoke him at the sacrifice or that they are singing praises to him. In short, Agni shines with all its lustre when kindled by the Kaṇvas. I translate Ṛg. 10-150-5 thus. "Agni protected, or as Sāyaṇa would like to have it, may Agni protect Atri, Bharaduāja, Gaviṣaṭhira, ourselves, Kaṇva and Trasadasyu in the sacrifice (Sāyaṇa takes 'āhave' to mean 'in war.' I prefer to take 'āhava' in the sense of sacrifice;) Vasiṣṭha as Purohita offers oblations to Agni to secure happiness (mṛḷīkāya). The 2nd word purohita' is a repetition as Ṛgvedic poets are fond of doing. See the preceding verses. The word 'naḥ' (us) in this verse causes some embarrassment. Who are meant by this word ? The author of this hymn is believed to be one Mṛḷīka the son of Vasiṣṭha. But the latter was there engaged in the performance of the sacrifice. Vasiṣṭha is in the singular while 'naḥ' is plural. It however suggests that the sacrifice is not an individual concern. It is the act in which many participate. None the less the significance of the verse is beyond the reach of ordinary comprehension. We have yet to know who were the 'manuṣya' and who were the 'ṛṣi'—the distinction specified in the immediately preceding

verse. There is no warrant for the suggestion that 'naḥ' means 'narān'. Anyhow 'naḥ' as the accusative plural of asmad does not quite fit in here.

In one of the Ṛks (10-115-5) Agni is described as *kaṇvatama*. Disagreeing with Sāyaṇa I understand the word to mean roaring, making a loud noise. The Agni referred to here is the forest conflagration. This is evident from the 2nd Ṛk of this very Sūkta. The fire grows in intensity while burning the forest trees. Sāyaṇa's 'kaṇvatamaḥ' atiśayena stotā does not suit the context. The third Ṛk shows clearly that it is the forest fire that is being extolled in this *Sūkta* where the eulogizing priests are entreated to praise such fire. Similarly Kaṇva is one who sings vociferous praises. The Agni is therefore aptly described as the companion of Kaṇva (Kaṇvasakhā). Adjectives of a similar nature used in reference to Agni are 'apastama' and 'vājintama.' The former perhaps means doing his work (forest destruction) most skilfully and the latter producing largest quantity of grain. When the forests are cleared agriculture thrives.

Out of the 18 Ṛks relating to Kaṇvas and the Devatā of which is the Aśvins 10 are in the 8th Maṇḍala and 8 are in 1st Maṇḍala. The Aśvins bear a duplicate character. They are the heavenly gods honoured with a soma drink at a sacrificial session and they are further the Apothecaries amongst the Gods. Naturally, sages invite them to the sacrifice and pray for protection from diseases. 1-47-2, 4, 10; 8-5-4; 8-8-3, 4, 8, 8-9, 9, 14; 8-10-2 belong to the former category whereas 1-47-5 ; 1-112-5 ; 1-117-8 ; 1-118-7 ; 8-5-23, 25 ; 8-8-20 to the latter. Ṛk 1-46-9 is of a different sort. It is rather a tough affair to render this into something that can be easily grasped. The first half has words without a verb and hence the difficulty. The 2nd half is comparatively clear. It means "where do you place your body" (appearance or form)? who are meant by 'you'. The word 'Kaṇvāsaḥ' in the first part is of course in the vocative case. Superficially therefore one would say the question 'where do you keep yourselves' is addressed to Kaṇvas. But it yields no sense. Sāyaṇa therefore suggests that the lacuna should be filled up by some such additional words as 'Aśvinau itham pṛchata' Oh Kaṇvas (priests) ! ask the Aśvins thus viz. where do you locate your form now. On the whole the sense of the Ṛk seems to be ; the rays of the sun have emanated from the sky. Enquire of Aśvins therefore Oh priests ! as to where they would place themselves now. The verse 14th of this very *Sūkta* tells us that the Aśvins are very fond of having oblations offered to them while it is darkness and that the Aśvins precede the dawn. In the light of this, the question in the Ṛk under discussion is perfectly relevant as well as natural.

If the forest eating fire is the object of worship then there is the danger of the fire taking human oblations. The sages therefore are found to be often

praying to the deities to protect them from such calamity. Kaṇva, Priyamedha, Upastuta, Atri (8-5-25) Medhātithi, Vaśa and Gośurya (8-8-20) had been possibly caught up in the conflagration but were rescued. The poets attribute this to the benign intervention of the Aśvins.

The forest fire is not infrequently accompanied by high winds (marudbhiḥ). This is expressed in 8-7-32 where the poet says that he praises Agni along with Maruts. So where there is conflagration, prayers are offered to Agni and Maruts for the protection of the sacrificers. In 1-39-7 Kaṇva is said to have been terror-stricken and consequently Maruts are exhorted to come to his rescue. When the winds subside those engaged in the sacrifice feel naturally enough a sense of relief. In 8-7-18 the Maruts are said to have thus saved the lives of Turuaṣa, Yadu and Kaṇva.

There are two Ṛks addressed to Uṣas wherein we find the word Kaṇva used. They are 1-48-4 and 1-49-4. In the former we meet with the expression 'Kaṇvatamaḥ Kaṇvaḥ'; Kanva is qualified by the adjective Kaṇvatama. It is doubtless that Kaṇva here connotes one who sings praises and Kaṇvatama obviously means adept in the art of singing eulogies. The purport of the verse is, Oh Usas ! when you appear the donors (Sūrayaḥ) think of making gifts and then the well skilled singer pronounces the name of such men (nṛṇām). Here what is to be noted is the distinction the poet makes between men and "non-men". The donors belonged to the class of men (naraḥ). The other verse points out the praisers (kaṅvāh) as desirous of wealth ('vasūyavaḥ').

As elsewhere Indra arrogates to himself by far the larger attention of the Kaṇvas. The Ṛks addressed to him number twenty-two—some of them are a hard nut to crack. Take for instance 8-3-16 which has been variously translated. But the translators including Sāyaṇa have failed to bring out any sensible meaning. I translate it thus. "Bhṛgus pervaded the whole universe as do the Kaṇvas and Sūryas. People (āyavaḥ) to whom sacrificing was enchanting were loud in their praises of Indra". Even thus I see no connection between the first half and the second half. Bhṛigu here means some phase of the morning sun. Bhṛigu is born in flames (vide Nirukta 3-18). I think the word 'sūryāḥ' offers a clue to decipher this verse. The words Kaṇva—and Bhṛigu must be taken to be on a par with the word Sūryas. The meaning of this last word is beyond doubt. Bhṛigu I have already explained. Kanva therefore to maintain the homogeneity may be made to yield the meaning which corresponds or resembles closely to what 'Sūryas' conveys. I hope it is not hazardous to suggest that Kaṇva here means Darkness. Kaṇvas are a class of evil spirits against whom charms are used. This we know from Atharvaveda; and evil spirits are associated with nights. For ought we know the original meaning of Kaṇva might have been darkness or night. The darkness

of the nights penetrates to the farthest end of the universe like the rays of the sun. This is no doubt somewhat stretched but there is no use substituting one word for another if it carries no sense. I do not think 'Kaṇvas' here means 'Kaṇvaputras' as Sāyaṇa understands. Here I may avail myself of a tradition which is outside Ṛgveda. The story is Kaṇva was immersed by the Asuras in dense darkness and was asked to tell when it dawns. Thus Kaṇva's association with darkness is popularly recognised. As an alternative, roarings or thunderings may be understood by the word Kaṇvas. The thunders also fill the whole atmosphere.

There is Ṛg. 8-4-20 which purports to narrate a historical fact illustrating the effectiveness of the prayers forged by the Kaṇvas. It is said that the sacrificers being gratified by the prayers sung by the Kaṇvas gave away sixty thousand cows and the Ṛṣi (who he was we do not know—may be the author of the hymn) got them all. It seems the Kaṇva's proficiency in this art was well-known. For in Ṛg. 8-6-11 the Ṛṣi proudly asserts that he has embellished his poetic composition just like Kaṇva. A fable is recorded in Ṛg. 8-2-40 where we are told that Indra assumed the form of a ram and went to Medhyātithi who belonged to the class of the Kaṇvas. I do not pause to enquire here if the word Meṣa would necessitate a consideration whether the hymn admits of astronomical interpretation. For Meṣa is the sign of Aries of the Zodiac. It is true that there were no zodiacal divisions into Rashis or signs though the form of a ram in the sky was discernible. That Indra assumed the form of a ram has no meaning unless we understand it as a fable.

All the Kaṇvas (Visve Kaṇvāsaḥ), who are described as bearers or carriers of prayers (stomavāhasaḥ) in Ṛg. (8-4-2) augment by their prayers the power of Indra (8-6-31). Here we know the function of the Kaṇvas and further the word 'víśve' gives an idea of indefiniteness of their number. It follows that all the singers were called Kaṇvas. This negatives the assumption that Kaṇvas was a family name.

All other Ṛks are simple. They ask for favours or relate to sacrificial prayers including 8-49-10 ; 8-50-10 ; 8-52-8 which are from Vālakhilya hymns.

One point now remains to be noted. Indra is said to be Kaṇvamanta Ṛg. (8-2-22). According to Sāyaṇa it means "Indra accompanied by Kaṇvas." In my opinion however the word Kaṇvas here should be taken in its etymological sense. The priest is exhorted to give soma oblation to the thundering Indra. Indra we know is the God of rain ; and we further know that it thunders when there is torrential rain.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the following Rks, viz. 8-2-16 ; 8-3-16 ; 8-4-2 ; 8-6-3, 11 ; 8-9-14 and 8-33-3 are found word for word in Atharvaveda as 20-18-1, 20-10-2 (repeated as 20-59-2) ; 20-120-2 ; 20-138-3 ; 20-115-2 ; 20-141-4 and 20-52-3 (repeated as 20-57-16). It is interesting to read the commentaries of Sāyaṇa on Ṛg. 8-3-16 and A. 20-10-2. They differ materially. It may however be pointed out that the Kaṇva as depicted by Atharva-veda proper was quite different from the Rgvedic Kaṇva.

PRASKAṆVA

Praskaṇva's name is mentioned only in two Ṛks, viz. 1-45-3 and 8-3-9 (the very same as Atharvaveda 20-9-3). In the former the sage requests Agni to listen to his praises as he listens to those of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Aṅgiras. The latter is addressed to Indra whose benevolence is sought for by the poet since Indra was known to have favoured Yatis, Bhṛigu and Praskaṇva with the gift of energizing food and thereby protecting their lives. Ṛgveda itself does not warrant the statement that Praskaṇva was the son of Kaṇva. Sāyaṇa seems to have been very much worried over the word Yati which he inconsistently argues to mean one who has desisted from performing sacrifices or who enthusiastically performs it. In 10-72-7 he takes 'yatayaḥ' to mean ('clouds'). If Yati means a cloud then inferentially Yatayaḥ may mean persons adopting cloud as their totem : Yatis and Bhṛigus are associates. (8-6-18).

KAŚYAPA

It is remarkable that though Kaśyapa figures profusely in later literature he has a very slender existence in Ṛgveda. He has been mentioned only once. Practically he is a nonentity but for Ṛg. 9-114-2 where he has been addressed as Ṛisi. The author of this stanza asks Kaśyapa to make obeisance to soma who was being praised by the Maker or composer of the mantras (vedic hymns). This verse gives us no information about Kaśyapa beyond the fact that he was a Rishi and as such had some ritualistic function to perform in the sacrifice with regard to Soma. However, the verse gives rise to points of much significance. We are told by the poet that Soma was being praised with the eulogiums of the Mantrakāras. Thus there are three functionaries before us : (1) The mantrakṛt that is the composer of the Mantra to be recited at the sacrifice ; (2) The reciter of that Mantra as Kaśyapa is here and the third is the one who is the author of the Ṛk under discussion. If this is a correct—at least approximately—delineation then it would necessitate a further investigation about the existence of those Mantras. The sage Kaśyapa was to sing not the hymn 9-114-2 but something different or is it to be supposed that the author of 9-114-2 regards himself as 'Mantrakṛt' ? The expression is :

ऋषे कश्यप ! मंत्रकृतां स्तोमैः भिरः उद्गृणन सोमं वमस्य।

The words giraḥ udvardhayan are rather intriguing. Probably it means enriching the speech. But then whose speech it is he is to enrich and how? Udvardhayan may mean uttering in a progressively loud voice. In this sense it offers no difficulty. If on the other hand 'Udvardhayan' means enriching or improving, the whole passage becomes unintelligible. Therefore it seems Kaśyapa's duty was merely to recite another's hymn in a specified manner. The expression, mantrakṛtām stomaiḥ' is plural ; it therefore cannot be taken to be referring to this particular hymn, viz. 9-114-2. It is to be hoped that 'stoma' has no other meaning than the one assigned to it here. Thus our difficulty about the mantras remains. It is not seldom that the Ṛgvedic poets ask the priests to do some sacrificial act. It may not always be the case that the priests participating in the sacrificial act use the hymns composed by themselves for the purposes of the sacrifice.

ANCIENT CITIES AND TOWNS MENTIONED IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA.

(By P. V. Kane)

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, besides being the most exhaustive work on Sanskrit grammar, is replete with information on many subjects. The importance of such information is heightened by the fact that scholars are generally agreed that it was composed about 150 B.C. An attempt is made in the following to bring together what Patañjali states about the famous towns and cities of ancient India. In the following the abbreviations used are : A. G. I.= Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India edited by Mr. S. N. Majumdar ; M. Bh.=Māhābhāṣya edited by Kielhorn in three volumes ; Pāṇ. =Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The words are arranged in Sanskrit alphabetical order, though transliterated in Roman script.

AHICCHATRA—The M. Bh. (on Vārtika under Pāṇ. IV. 1·79) Vol. II p. 233 mentions 'āhicchatrī, and 'kānyakubjī' meaning 'a woman born in Ahicchatra or Kānyakubja' (Pāṇ IV. 3·25). This city is identified with Adikot near Ramnagar in Rohilkhand (A.G.I. p. 413). Vide J. R. A. S. for 1903 p. 292. In some inscriptions the city is named 'Adhicchatrā' as in the Pabhosa Ins. of Āsāḍhasena (E. I. II p. 242). It is remarkable that the Tantravārtika of Kumārila states that in its day even brāhmaṇa women of Ahicchatra and Mathurā were addicted to wine. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 848 n. 1645 for the quotation.

AVANTI—In Pāṇ. (IV. 1. 176) this appears to be the name of the country of which Ujjayinī was the capital. The M. Bh. also (Vol. I. p. 225 on Vārtika on Pāṇ. I.2·49 and Vol. II p. 206) regards—'Avantī' as meaning a princess of the king of 'Avanti'. In later Sanskrit Avanti is often a synonym for Ujjayinī. But even in the Meghadūta 'Avanti' is a country ('Prāpyāvantīn' &c.).

UJJAYINĪ—On Vārtika 10 to Pāṇ. III. 1·26 the M. Bh. (Vol. II. p. 35) gives the illustration 'he starting from Ujjayinī sees the sun rising in Māhiṣmatī (i.e. the sun rises when he reaches Māhiṣmatī). Ujjayinī is the famous city of Ujjayinī, which Kālidāsa describes at some length in the Meghadūta. Māhiṣmatī appears from this illustration to have been a place which could be covered in one day from Ujjayinī by a forced march.[1]

[1] उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सम्भावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 35.

KĀÑCĪPURA—M. Bh. vol. II p. 298 (Vārtika 16 on Pāṇ. IV 2. 104) explains 'Kāñcīpuraka' as an inhabitant of Kāñcīpura. Whether M. Bh. refers to the Kāñcīpura in southern India is rather doubtful. But there is nothing to militate against the view that it is the ancient town of that name in Southern India that is meant.

KĀNYAKUBJA—Vide under Ahicchatra above. It is modern Kanoj. For the history of Kānyakubja from ancient times by Vincent Smith, vide J. R. A. S. for 1908 pp. 765-793.

KAŚĪ—M. Bh. Vol. II p. 413 makes the very interesting remark that although a piece of cloth manufactured in Kāśī and one manufactured in Mathurā may be of the same length and breadth, the prices are entirely different[2].

KIṢKINDHĀ—is mentioned by M. Bh. Vol. III. p. 96 (on Pāṇ. VI. 1·157) as a *guhā* (cave), though in the Rāmāyaṇa it is said to be the capital of Vālin and Sugrīva. It is identified with Anagundi near Hampī. In the Sabhāparva 31·17 it is called a *guhā* in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

KAUŚĀMBĪ—M. Bh. Vol. I p. 216 (on Pāṇ. I. 2·44) and p. 301 (on Pāṇ. I 4·1) gives two instances 'niṣkauśāmbiḥ' and 'nirvārāṇasiḥ' in the sense of 'one who has gone out of Kauśāmbi or Vārāṇasī.' Vide M. Bh. Vol. I, p. 116 for 'niṣkauśāmbinī and nirvārāṇasinī' (Vārtika 6 on Pāṇ. I. 1·47). This is modern Kosam on the Jumna, 31 miles above Allahabad. Vide A. G. I. p. 453. The word 'niṣkauśāmbiḥ' as an illustration occurs in several places in the M. Bh., as in Vol. I pp. 139, 301, 378, Vol. II, p. 50. For different views about the identity of Kauśāmbi vide E. I. Vol. XI. p. 141.

GAVĪDHUMAT—On Vārtikas 4 and 6 on Pāṇ. II. 3·28 the M.Bh.[3] (Vol. I. pp. 455, 456) states 'Sāṅkāśya is four yojanas from Gavidhumat'. For Sāṅkāśya see below.

MATHURĀ—The M. Bh. contains several references to this famous city. In Vol. I. p. 144 on Pāṇ. I. 1·57 it remarks "even when long distances intervene the word 'pūrva' may be applied, as in the sentence 'Pāṭaliputra is to the east of Mathurā'." On the 7th Vārtika under Pāṇ. I 2·1 the M. Bh. Vol. I p. 192 states "the affix *vat* is used also in the sense of the locative ; for example 'Mathurā-vat' means 'as in Mathurā' and 'Pāṭaliputravat' means 'as in Pāṭaliputra'." Vide also M. Bh. Vol. I p. 474 on Pāṇ. II. 4·7 where

[2] इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे पटस्यान्यार्घो भवति काशिकस्यान्यो माथुरस्य । M. Bh. vol. I p. 413 (on Pāṇ V. 3·55)

[3] गवीधुमत : साङ्काश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि, चतुर्षु योजनेषु । vol. I pp. 455, 456.

Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra are brought together in a Samāhāradvandva compound. On Pāṇ. IV. 1·14 the M. Bh. (Vol. II. p. 205) speaks of Mathurā as 'bahukurucara' and 'priya-kurucara'[4]. On Vārtika 5 under Pāṇ. IV. 3·120 (tasyedam) M. Bh. gives Māthura and Sraughna as meaning 'one belonging to the town (*grāma*) of Mathurā or Srughna'. We have seen above that Māthura means also 'cloth manufactured in Mathurā'. On Vārtika 12 to Pāṇ. I. 1·1 (M. Bh. Vol. I, p. 19) the illustration given is 'the identical Devadatta cannot be simultaneously in Srughna and Mathurā'. The same illustration is given on Vārtika 48 to Pāṇ. I. 2·64 (M. Bh. Vol. I. p. 244). On Pāṇ. V. 3·57 (Vol. II. p. 416) we have the illustration 'the inhabitants of Mathurā are more cultured than those of Sāṅkāśya and of Pāṭaliputra.' On Vārtika 8 to Pāṇ. III. 1·3 (Vol. II p. 8) we have the two instances 'Sraughnī' and 'Māthurī' (a woman born in Srughna or Mathurā).

MADHYAMIKĀ—It is said that this city and Sāketa (Ayodhyā) were besieged by the Yavana king.[5] This and the references to Puṣyamitra have been instrumental in settling the date of the Mahābhāṣya. The Yavana king is said to be Menander. The M. Bh. gives this illustration for exemplifying a Vārtika 2 (to Pāṇ. III 2. 111 Vol. II p. 119) which says that *laṅ* (Imperfect) is employed to refer to a well-known incident which occurred when the speaker was absent but which he could have seen if he had not been absent. Thus the siege of Ayodhyā and Madhyamikā by the Yavana was a well-known incident contemporaneous with Patañjali, but which he had not witnessed. Madhyamikā was otherwise called Nagarī in the Chitorgadh district of Rajputana. Vide the Ghosundi stone inscription in E. I. Vol. 16 p. 25.

MĀHIṢMATĪ—Vide under Ujjayinī above. This has been variously identified. Pargiter (J. R. A. S. 1910 pp. 445-6) identifies it with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. Others identify it with Maheśvara forty miles to the south of Indore. The Barwani plate of Mahārāja Subandhu is issued from this city and is dated in the year 167 (probably of the Gupta era). Vide E. I. 19 p. 261. It was the capital of the Cedi country. In the Raghuvaṁśa (VI. 43) it is said to be the capital of Anūpa which was surrounded by the Narmadā like a girdle. Vide Ujjayinī above. Legends about it occur in Sabhāparva 31 and Udyogaparva 19 and 166.

NĀSIKYA—This is mentioned as a *nagara* (a city) on Vārtika 2 to Pāṇini VI. 1·63. It is probably the modern Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra. There

[4] अनुपसर्जनात्। पा. IV. 1. 14; अनुपसर्जनादिति किम्। बहुकुरुचरा मथुरा प्रियकुरुचरा मथुरा। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 205. बहुकुरुचरा means 'one in which there are many persons that wander in the Kuru country.

[5] परोक्ष च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये। वार्तिक। परोक्षे च विषये लङ् वक्तव्यः। अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्। अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम्। महाभाष्य vol. II p. 119.

is hardly any thing to militate against this identification. Nasik was known to Ptolemy. That city has near it ancient caves and inscriptions dating from the 2nd century B. C. onwards. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 16 pp. 544 ff.

PĀṬALIPUTRA—Modern Patna. This city has been referred to in the M. Bh. more often than any other ancient Indian city. The palaces and ramparts of Pāṭaliputra are mentioned in the M. Bh. Vol. II p. 321 on Vārtika 4 on Pāṇ. IV. 3·134. On Vārtika 8 to Pāṇ. III. 3·133 the M. Bh. (Vol. II p. 160) exemplifies how a man desirous of going to Pāṭaliputra will use the several tenses about a well on the road to Paṭaliputra[6].

On Pāṇ. II. 1·16 the M. Bh. (Vol. I. p. 380) states that Pāṭaliputra is situated along the Śoṇa river and Vārāṇasī along the Ganges. On Vārtika 7 to Pāṇ. I. 3·11 by way of an illustration the M. Bh. (Vol. I. p. 273 and on p. 331 also) sets out the remark 'the inhabitants of Pāṭaliputra are more cultured (abhirūpa) than those of Sāṅkāśya.' In another place the M. Bh. (Vol. I. p. 259 on Pāṇ. I. 3·2) says that a man staying in one place can describe Devadatta staying in Pāṭaliputra as one decked with armlets, kuṇḍalas, coronet, etc. On Vārtika 14 to Pāṇ. VI. 4·22 (Vol. III p. 192) the M. Bh. refers to the objection that when one says 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra' there is a doubt whether it rained to the east of Pāṭaliputra or over the country including Pāṭaliputra as well. Vide M. B. Vol. I p. 499 (on Pāṇ. II. 4·43) for the same example. On Vārtika 4 to Pāṇ. IV. 3·66 there is a reference in the M. Bh. (Vol. II. p. 311) to Sukosalā (a woman) who describes in detail the parts of Pāṭaliputra (such as its ramparts). In M. Bh. on Vārtika 3 on Pāṇ. III. 3·36 Pāṭaliputra and Sāketa are brought together as regards a journey from one to the other. Vide under Mathurā above for further references.

VĀRĀṆASĪ—Niśkauśāmbi and Nirvārāṇasi occur several times in various connections. Vide above under Kauśāmbī.

ŚAUVAHĀNA—This is mentioned as a town in the M. Bh. (Vol. III. p. 319) on Vārtika 1 (which itself contains the word 'Śauvahāna') on Pāṇ. VII. 3·8. What town is meant cannot be said in the present state of our knowledge.

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[6] एवं हि कश्चित्पाटलिपुत्रं जिगमिषुराह। योऽयमध्वा गन्तव्य आ पाटलिपुत्रादेतस्मिन् कूपो भविष्यति। अनद्यतने कूपो भवितेति। समासाद्य कूपोऽस्तीति। समासाद्यातिक्रम्य कूपोऽभूदिति। समासाद्यातिक्रम्योपित्वा कूप आसीदिति। समासाद्यातिक्रम्योपित्वा विस्मृत्य कूपो बभूवेति। महाभाष्य vol. II p. 160.

[7] कश्चित्कंचिदाह। देवदत्तं मे भवानुद्दिशत्विति। स इहस्थः पाटलिपुत्रस्थं देवदत्तमुद्दिशति। अङ्गदी कुण्डली किरीटी व्यूढोरस्को वृत्तबाहुर्लोहिताक्षस्तुङ्गनासो विचित्राभरण ईदृशो देवदत्त इति। महाभाष्य I p. 259.

SĀKETA—Modern Ayodhyā. It was known as Sakeda to Ptolemy. On Vārtika 1 to Pāṇ. I. 3·25 (Vol. I. p. 281) the M. Bh. gives the example 'this road leads to Sāketa.' Vide above for the siege of Sāketa by the Yavana king under Mathurā.

SĀNKĀŚYA—It has been identified with Sankisa in the District of Etah about 45 miles north-west of Kanoj. Vide above under Gavīdhumat and Pāṭaliputra.

SRUGHNA—Identified with Sugh on the old Jumna, 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles north-west of Saharanpur. Vide under Mathurā above. The M. Bh. Vol. I. p. 281 on Vārtika 1 to Pāṇ. I. 3·25 states 'this road leads to Srughna.' In M. Bh. II. p. 318 Devadatta born in Srughna is mentioned (on Vārtika 5 to Pāṇ. IV. 3·120). Sraughna also means according to Pāṇ. IV. 3·38 'made, obtained, bought in or conversant with Srughna.'

HASTINĀPURA—A town about 57 miles north-east of modern Delhi. On Pāṇ. II. 1·16 (Vol. I. p. 380) the M. Bh. says that this city is along the Ganges, just as Vārāṇasī is. Ādiparva (95·34) states that the City was so called after Hastin, great-grandson of Bharata, son of Duṣyanta.

In numerous places the M. Bh. mentions several *nagaras* and *grāmas* either from the Vāhīka country or otherwise. For example, the M. Bh. on Vārtika 2 on Pāṇ. II. 4·7 mentions a nagara called Śaurya and a village called Ketavatā, a nagara called Jāmbava and a village called Śālukinī. In Vol. II. pp. 293-298 several Vāhīka villages are mentioned such as Kaukkadīvaha, Ārāt, Daśarūpya, Nāndīpura, Kāstīra, Śākala, Sausuka. It is almost impossible to identify these and so they are passed over here.

THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN INDIA BY LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA OF KASHMĪR

By H. Goetz, Baroda.

The middle of the 8th century forms one of the decisive turning points in the history of India. It marks the definitive end of the "classic" civilization connected with the name of the Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Yaśodharman and Harsha, the Chālukyas of Bādāmī (Vātāpi) and Pallavas of Kānchī. It marks the inception of the Mediaeval civilization represented by the Pratihāras, Pālas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Choḷas. By the middle of the 8th century the last representatives of the Gupta tradition, Jīvitagupta of Magadha and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, disappeared from the scene of history ; by that same time the Chālukyas of Bādāmī were extinguished with Kīrtivarman II, and likewise the Chālukyas of Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt), the Gūrjaras of Broach and the Mauryas of Chitorgaṛh, the Turkī Śāhīs of Afghānistān, whereas the Pallavas of Kānchī and the Maitrakas of Vallabhī still lingered on, broken, for some more decades. After the middle of the 8th century the Pratihāras of Bhīnmāl and Ujjain began their ascent to the imperial throne of Kanauj, the Rāshṭrakūṭas built up their gigantic empire over the Deccan, Gujarāt, Rājputānā and Central India, the Pālas theirs over Bengal and Bihār, and new dynasties turned up in the North, well-known in the history of the Middle Ages, the Guhilots, Chapotkatas, Paramāras, Hindu Śāhīs, Chandellas, etc. Those very years of transition are, however, shrouded in complete darkness. And yet it is evident that something decisive must have occurred. It is even more obvious when we check up the available dates which delimit that unknown event rather exactly. In the Deccan this crisis must have set in about A. D. 735, in Gujarāt about A. D. 740, and it ended roughly about A. D. 755-60. There can be no doubt that the Arab invasions, especially the attacks on Mārwāṛ and Mewāṛ between A. D. 725 and 740, may have played some role in this crisis. But this role must have been rather preparatory and cannot explain the course of events in Gujarāt and the Deccan. Thus we must look elsewhere for a solution.

However, this great event is already known since half a century ; but for a coincidence of circumstances, its extent and importance had not been realized : It is the conquest of Northern and Western India and of most of the Deccan by king Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmīr (A. D. ca. 725-756) described in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa[1]. In editing and publishing

[1] Kalhana, Rājatarañgini, transl. by M.A. Stein, 2 vols., Westminster 1900, Bk. IV, v. 126. ff.; Introduction I, p. 88 f.

Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle, Sir Aurel Stein had accepted Lalitāditya's victory over Yaśovarman and his conquests of Kanauj and Gauḍa as historical facts, and as such they have been taken over into all our text books[2]. But his campaigns into the Deccan, the Konkān, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Rājputānā he dismissed as too improbable and, therefore, mere poetical fancy. And the same has been the fate of Yaśovarman's Deccan campaign described in Vākpatirājā's Gauḍavaho[3]. As Stein later on concentrated all his attention on the exploration of Central Asia, he never came back on the problem of the early political relations between Kashmīr and India[4], but his authority, as one of the greatest explorers and scholars of our time, has been so unquestioned that nobody ventured to revise his conclusions. Half a century has since passed, and in this time our knowledge of Indian history has grown incessantly. And much material has been discovered which sheds new light also on this problem, and not only forces us to accept the Southern campaigns both of Lalitāditya and of Yaśovarman as events which really had occurred, but also permits us to find in them the key to the mystery enshrouding the great historical crisis of the middle of the 8th century A. D.

Before entering upon an analysis of the documentation and of the events, it will be desirable first to scrutinize the possible reasons for which Sir Aurel Stein has rejected the account of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. For nowhere he has tried to disprove the correctness of Kalhaṇa's otherwise so reliable statements. But generally his objections may be summarized as follows : Such immense campaigns from Kashmīr to Bengal and Orissa, to the Deccan, Konkān, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār are rather the exception in the history of India and have been beyond the possibilities offered by the manpower and resources of Kashmīr ; and we know of no other ruler of Kashmīr whose expeditions ever went beyond the frontiers of the Panjāb. That Lalitāditya defeated Yaśovarman and took Kanauj, already exceeds this rule, but is plausible and is to some degree corroborated by what we know of the history of Yaśovarman. But the rest cannot be more than the boasts and flatteries so common in royal inscriptions and in the works of court poets. This is a very sound

[2] R. T. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, Benares 1937, p. 201 ff., believes only in a temporary subjection of Yaśovarman, but quotes the blockade of Southern Tibet for Lalitāditya as an evidence of the reality of his submission. However, whereas he places Lalitāditya's victory in A.D. 733, that blockade was, according to Chinese sources, organized in A.D. 747, which would already mean 14 years of Kashmīr rule. Adris Banerji, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, (Ind. Culture XV, p. 203 ff., 1949), treats Yaśovarman merely as Lalitāditya's ally. H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, I, 1931, p. 112 contents himself with declaring that "though many of the details of Lalitāditya's digvijaya are shrouded in myth and mystery, his conquest of Kanauj—appears to be based on historical data."

[3] Most historians ignore it ; Tripathi rejects it as fancy ; A. Banerji accepts it, but as a raid before the encounter with Lalitāditya.

[4] There are more synchronisms with Indian history in the Rājataraṅgiṇī which have not yet been properly studied, e.g. Śaṁkaravarman's campaign against Bhoja II Pratihāra, in alliance with Krishna II Rāshtrakūta (see Rājataraṅgiṇī V, 135).

argumentation, but it cannot claim infallibility. For on the same reasoning we would have to question the exploits of Alexander the Great, of Charlemagne, of Charles XII of Sweden, of Napoleon, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, Chenghīz Khān, A'lā-ud-dīn Khaljī or Akbar. On the other hand it forces us to adduce indisputable evidence for suchlike exceptional careers and to prove the existence of special circumstances which had made them possible.

However, there is ample evidence that the political situation in India and Central Asia during the first part of the 8th century favoured the sudden rise of such a vast empire as that of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa must have been. Throughout the 6th, 7th and early 8th centuries we can witness a long series of wars all over Northern India, in which the successor dynasties of the Imperial Guptas overran vast areas, encountering, as it seems, less and less resistance, but also less and less support. For all these provinces were lost as easily as conquered. Later, in the 8th century, we see Vatsarājā Pratihāra, Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, and Dhrūva and Govinda III Rāṣhṭrakūṭa successively overrunning most of Northern India and losing it again, and not before the 9th or even 10th century a temporary consolidation at least seems to have set in. Our present insufficient knowledge of Indian history does not permit us to give a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon ; but several causes may be tentatively enumerated : (1) A serious depopulation of the agricultural districts as a result of the drainage of manpower for the incessant late Gupta interdynastic and frontier wars, and the devastations caused by the Hūṇa and Gūrjara invasions ; at least the post-Gupta strata of various excavated sites, e. g. Ahichhattra, speak for such a decline[5]. (2) The deterioration of the social structure, the concentration of all power and wealth in the hands of an aristocratic oligarchy, with the concurrent political indifference of the lower classes and the demoralisation of the surviving urban middle classes. This appears probable in view of the growing sophistication of costume fashions, luxury of buildings, mannered mass production of sculpture and painting, all-decisive power of the army and of the high clergy, evident in all the monuments and documents of the time, and in the full-fledged development of the Rājput feudal system[6] soon thereafter. With other words, conditions such as had existed in the late Roman and Byzantine Empire, in the Muslim countries in the days of their prostration, and in India previous to the British conquest.

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[5] Also Hiuen-Tsang mentions wide districts and many towns as already depopulated and waste.

[6] This development had been almost imperceptible. Already before, and especially since the later Gupta period, the high government offices had become more or less hereditary, and the division line between ruling houses reduced to the status of officials, and of high officers of almost princely position had been most fluid. But below them there had existed a wealthy middle class forming a link to the masses of the people. This latter was now reduced to insignificance.

In the Deccan conditions seem to have been rather similar. It is in the 8th century that building and sculptural activities[7] reached their apogee in the Chālukyan Empire, a perfect, but mannered and fashionable, and highly sophisticated mass production, whereas on the other hand manpower must already have been drained to the utmost in innumerable campaigns against the Pallavas, into Mysore, Āndhradeśa, Central India, Gujarāt and even Kāthiāwāḍ. With political attention focussed on the Pallavas, control over the Northern provinces had become lax, and the local vassals there, especially the Rāshtrakūṭas, had already begun to assert their independence[8]. Gujarāt was divided between a series of small dynasties. In Kāthiāwāḍ the last Maitrakas, in Mewāṛ the Mauryas, in Mārwāṛ the early Gūrjara-Pratihāras stood at bay, shaken, against the Arab invasions under first Junaid, then Tamīn, and their terrible destruction[9]. There existed not a single power really capable of resisting a strong invader.

But was Kashmīr then so powerful as to envisage such ambitious conquests? And how could it develop such a military superiority? From the Rājataraṅgiṇī we know that Lalitāditya had already conquered the Western Central-Asian highlands, the Panjāb and Afghānistān before he started on his Indian campaigns. Nowhere he could have found much resistance as at that time Tibet, almost barbarian, was kept in check by the Chinese, the Panjāb occupied by minor Gūrjara and other semi-nomadic tribes, the most important of which formed the small Takka kingdom round Lahore, Gujarāt and Gujrānwāla, whereas Afghānistān had after the fall of the Sāsānian Empire reverted to its former "Turkī-Śāhī" princelings (under Chinese control, then probably merely nominal). The sole, and really serious threat, there, was the advance of the Muslims. This threat must have made it easy for Lalitāditya to absorb those neighbouring countries. That he actually succeeded so, is corroborated in Afghānistān by the supersession of the Turkī Śāhīs by the Hindū Śāhī dynasty of Lalliya after the disintegration of the Kashmīr empire, and by Lalitāditya's chaitya at Parihāsapura (13 m. from Srīnagar), the gigantic Buddha statue of which—of gilt copper—had been inspired by the colossi of Bāmiyān and thus presupposes the king's control over Afghānistān.[10] In the Panjāb the Muslim advance came to a standstill beyond Multān. Even conceded that this was to some degree due to the crisis in the Arab Empire ending in the fall of the 'Omayyad' caliphs and the rise of the 'Abāssids,' it proves that resistance here must have been considerable. For

7 Especially the later buildings at Pattadakal, but also at Bādāmī and even Aihole.

8 About A.D. 730 the Northern style completely disappeared in Chālukya art.

9 In Gujarāt proper no temple earlier than the Arab invasion has survived, but many earlier than the Turkish invasion, end of the 13th century A.D.

10 I am discussing this monument in another paper.

the Arabs did not halt their advance, but directed their expeditions through the Thar desert into Kāthiāwād, Mārwār and Mewār. For the Central Asian regions we have Chinese records ; and later on Lalitāditya was to resume his conquests there, leading his armies through the Taqlamaqan into the Kuchā-Turfān districts and probably, beyond, into the Western Gobi where he perished at last. But this belongs to a later chapter of our history.

That Lalitāditya amassed uncountable treasures, such as no king of Kashmīr after him could collect, is mentioned by the Rājataraṅgiṇī[11] ; as a matter of fact practically all the great temples of Kashmīr, at Parihāsapura, Mārtāṇḍ, Būniyār, Narastān, Vāngath, Loduv, Takht-i-Sulaimān (Jyeshṭharudra), etc., were erected by him and his queens, princes, vassals or ministers, so that the rest of old Kashmīrī monuments look very poor by their side ; and how little even of those temples proves to have been preserved to us when we compare it with the many names preserved in Kalhana's so meagre and summary lists! The treasures bestowed on all these sanctuaries were such that several of the later rulers of Kashmīr filled their treasuries with the loot obtained from them under various pretexts[12].

It is evident that with the sturdy soldiers of the Panjāb, Afghānistān and Central Asia at its disposal, the Kashmīr kingdom could launch mighty armies against the, then much more civilized, kingdoms of Northern, Central and Western India and of the Deccan. But the question must be asked: What permitted Kashmīr previously to obtain control over those first-mentioned countries? From the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Chinese sources we know likewise that under Lalitāditya's elder brother and predecessor Chandrāpīḍa Kashmīr had been so badly in difficulties that it had to appeal twice for help to the Chinese emperor Hsuan-tsung (=Ming-Huan, A.D. 713-755)[13]. Which form this help then assumed, is not mentioned. But we know that Lalitāditya's prime minister and leading expert had been a Buddhist Tokhārian who had before been in the Chinese service. Foreigners had been common in the T'ang army and administration of the outlying provinces until the rebellion of the Turkish general An-Lu-shan A.D. 755; and this Tokhārian, whom the Kashmīrīs called Chankuna[14] in misinterpretation of his Chinese official title Tsiang-kiun, must have been one of them. The Tokhārians had been excellent soldiers, using mainly cavalry of the heavily armed Sāsānian type; the T'ang Chinese army, on their side, used an even more perfected armour, of

[11] Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 189, 195-206, 217, 207 ff. ; 326 ff.

[12] Especially Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) and Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101).

[13] Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī, vol. I, p. 124.

[14] Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 211, 215 f., 246, 301 and Stein's Introduction I, p. 143 f.

mixed scale and plate type, and had a highly perfected organisation[15] Chankuna seems not to have brought any troops to Kashmīr, but merely to have reorganized the Kashmīr army and administration, and to have introduced those foreign types of arms. At least the erection of the two great Buddha idols at Parihāsapura and Śrīnagar (Pravarapura), in embossed and gilt copper, during his administration[16] points towards a highly developed plating and armour industry. And it must have been the shock of this heavily armed cavalry of Sāsāno-Chinese type which rendered possible not only the conquest of Central Asia, Afghānistān and the Panjāb, but also of most of the rest of India. Of course, it had not been the purpose of the Chinese to equip an Indian conqueror. The emperor Hsuan-tsung needed an ally against two dangers, the advance of the Muslims against the Western Frontier of the T'ang Empire, and the ambitions of the kings of Tibet who after the conversion of Sron Tsan Gam-po to the Buddhist religion had started on the conquest of Central Asia and Northern India, and who some decades later were to sack Changan, and to overrun Yunnan, Szechuan and Sinkiang. But like A'lā-ud-dīn's war machine, organized in order to stem the advance of the Mongol hordes, was finally turned against Gujarāt and the Deccan, so the modernized army of Kashmīr conquered India, until the Tibetans forced Lalitāditya to return to the Himālayan highlands.

So much for the background! However, which evidence proves that the story of Lalitāditya's expeditions beyond Kanauj goes back not to poetic fancy, but on real historical events? We can apply the following tests: (1) References to persons and circumtances which a later writer with the best will could not have invented: These are the mention of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kayya (=Kakka, Karka) II of Lāṭa as builder of a temple in Kashmīr under Lalitāditya, that of the Śilāhāra king of the Konkān, Mummuni, and the reference to a "Raṭṭa" queen connected with the Karṇātakas who opened the passes to the Deccan to Lalitāditya's army. That Kalhaṇa, writing in distant Kashmīr in the 12th century, should have invented such historical details which, moreover, prove correct, is out of question. They must, therefore have been taken from earlier traditions and documents recording genuine events.

Karka II is a rather obscure ruler generally known only to specialists in Rāshṭrakūṭa or early Gujarātī history[17]. Kalhaṇa does not mention him at all in his account of Lalitāditya's campaigns, and only passim in connec-

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15 A. von Le Coq., Bilderatlas zur Kultur-und Kunstgeschichte Mittelasiens, Berlin 1925. A stela showing a heavily armoured knight of ca. the 8th or 9th century is in the Jageśvar Temple, Kumāon. Fragments of chain armour were found in Devapāla's Monastery at Nālandā (information kindly supplied by Dr. H. D. Sankalia).

16 Rājataraṅginī IV, 203, VII, 1098; Sahni, Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir, A. R., A. S.I. 1915-16, p. 58.

17 Bhagvanlal Indraji, New Copper-plate Grants of the Rāshtrakūta Dynasty, (J.B.B.R.A.S. 16, p. 88, 105 ff., 1883-85).

tion with the religious endowments of the time[18]. Kashmīr then was merely a border country of India, still half-Buddhist and liberated from centuries of barbarian rule since not even half a century. It is most improbable that Karka II should voluntarily have gone thither on a pilgrimage and spent his revenues on a temple of Lalitāditya's capital. What, then, had he to do in Kashmīr? The only possible explanation is that he had been there as a hostage and vassal, like Jīvitagupta of Gauḍa, as expressly stated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[19], and Yaśovarman, as can be implied from other references there and in the Gauḍavaho[20]. But then he or at least other members of his family must have been defeated by Lalitāditya, and the latter must have visited Gujarāt.

Mummuni Stein had not been able to identify. The name is generally unknown in Northern India, but it was borne by two kings at least of the Śilāhāra dynasty of the Konkān.[21] It is true that of Lalitāditya's time we know no Śilāhāra ruler of that name, but as our informations are most fragmentary, this is not a serious objection. Moreover, it is possible that the name of this unsuccessful Śilāhāra had been obliterated from the official family records after he had been abducted to Kashmīr. For the Rājataraṅgiṇī claims that Mummuni[22] had been defeated several times and at last hunted down. In Kalhaṇa's time, however, a Mummuni family was still living in Kashmīr; had they been descendants of that Śilāhāra king?

The name of the "Raṭṭa" queen is not mentioned. But she can have been nobody else than Bhavagaṇā, the Chālukya princess whom Indra I Rāshṭrakūṭa had abducted from Kaira and married by force ("Rākshasa rite"), and who became the mother of the great Dantidurga.[23] It is, of course, impossible for us to guess the exact motives of her appeal to Lalitāditya. Probably she was at the time queen-regent for Dantidurga, and in danger of being dethroned by her brother-in-law Kṛishṇarājā. It seems probable that her main loyalty had been on the side of her own family, and that she regarded it as her task to reconcile the unruly Rāshṭrakūṭa clan with the legitimate, but badly weakened imperial house. For as Lalitāditya's and Yaśovarman's campaigns in the Deccan are understandable only on the assumption of an

[18] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 209.

[19] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 322 ff.

[20] Tripathi, op. cit., p. 199.

[21] Epigraphia Indica 25, p. 53 ff., 1940; B.A. Saletore, The Origin of Bombay, (J. Univ. Bombay 18, pt. 1, p. 1 ff., 1944).

[22] Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 155 f., 159, 167.

[23] S. K. Dikshit, Ellora Plates of Dantidurga, (Epigraphia Indica, 25, p. 25 ff., 1940); D. R. Bhandarkar, Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I, (ibid., 18, p. 235 ff., 1925-26); A.S. Altekar, The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, Poona 1934, p. 9.

alliance with Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarman II Chālukya, it seems that the queen's action had the approval of her Chālukya relatives.

(2). The second test would be references from other sources : We have to consider two: the account of Yaśovarman's Deccan and Rājputānā campaign in Vākpatirājā's Gauḍavaho, and a reference in Dantidurga's Sāmangaḍ inscription to the defeat of an invasion by the combined rulers of Sindh, Mālwa and Kosala.[24] Both have hitherto not made sense, mainly because they are vague and have to hush up certain unpleasant facts. However, it is most remarkable that Yaśovarman's march route to the Deccan is practically identical with that of Lalitāditya; that his campaign against the Pārasīkas—like that of Lalitāditya against the Konkān[25] is understandable only on the assumption that the Chālukya kingdom had been an ally and a military basis; and that his return route goes parallel to that of the king of Kashmīr. As Yaśovarman's preceding victory over the Lord of Gauḍa then must likewise be identical with that of Lalitāditya, after he had defeated Yaśovarman, only one conclusion is possible, i.e., that Yaśovarman had followed Lalitāditya to the East and South as a vassal.[26] It is true that the Gauḍavaho does not mention such a rather awkward position. But whitewashing and hushing up of unpleasant facts are a common practice of political publicity, and have been not less common in ancient India than in our own times. Vākpatirāja as a court poet naturally had to present Yaśovarman's career in the best possible light, and where he could not suppress facts altogether, he hid them tactfully and cleverly behind mythological allusions. He merely remarks that "the corner of Yaśovarman's eye became twisted in consequence of a momentary shaking of his (kingly) position"[27]; he ignores the Kashmīrīs in the Deccan campaign completely; and veils Yaśovarman's visit to Lalitāditya's court into the imagery of a half-mythic visit to the Maṇḍāra mountain.[28] Was not the residence of the Chakravartin the Meru mountain beyond the Himālayas?[29] Was not Lalitāditya's capital Parihāsapura situated on a plateau amidst

[24] J.F. Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, no. 121, (Indian Antiquary II, p. 108 ff., 1882); Ellora : Daśāvatāra Cave Inscription, (Epigraphia Indica VII, App. p. 13), see also Begumra Plates of Indra III (ibid., IX, p. 24 ff.) ; Altekar, op.cit., p. 9, 33 ff.

[25] Tripathi, op.cit., p. 199; the Pārasīkas had been subjected hardly half a century before by Vinayāditya Chālukya (A.D. 680-96).

[26] If we might assume that Yaśovarman undertook his Deccan campaign before his defeat by Lalitāditya, we are forced to place it before A. D. 730. But at that time Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) ruled over the Chālukya Empire, a most successful ruler who extended his expeditions as far as the Ran of Cutch and would hardly have tolerated such an invasion.

[27] Tripathi, p. 204.

[28] Tripathi, p. 199.

[29] S. Paranavitana, Sīgiri the Abode of a God-King, (J. Ceylon Br. R.A.S., Centenary Volume, n.s. I, p. 120 ff., 1950) ; R. Heine-Geldern, Weltbild und Baukunst in Südost-Asien, (WZKKA IV, p. 28 ff., 1939).

a fairyland beyond the outer Himālayan ranges? He describes his honourable reception there, and this, too, is true. For Lalitāditya had treated Yaśovarman personally with great honour and later on had apparently made him viceroy of most of his Indian dominions. Thus Yaśovarman, though defeated and reduced to vassal status, practically occupied a more honoured and influential position[30] than as independent king of Kanauj, and Vākpatirāja could, therefore, celebrate him like a sovereign, gliding over his misfortunes with some elegant hints.

However, if Yaśovarman accompanied Lalitāditya to the Deccan, also the king of Gauḍa must have gone with them. For on Lalitāditya's return to Kashmīr we find him there.[31] But then the reference in Dantidurga's inscription is quite clear: Sindh cannot be understood as the then Arab province. For it is out of question that in those years any Hindu ruler of Mālwa or Kosala might have allied himself with the Muslim invaders. But Lalitāditya's empire controlled the whole area of the upper Indus, the Panjāb, the Kābul Valley, Kashmīr, the Western Himālaya.[32] Whether Mālwa should be interpreted as the frontier province of Yaśovarman or part of the paternal heritage of Jīvitagupta's family, whether Kosala may stand for Mahākosala, the frontier area of Gauḍa towards the Deccan, or the old Kosala in the U. P., is difficult to decide; but in the practical effect it does not matter. The only invasion to which Dantidurga can have referred, is that by Lalitāditya and his vassal-confederates. That he, too, tried to attenuate the extent and success of this invasion, is natural. For as we shall see, he did not successfully defeat the allies, but merely succeeded in at last freeing himself from Kashmīrī vassalage, after Lalitāditya had been forced to return to Central Asia in his struggle with the Tibetans.

(3). On these foundations we can try to build up the third test: A reconstruction of events in harmony with all known data, historically plausible and possibly shedding new light on other, hitherto obscure affairs. The general course of events is known: Lalitāditya first subjected Yaśovarman of Kanauj, then threw himself on Jīvitagupta of Gauḍa and advanced through Orissā to the Gulf of Bengal. Then he received the appeal for help from the "Raṭṭa" queen, fought by the side of the Karṇātakas in the Deccan and in the Konkān, whereas Yaśovarman warred against the Pārasīkas in the South. Thereafter he was forced to return home, and marched through Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ, Ujjain, Mewār and Mārwār to Thānesar. Now it is obvious

[30] Ou-kong in fact mentions him (as "King of Central India") in alliance with Mung-ti (Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa), cp. Tripathi, p. 203.

[31] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 322 ff.

[32] Also in the Pratihāra inscriptions Kashmīr is referred to as Sindh.

that with the resources of that time this could not have been a mere raid, but a series of campaigns extending over years, during which Lalitāditya may have returned to Kashmīr more than once. Despite the extreme summarizing in the extant narratives of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Gauḍavaho, a number of hints can be traced pointing to a long stay in India : First there are two peace treaties with Yaśovarman, one very moderate, another bringing him under complete control ; then the Rājataraṅgiṇī says that Lalitāditya's generals had been dissatisfied with the length of the war against Kanauj [33]. During Lalitāditya's stay in the Deccan not only quite a sequence of battles against the Śilāhāra Mummuni is narrated, but also other excursions to the Ghāṭs and Southern mountains which presuppose a long stay there. Granted a similar margin for Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Rājputānā, we must allot at least fifteen years to these campaigns. Moreover, seen all circumstances, it seems probable that actual developments had been much more complicated. As in those years the Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas already controlled Gujarāt and parts of Kāthiāwāḍ, even Lalitāditya's prolonged stay in the Deccan needed at least a temporary previous settlement of affairs on the Gujarāt side, though this may have been effected through some of his generals.

Lalitāditya's invasion of Kanauj has by most historians been placed in A. D. 745, but Tripathi has since pointed out that an allusion in the Gauḍavaho to a solar eclipse obliges us to antedate Yaśovarman's defeat to A. D. 733.[34] On the other hand the date of Lalitāditya's return to Kashmīr can be fixed by means of the Tibetan invasion which called for his presence in Kashmīr and Central Asia, i. e, A. D. 747.[35] As Lalitāditya must have perished in Sinkiang about A. D. 756 or 757, the collapse of his empire must be sought in those years.[36]

The first embassy of king Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmīr had visited Changan in A. D. 713, the second in A. D. 720.[37] Lalitāditya came to the throne, according to Sir Aurel Stein's calculations, ca. A. D. 725, and already then the Sino-Tokhārian Chankuna was his prime-minister and chief adviser. The advance of the Arabs in the Panjāb came to a standstill after A. D. 713. In Afghānistān the tribute hitherto paid by "Ratbīl" (Chandrāpīḍa) was

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33 Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 135-140.

34 Tripathi, p. 204 f. ; Jacobi, in Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1888, II, p. 67 f. ; N. N. Dasgupta on the Date of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, (Indian Culture, 14, p. 14 ff. ; 1947).

35 The Kashmīrīs then appealed to the Chinese army operating against Yasīn and Gilgit under Kao-Hsien-chih in A.D. 747, cp. A. Stein, Serindia, 1921, vol. I, p. 52.

36 This invasion of Sinkiang must be connected with the collapse of T'ang power subsequent to the rebellion of the Turkish general An-Lu-shan A.D. 755 ; for until then the Kashmīrī and Chinese armies seem to have acted as allies.

37 See footnote 13.

withheld after A. D. 715, and first the caliph Al-Mansūr (A. D. 754-75) resumed a stronger policy against the Hindus there, but not before the beginning of the 9th century could the Muslims achieve any success worth mentioning.[38] According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī[39] the Turkī Śāhīs then had been reduced to officials of Lalitāditya.

Instead, we find between A. D. 725 and 740 repeated Arab attacks on Mārwāṛ and Mewāṛ, and against Kāthiāwāḍ in A. D. 760. Though these invasions had no lasting effect, they succeeded in utterly devastating the country and in destroying the Gūrjaras of Broach and, later, the capital of the Maitrakas, Valabhī, and demanded the utmost efforts from the side of Bappā Rāval in Mewāṛ, of Nāgabhaṭa I in Mārwāṛ, and of the united Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa forces in Gujarāt.[40] This seems to indicate that during that same period the defences of the Kashmīr-"Sindh" kingdom had been organized so well that for the time being the Muslims had to abandon all hopes of success in that direction and turned their attention to the more promising countries beyond the Thar Desert. For the same considerations it is likewise clear that also Lalitāditya could think of a campaign in the East only after his frontiers against the Muslims had been safe.

This is likewise corroborated by an analysis of the ruins of Parihāsapura. Lalitāditya's chaitya there presupposes an acquaintance with Bāmiyān, but does not yet reveal any influence from contemporary Gupta art, such as is evident in later buildings, e. g., Malot or Mārtāṇḍ.[41] With other words, Afghānistān already formed an integral part of Lalitāditya's empire before the Kanauj campaign. Thus the reorganization of the Kashmīr army and the consolidation of Lalitāditya's Western empire must have been effected in the years between A. D. 713/20 and ca. A. D. 730.

It seems possible that the war with Kanauj started in consequence of an expansionist move towards the Panjāb from Yaśovarman's side. For the first peace treaty had been one on an equal footing. But both Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman dreamt of conquest and expansion, and so the peace could not last long.[42] In the second clash Yaśovarman became a vassal of Kashmīr, personally highly honoured, but without any opportunity for independent action.[43] Thereafter the war with Gauḍa and the march

[38] H.C. Ray, Dynastic History, I, p. 69 f.

[39] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 142 f.

[40] S. K. Dikshit, Ellora Plates of Dantidurga, (Epigraphia Indica, 25, p. 25 ff., 1940).

[41] This subject will be discussed in another paper.

[42] Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 126, 187, etc.

[43] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 144 ffl ; Tripathi, op. cit., p. 199 f., 211 ff.

towards the Gulf of Bengal followed.[44] We do not know the exact dates of these events. But as Vākpatirāja acknowledged only the worst reverses of Yaśovarman, A. D. 733 must be regarded as the year of the definitive conquest of Kanauj. Thus the war must have started several years earlier, at least in A.D. 730, and the conquest of Bihār, Bengāl and Orissā must have cost some years more, until ca. A. D. 735 or 736.

At that time Lalitāditya received the appeal for help from the "Raṭṭa queen"[46]. As already mentioned, the only person with whom she can be identified, is Bhavagaṇā or Bhavanāgā, the Chālukya queen of Indra I Rāshṭrakūṭa and mother of Dantidurga. For from the details of the subsequent campaign it appears that Lalitāditya posed as the saviour of the Chālukyas. The Rāshṭrakūṭas[46] had been an old family of chieftains in Berār who had been subjected in the early 7th century by Pulakeśin II Chālukya. When the Chālukyas were locked up in their bitter contest with the Pallavas of Kānchī, they gained increasing influence, holding various important fiefs in the Northern provinces from Berār to Gujarāt, and playing a leading roll in the wars against Valabhī and the Muslims. Indra I (II) was one of this "illustrous lotus-group-like family," as the Antroli-Chhāroli copperplate grant of Karka II calls them [47]. During the years A. D. 725–35, possibly A. D. 729[48] he abducted Bhavagaṇā from the Chālukya court at Kaira (Kheṭaka-mandapa)[49], but probably was pardoned as his services were indispensable to the ruling house. Between A. D. 730 and 735 he must have died, under otherwise unknown circumstances. His son Dantidurga, therefore, must have been a boy for whom his mother assumed the regency. A. D. 733 Vijayāditya Chālukya deceased, and his successor Vikramāditya II was preoccupied with the war against the Pallavas, routing Naṇḍipotavarman and occupying Kānchī. But after so many wars the Chālukya power, thereafter to collapse so suddenly, may already have been so exhausted that this victory was won at the price of losing control over many of the unruly feudatories[50], the Śilāhāras, Pārasīkas, Chāhamānas, Chapotkaṭas[51],

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44 Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 148 ff. Lalitāditya advanced through Mahākosala. He cannot have encountered serious resistance as the Bhauma Kingdom then was already breaking up and losing ground to the Kesaris.

45 Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 150 ff.

46 A. S. Altekar, The Rāshṭrakūṭas, Poona 1934.

47 Bhagvanlal Indraji, New Copperplate Grants of the Rāshtrakūta Dynasty, (J.B.B.R.A.S. 16, p. 105 ff., 1883-85).

48 The possible date has been discussed by Altekar and Dikshit, but is still uncertain.

49 It was then only used as military headquarters, as the permanent residence was at Nausāri.

50 G. C. Raychaudhuri, The Collapse of Early Chālukya Rule in the Western Deccan, (Indian Culture 15, 1949, p. 184 ff.) observes that under Vikramāditya II and Kīrtuvarman II, Chālukya rule, once controlling even Kāthiāwād, did extend not beyond Sholapur district in the North. This is corroborated by the disappearance of the Northern Style in Chāluhya art after ca. A. D. 730.

51 Vanarājā Chapotkata is believed to have started on his raids as early as A.D. 734, immediately after the death of Vijayāditya.

and also the Rāshṭrakūṭas, though we can not say whether they started an open rebellion, or just ignored the central authority. The Kaira affair had already shown their independent spirit. Thus the Chālukya queen-regent could not expect support from Vikramāditya II. Indra's brother Kṛishṇa I may already then have had an eye on Indra's fiefs, and possibly also Dhrūva or his son Govinda, the father of Karka II.[52] Thus probably somewhere about A.D. 735–6 Bhavagaṇā may have appealed to Lalitāditya. She opened to him the passes over the Vindhyās, and the allies seem to have been heartily received in the Chālukya kingdom. But as in the case of Yaśovarman and Jīvitagupta, Lalitāditya, while conceding the semblance of power and honour to his hosts, intended to retain its substance in his own hands. The usual tactics of conquerors in such a situation has always been to instal a series of vassals divided by jealousy, and keeping in check each other, with the overlord as ultimate arbiter. In restoring the southern half of the Chālukya Empire after the defeat of the Pārasīkas[53] and Śilāhāras[54], Lalitāditya could well claim that he had been summoned in support of the young Dantidurga[55] but in Lāṭa he set up, by his side, Karka II[56], Dantidurga's nephew, by the side of various minor local dynasties. As it always happens in suchlike situations, reshufflements in the position of those local vassals seem to have recurred for quite a number of years, dynasties deposed and others installed. Of the Lāṭa-Chālukyas we hear nothing after A. D. 741[57]. The Chāhamānas of Broach fell only after Lalitāditya's death. On the other hand the Chapotkaṭas of Pāṭan-Aṇhilwāda, the Chālukyas and Chāpas of Saurāshṭra must then have come to power. Vanarājā Chapotkaṭa whose father had been expelled by Vijayāditya II Chālukya from Panchāsarat[58],

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[52] We lack so far all evidences on the relations between the various Rāshtrakūta branches in those years, but may draw certain inferences from later developments. After Dantidurga's death Krishṇarājā I ousted his brother's and predecessor's sons from the throne, and defeated Karka II in open battle. Karka II had been Lalitāditya's partisan, whereas Dantidurga later turned against the latter; as Dantidurga, on the other hand, must likewise have been a protegee of the king of Kashmīr, the jealousy between these two may have been one of the causes of such a volte-face.

[53] Tripathi, op. cit., p. 199.

[54] Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 155-159, 167.

[55] In the Ellora Plates A.D. 742 the young Dantidurga, who then had apparently outgrown the regency of his mother, is merely styled Mahāsamantādhipati. Raychaudhuri believes that he still was a feudatory of Vikramāditya, but it seems more probable that he was, like Karka II, a Kashmīr vassal.

[56] He, too, must then have been a minor. "Young though he was, he adorned his family by his good qualities. His valour while it brightens the quarters....white as the foam of the milky ocean churned by the moving Mandāra". May this latter image refer to his military achievements in Lalitāditya's army?

[57] The Lāṭa-Gūrjaras had succumbed already to a devastating "Tājik" invasion between A.D. 735 and 739 which was at last broken by Pulakeśi-Avanijanāśraya Chālukya and Dantidurga, see S. K. Dikshit in Epigraphia Indica 25, p. 25 ff., 1940.

[58] A. K. Forbes, Ras Mālā, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, London 1924; for the Chapotkatas cp. also Bombay Gazetteer I, pt.1, p. 150 ff.; Indian Antiquary 17, p. 192.

probably rose as a freebooter and then mercenary general to the position of Lalitāditya's governor in North Gujarāt in which capacity he founded Pāṭan-Aṇhilwāda A. D. 746[59], became independent after the collapse of the Kashmīr Empire, but later succumbed to Vatsarājā Pratihāra[60]. As small Pratihāra feudatories, of course, the dynasty could not issue grants of their own, and therefore their memory survives merely in the Jain records[61]. The most important of these Gujarāt princelings was Karka II[62] who already as a boy distinguished himself, probably as an officer in Lalitāditya's army. That he built a temple in Kashmīr has already been mentioned. After Lalitāditya's death he returned, as is evident from his grant A. D. 757, but apparently the invasion of Vatsarājā Pratihāra must have swept him away, until Dantidurga re-established him after his defeat of the Gūrjaras. After the death of Dantidurga and the removal of the latter's sons, he clashed with Kṛishṇarājā I and was defeated in open battle. His family seems to have been continued by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Pathariā.[63]

The exact date of Lalitāditya's expedition into Kāthiāwāḍ[64] is not known. From the whole context of events we may infer that it took place somewhere between A. D. 740 and 746. The history of the Maitrakas of Valabhī for this period is a complete blank. [65] But at that time they had already become vassals of the Chālukyas, so that Lalitāditya there simply stepped into the heritage of Vijayāditya. When the Chālukyas and Chāpas of Saurāshṭra were installed we do not know for certain, as we have inscriptional dates for them only from the later Pratihāra period. But counting

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59 It is remarkable that at Pātan sculptures in the Kanauj and Gauḍa varieties of the late Gupta style have been found (now in the Baroda Museum), posterior to the local Chālukya style, contemporary with Vanarājā's reign, and anterior to the early Pratihāra style. See Bull. Baroda Museum, VII, p. 25 ff.

60 There is some confusion in the Jain tradition which, however, seems to be due to a later fusion of separate events. The date of the "foundation" of Pātan is now accepted to be A.D. 746. From the context of events the alternative date A.D. 756 must refer to Vanarājā's claim to sovereignty. Again the dates of his later reign are in confusion, i.e. ca. A.D. 780, resp. A.D. 806. As in A.D. 780 Vatsarājā Pratihāra started on his conquests, the first may be interpreted as the date of Vanarājā's submission to the Gūrjaras, the latter as the year of his actual death.

61 From the vague allusions in the Jain tradition it appears that Vanarājā's successor Yogarājā regained independence after the defeat of Vatsarājā by Dhruva and Govinda III Rāshṭrakūṭa. In the reign of Ādivarāha Mihira Bhoja (A.D. ca. 840-90), at the latest, the Chapotkaṭas must have been reduced to mere local feudatories.

62 See the Antroli-Chhāroli Grant Śaka 670, cp. footnote 47; Rājataraṅginī IV, 200; and Altekar, op. cit. 11-14, 40, 43. The identification with Rāhappa is doubtful.

63 H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, I, p. 557 ff.

64 Rājataraṅginī IV, 160.

65 No Maitraka inscription is known between A.D. 723 and 761. However, it looks as if the later Maitraka grants represent no more than successive abortive attempts at regaining a long lost independence. For chronologically they always coincide with crises in the adjoining states.

back the successive generations and taking the average of what we know of neighbouring dynasties, it seems that they were set up on this occasion.[66]

The reason for Lalitāditya's return was the invasion of Kashmīr by the ambitious king of Tibet.[67] After a temporary setback he revived the policy of conquest of his ancestor Sron-Tsan Gampo Khri-lde-btsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms (A. D. 705-55) his successor Khri-Sron-lde-btsan (A. D. 755-97) conquered the Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Szechuan, Kansu and Sinkiang, and even looted the Chinese capital Chang-an during the civil war inaugurated by the rebellion of An-Lu-shan A. D. 755. This invasion of Kashmīr must have taken place in A. D. 747 [68], and because of the absence of the Kashmīrī army under Lalitāditya became so serious that the Kashmīr home government had to appeal for Chinese assistance [69]. Thus Lalitāditya had to march back on the shortest possible route, apparently in two parallel columns, one via Ujjain[70] and Chitorgarh, the other via Mārwār;[71] then via Thānesar[71] to Kashmīr.

Of this return march no details are known. But it is tempting to connect with it two events in Rājput history. The first is the rise of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewāḍ. Bappā Rāwal[72] had got a foothold and influential position at Chitorgarh already before Lalitāditya's campaign. But the tradition that in his old age he left Mewār and died fighting in Persia and Turkistān, makes sense only when we assume that he, too, had become a vassal of Lalitāditya and had followed the latter in his Central Asian campaigns. Probably this was the price he had to pay for the acknowledgment of his usurpation of the Maurya throne of Chitorgarh.[73]

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[66] The chronological material is easily accessible in H. D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, Bombay 1942.

[67] L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, London 1895, p. 24; Levi, Le Népal, vol. II p. 146 ff. V. A. H. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, II Chronicles of Ladekh, 1926, p. 86 ff.

[68] Already in A.D. 741 Gilgit had become dependent on Tibet. A.D. 747 a Chinese army, operated under Kao-Hsien-Chih against Yasīn and Gilgit, (Stein, Serindia, I, p. 52 ff.). Lalitāditya must have known of the growing danger already in A.D. 746 at least.

[69] Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 126; Stein's Introduction I, p. 88, 91; a parallel embassy was sent by Yaśovarman, see Tripathi, p. 203.

[70] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 161.

[71] Tripathi, p. 199.

[72] C.A. Vaidya, Early History of Rajputs, 1924, p. 73 ff.; Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, ed. W. Crooke, 1920, I, XXXVI, 259.

[73] Jas. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, ed. W. Crooke, London 1920, I, p. 267 ff. Crooke discards it as a mere legend. But such stories generally are not legends, though the version preserved may be not intelligible. The date given is V. S. 820=A.D. 764 which might correspond to the civil war between Lalitāditya's successors. But as Tod's dates for this period are not exact, it seems more likely to read, instead, V. S. 802, i.e. A.D. 746, the time when Lalitāditya must have passed through Chitorgarh.

The other is the much discussed purification ceremony of "Vasishṭha" at Mt. Ābū. The story cannot be brushed aside, but must be interpreted, like so many others of this type, as a mythologized account of an event which, then a necessity, could later on not be denied, but seemed not too reputable to the prestige of the next generations. However, the ceremony "creating" the Agni-Vaṁśa did not imply more than that clans, who had been not up to the standards of orthodox Hindu society, were socially accepted. It does not imply that they were foreigners, nor that their claims to be Kshatriyas, with a traditional pedigree back to epic times, had not been honest. The cultural standard amongst the nomads and semi-nomads in the Thar, Sind and Afghānistān had been much lower than in the agricultural provinces of India. Their civilisation was mixed with Īrānian elements.[74] Even today there are lot of tribes in the same area, come from the West, and professing to be Kshatriyas and Hindus, but not accepted as equals by the orthodox Hindus, as any ethnographic survey proves. When this ceremony took place, we have not the slightest indications. But if anybody had an interest in such a transaction, and if anybody had the power and prestige to enforce it, it was Lalitāditya. He could not leave India behind without a satisfactory settlement. For he needed new levies for the Tibetan war. He needed a reliable frontier defence against possible future Muslim invasions. The various Gūrjara tribes had proved to be brave fighters against the Muslims, and it seemed desirable to integrate them into his political system. Himself a frontierman fighting with regiments from Afghānistān and Central-Asia, he could have no prejudice. Himself an orthodox Hindu and great temple builder, overlord over India, master over the last heirs of Gupta culture, the Gauḍas, Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas, he could enforce the acceptance of those intrepid semi-nomads. And in doing so he could hope to win loyal champions for his empire.

But nothing came of all this. Lalitāditya successfully fought down the Tibetans[75], invaded the Tarim Basin[76], crossed the Taqlamaqan[77], conquered the kingdoms beyond, probably Kuchā and Turfān, and further advanced into the deserts. There his army was annihilated, and the great conqueror burned himself on a pyre with his ministers and generals, ca. A.D.

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[74] Cp. the "Sāsānian" Sūrya and Śiva images, the Gadhaiyā coins of North-Western India, the remnants of Irānian dress style, embroidery, etc. amongst Jāts, Gūjars, etc., Sāsānian motifs in Rājput folk art, and number of minor ethnological peculiarities, e.g. the horse-heads in wood or stone as door decorations in Mārwār, Merwāra and Kāthiāwād, and similar features.

[75] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 163-171.

[76] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 277 ff., 377 ff.. I, p. 93 ff.

[77] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 172-176, 277 ff. It is remarkable how exactly Kalhaṇa describes actual conditions in the Taqlamaqan.

756/7.[78] This Central-Asian war kept him away from his Indian dominions for years, but his prestige seems to have been strong enough to maintain the peace of his empire. The Kashmīrīs apparently tried to keep his death secret for some time, but when news spread, everything broke up; and as Lalitāditya's sons quarrelled one with the other[79], the empire disintegrated within a few years.

Dantidurga Rāshṭrakūṭa seems to have been the first to declare his independence A.D. 953[80], if not earlier. Since at least A.D. 742 he had taken into his own hands the reins of government[81], though only as a feudatory (Mahāsamantādhipati), and apparently had merely waited for the first opportunity to break away. A.D. 756 the frontier became restless; the Gūrjaras advanced into Mālwa, but had here to acknowledge Dantidurga as overlord [82]; and Vanarājā Chapotkata tried to set himself up as independent lord in Northern Gujarāt[83]. A.D. 757 Karka II Rāshṭrakūṭa[84], Bhartṛivaddha II Chāhamāna of Broach,[85] and Kīrtivarman II Chālukya—who in A.D. 746 had succeed Vikramāditya II on the throne of Bādāmī, in A.D. 761 Śīlāditya VII Maitraka of Valabhī issued copperplate grants as independent rulers. Yaśovarman seems to have died some years before Lalitāditya.[86] But about his successors and the weak Āyudha kings who came to the throne of Kanauj, we know very little.[87] The Gupta dynasty of Magadha was already extinct, as Jivitagupta had been killed in an unsuccessful coup d'état at Parihāsapura [88], and, instead, Gopāla had risen, the founder of the Pāla dynasty. And in

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[78] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 337 ff V, where his death is explained away; the sober account of the ultimate tragedy ibid. VII, 1428. Its date is not known; but about A.D. 756/7 most vassals began to break away. A.D. 759 Tun-Huang fell into Tibetan hands, 766 the whole of Kansu, 790 Kuchā.

[79] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 374 ff., 400 ff., 410 ff.

[80] Sāmangad Grant Śaka 675.

[81] S. K. Dikshit, Ellora Plates of Dantidurga, Śaka 663.

[82] Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I, verse 9. At least this seems the most plausible explanation of their presence as "Pratihāras" at Dantidurga's Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony.

[83] See footnote (60).

[84] Antroli-Chhāroli Grant, Śaka 679.

[85] Epigraphia Indica XII, p. 197 ff.

[86] Tripathi, p. 197.

[87] Tripathi, p. 211 ff.

[88] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 322 ff.

the West the Gūrjaras[89] and Arabs again attacked the Panjāb[90] which Jayāpīḍa vainly tried to regain.[91]

But this was no more than a temporary interregnum. The Kashmīr Empire had disintegrated, but the idea of a great, all-comprising empire had been left behind. The struggle for another empire began. Dharmapāla tried to annex the upper Ganges Valley and to subject Kanauj. Vatsarājā Pratihāra took Ujjain and made himself ruler of Avanti. Defeated by Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa I, he had to abandon Mālwa, turned towards the North and overran the whole of Northern India, but was thrown back by Dharmapāla and Dhruva. And only his successors Nāgabhaṭa II and Ādivarāha Bhoja strongly established the Pratihāra Empire after defeating the Kashmīrīs, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and beating off the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Dantidurga defeated Kīrtivarman's II army in a surprise attack which ended in a massacre, made an end to the Chālukya Empire, and subjected the Gūrjaras. But his sons were set aside by his uncle Kṛishṇa I, under whom the Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire was firmly set up. Karka II Rāshṭrakūṭa became Dantidurga's governor, but was defeated by Kṛishṇa I, and another branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was placed on the throne of Lāṭa with Karka III (IV), great-grandson of Kṛishṇa. Vallabhī was destroyed in A.D. 760 by a Muslim invasion, and Northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ came under the sway of the Pratihāras.

Like most that we know of ancient Indian history, also this reconstruction cannot claim to be more than a working theory trying plausibly to interconnect the sparse and uncertain data from which we have to build up our picture of political events in the past. It is, therefore, open to criticism and revision. However, so much it has demonstrated: The account of Lalitāditya's Southern campaigns in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is not only probable, it is substantiated by a number of undeniable facts. And it not only fits in well with whatever else we know of that obscure period of Indian history, but also sheds revealing light on quite a number of problems. But this period of the shortlived Kashmīr Empire is of key importance for the history of India. It closed the Classic Age and inaugurated the Middle Ages.

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[89] Epigraphia Indica 18, p. 99 ff., 1925-26. The king of Sindhu defeated by Nāgabhaṭṭa II can have been only Jayāpiḍa.

[90] H. C. Ray, op. cit., p. 112 ff.

[91] Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 402 ff. It seems that he dreamed of recovering the whole empire of Lalitāditya, but ended as a romantic adventurer.

ASTRONOMICAL MISSIONS TO THE COURT OF JAIPUR 1730-1743

By George M. Moraes

Scholar and statesman, administrator and warrior, Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur presents the rare instance of an able monarch who was also an eminent man of letters and science. Jai Singh's lot was cast in troublous times, when the Mughal Empire, to which his ancestors had dedicated well-nigh two centuries of devoted service, was crashing, and it needed all the tact and resource on the part of the vassals to preserve their own dominions intact. Jai Singh entered upon his inheritance in 1699, while still a minor, and though for a time he could maintain himself with difficulty, he soon succeeded in consolidating his position and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. He carried out far-reaching reforms in the administration of his territories, and built a new city unlike any of its kind in India, to which he gave the proud name of Jaipur. The wide streets of his capital (110 feet in width) bisected each other at right angles with beautiful edifices on either side, which established his reputation as the first to attempt town-planning in India on a new and original model. "For neatness and beauty," wrote a French critic, "no city in India could vie with Jaipur," and wondered, "if in the beginning of the 18th century, the epoch of its foundation, it had any rival even among the cities of Europe."[1]

The geometrical design of Jaipur was only a reflection of Jai Singh's mathematical genius. For, though he had quite a good knowledge of the classics, it was to mathematical science that he was particularly devoted, and it was as an astronomer that he distinguished himself. As he has beautifully put it, "from the first dawning of reason in his mind, and during its progress towards maturity , he was entirely devoted to the study of mathematical science, and the bent of his mind was constantly directed to the solution of its most difficult problems ; by the aid of the Supreme Artificer he obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles and rules."[2]

In his quest for astronomical knowledge, however, the traditional Hindu system as represented by the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, said to have been composed in remote antiquity, did not satisfy his exacting standards, as he missed in it the precise observational data which he looked for, and he, therefore, turned

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[1] L. Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs* (Paris : Hachette, 1875), p. 207.

[2] William Hunter, "Some account of the Astronomical Labours of Jaisinha, Rajah of Ambhere or Jayanagar," *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V (1797), pp. 180-81 ; Cf. G. R. Kaye, *The astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh* (Calcutta : Superintendent—Govt. Printing, 1918), p. 11.

to the Muslim astronomical works to supply the deficiency.[1] The text-book on Astronomy among the Muslims was Ptolemy's great work, commonly known as the *Almagest*, which held sway in Europe for a thousand years after its publication and among the Arabs a thousand years after its translation, and which was still regarded as the standard work. Jai Singh had this treatise translated into Sanskrit under the title of *Samrāṭ Siddhānta*, that is "the Supreme Text-book,".[2] He also had recourse to the works of other noted astronomers who had since then added to the knowledge of Astronomy, such as Nasir al-Dīn who made his observations at the Maragha Observatory, and specially of Ulugh Beg, the royal astronomer of Samarkhand, and Jamshid Kāshi, his assistant.[3] But he still found the time of the occurrence of the natural phenomena such as the new moon and the eclipses and the rising and setting of the planets widely differing from the times of their actual occurrence ;[4] and since it was very important and vital in the life of a Hindu to have a correct forecast of the timing of the occurrence of these events, he set himself the task of investigating the cause of this error. For this purpose, he constructed an observatory at Delhi, like the one which had been erected at Samarkhand, with the self-same set of metal instruments as were used in the latter, like the Zāt al-Halqa, a ring instrument of brass three gaz or nine feet in diameter, Zāt al-Sha'batain or an astrolabe with two wings or parts, Zāt al-zaqatain, Sads Fakri or Shashtāmśa yantra, and Shāmlah or Jai Prakash.[5] And so that the observations made there may be checked at different longitudes (of course, after making due allowance for the distances involved), he constructed similar observatories at Jaipur, Muttra, Banaras and Ujjain.[6] But with all this, try however hard he might, he could not discover the causes of the error.

When at the end of seven years, he was finding himself baffled in his efforts to unravel the mystery of the stars, and was perhaps beginning to feel that his researches were proving fruitless, he casually met Father Manuel Figueredo, Superior of the Jesuits, who by their godly lives and wide culture were held in high honour at the Mughal court. Jai Singh spoke to Father Figueredo of his researches and lamented the fact that on account of the inadequacy of his knowledge or for want of appropriate instruments, he could not obtain accurate results. Figueredo referred him to the progress which his favourite studies had made in Europe,[7] thanks to the researches of Copernicus (1470-1542), Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo (1570-

1 Cf. M. F. Soonawala, "Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II (1686-1743)," *Science and Culture*, Vol. IX (1944), p. 413.
2 Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
4 Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
5 Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 12 notes 8, 10, 11 and 12.
6 Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
7 *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* Vol. XIV (1781), p. 337 cited in H. Hosten, *Jesuit Missions in Northern India* (Calcutta : Catholic Orphan Press, 1927), p. 37; Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London : Burns Oates, 1932), pp. 133-34.

1642), and Newton (1642-1727), the results of which had not till then reached the eastern countries. The information excited the curiosity of the Raja, and he at once entreated Father Figueredo to go at the head of an embassy to Don Joao V, King of Portugal, and to request him to send him an astronomer. The embassy consisted of several experts in the science from Jaipur,[1] who were presumably required to acquaint themselves at first hand with whatever improvement they could observe in the Portuguese observatories.[2]

Don Joao V received the embassy with transports of joy. It pleased him to know that the reputation of the Portuguese scholars had outstripped its national boundaries and had already reached the distant East. Father Figueredo who, besides his spiritual mission, was looking after Portuguese interests at the Mughal court, must also have impressed on the king the importance of cultivating the friendship of the Raja of Jaipur. He knew of the enormous influence wielded at the court by Jai Singh, influence which could be brought to bear on the Mughal Emperor to prevent the depredations of the Portuguese territories on the West Coast by the Marathas and the Siddi, both of whom were his vassals.[3] The amicable relations with the Raja would also be helpful in the propogation of the Christian religion—a cause always dear to the heart of the Portuguese Crown.

Under the circumstances, Don Joao V turned to his confidential advisers for the choice of a scientific ambassador to be deputed to the Jaipur court. Naturally enough, the person to be selected for this important mission had to be a distinguished astronomer besides possessing a robust physique to stand the rigours of a long and perilous voyage. After a diligent and careful inquiry lasting for several months, the choice fell ultimately on Xavier da Silva who well satisfied all the qualifications.[4]

The mission was back in India by the end of 1730.[5] Jai Singh learnt from the Portuguese savant of the advances in Astronomy made in the West. He also received from him a copy of the *Tabulae Astronomicae*, the astronomical tables, published in 1702 by De la Hire, a French astronomer of repute (1640-1718), of which the first part had already appeared in 1687. But Jai Singh found the tables unhelpful in solving the problems he had set himself. For, on comparing them with those he had constructed as a result of his own observations, he detected in them an error of half a degree in the position of the Moon. He also found that the calculations of the time of occurrence of the solar and lunar eclipses were not exact.[6]

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1 *Ibid.*

2 A.B. de Bragança Pereira, *Archivo Portuguès Oriental* (Bastora: Rangel, 1940), Tome I, Vol. III, Pt. IV, No. 32, p. 85.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 83, p. 181, No. 156, pp. 297-98. Rousselet, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

4 Hosten, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Cf. J. B. Amancio Gracias, "Uma Embaixada Cientifica Portuguesa à Côrte dum Rei Indiano no seculo XVIII," *O Oriente Português*, Nos. 19, 20, 21 (1938), pp. 193-99.

5 Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, No. 83, p. 181.

6 Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-88.

This led him to the conclusion that the errors committed by the astronomers in their calculations since the times of Hipparchus and Ptolemy were due mostly to the faulty instruments they used. The brass instruments which they employed "because of the smallness of their size, the want of division into minutes, the shaking and wearing of their axes, the displacement of the centres of the circles and the shifting of the planes of the instruments" were, in his opinion, obviously not calculated to yield accurate results.[1]

Jai Singh sought to overcome these defects by erecting large immovable masonary instruments, and invented three main instruments: (1) the Sāmrāṭ Yantra or a giant equinoctial sun-dial,[2] (2) the Jai Prakāsh for indicating the position of the Sun and for observing other heavenly bodies,[3] and (3) the Rām Yantra, which for all practical purposes, was an astrolabe on a cylindrical projection.[4] In his *Sāmrāṭ Siddhānta* Jagannath tells us that Jai Singh was proud of exhibiting his new methods with these and other instruments, and that with the help of certain learned mathematicians and astronomers, he had made observations of the stars.[5] These mathematicians and astronomers, we venture to suggest, must also have included Xavier da Silva to whose instrumentality Jai Singh obviously owed his introduction to Western Mathematics, and the early steps he took to get Euclid's *Elements* together with a treatise on plane and spherical geometry and on the construction and use of logarithms translated into Sanskrit.[6] It is of course a moot point whether Xavier da Silva could have concurred with him as to the remedy. No doubt, Jai Singh was successful for the moment in achieving his object, so much so that years later, English astronomers could not register an error of more than a few seconds. It is related, for example, by Dr. Hunter that comparing his observations on the latitude of Ujjain, with those of the Chief, he could hardly find a difference of 24 seconds, but he admitted an error of 15 seconds in his own observations. While Jai Singh fixed the latitude of Ujjain at 23° 10′ N, Hunter established it at 23° 10′ 24″ N.[7] But Jai Singh hindered further improvement by stereotyping the designs. For, as Kaye has rightly remarked, "The larger and more immovable the instruments, the greater is

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

2 "The Supreme Instrument." "The Sāmrāṭ Yantra," as its name implies, "is an equinoctial sun-dial, consisting of a triangular gnomon with a hypotenuse parallel to the earth's axis, and on either side of the gnomon is a quadrant of a circle parallel to the plane of the equator. It is in principle one of the simplest equal hour sundials". Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

3 "Jai Prakāsh. Sarva Yantra Siromaṇi". "The crest jewel of instruments. It is a hemisphere, on the concave side of which are mapped out certain co-ordinates. Cross wires are stretched north to south and east to west, and the shadow of the intersection of the wires following on the surface of the hemisphere, indicates the position of the sun in the heavens ; other heavenly bodies can be observed direct by "placing the eye" at the proper graduated point and observing the passage of the body across the point of intersection of the wires. For this purpose, passages are cut into the hemisphere, and the instrument is duplicated." Kaye, *loc. cit.*

4 "Rām Yantra is a cylindrical instrument open at the top and having at its centre a pillar. The floor and inside of the circular wall are graduated in scale of the tangents for altitude and azimuth observations. The height of the wall from the graduated floor is equal to the distance from the circumference of the central pillar to the inside of the wall." Kaye, *loc cit.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 3. 6 Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 209. 7 *Ibid*, p. 190.

the difficulty in making alterations and improvements." The European astronomers also saw the inevitability of error, but sought to counteract it with instruments such as micrometer, vernier, telescope and the like, instruments which could be handled with facility and were at all events more manageable.[1]

It is not known when Xavier da Silva left for Portugal.[2] However, in 1733 we find Jai Singh inviting two French Jesuits from Chandernagore to assist him in his observations of a coming eclipse. The Raja had shown himself friendly to the Christians for whose benefit he had already commenced building a Church so that his wishes could not lightly be refused. Accordingly on 6th January 1734, two priests Frs. Pons and Claude Boudier set out from Chandernagore. They made observations at all the important places through which they passed, including the Raja's Observatory at Delhi, and reached Jaipur where they are found working in the month of August and September of that year. This was all that they could do. For they were soon compelled to return to Chandernagore due to continued ill-health, probably consequent on the hardships encured in the course of the journey.[3]

Thus again foiled in his attempts to enlist European astronomers in his service, Jai Singh applied to the Portuguese Viceroy, Conde de Sandomil, for help, and the latter succeeded in securing for the Raja the assistance of two Bavarian Jesuits Frs. Anthony Gabelsberger and Andrew Strobel. There was some delay before they could leave Goa. For one thing, Fr. Gabelsberger, who seems to have reached Goa just at the outbreak of the monsoon[4] when voyage to Surat could not be resumed, had to await the arrival of his colleague before they could proceed to Jaipur. For another, when Fr. Strobel finally came on 30th of September 1737,[5] difficulties were raised by the Visitator of the Jesuits, Fr. Brolhas Antonio Brandolini, who rightly thought that they should not leave Goa until the question of the expenses of their journey from Goa to Jaipur as also the expenses of their stay at the court had been settled.[6] The Portuguese were also at war with the Marathas, and the journey was, therefore, judged unsafe for travellers with a Portuguese passport. The Viceroy availed himself of this difficulty to plead with Jai Singh that he should use his good offices to mediate peace between the parties.[7]

[*Continued on page 85*]

[1] Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 35 and note 1.

[2] Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Science and Culture*, Vol. IX, p. 478) has identified Xavier da Silva with Pedro da Silva or a grandson of the latter whose descendants are still seen in the Jaipur State. Pedro da Silva Leitão, to give his full name, was a Portuguese physician at the Jaipur Durbar, popularly known as Hakim Martin after whom a street is named in Jaipur. Cf. J. B. Amancio Gracias, *Medicine in Goa in XVI-XVIII Centuries* (Bastora : Rangal, 1941), pp. 60-61.

[3] *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, Vol. XV, pp. 337-60, cited by Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 134 ; Hosten, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

[4] Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, Pt. V, Nos. 24-25, pp. 38-39 in which Conde de Sandomil gives the news to Jai Singh of the arrival of the Jesuit Mathematicians possessed of such qualities as will merit His Highness's approval.

[5] He arrived by the ship Madre de Deus. *Livro de Monçoes*, No. 107 fl. 347, cited by P.S. Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, Vol. I, (1944), Fas. I, pp. 42-43.

[6] Bragança-Pereira, *op. cit.*, No. 109, pp. 217-218 ; No. 115, pp. 235-36.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 67, pp. 123-34.

VĀḌEŚVARODAYA-KĀVYA OF VIŚVANĀTHA

By A. D. Pusalker

Dealing as it does with some aspects of the important, intriguing and elusive Paraśurāma Problem, the *Vāḍeśvarodaya-kāvya*[1] is of great interest to scholars. Some light is thrown on how Paraśurāma reclaimed land from the ocean, as also on the origin of the Citpāvana Brāhmaṇas, the foundation and erection of the sacred temple of Vāḍeśvara at Guhagar. Of particular importance is the fact that Vāḍeśvara is the *kula-daivata* (family deity) of a majority of the Citpāvana Brāhmaṇas.[2] The object in writing this descriptive note is to elicit further information re : (i) the author, (ii) his other works, (iii) MSS of the *Vāḍeśvarodaya-kāvya*,[3] (iv) parallelisms from other accounts with (a) the Paraśurāma story, (b) Citpāvana, (c) Vāḍeśvara, etc. as given here, (v) identification of proper names and place names mentioned in this Kāvya (Index given at the end), and (vi) preparation of a complete topographical compendium of the area.

Description of the MS : The only available MS of this work is No. 5213 in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, (now Asiatic Society) described on pp. 178-80 of Vol. VII (Kāvya MSS) of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS[4]. The MS comprises 43 folia, of country made paper, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4''$. The script is Devanāgarī, in a clear hand, with 8-10 lines per page. The paper is old in appearance, soft, discoloured, and fragile so that edges of some of the pages are being separated. The work, divided into 14 cantos, is complete, and the total number of stanzas is 694. Raghunātha Mālavīya appears to have been the owner of the MS.

Author : The author was Viśvanātha, son of Mahādeva, born of Pitre family of Kauśika Gotra[5] from Guhāgrāma (Guhagar in Ratnagiri District),

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[1] I am indebted to my esteemed friend Prof. Gode for inviting my attention to this unique Kāvya.

[2] cf. *Citpāvana* (in Marathi) by N. G. Chapekar, Poona, 1938, p. 135f.

[3] In connection with this Viśvanātha, his other works, and further MSS. of the *Vāḍeśvarodaya*, nothing is known from Catalogues or Reports of MSS. Prof. Gode and Dr. Raghavan, the authorities in such matters, have written in reply to my queries that no further information is so far available.

[4] This MS. is included in the list of important works in the volume, not mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (*Des. Cat. of Skt. MSS. As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. VII, Intr, p. xii).

[5] Pitre is a surname among the Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇas in Mahārāṣṭra, and their gotra is Vasiṣṭha.

and his genealogy is given in the last canto :—

Kāśīnātha
|
X
|
Mahādeva
|
Hari
|
Mahādeva
|
Viśvanātha

Date : The work was completed in *Randhrabāṇatithisammitābdaka Śālivāhanaśaka* i.e. 1550 or 1559 (=1628 or 1637 A.D.). There is a post colophon statement mentioning that one Paraśurāma copied this *Vāḍeśvarodaya-kāvya* in *Khagāśvabāṇabhūyukta Śaka* i.e. 1575 (=1653 A.D.).

Analysis of contents :

Canto I. After salutations to Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī and Śrīkṛṣṇa, the poet states it as his object to describe the greatness of Vāḍeśvara whose temple is in Guhāgrāma standing on the land recovered by Paraśurāma from the ocean. An account is given of Paraśurāma's life, and of his donating the earth to Kaśyapa. On reaching the Sahya mountain in search of a suitable place for himself, Paraśurāma bathed in the sacred stream springing from Mahābaleśa,[6] worshipped the deity, and requested the ocean to retreat in order to give him some footing. On the ocean's refusal Paraśurāma became immensely furious and wanted to dry up the ocean by discharging an arrow against it. There was some rough shaking and the earth trembled in result, when the ocean realised its folly and sought protection of Paraśurāma falling at his feet. (*Rāmasāgarasamāgama*)

Canto II. Paraśurāma was pacified and forgave the ocean. As the arrow he had put to the bow could not be withdrawn, he agreed to discharge it so that the ocean could retreat only five or six yojanas (instead of drying it up completely.) Thus assured the ocean retired to its abode, and Paraśurāma, keeping the bow strung with arrow on the ground, went to perform his evening duties at sunset. While Paraśurāma was thus engaged in his evening ablutions, a swarm of white ants which were saved by the ocean, began to

[6] Can it be Mahableshwar of the present day, where five sacred streams (Pañcagaṅgā) have their source ?

cut the string in order to repay their obligation to the ocean so that the arrow may not go very far. But the string was not affected by their efforts. When Paraśurāma saw the string covered by the ants he cursed them thus : 'You won't thrive on stone, and whatever you eat anywhere will be turned into earth in your mouth".

Thus frustrated and cursed, they reported the matter to the ocean, who pacified them by promising water in their mouths. After performing his ablutions at dawn the next day, Paraśurāma discharged the arrow which went through clouds with a thundering noise, and exposed land covered with corals and pearls, full of hills and water fowls. Then Paraśurāma descended from Mt. Sahyādri accompanied by some devotees and worshipped Rāmakṣetra, a hundred yojanas in length and six in breadth, between the Sahya and the ocean on one side and the Vaitaraṇī and the Kerala on the other.[7] It is also known as Iṣupāta, as it was produced by the fall (*pāta*) of the arrow (*iṣu*), and Talakuṅkaṇa, as it is the bottom of Kuṅkaṇa. While Kuṅkaṇa, the lowland at the foot of the Sahyādri, and Kauṅkaṇas, its residents, are blameworthy, Rāmakṣetra or Iṣupāta is a holy place (*Kṣetranirmāṇa*)[8].

Canto III. Śuka and Sāraṇa, the trusted spies of Rāvaṇa, saw the wonderful phenomenon of the land reclaimed from the ocean, and reported the matter to their master, describing the physical features and valour of the person responsible for it. Rāvaṇa identified the hero as Paraśurāma from the characteristic marks mentioned by his envoys. Fearing that his city (Laṅkā) would be drowned if Paraśurāma drove away the whole ocean, Rāvaṇa set out in his Puṣpaka to make peace with Paraśurāma. He requested Paraśurāma to be satisfied with the land already reclaimed and save Laṅkā, and Paraśurāma granted the prayer, after which Rāvaṇa returned fully satisfied.

Thereafter the gods and damsels, captive slaves of the demons (Rākṣasas), came to Iṣupāta and began to enjoy there. The demons followed and struck them with force. Paraśurāma got furious at this, and killed a host of Rākṣasas. Laṅkā was saved from disaster and submersion only at the intervention of Brahmā who put Rāvaṇa at the feet of Paraśurāma. The deities thus liberated were asked by Paraśurāma to place a part of their merit at the sacred site. (*Devatāsthāpana*).

Canto IV. Paraśurāma named the mountain, one yojana to the west of the Sahya on the banks of the river Jagatpāvanikā, as Mahendra on account

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[7] cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* (Bombay, 1877), II, 1. 23-25 (Uttarārdha, Adyāya 1, st. 23-5), p. 303 ; Saletore, *Karnatak*, p. 25. This would make the country reclaimed from the ocean one hundred yojanas in length and three yojanas in breadth. Vaitaraṇī is taken to be near Nasik.

[8] With this account, cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, II. 6-7, pp. 325-7, 330-2.

of its similarity with its namesake on the east. At Rāmakṣetra Paraśuramā used to worship Śiva. Once in order to test Paraśurāmas's devotion Śiva disappeared, and presented himself again on Paraśurām's chanting hymns in praise. Śiva embraced Paraśurāma and said that there was no difference between them two. Paraśurāma prayed to Śiva to stay in the shrine till dissolution of the world, and the Lord granted the prayer. The place where Śiva resides is the Citravana. It is named Guha because staying there is as difficult as the finding of a thing lost in a cave is for myopic people. (*Śambhu-prasāda*).

Canto V. Various sacred spots created by Paraśurāma on the site have been enumerated and their greatness and merit mentioned. Bāṇagaṅgā was formed through his arrow charmed with Varuṇāstra[9]. Rāmatīrtha was consecrated to the south of the mountain at a little distance from the river[10]. Dālbhya and other sages also created holy places in their hermitages.

Paraśurāma then went to the Kāverī where the principal Brāhmaṇas were from the banks of the Payoṣṇī (*Payoṣṇī-tīra-sambhava*), and invited them to colonise his territory. On their willingness, Paraśurāma brought sixty families[11] of holy Gotras with him, and through Viśvakarman (the divine architect) erected a city like Amarāvatī. To the east of the Kṣetra and south of the river he established houses for the Brāhmaṇas. The city was named Cittapāvana[12] as it purified ($\sqrt{pu}$) the heart (*citta*) of Paraśurāma who is Pūrṇakāma (whose wishes are fulfilled). The Brāhmaṇas residing in the city also came to be known as Cittapāvana[13]. Paraśurāma enjoined the Brāhmaṇas to observe with great festivity Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Trayodaśī as the birthday of the goddess Earth. The same is observed even today by the Brāhmaṇas. They were promised everlasting protection by Paraśurāma.

Hearing of the greatness of the place, there flocked from all quarters a number of people of various races, and the city prospered. Paraśurāma made all Vipras that came later on, equal sharers of his protection. (*Kṣetraracanā-varṇana*).

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[9] cf. *BG* (*Bombay Gazetteer*), X, p. 356 : Banganga, arrow-spring near Parashuramkshetra.

[10] cf. *BG*. X, p. 326 ; Ram Tirth, one of the sixty legendary ponds dug by Paraśurāma is to the east of Chiplun. There is a small temple and rest house close by, and the banks are used as a burning ground.

[11] cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, II. 1. 30b, p. 304 : षष्टिकुलं .... पवित्रमकरोत् ।

[12] Modern Chiplun. cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, II. 1. 40b, p. 304 ;

सह्याद्रेश्च तले ग्रामश्चित्तपोलननामत : ।

[13] cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, II. 1. 37b : चितास्थाने पवित्रत्वाच्चित्तपावनसंज्ञका : । also pp. 304, 327, 80, etc.

Canto VI. Description of the Rāma incarnation—generally on the lines of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. (*Rāmāvatāravarṇana*).

Canto VII. Description of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation—generally on the lines of the *Harivaṁśa* and the Purāṇas. (*Kṛṣṇāvatāravarṇana*).

Canto VIII. On the advent of Kali, two or three Brāhmaṇa lads, under the influence of Kali, decided to test the veracity of Paraśurāma's promise of everlasting protection, by resorting to fraud. They covered a fake corpse and began to lament loudly calling on Paraśurāma, who instantly appeared before them in response. They stood silent at his approach, and knowing their fraud, Paraśurāma cursed them that they would thenceforth be known as Kūṭastha Brāhmaṇas[14] on account of the deceit practised by them. He further declared that he would no longer be visible to any one, but would stay incognito[15].

Hearing this, the old Cittapa Brāhmaṇas collected together, and prayed to Paraśurāma not to punish all on account of the offence of a few, and sought his protection. Paraśurāma said that it was Kali that was responsible for the change in people who now became sinful, etc. He would remain in secret on account of Kali and not for any other reason ; but would continue to protect those that worshipped him. The Brāhmaṇas erected an idol of Paraśurāma as directed by him, and worshipped him.

Mahādeva, the Great Lord, knowing Paraśurāma's intention manifested himself in the *liṅga* established by the sage Vyāḍi, in the village named Guha, known as Vāḍeśvara, who is ever watchful of his devotees' interests. (*Rāmatirodhāna*).

Canto IX. On the approach of Kali various sages founded several sacred places which came to be known after the name of their respective founders. Bhārgavakṣetra or Rāmakṣetra became prosperous on account of riches pouring in from all places. The country is known as Gūḍha (deśa) because Paraśurāma stays there in secret (gūḍha). There arose several kings in Gūḍhadeśa some of whom ruled over two or three villages guarding the frontiers. One of the rulers of Gūḍhadeśa was Kāyurāṇa, whose son

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[14] cf. *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, II. 20. 25, p. 380 :

वेदाध्ययनशीलाश्च मत्स्याशिनो दयालव : ।
कूटस्थका इति ख्याता : किंचिन्निद्या : समागता : ॥

[15] The account is given differently in the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* (p. 328 f). To test Paraśurāma's promise to appear before them merely on mental call, Cittpāvana Brāhmaṇas remembered him, and he appeared before them. He cursed them : You will be conceited of your learning, jealous, poor with profuse progeny. Your lands will be barren, and you will earn livelihood with great difficulty.

Sākurāṇa (later called Sāṅkurāṇa)[16] resided in a fortress in the Guhākānana (Guhā forest). Sākurāṇa was the paragon of virtues, a great donor, valiant soldier, etc. The sacred shrine of Vāḍeśvara lay concealed in the bamboo-grove around the fortress, where Sākurāṇa had placed an army of workers. Near the sacred site of Vāḍeśa was the royal stable where veterinary surgeons were in attendance for expectant mares. Among the cows provided for feeding the colts with milk was a tawny one from the divine Surabhi family who, without being seen by anyone, used to bathe the Vāḍeśvara with her milk. The head of the stable, however, suspected the herdsman for the loss of milk, and threatened him with dire consequences. The suspect's assurances and oaths proving of no avail, he promised to keep a watch on the cow. When he found the cow showering her milk on the stone (*liṅga*), he was enraged : he therefore struck her and also broke the stone (*liṅga*). Instantly, blood oozed out of the broken stone (*liṅga*).[17] The herdsman reported the matter to the chief of the stable who, on satisfying himself, told it to the king. Sāṅkurāṇa with his ministers hurried to the spot, and ordered the surrounding ground to be cleared. Then out of the earth emerged an irregular *liṅga*, which could not be moved even an inch despite strenuous efforts. From the ditch dug out, emerged a number of hooded serpents with several heads. The frightened workers immediately filled up the ditch. The wise king then thought that the spot must be the *liṅga* of the Great God, as it was also known that there was a hermitage of Vyāḍi near the spot and the sage had established a *liṅga*. After consulting his ministers the king declared that the sacred linga was of Girīśa; and as the Lord was seen near Vāḍa (horse-stable), He would be known as Vāḍeśvara. The king decided to erect a palace for the deity. (*Vāḍeśvaraliṅgāvirbhāva*).

Canto X. Then king Sāṅkurāṇa ordered his minister to make preparations for constructing a palace—levelling, filling up, bringing plaster, timber, cut stone, artisans, etc. While the dimensions were yet under consideration, and the king was worried as to the particular unit of measurement (on the basis of the multiples of which the superstructures would be built) which would give a fitting mansion for the Lord, the king had a strange dream. The Lord in the form of a naked Yogi, Śūla in hand, with matted locks, besmeared with sacred ashes, directed the king to take the foot of the first person he would meet the next morning as the unit of measurement, and asured the king that the palace built on the basis of that unit would satisfy Him. The first man the king saw in the morning was a dwarf, a hunchback, a Yavana named Gāṅgaḍaka, and this made him dejected as the dimensions of the shrine constructed on measurements based on the unit of that dwarf's

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[16] Nothing is so far known about Kāyurāṇa and Sāṅkurāṇa, who appear to be local rulers. Does Rāṇa at the end of the name stand for Rane?

[17] Such miraculous stories are told about other lingas and icons also.

foot would be too small. The dwarf, however, came to their rescue by cutting his foot in the middle and asking it to be stretched to the desired length. Thus was the site measured out on the basis of the extended unit, and the hunchback shortly attained salvation. The construction of the palace for the Lord was then begun in right earnest.

Jayaśrīrāṇa[18], son of Jāilāla, staying on the Buddhiladurga, was a friend of Sāṅkurāṇa, and he came to Vāḍeśvara with shiploads of fine timber, which was used in building the palacial structure. There were ornamental arches, pillars, sculptures, and beautiful pictures, as also an extensive rampart all round. Caṇḍiśvara and Nandikeśvara were properly consecrated, and from east onwards were placed, in order, Hanūmat, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, and Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Two wells were dug and temple gardens prepared. The ministers, members of the public, and all others provided material according to their means : musical instruments, metal serpents, lamps, palanquin, etc. Waving of lights was performed thrice daily : morning, noon and evening. On the Kārtikī Pūrṇimā Brāhmaṇas solicit boons for Sāṅkurāṇa and other devotees.

In the Kaliyuga, this Vāḍeśvara assumes the form of a *liṅga*, and stays in Rāmakṣetra on the shores of the ocean. (*Vāḍeśvarālayavarṇana*).

Canto XI. To the northwest at a distance of arrow's throw is the Śivaliṅga known as Rāmeśa, established by Śrīrāma Himself when He had come to Bhṛgupatibhūmi (Paraśurāmabhūmi). At the same distance to the southeast of Vāḍeśvara is the Ghāremaṭha dedicated to Śrīkṛṣṇa, started by a Brāhmaṇa name Ghāre.[19] Another famous site is the Garāmaṭha, so called because it destroys (*ṭhāti*=destroys) poisonous diseases (*garāmān*), and where the afflicted from all parts of the world flock for relief and salvation.

At a distance of a yojana to the south of Vāḍeśa is the white-lustred celebrated *liṅga* Velaṇeśa on the sands which immediately fulfills desired objects. The village is known as Velaṇeśvara.[20]

To the northeast about a krośa from Vāḍeśvara is Tārakeśvara, the saviour of humanity, and to the northwest at a distance of a yojana from the Vāḍeśa at the top of the mountain is Śaṅkara known as Ṭāḷadeva in the forest, an ideal place for penance. Women avoid the area for fear of Śiva's curse. A curious story is recorded about Ṭāḷadeva, stating that once in the temple festivities on Māgha Pañcamī the Lord created a large stream of water at the

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18 Here also the name ends in Rāṇa, but his father's name is Jāilāla, probably Jayalāla.

19 Ghāre is a surname among Citpāvana Brāhmanas in Mahārāṣṭra.

20 cf. *BG*, X, p. 374 : Velanesvar is a village in Chiplun on the coast line about six miles north of the Sastri river mouth.

foot of the Bakula tree in response to the earnest prayers of devotees for water when they felt thirsty at their meals and there was no water. After answering the needs of the people the stream disappeared in a moment.

Five yojanas to the west of Vāḍeśvara is Lord Kārtikeya and also goddess Vindhyavāsinī.

These are the principal temples in Gūḍhadeśa.

Other sacred sites to the north and south of Gūḍhadeśa are: Saṅgameśvara at the confluence of rivers where there are several liṅgas such as Someśa, Sapteśa, Karṇeśa, etc. and various idols of Viṣṇu and other deities[21]. Karahāṭeśvara is at the top of the mountain. At Saubalagrāma is the Someśa.

On the seashore is Kūṭakeśvara in the village bearing the same name. Here a tradesman whose ship was sinking, earnestly supplicated the Lord offering the contents of the ship if saved. The Lord hearkened to his prayers and brought him in safety to the shore. In gratitude the tradesman spent his wealth in erecting a palacial structure for the Lord, and abandoned his body emaciated by sacred vows by throwing himself off the Bhṛgupāta.

Near Gomantaka-kṣetra is the Pañcagaṅgātīrtha. Saptakoṭīśvaradeva, the fulfiller of all desires stays near by. Then there is the sacred Gokarṇa, the Koṭitīrtha on the shores of the ocean. Southwards up to Kerala there are well-known kṣetras like Subrahmaṇya. (*Rāmakṣetrāntargatakṣetravarṇana*)

Canto XII. At Dālbhya[22] which lies at the confluence of the Jagatpāvanī and the ocean, is the Dālbhyeśvara who affords protection to those who seek it. The sage Dālbhya worshipped Goddess Gaṅgā and she manifested herself at Dālbhya.

The rivers Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī rise from the Sahya mountain, and reach the ocean after combining. Originally wives of Druhiṇa (Brahmā) they were cursed to become streams on account of their quarrels regarding seniority. At their confluence with the ocean, the divine trio—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—stay in the form of mountains, and at their root is the Śuklatīrtha, which removes blackness, gives salvation to the Piśācas, destroys sins and diseases, and grants progeny.

[21] cf. *BG*, X, p. 372: Sangameshwar is the meeting of the Alakananda and Varuna. Karṇeśvara, though named after its founder, the Chalukya king, is said to have been originally built by Paraśurāma, and repaired by Karṇa (p. 372n).

[22] Probably Dabhol. cf. *BG*, X, p. 326: Dabhol, at the foot of the hills on the north bank of the Vāsiṣṭhī.

These three mountains are golden, being the divine trio in reality, though they appear as earthen to human eyes in the Kali Age. A story in this connection testifies to the mountains being of gold. Hearing from the Sūta (a reciter of the Purāṇas) in his discourses on the Purāṇas in the sacred Muktimaṇḍapa at Banaras that the mountains were of gold, the listeners doubted the veracity of the statement and discussed whether Śabdaprāmāṇya (authority of the scriptures) was greater than Pratyakṣa (direct evidence, visual) or whether the authority of the former lapsed by efflux of time. In order to ascertain the truth, they sent a Brāhmaṇa to the site, and he brought a handful of earth from the mountains to Banaras. The Brāhmaṇa said that so long as he was out of Banaras, it was mere earth, but it became full of gold in Banaras. After seeing the lump full of gold, confidence of the doubters was restored in the Vedas, and they paid homage to the eternal Brahma.

Śuklatīrtha is the abode of Hari and Hara and purifies the sinful. At Campapurī near the sea are the deities Rāmeśvara and Cyavaneśvara. In the well-known lake Dhutasamudra are lotuses of gold, and this fact was ascertained by Brāhmaṇas of Banaras. At the top of Kanakadri is the god Kanakeśvara. There are several other sacred shrines in this Kṣetra such as Dākṣāyaṇī, Gajānana, Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc. Among all deities Vaḍeśvara is the supreme one like the central bead in a garland. (*Rāmakṣetravarṇana*).

Canto XIII. Śrīdhara, a learned Brāhmaṇa expert in all Śāstras and Yoga Siddhis, approached the king and sought permission to found a city on the sands under the protection of Vāḍeśa, the conditions being that no taxes were to be paid to the king for the first twenty-five years, and later, only a sixth of 90 per cent of the income was to be paid as tax. The king agreed and gave the undertaking under his seal.

Śrīdhara began construction on an auspicious day. Thousands of Kadalis (plantains), betelnut trees, coconuts, jack fruits, pomegranates, lemons, etc., as also creepers were planted. Several canals, ponds, and wells were dug with water-machines and Rahaṭṭa (wheel)[23] fixed to them. The place soon became full of trees and herbs. Then Śrīdhara divided the village in two parts, Rāmeśa near the ocean being at its centre. He placed Cittapa Vipras according to order in various houses in different Wadis (Vāṭi). To the south was established the Kṣetrapāla, and to the north the Varadāmbikā,

[23] cf. the beautiful stanza in the text, XIII. 17 :

चक्री न विष्णुर्वृषभोह्यमानो
हरो न मालीविषयाहितो न।
भ्रमन्न वायुर्जलदो न मेघो
वनस्पतिप्राणनकृन्न सोम :॥

the lamp in whose temple, though unprotected, is not put out even in strong wind. A temple of Durgā was also erected, and annual Navarātra festivities in her honour started. For the upkeep and maintenance of Vāḍeśa, Rāmeśa, Garāmaṭha, Devī, and the tutelary deities fields were donated. Learned Brāhmaṇas were presented with Agrahāras (donated lands or villages). Cattlesheds were constructed, and water-buckets and fountains were placed in several localities for cattle. Firm pillars were erected in cowpens, on roads, and at several places for the convenience of cattle.

At the seashore was established a cemetery, mere burning at which brings salvation even to sinners.

On his way back after worshipping Rāma, Śrīdhara found the river Tāmrā in spate, but crossed it after placing a stone on his head. Finding blood on the stone after it was thrown away, Śrīdhara, through divine sight, knew it to be the image of Bhairava, and established it in the centre of the village. The terrible deities Vāgīśvarī, Śāntā and Bhāvukā were consecratated as the wives of Bhairava ; and potters and goldsmiths were entrusted with the maintenance of the temple of Bhāvukā with a good field set apart. A temple of Gaṇeśa with face inwards, known as Siddhapīṭha, was also erected. For the performance of Divya (ordeals), Srīdhara erected a Dharmastambha in front of Durgā. The Vṛttis (provisions) made for Devas and Brāhmaṇas were made permanent.

It was ordained that the non-twice born should be well outside the village, while the brave and weapon-wielders among them may stay just on its outskirts. There were three thoroughfares in the town for the twiceborn, and one outside on the seashore for the Śūdras and others. It was further ordained that no impure objects be brought inside the town, nor should the Yavanas stay in it, and if at all they happened to stay in future, there should be no cow-slaughter.

The whole account of the foundation of the town, etc., was engraved on copperplates with royal seals, and these were buried for the information of future kings. The town was named Guhāgara by Śrīdhara. Durgā and Vāḍeśvara protect the town just as parents protect their son through love.

The king levied no taxes according to his promise, and the town prospered.

Two brothers, Gaṅgādhara and Divākara, founded respectively Muruvaḍa[24] and Dīpa, which are on the seashore towards the north.

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[24] Muruvaḍa is Murud, and Dīpa may probably be Diva, about eight miles from Govalkot, the landing place for Chiplun (*BG*, X, p. 7).

The deity in Guhāgrāma is Vāḍeśvara and Garāmaṭha. In Guhāgrāma, Vāḍeśa offers Bhukti, Rāmeśa, Mukti, Durgā, success everywhere, and Garāmaṭha removes all afflictions. The residence in Rāmakṣetra,—especially in Gūḍhadeśa,—particularly in Guhāgrāma is the result of considerable merit. As Vāḍeśvara is the chief among the tīrthas, Guhāgara is the best among towns. (*Guhāgaragrāmavarṇana*).

Canto XIV. Finally are given stanzas in praise of Vāḍeśvara and Garāmaṭha, and Kṛṣṇa is praised in Saptavibhaktika Stotra. At the end comes the genealogy of the poet which has been considered earlier. (*Devastavana*)[25].

[25] I am continuing my investigations about the identification of place-names with the help of Survey Maps, Lists of Villages, etc. I shall be grateful for any further information about place-names, and other particulars mentioned above.

Appendix

Index of proper names and place names occurring in the Vāḍeśvarodaya-Kāvya. (N. B. Roman and Arabic numerals refer respectively to the number of Canto and Stanza in the Vāḍeśvarodaya-Kāvya.)

ZARATHUSHTRA AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP (APROPOS OF A RECENT WORK)*

By A. Esteller, S. J.

This voluminous work could be properly termed a "Summary-Encyclopedia of the Gâthâs" ; and a real encyclopedia it is, not only on the religion and ethics of the Zarathushtrian sermon-songs but also on their language, both philologically and stylistically, and on their text criticism. It is the ripe fruit of a life's work in which love's labour and labour's love have created a monument of painstaking scholarship and scholarly reverence and devotion. As a complete Vademecum to the Gāthā study it neglects no aspect which may interest the scholar.

The text is given stanza by stanza with an ingenious system of word numeration that allows even the novice to check the translation and to criticize its value. Incidentally, we would have liked a continuous text of each gâthâ, *besides* the stanza-wise analysis, for the sake of easy reference and bird's eye-view of their contents as a whole. The bibliography is select and satisfactory in the main. We miss though the works of Nyberg and Wykander who have been active in cognate fields, as well as "Les composés de l'Avesta" by Duchesne-Guillemin. Also, as regards the connection of Zarathushtra with the "Magi", the works by Messina, S.J., and, above all, "Les Mages Hellenisés" by Bidez and Cumont would fill obvious gaps.

There is an interesting appendix on "The family of Zarathushtra". This is in a way a welcome and breezy critical discussion that throws courageously overboard the impedimenta of all legendary after-thought and later fancy work not rarely adhered to by certain Parsi writers who give undue credence to late Avestan or Pahlavi sources. But why all the effort to turn Zarathushtra into a celibate, when the whole atmosphere and tradition of Indo-Iranian culture in its ancient stages, and more especially in all the historically known Zoroastrian trend, is so definitely against such a conception ? As well try to make Moses a celibate, or Mahommed. The Buddhistic and Jaina celibate trends come from quite a different milieu and are best explained by the influence of non-ârya cultural elements. Is this not a case of retroactive projection of later ideals influenced by modern or specifically Christian ideas ? Else it is hard to see how Zārāthushtrianism and celibacy, as an ideal, can go together if cultural and religious history means anything at all. Isn't here a noble wish

* The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra. By I. J. S. Taraporewala. (Bombay, Taraporewala, 1951—Rs. 25) pp. XLII+1166.

the father to an unlikely thought? And that holds true even if what the author says about insufficient documentation is correct. "Argumentum e silentio" would here be its own treacherous self, since there is no reason why we should deem it necessary for Zarathushtra to mention his own family in his solemn Gâthâ-sermons.

This example leads us to the *seven fundamental principles* which the author considers as the corner-stone of his work. There is a praise-worthy straightforwardness in the clearness with which he states them in his introduction.

With the *first two* (Gâthâs to be explained by themselves; Vedic language nearest point of reference) no quarrel is possible, if well understood.—The *third* (unit of verse=unit of sense) is more controversial especially if too rigidly meant as: unit of verse=pâda, and not=two-pâda line, in particular in the "anushtubh"-type.—The *fourth* (language rather simple) is acceptable.

But the *fifth* (Gâthâ thought profound) is not to be taken for granted, merely because the text is religious or belongs to a scripture, but must be proved; and the fact that a thoughtful soul like our author can find in it an ever deeper meaning may merely show that *he* can think deep and then read his own deep thought into the text. Is this not what a master-mind like Shankara often did with the Veda and the Upanishads? And it is here that subjectivism raises its ugly head!

And now for the *sixth* principle (the Gâthâs are spiritual in fullest sense). This is again a real "petitio principii"; and *en passant* we may remark that whoever does not see the abysmal difference (from the point of view of historical interpretation) between Jesus Christ as "the Good Shepherd" with his *original* symbolism, and Krishna "the cowherd" with his (alas! only too real) gopis *symbolified* by a *later* refined religiosity—should try and think again.

But the root-evil is in the next "petitio principii", which is at the bottom of the previous one and is involved in the author's 7*th* principle (past prophets speak out of fullness of wisdom). *That* can only be said of God, not of limited man even as a prophet, for even through his prophets God speaks adapting himself to the needs and progress of mankind, and prophets get only the limited wisdom that is needed for their task in a particular culture level. This reviewer is a believing Christian, but he could never think of attributing to, say, a Moses of the Bible the "fullness of wisdom" that would prevent him from believing that the heavens were solid as a mighty stone-vault or that the sun turned round the earth—which he sincerely did as a true child of his own times —or from regulating very material details of the Hebrew's daily life and work. There *is* a natural progress even in religious revelation and thought, and not every prophet sees everything. Besides, that a religious leader is a prophet must be duly *proved*—for it means infinitely more than being a religious

leader, even a great one, which we can readily grant to Zarathushtra. And why cannot a religious leader be concerned also with *real* cattle, and be subject to the limitations in knowledge and to the influence of mythical traditional beliefs of his own culture and times? A *scholarly* work cannot *assume*, but must *prove*.

A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

In connexion with his principles the author implies that, as a devout Zoroastrian, he can understand Zarathushtra better than anyone not of the fold. Leaving aside the fact that many an orthodox Zoroastrian will strongly deny *him* the right to interpret the Gâthâs in the critical and progressive way he does in the name of Zoroastrianism, there is some justification in his claim; but only *some*—accompanied by a corresponding *danger*: that which the great Sâyaṇa incurred—of reading into older stages what he has absorbed in the very different atmosphere of his own times. We think, on the contrary, that provided a scholar has a sense for religious values and a sincere desire for truth coupled with the will to take pains and listen *also* to those of the fold with an open mind he can come to understand full well another religion, even though he may not accept it. But *both* types must divest themselves of the treacherous prejudice that *because* a thing is not acceptable as religious to *them now* it could not be so either to the people in the past. This reviewer does not accept as his own religious duty whatever is considered such by Moses or the old Testament, but he has no difficulty in realising that it was so considered by the Hebrew people, or in appreciating the religious values that were involved for them. By any other attitude or exclusivistic claim we merely renounce the possibility of understanding one another in spite of our efforts "sucâ mananhâ"—a solution of despair which we refuse to accept, as equivalent to spiritual isolationism and defeatism. What one man can understand, other men can also. To give up that healthy principle is to evade the issue. Many a Hindu thinker has tried this same sort of "escapism" when faced by scholarly "Westerners". But is this not at bottom the same "superiority complex" with which some "Westerners" (thank God, not the best!) have at times considered the "Orientals" incapable of understanding the West and its cultural values? And are they not all equally *wrong?*

That the author's principles in their mixture of scholarly balance with biassing pre-conceptions can lead astray we shall now exemplify in a couple of cases taken at random but typical enough. On p. 17 the words of the "Ahuna vairya" prayer: "asâṭ-cīṭ hacâ" are translated "by-reason-of the-store-of-(his) Asa." Here the particle "cīt" is connected (philologically!) with the root "ci:ki" (to collect, to gather), identical with the Sanskrit one, without any consideration for grammatical construction (which makes it

unequivocally an enclytic particle !) merely because it rounds off the meaning into something like "punya samcaya"—a thing that is perfectly alien to the context and to the need of the text interpretation, which rather points to the very sensible translation by the great Bartholomae (p. 22), though one could stress more (as the author does elsewhere) the personification of the three "Holy Immortals" referred to in the prayer.—In Yas. 30, 5 "*yō xraodistąng asąno vasté* is translated "whoso would-clothe-himself in Light imperishable", applying it to the ordinary believer (!) *because* of a misconceived metrical division and of a rigid application of the *third* principle above. This makes the author declare a transparent form like "*vasté*" as subjunctive aorist (to force it to fit in with the following "*xśnaośan*" !), and then twist "*xraodistąng asąno*" to mean "Light imperishable"—when it really means "the stone-hard-est heavens" which the supreme might of Spenta Manyu can put on like a mere garment, in the powerful (even if scientifically mistaken !) poetic expression repeated in Yt. 13,3 with reference to Ahura Mazda himself. This is definitely no progress over Bartholomae; quite the opposite: these are "*magni passus, sed extra viam*". And we cannot understand why the author, so meticulous otherwise, omits to mention both the old conception of the sky as a solid stone-vault (just *because* Zarathushtra "could not possibly" have meant such a "silly" thing, but something more profound !) or the alternative analysis of *vasté* as pres. âtman.

Such lapses are bound to detract from the value of the work. And, obviously, if the rigid application of the *third* principle about the metric unit, and the metric analysis itself leads to such consequences, both the principle and the metrical schemes must be thoroughly revised, for there must be something very wrong with them.

The above criticisms will show that this work is the synthetic product of a *trimûrti-like* author: a "conservative believer", a "philological scholar" and a "modern religious thinker" combined, whose three aspects—of preserver, creator and destroyer of the conventionally-traditional "Zoroastrianism"—at times combine to create constructive harmonies, but also on other occasions appear antagonistic and rather defeat one another's purpose by unduly encroaching upon one another's preserves. This is possibly due to the avowedly apologetic trend that has consciously, and still more subsconsciously, in spite of his sincere efforts, influenced the author's life's work. From the remark by Prof. E. G. Browne (p. X) in his undergraduate days in Cambridge and his own rude shock and hurt feelings when faced by the scholarly translations of the Zoroastrian texts, there was born in him a noble desire to vindicate those very texts: to find a translation and explanation that could bring *him* satisfaction and spiritual comfort, and at the same time establish the fullest possible confirmation that the message of Zarathushtra was wholly spiritual and that it could compare with the very highest that can be found in any other faith (p. XI).

The advantages both and disadvantages of such an attitude – its sustaining fire of enthusiam and sympathetic spirit and humane readiness to give the benefit of the doubt on the one hand, but on the other the danger of the wish being father to the thought, the unconscious tendency to *read into* the text the beautiful things that one would like to find there for one's own satisfaction and spiritual comfort, in one word : subjectivism—are plain for all to see, and in the opinion of this reviewer *both* trends have exerted a considerable influence on this work (as evidenced by the fundamental principles scrutinized above) conferring upon it some of its most appealing traits as well as some of its most friable features. The "philological scholar" of our "trimûrti" is a most painstaking worker and a bee-like gatherer of materials for criticism—it is mostly a pleasure to walk by his side on the road of research. But once let the "modern religious thinker" tinker with those very same materials, and the two make very strange bed-fellows ; still more so if the "conservative believer" joins hands with them in the noble desire of showing that it all is wholly spiritual and that it can compare with the highest found anywhere else. . . . And yet the "modern religious thinker" is an inspiring companion, full of the loftiest sentiments, and the "conservative believer" is a noble-hearted, sober, and far from undiscriminating or fanatical personality. In fact each one of them separately claims our sympathetic, sincere regard ; but the three, when together, put us on our guard and force us to not infrequent disagreement.

Yet when one has come to realise *that*—and the author's most Zoroastrian-like sincerity ("asâṭ-ciṭ hacâ " indeed !) puts all his cards on the table for anyone to see, and so realise it—then one's appreciation of the author's magnificent achievement remains undimmed and undiminished. To the Gâthâs he is and will remain a veritable *modern* Sayâna (with all the qualities and limitations of that great and encyclopedic Sanskrit scholar) and his work will constitute a mile-stone—especially for India and for all those who cannot have the chance of perusing the deep studies consecrated to the Gâthâs by scholars and in languages other than English, especially in German.

But there is another very precious advantage accruing. His book makes it possible to open (besides the minds of many of his co-religionists, as well as of others, to further fields and pastures new) a new era in our Indian Universities by allowing the study of the Gâthic language to become a special subject or paper (in conjunction with the philological study of the Vedic sister-tongue) separated—as it is high time that it should be (at least optionally)—from the Pahlavi, with a view to the scientific study of the Aryan group of languages together with Ancient Persian. Thus it will broaden the circle of Indian students who can take an interest in those precious ancient monuments of a sister-culture—which has up to now been kept as a far too narrow preserve of a

dwindling number of Madressa pupils who mostly undertake it only in view of their hereditary priesthood. It is indeed up to the cultural traditions of the Parsi community to help break down those narrow walls for the general cultural benefit, as well as for their own advantage, by getting their traditional scriptures more widely known and better appreciated.

It is precisely a long-standing love for those ancient treasures that has prompted this reviewer to give to a work of so much importance the full attention that it deserves. All the more since a genuine feeling of respect and friendship for the author has been for him one of the most prized fruits of his connexion with Avestan studies.

[*Continued from page 65*]

The Raja was in the meanwhile frantically urging the Viceroy to send the Jesuit astronomers posthaste, and had sent a Brahman to Surat to conduct them to his court.[1] But it was only late in October, 1738, that they could proceed on the voyage to Surat. Writing to Jai Singh on the occasion of their departure, the Viceroy observed :

> "The great esteem which I evince from the correspondence with your Highness makes me seize every occasion I can have for it, and being pleased to receive the letter of Your Highness which reached me here in the middle of the monsoon, I waited for this opportunity of my ships setting sail in order to send this letter to Your Highness in the company of the Jesuit Mathematicians, who go to Surat to be conducted from that port to Your Highness's presence. I do hope that they will satisfy Your Highness, the news of which will requite me enough for the great care and diligence I had to exercise in order to bring them from Europe despite the difficulties of a long voyage. This circumstance coupled with the arrival of the ships too late in the season is the cause of so much delay in the departure of these fathers"[2]

But the fathers were required to wait for some time more at Surat owing to Nadirshah's invasion of Northern India. And it was only after a year when news arrived of the departure of his army that they were allowed to resume their journey. They reached Jaipur on March 4, 1740, and were warmly received. They were given a house for their residence and chairs to sit in European fashion. When Fr. Gabelsberger fell ill, the Raja would send messengers to inquire after his health. The Raja would assist at mass with due reverence, and would leave substantial gifts at the altar. He made them an allowance of Rs. 5 a day, besides Rs. 5 weekly for Church expenses. When the Mughal Emperor invited Fr. Strobel to Delhi, the Raja more than once found excuses for delay. He even wanted to send him as a delegate to the Pope and to the Kaisar.[3]

In 1741 Fr. Gabelsberger died, followed two years later by the Raja himself, when, says Tod, "Three of his wives and several of his concubines ascended the funeral pyre, on which, science expired with him."[4] Within sixty years of Jai Singh's death, the observatory was allowed to go into ruin, the MSS. became scattered and many of the instruments were sold as copper.[5]

Three years after Jai Singh's death, Fr. Strobel obtained leave to proceed to Delhi in the expectation, which was not fulfilled, of a monthly allowance of Rs. 100 from the Great Mughal. In 1749 he was transferred to Narwar, and left that place after a few years for Delhi and Agra. He died at Agra in 1758 and lies buried in the Martyr's Chapel.[6]

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[1] *Ibid*, No. 105, p. 213. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 117, p. 237. [3] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[4] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Ed. Wm. Crooke, Oxford Press, 1920), Vol. III, p. 1356.
[5] Hosten, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39 ; Rousselet, *op. cit.* [6] Maclagan, *loc. cit.*

THE SCAVENGERS OF THE NIMAR DISTRICT IN MADHIYA PRADESH

By Stephen Fuchs

Dr. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, in his preface to my book "The Children of Hari" (Vienna 1950) expounds with convincing arguments the thesis that untouchability started in an urban civilisation. It is in towns that the wealthier citizens attain a level of culture and sophistication which sets them apart from the ordinary manual labourer. The poorer classes, on the other hand, are likely to live in squalor such as is seldom found in rural environment. Where an unclean occupation added to the unhygienic conditions of their quarters, it may well have resulted in the banishment of such people to the outskirts of the settlements. In a society where personal cleanliness was largely identified with ritual purity, the 'unclean' occupations of certain menial classes would obviously have excluded them from participation in many ritual activities. They and their work would have seemed not only repugnant, but fraught with the danger of pollution, and they themselves may gradually have been treated as 'untouchable.' When the growth of settlements necessitated the employment of scavengers, these 'untouchables' were the obvious recruits for such menial and unpleasant service. Once untouchability had developed in urban settlements, its gradual spread to the villages was inevitable, for it is everywhere the towns which set the standard.

This theory of Dr. Fürer-Haimendorf is well borne out by the conditions of life and work which affect the scavengers of the Nimar District in Madhiya Pradesh.

The sweepers of the Nimar District go under the names Mehtar, Bhangi, Chuhra, or Haddi. The name Mehtar (prince) is the most common designation of the caste. The Census of India 1931 (vol. XII, part II, p. 400. Nagpur 1932) gives the number of Hindu Mehtars in the Nimar District as 1·775 (938 males and 837 females), while only one Mehtar was returned as Mohammedan and none as Christian or Sikh.

The Nimar scavengers have no traditions, historical or mythical, as to the origin of their caste or the degrading position of the profession. They must have come to the Nimar in the wake of the higher Hindu castes when, after the devastating wars which had swept over the country in the first half of the 19th century, the district was once again peopled by farmers settling down to the peaceful cultivation of the soil. Sweepers at Pandhana remember

that their forefathers had come from Jodhpur State in Rajputana at the time when the railway lines were being laid through the Nimar District. This happened in the years 1870 and 1874 (R. V. Russell : C. P. Gazetteers : Nimar District, vol. A, p. 141, Allahabad 1908).

The Mehtars of the Nimar are of mixed racial constitution, as they freely admit outsiders into their community. Members of almost all castes who for social or moral offences are expelled by their own communities find refuge with them. The ritual of admission is simple : After a caste headman (*jat patel*) and other influential Mehtars have agreed to receive the aspirant into the caste, a Mehtar barber (*nai*) cuts the hair of the applicant who then takes a bath in water fetched by Mehtars. The neophyte pays a fee of seven rupees to the caste headman and gives a dinner to a number of Mehtars. They eat with him and indicate by this common meal that they now regard him as a caste fellow. Very poor people are often admitted without any ceremonies ; also the caste dinner is sometimes dispensed with. Women and girls belonging to other castes are admitted without any ceremonies ; they become members of the caste by marrying a Mehtar. Once a member of any caste of the District has officially joined the Mehtar caste, he has no chance of ever returning to his original caste. For though a few low castes as for instance the Balahis, Mahars or Chamars, may readmit a member of their caste who has for some time associated with Mehtars, they will not receive him back once he has officially joined that caste.

A man who is admitted into the sweeper caste may retain his original clan name and consequently be regarded as the founder of a new clan in the Mehtar community. Women from outside are of course admitted into the clan of their Mehtar husbands. But if an aspirant prefers to change his original clan and to be adopted by a Mehtar clan, he pricks his leg and draws a few drops of blood which he pours into a glass of water. A member of the Mehtar clan who is ready to adopt the new member also cuts his leg and pours a few drops of his blood into the same glass. Then both men drink of the mixture. By this ceremony the newcomer is adopted into the Mehtar clan.

Unless a man is adopted by one of the original Mehtar clans, he is always in danger of not being recognised as a fully qualified member of the caste. The other Mehtars may not even eat and intermarry with his family. In the region of Khalwa, about thirty miles east of Khandwa, the central town in the Nimar, a group of Mehtar families are in such a predicament. It happened in this way : A Korku (aboriginal tribe of the district) fell in love with a Mehtar girl and married her. His caste fellows naturally outcasted him and he joined the Mehtars. In the course of time his brother joined him, and some other Korkus who had for one or the other reason been outcasted.

When their children grew up, they married among themselves. Thus a separate endogamous section of Korku Mehtars was formed in the villages around Khalwa. The other Mehtars do not recognise this group as of equal rank ; they do not eat or intermarry with them.

Such a small isolated group shunned by even the lowest ranks of Hindu society may at times have much to suffer under the curse of untouchability. I quote one case for illustration : Some years ago it happened at a village near Khalwa that one of the Korku Mehtars died. His relatives were far away ; and the sweepers of the nearest market-place refused to bury him because he did not belong to their caste section. The deceased left a widow with two small children who between themselves were unable to carry the corpse to the burial ground. Since the body had to be disposed of and the high-caste people refused to have anything to do with it, members of the next higher caste, Balahis, solved the problem in the following manner : they made a bullock-cart ready and drove it before the hut of the dead sweeper. Then the widow with great difficulty dragged the body of her husband out of the hut and with a beam lifted it on the cart. She herself had to drive the cart to the burial ground, where the Balahis dug a shallow grave. The widow, unable to lift the heavy body of her husband from the cart, caught the legs of the corpse and thus dragged the body to the grave, rolled him into it and covered the grave with stones and mud. Tears were streaming down her cheeks and heavy sobs heaved her chest during this sad performance, while the Balahis looked on without lifting a hand. They would have been outcasted, had they even touched the body.

CASTE ORGANISATION

The Mehtar caste of the Nimar consists of a number of clans which are ruled by caste headmen (*jat-patel*). Every headman is in charge of the Mehtar families residing in certain villages and is assisted in the exercise of his functions by a council of four or five men. His office is hereditary ; but sometimes other persons too are made headmen who through wealth, cleverness or the talent of bold and ready elocution have acquired some reputation. The election of a new caste headman is celebrated by a banquet at his expense and confirmed by the payment of a certain sum of money to the caste community. A new turban (*pagri*) is tied around his head as symbol of his new dignity. Caste headmen may also be deposed by the community if they are permanently incapacitated in the fulfilment of their duties. They may even be outcasted like any other members of their caste, and are unable to exercise their office as long as they are out of caste. But when they are reconciled to the community, they again assume their dignity of headmanship. Caste headmen are called *sri-panch* or *chaudhari*.

The Mehtars of the Nimar District have retained a fairly strict caste discipline. They prefer to settle their own affairs and disputes among themselves without the interference of the civil authorities. The caste council (*panch*), presided upon by the caste headman, comprises either only a committee of four or five caste notables, or the whole male caste membership of a certain area. Only when important cases are to be discussed, are all the caste members summoned to a meeting ; ordinary caste affairs are settled by the committee headed by the *jat-patel*. This caste council settles all disputes, imposes punishment consisting in fines, compulsory dinners and excommunication from the caste. In short, it exercises that jurisdiction over the caste members which tradition and general consent concede to it. It thus appears that the caste organisation is based upon the principle of a primitive democracy.

Offences against the caste laws are generally punished by the imposition of a fine which in case of repetition of the offence may be doubled. If the culprit does not submit to the decision of the caste council, he may be outcasted ; but this supreme punishment is rarely inflicted. An obstinate sinner is often more efficiently brought to his senses by corporal punishment : some Mehtars fall upon him and give him a sound thrashing. After that he is usually willing to comply with the sacred traditions of the caste. Expulsion from the caste which is resorted to only in extreme cases is a severe punishment : the caste members must break off all social relations with the outcaste ; only a man of strong character and independent means could stand it for any longer time.

The authority of the caste headmen and their council depends to a large degree on their personal integrity and ability, as also on the submission and obedience of the caste members. Nowadays the complaint is often heard that in modern times the authority of the caste headmen is on the decline, due to the rise of a revolutionary spirit in the younger generation and the inability of the caste authorities to meet new conditions and tendencies. The result is that with the relaxation of the caste control the standard of morality is also gradually sinking. Because breaches of the caste rules can no more be punished with the old severity, such offences naturally are on the increase. Cases of defiance of formerly undisputed caste laws and traditions are frequent. (Cf. S. Fuchs : Changes and Developments in the Population of the Nimar District in the Central Provinces of India. Anthropos. Fribourg. Vol. XLI-XLIV. 1946-1949. p. 55).

A caste headman exercises his jurisdiction only within the range of his own circle of villages, but his advice or warning is heeded also outside his jurisdiction. The *jat-patel* enjoys a fairly unlimited authority, as against his decision an appeal is possible only to a general caste council. Its convocation entails heavy expenses ; for the conveners must entertain at their own expense all attendants of the meeting. Naturally such meetings are rare.

While the *jat-patel* is, so to say, the civil authority of the caste, its spiritual head and guide is the Mehtar *sadhu* or *guru*. The Mehtar *sadhus* are recognised as religious teachers only by their own caste members, who also support them. Every family pays about two rupees a year for the subsistence of their religious teacher. The office of a Mehtar *sadhu* (who is allowed to marry) is hereditary. He may belong to any of the Hindu sects whose religious tenets and doctrines he expounds to his followers and supporters on occasional or regular annual visits. He cannot well be called a priest though he acts as such on certain occasions, as most of the sacrifices are performed by the head of the family himself. The services of the *sadhu* as performer of certain rites are required only in weddings and funeral ceremonies.

Mehtars who—in greater numbers than the Census of India indicates—have embraced either Islam or Sikhism, submit themselves to the religious guidance of their new faith, and this the more readily, because they expect from their change of religion a certain improvement of their degraded social status, since allegedly neither Mohammedans nor Sikhs acknowledge the Hindu caste system. However, it is hardly to be expected that even after conversion the social stigma vanishes at once. The Mehtar Sikhs are looked down upon by the other Sikhs who are not Mehtars. The same experience Mehtars make when they turn Mohammedans. But they are confident that once they give up their degrading profession, their children or children's children may be accepted as equals by Mohammedans or Sikhs. With this I do not, however, want to imply that the wish for a rise in social status is the sole motive for the Mehtars' conversion to Islam or Sikhism. Both Sikhs and Mohammedans make religious propaganda among the low castes with the view to their conversion, and the teachings of Mohammed and Guru Nanak may have some appeal to the religious spirit of the Mehtars.

The Hindu Mehtar *gurus* regard themselves as superior to the ordinary Mehtars. In consequence they do not inter-dine nor inter-marry with them. A *sadhu* generally only marries another *sadhu's* daughter.

Another caste official of the Mehtars is the hereditary keeper of their genealogical register. He is called *rao* or *bhat*. He makes his yearly round in the villages of his charge and enters the names of the new-born babies and newly married couples into his register against the payment of a small fee. It is his job to see that no marriages be contracted in a forbidden degree of relationship.

The Mehtar *rao* is of lower rank than the ordinary Mehtar and generally may not inter-dine and inter-marry with the other Mehtars.

Since no barber of the Hindu Nai caste will cut the hair or shave the beard of Mehtars, the latter have their own barbers (*nai*). But these are only found in bigger places where the Mehtar community is large enough to support a barber. In small communities the Mehtars do this service to each other. But even in towns and market-places the barber has not sufficient work and income, and must do sweeper work at least as a supplementary occupation. Besides his barber work the *nai* is often called to act as master of ceremonies at important caste affairs, at a wedding or funeral feast, at the admission or readmission of a person into the caste.

The Mehtar barber too ranks lower than the ordinary Mehtar who does not eat nor inter-marry with him. Since the number of barber families is low, they find it difficult to observe the laws of exogamy. For this reason first cousins of barbers are allowed to marry. They may also inter-marry with the *raos*.

MARRIAGE

Like all Hindu castes also the Mehtars practice clan exogamy. Thus a boy may not be married to a girl of his father's clan, of his maternal uncle's clan, nor of his father's maternal uncle's clan. A widow, moreover, may not marry a member of her late husband's clan, except his younger brother who has the first claim on her after his elder brother's death.

Child marriage is the usual practice, but it is not strictly prescribed by law. The wedding rites are the same as those prevalent among other low Hindu castes. Bride and groom are anointed with turmeric (*haldi*) for seven days previous to the wedding. The date of the wedding is fixed by a Brahman or by a Mehtar magician (*barwa*) who announces the date when in trance. The essential wedding rite consists in the couple's walking around the wedding booth (*chauri*).

Widow marriage is allowed and frequently practiced. If the younger brother of her late husband allows it, a woman may marry some other man. The latter must pay ten rupees to her late husband's younger brother and give a banquet to his caste fellows.

The marriage ties are not very firm and divorces consequently are frequent. If a woman elopes with another man, her lawful husband may release her against a compensation. The amount of money which her lover has to pay is fixed by the caste council. Some Mehtars are said to sell their wives, when dissatisfied with them. A price is secretly agreed upon between a woman's husband and the man who wants to marry her. On a certain day the man takes his unsuspecting wife to the trysting place and hands her over to her new

husband who pays the agreed sum then and there. If the woman does not agree with this change of husbands, she usually runs away from her new husband as soon as an opportunity is offered. This practice of the Mehtars of selling their wives is considered disreputable; but as it is not against the caste laws, the caste council cannot take action against it. Love affairs of Mehtar women with men of higher castes, especially their employers, are not punished by the caste council as long as the lawful husbands do not make a report. The virtue of Mehtar women is said to be notoriously doubtful.

Polygamy is allowed for any man who can support more than one wife. In towns and market places where women are employed for sweeping and cleaning the latrines, polygamy is frequent, as the women contribute to the income of their husband. A Mehtar may not live in marriage with two sisters, though he may marry them successively, i.e. the younger one after the elder sister's death.

The traditional joint family system is breaking up fast; when the father dies, the married sons usually separate. A joint family is an economic asset only at places where all the numerous members of such a household can get employment. Small villages cannot support a single sweeper family, let alone a joint family. Usually several villages do themselves together to employ a sweeper for the removal of dead animals.

RELATIONS TO OTHER CASTES

Though one of the lowest untouchable castes of the country, the Mehtars are not without their own caste pride and do not thrust themselves upon the presence of other caste people. They generally keep in a dignified distance when they have to appear in company with other people. A Mehtar will eat the leavings of other caste people's meals, but he will not eat them in their presence, only in the privacy of his home.

No Hindu of respectable caste will touch a Mehtar, for his touch means pollution. A Hindu touched by a Mehtar must bathe. No one will sit with a Mehtar on the same bullock-cart. If one has to give something to a Mehtar, one does not put it in his hand but on the ground, from where he can pick it up. A Hindu may sit on the bedstead or chair which a Mehtar has used before, but not if a cloth was spread on the bed or chair. No Hindu may accept water or cooked food from a Mehtar, while grain or fruits do not fall under the law of pollution. Nor is money, received from a Mehtar, polluting. But household utensils which a Mehtar has touched must be washed.

No Mehtar is ever allowed to draw water from the common village well, he must get his water from a puddle or from the river. If there is no water-

place in the vicinity and the Mehtar cannot afford to sink his own well, a member of a pure caste must be engaged to draw water for him and pour it, from a distance, into his vessels. A man or woman is monthly paid a small sum of money (before the war eight to twelve annas) for such service.

Even Mohammedans treat the Nimar Mehtars as unclean because they keep pigs and eat pork.

One cannot say, however, that the Mehtars are despised because of their profession. It is rather aversion and a certain physical uneasiness which high caste people feel in the presence of a Mehtar. It is, on the other hand, regarded a lucky sign to see a Mehtar in the morning, especially if he carries his bucket, but one prefers to see him at a distance.

There is scarcely a caste in India, however low, which does not look down upon another which appears to be still lower. The Mehtars do not make an exception of this rule. They distinctly keep aloof from the washerman (*dhobi*) whose food or water they will not accept, with whom they will not smoke, for whom they will not even work and, in particular, whose latrine they will not clean. Balahis (weavers and village watchmen), Mangs and Basors (basket makers) are treated in a similar, though more lenient way. A Nimar Mehtar does not accept cooked food or water from a member of these three castes, because they eat the meat of cattle, a custom which the Nimar Mehtars abhor, though in other regions of India they too eat beef (Cf. R. V. Russell and Hiralal: The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces. Vol. IV, p. 229, London 1916). The Chamars too, as tanners and leather-workers, are treated with disdain by the Mehtars because they derive their livings from the skins of cattle. In recent time, however, the Mehtars have somewhat toned down their haughty behaviour and now sometimes accept the pipe, and even food, from members of these castes. Men and women of these castes are accepted into the Mehtar community, but only under the condition that they give up the habit of eating beef.

These castes, treated as inferiors by the Mehtars, are well aware of this fact and retort by affecting a fear of pollution which often surpasses that of high caste Hindus. If a high caste man avoids the touch of a Mehtar, a Balahi for instance will keep at even a greater distance from him ; if a caste Hindu throws away all the cooked food in the house which a Mehtar has polluted through his presence, the low caste man will not only pour away cooked food, but discard also all his earthen pots and the flour he had kept in store. A low caste man who is beaten by a Mehtar loses caste and must give a banquet to his caste fellows, to be readmitted.

EMPLOYMENT

The traditional occupation of the Mehtars is that of sweepers and scavengers in the streets and private houses. They also must remove the unclean corpses of certain animals, like a dog, cat, squirrel, horse or donkey, the touch of which would mean pollution to a man of higher caste.

For the sweeping of streets Mehtars are employed only in towns and market places. In small villages the lanes and paths are cleaned by straying dogs and pigs, by birds, by the strong breezes of the hot season and the pouring rains of the monsoon. The cleaning of the public latrines, where such are to be found, also requires the services of a number of Mehtars. The wages of sweepers, employed by the municipalities, are rather higher than that of low servants. Still better paid are the sweepers who do work at the railway stations, in particular at Khandwa and Burhanpur. But most of the Mehtars find employment as scavengers and latrine cleaners in private houses of towns and market places. In bigger towns, like Khandwa and Burhanpur, they are employed by the municipalities, but in small towns each family pays a monthly fee, ranging from one to six rupees.

The nature of their occupation explains why a great number of Mehtar families are, as a rule, to be found only in towns and large villages. It is only there that they find proper employment. The Mehtar community of a town is, in general, well organised and the areas of work well defined to avoid undue competition and, as its result, a lowering of wages. When wages are not satisfactory, a strike is sometimes resorted to. The total absence of canalisation and modern bath-rooms makes a strike extremely effective and causes great inconvenience all round. Thus the demands of the Mehtars are usually quickly met and the increase of wages remains in force, till the sweepers themselves begin to underbid one another to gain new customers. During a strike no Mehtar will act as a blackleg, for he would be expelled from the caste for such lack of *esprit de corps*.

In the olden times it was the privilege of the Mehtars to collect a small contribution in kind or cash from every shop or store in the market (bazaar). They simply could take themselves what they thought was due to them. Even today they still get a handful of grain here and a fruit or some vegetables there, but the generosity of the shop-keepers of old is a thing of the past. Again, the private employers in the past used to give their Mehtars their out-worn clothes and other things of little value, and occasionally, on feast days, even a new loincloth or a veil (*sari*), but now employers pay them their wages in hard cash and nothing more. The old familiar relation between employers and servants has given place to a more distant and businesslike treatment.

In the villages the Mehtars live in huts quite apart from the quarters of the higher castes. Even the huts of the low caste people are at some distance. In the towns and market places they usually have an area assigned to themselves, or they live in a compact community in the dingy cheerless quarters provided by the Railway or Municipality. The reason why the Mehtars have to build their dwellings apart from the rest of the people is not only the fear of pollution, but also the habit of the Mehtars of keeping pigs. Now pigs are particularly repulsive not only to Mohammedans, but also to most Hindu castes. But for the town sweepers the rearing of pigs is a source of good income. The Mehtars cannot keep a great number of pigs in the outskirts of villages where they might do much harm in the fields and gardens, but near the towns and market places the pigs are fed on the offal and refuse which the Mehtars daily collect. Moreover, in the villages there is scarcely any one outside the Mehtar community who would eat pork, but in the towns such meat is sold at a good price. At Khandwa there is a special shop where only pork is being sold. Pigs are also exported to other big towns and cities of India. In former times much pork was sold to the British cantonments. A large portion of the meat is of course consumed by the Mehtars themselves. Besides pigs, some Mehtars also keep goats and fowls, which add to their regular income.

While comparatively large groups of Mehtars are found in towns and market places, only stray families of this caste live in the villages. There a single Mehtar often serves several villages. The work of scavenger for the few wealthy people of a village does not occupy much of his time, it is for the removal of the unclean dead bodies of certain animals, like dogs, cats, squirrels and horses, that Mehtars are employed. In the villages such animals are more numerous than in the big towns, where, moreover, their removal is part of a Mehtar's daily routine work. But in small villages Mehtars are often solely employed for the purpose of removing the dead bodies of such animals from the houses, off the lanes and paths, and out of the wells. The villagers generally arrange with the Mehtar to pay him a fixed sum (*adhao*) for the whole year, and the Mehtar must then be at their calling any time they require him. The usual rate of yearly remuneration is from eight to sixteen seers of grain for every house of the village, landless labourers paying only half the amount. If no such arrangement has been made, the removal of each dead dog or cat costs at least a rupee.

The peculiar position of the Mehtar in the villages is illustrated by the following instance, out of my own experience. In a village about twenty miles east of Khandwa the dogs had increased at an alarming rate. Always hungry, they finally attacked chickens and even calves. They entered the houses when people were in the fields and devoured foodstuff kept there for the next meal. In the end they became a danger to babies and small children.

In their predicament people called an official and begged him to shoot the dogs. They themselves could not kill the dogs, as it was against their caste laws. The official came and killed twelve dogs in one day. It was not to be avoided that some of the animals crawled into the houses or cowsheds and died there. The owners of the houses or cattle-sheds which were invaded by such unwelcome guests were now in a tight corner. For not long ago they had very inconsiderately refused to pay the annual wages of the Mehtar when he had come to collect them. They had told him that they would pay ten rupees, if needs be, each time his service was required, but that they would not pay him in advance. The reason for the villagers' stinginess was that only a few months ago a sweeper had come to the village and promised to stay. He had collected a good portion of his dues in advance, but soon afterwards he had disappeared. The villagers unwilling to pay twice, consequently refused to engage another sweeper. But now they were in urgent need of a sweeper and feared that he would take them by their word. They could not hire another cleaner, for the Mehtars divide a district among themselves and generally will not trespass into one another's territory.

The Mehtar was summoned. When he arrived, he declared that he would consider nothing less but a rupee for the removal of each dog and in addition the annual payment of his usual wages. Long bargains brought no results. The matter was referred to the village headman whose house had fortunately been saved from the invasion of a dying dog. He thus could complacently advise the people either to pay the cleaner or to remove the dogs themselves. The villagers indignantly refused to do either, and the Mehtar withdrew. Other Mehtars were called, but they refused to come. The next day the dead dogs began to putrefy. The odour became unbearable. The obstinate Mehtar had again to be summoned, but he refused to come. Finally, on the third day, a bullock-cart was sent to the Mehtar's village and he was with difficulty persuaded to come once more. The villagers had to walk home, while the Mehtar drove the cart, as the high caste villagers could not sit on the same cart with the Mehtar and, on the other hand, could not make him walk behind for fear that he would return half-way. When they arrived at the village, they promised to pay what the Mehtar had demanded on his first visit. But now he demanded twice as much, taking advantage of the situation. When the Hindus objected, he simply turned round and pretended to walk away. At last the villagers surrendered and paid him what he demanded. After the work was done, the Mehtar asked their pardon ; "but", he said, "I am a poor man, a Bhangi, and I could not afford to miss my chance."

When a dog, cat, or squirrel, dies in a house, the Mehtar must be called to remove the body. While Brahmans generally do not allow the Mehtar to enter their houses, but command a small boy to drag the body to the door

where the Mehtar takes it, other castes allow the Mehtar to enter and remove the body himself. But then the house is polluted and must be purified. All cooked food is thrown away, and the house receives a coating of fresh cattle dung. Some low castes, like the Balahis, feel that this is not enough : they throw away also all the earthen pots in the house and the flour ground for the day. They even give an expiatory banquet to their caste fellows in the village. If a house is partitioned off into several rooms, each of which is occupied by a different family, the high-caste Hindus feel content if the room is purified which has actually been polluted by the Mehtar. But a Balahi regards all the rooms under a common roof as polluted if a Mehtar has entered any of them.

When a dog or cat falls into a well and is drowned, the well is polluted from the moment the dead animal is detected in the water. After the Mehtar has removed the body, the well is abandoned for a period of five weeks. Then a Brahman is called to purify the well. If possible, all the water, or at least 50 to 60 buckets of water are drawn from the well and poured away. Then the Brahman performs his purification ceremony after which water from the purified well is offered to all the people to drink. Water from the well is also carried to the other wells of the villages and poured into them, as a sign that the well is again as clean as any other well of the village. If the precaution of pouring water from the purified well into the other wells were not taken, some mischievous people might refuse under some pretence to believe that the well was properly purified and a lot of trouble might ensue. But if the water is poured into all the wells of the village, no one will raise a doubt whether the well was properly purified, because in such a case his own well would now be polluted as well.

ECONOMIC POSITION

In past times, when the number of Mehtars in the Nimar was small, their economic position was not unsatisfactory. Since then their situation has deteriorated, due to the general depression, dearness, and a strong increase in numbers not only through natural growth of the community, but also by frequent accretions from other castes. The result is a sharp competition which cannot entirely be eliminated by the caste authorities.

The Mehtars maintain that the nature of their profession does not favour the accumulation of riches. If some Mehtars have become rich, they have acquired their wealth by a stroke of good luck or by other means, but not in the honest practice of their profession. Some clever men may have done some extra business by lending out money or grain which they collected as their dues. Since the interest for small cash loans and for grain is high, from 50 to 100 per cent, even a small capital would soon multiply. While other petty

money-lenders lose much money by bad debts, the Mehtars have their own little methods to assure themselves of repayment. The threat of a beating is usually enough to persuade a debtor to pay. For being struck by a Mehtar means serious pollution which can only be washed off by giving a banquet to the caste community. This would cost more than the debt usually amounts to. Other Mehtars, it is alleged, help themselves to more income by drowning a cat or dog in the village well, or by killing a squirrel and throwing it into a house. This could of course only be done occasionally without fear of detection.

Still, the Mehtars' income is relatively high as compared to that of other dependent labourers in the district. In the villages, many Mehtars are better fed and better dressed than villagers who own fields, and in the towns the display of fine clothes and rich ornaments which the Mehtar women don on festive occasions shows that the wages of a Mehtar, in general, are not so inadequate. Some Mehtars have even field property, and do some farming, but without entirely abandoning their traditional occupation. For a Mehtar who would give up his profession and adopt another trade, would be outcasted by his community.

Lately, however, a few venturesome and ambitious individuals have attempted, with more or less success, to force the barriers which separate them from the respectable Hindu castes. They have tried to acquire a better education and to take up a more reputable occupation. A number of Mehtar youths have joined the police, others have entered the army. But the education of the Mehtars still leaves much to be desired. Since later reports are not available, I give the figures of the Census of 1931 : In 1931 in the whole Nerbudda Division (to which Nimar District belongs), only 535 persons (504 males and 31 females) were literate against 14.639 illiterates. Only 3 persons had a higher education. While the number of literates must have increased in the last twenty years, there is little chance that it has increased substantially.

The gradual introduction of the flush-system in toilets, canalisation, mechanisation of street-cleaning and disposal of refuse, will remove much of the physical aversion which the average man feels regarding a sweeper's job. It is to be hoped that, with the formal emancipation which the New India has brought to the untouchable castes in general, the castes which perform such low but necessary occupations as street-cleaning will gradually also obtain a more humane treatment by the rest of Indian society.

ANCIENT AND PREHISTORIC MAHARASHTRA

By

H. D. Sankalia

The early history of Maharashtra, as well of India in general, according to historians, begins in the 4th century before Christ. In 326 B.C. Alexander the Great returned from India. Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne of Patilputra in 322 B.C. Within a few years, practically the whole of Northern India, and parts of the South including the Deccan or Maharashtra came under the sway of this dynasty. Who the local rulers of the Deccan at this period were, we do not know for certain. But about the 2nd century B.C. Khāravela, the emperor of the Northeastern India, calls Sātakarni, a king of the Satavahana (Andhra) dynasty as the lord of Western India.

The Satavahana or the Andhra seems to have been an ancient family, as it is mentioned in the Puranas, and in earlier literature like the Aitareya Brāhmana. They seem to have come to power immediately after the break of the Maurya empire, and ruled not only in the Deccan, but also in parts of Central and Southeastern India, as far as Mysore, until the 3rd century A.D.

The Satavahana history, which is as good as the history of Maharashtra, is based mainly on their coins and inscriptions and those of their contemporaries viz. the Ksaharatas and the Ksatrapas. The inscriptions are almost all in the caves of the Deccan. From these it has been possible to prepare some sort of a skeleton of dynastic, religious, social and economic history of the period. This had been attempted by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. But further we could not go for want of fresh material. It was necessary, for instance, to have an idea of the life of the people—their towns and cities and their houses, dress, ornaments, utensils, and a thousand and one thing of the daily life. No amount of literature, even if it were available, could give this idea. For all these are material objects. In order to understand their use, shape and the material of which they were made, these must be seen and handled. The only way to get the evidence is to obtain it by a systematic excavation.

But archaeological excavations are necessary for other important reasons as well. They alone can enlighten us by affording a vertical sequence of the periods that preceded and followed the Satavahana regime in Maharashtra. Such a knowledge is especially wanted for the periods that preceded the Satavahana and Maurya rule. Except for the Puranic and early inscriptional references there is no data for this region.

The Puranas and the early Jain and Buddhist literature refer to the kings and kingdoms of Asmaka, Mulaka, and Vidarbha. Early inscriptions also mention the first two. But these kings and kingdoms so far have remained a name only. We have no tangible proof of their very existance, let alone of the details of the cultural life of the people. Until something definite is known of these kings and these people we may call it the Puranic or Proto-historic period.

But what was the nature of the civilizations in Maharashtra before these Puranic and late Vedic periods? Were these Aryan or non-Aryan? What was the nature of the culture of the period of which we have no written records, not even scanty references in our earliest literature? Such a period is called "pre-historic", as it is earlier than the period of written records and literary references.

During the course of last 10 years, but particularly this season, the work of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute at Nandur, Madhmeshwar, Kolhapur and Nasik has thrown some additional light on these early historic and prehistoric periods. Excavations at Kolhapur revealed the fact that about the beginning of the Christian era, Kolhapur itself was one of the largest cities in Western India. It consisted of well built houses of burnt bricks. (Plate I-II) Great care was taken to prepare the foundations of these houses. Pebbles from the Panchaganga were brought and placed in alternate layers of sticky black and brown mud, also from the river side. Over these the walls of brick were raised, not in any ordinary fashion, but what in modern masonry may be called "the English bond". That is, the joints of any two brick layers did not come exactly over one another, but were definitely so arranged as to come at different places. This would ensure strength to the structure. Each house had four rooms, including a kitchen. (Plate III) The kitchen was always built in a special way. At one end there were two *Chūls* (fire places.) These were prepared by taking three large pebbles, and then plastering them by mud and cowdung. But this was not all. In order to prevent the ash from going outside the *Chūl*, the front of the *Chūl*, where wood fuel was put was closed in by a clay border. At the other end of the room there was a large storage jar, built into the floor. The space between these two—viz. the hearth (*Chūl*) and the Ranjan (storage jar), was paved with bricks, and cemented with cowdung and clay. The houses were roofed by most elaborately made tiles. (Plate VII) These are unlike "Gavthi" tiles but resemble more the "Manglore" ones. The tiles had two holes at one end. Iron nails were put into these and fixed on to the wooden rafters.

For want of further work, it is not possible to give more details about the houses at present.

At this period, most of the vessels of daily as well as special use were made of clay. Still the people did not lack variety. In Kolhapur pottery used 2000 years ago, we can see almost all the types that we use today. There were the dishes (*tāṭs*, *khumchās*, *thāli*) of various sizes, also bowls (*vātis*) and jars (*hāndis*). For rare or special occasions, just as we use German Silver or stainless steel cups or vessels, the Kolhapurians, in fact all Indians, used fine Roman vessels. Some of these seem to be for drinking wine, which we are told by Roman writers of the period, was imported by India in large quantities. Two such vessels—one small, high necked, and spouted vessel, and one small bowl were found in the kitchen floor described above. Contact with the Roman world is also shown by the discovery in these houses of bronze vessels, and Roman and Greek bronze figurines. (Plate IV)

The houses yielded large quantities of charred rice, *nāgi* or *nachni*, and a small amount of gram (*chanā*). The rice is exactly of the same kind as grown around Kolhapur today. The discovery of grams is very interesting. It proves that at least by the 1st century B.C., this grain was known in the Deccan. So it must have been brought into India, at least some centuries earlier.

But this does not mean that the inhabitants were strict vegetarians. They also enjoyed venison, *i.e.* deer meat. It is always a delicacy. Complete remains of a deer or stag were found in one of the houses.

How a man and woman of Kolhapur dressed cannot be said at present. But that they used cotton clothes can be definitely said, as traces of these were obtained.

As in all ages and countries, the inhabitants decorated themselves with ornaments. (Plate IV) Kolhapur has given a large variety of beads of semi-precious stones, such as agate, carnelian, amethyst, crystal, then steatite, ordinary clay and glass. Of these the last is important. In between two layers of glass, the gold foils was cleverly inserted. Beside beads, there were bangles made of clay, shell, bone and ivory. Gold also must have been used.

Tools and weapons were of iron, (Plate VII) copper or bronze having been replaced much earlier. From the available evidence, it appears, that the rotary quern (Ghanti) or *Jāta* was not known or common. Instead grain as well as the daily *Chutney* and *Masala* were ground on a four-footed saddle quern. (Plate VII) (*Pāta*)

Kolhapur thus gives us an insight into the city life in Maharashtra, about 2000 years ago. Members of the Satavahana and other related families then ruled in the region. A number of their lead and copper coins were found in the houses and in their foundations. It appeared from our small and limited excavation that the city was founded right on the rock, over looking the Panchaganga river. Its beginning did not seem to go back earlier than the 3rd century B.C.

To know the antecedents of this city life, it was necessary to dig at some other site. Nasik seemed more promising. Its people, *Nāsikyāḥ* are mentioned by Panini. The Atharvaveda also refers to it, whereas from the 3rd century B.C. and later it occurs in inscriptions. Though the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhavabhuti do not refer to it, tradition associates it with the names of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa.

So when a mound containing the debris of ancient remains was noticed at Nasik, an excavation was planned there. Any excavation, however, small requires a trained staff and money. The Institute had the former but not sufficient money to conduct excavation for three months. Whatever it had done hitherto was with the generous donations from the Houses of Tatas and Wadias, and with the small yearly grants from the University of Bombay. Excavations at Kolhapur were entirely financed by the State. This year fortunately the University of Poona took the lead. Though in its infancy, and much handicapped by want of funds it came forward with a large grant. Next to Allahabad, it was the second University in recent years, which encouraged archaeological excavations under its auspices.

The mound at Nasik is situated on the right bank of the Godavari. It is near the Lingayat Smashan, and is called 'Juni Gadhi.' It was believed traditionally, which is recorded by the Bombay Gazetteer, that the site was occupied and fortified during the Muslim period only and that the earlier or the earliest habitation at Nasik was in Panchavati, the second around the Juni Gadhi, and the last, by the Marathas, where the city is at present, viz. on the right bank to the Southwest of Juni Gadhi.

Our work which lasted for about three months at Nasik and the adjacent regions viz., at Gangawadi, about 10 miles northwest of Nasik, and at Jorwe, about 50 miles east of Nasik and 5 miles east of Sangamner in the Ahmadnagar District has put a completely new complexion on the history of Maharashtra. Kolhapur gave us the knowledge of how the city people lived, what they ate, and drank and the vessels they used, how they decorated themselves, and what their foreign contacts—commercial and otherwise, were about the beginning of the Christian era. Nasik confirms all of it. It showed without doubt that this was the pattern of culture, all over Maharashtra. The art of building brick houses was well known. And at Nasik they built houses with unusally huge bricks viz. 19 in. x 11 in. x 4 in.

No complete houses, as at Kolhapur, were found by us. But whatever remained indicates the art of house-building. They had idea of sanitation as well; even the Buddhist Bhikshus who lived in mud huts. For they dug soak pits for kitchen and other refuse and lined it with pottery rings. The foundations of it were laid right in the virgin soil, about 25 feet deep. The range of the household pottery was as large and wider than that known at Kolhapur.

It was a surprise to find that the glass tumbler in which water is drunk today and supposed to be of western origin was made then in clay. (Plate V) Wine was imported not only in foreign vessels, but beautiful imitations were made of this shape locally. One such has the decoration of the external of a coconut on a high necked clay vessel. (Plate V)

But more than confirming our knowledge gained at Kolhapur about the city life of Maharashtra, Nasik showed further that though the historic occupation began at Nasik about the 3rd century B.C. or earlier when people using a fine black polished pottery came there, there was an earlier period going back to a remoter antiquity.

The remains of this period are found 24 feet below the debris of the historical periods. They lie in 6 feet of thick, black soil, known popularly as cotton or Regur soil. The remains consist of sherds of painted pottery and almost complete vessels of soft powdery orange coloured clay and small tools of stone, like chalcedony.

Exactly identical pottery and stone tools were found by us previously at Jorwe, a village 5 miles east of Sangamner, on the river Pravara. The site was brought to the notice of archaeologists by Shri. Sali. He published a short note in Bharat, which was brought to my notice by Shri. N. A. Gore of the Poona University. My colleague Dr. M. G. Dikshit wrote to Shri. Sali to show him the Jorwe finds at Sangamner while on his way to Nasik. Previously Shri. M. N. Deshpande, Superintendent, Western Circle, had also contacted Shri. Sali requesting him to send him the finds. Thus by public co-operation and the enthusiasm of scholars, one of the most important discoveries of a by-gone culture was made in Maharashtra.

Jorwe is situated on the left bank of the Pravarā about 5 miles East of Sangamner. Popular tradition derives it from Jarāsandhanagara. Until a few years ago, there was no habitation on or near the ancient mound. But the mighty floods of 1947 forced the villagers to move upwards, away from the river side. When they occupied the mound and began to dig there for laying the foundation of their houses, and a number of other things, they soon came across beautiful red clay vessels, which were unlike the modern vessels, and were painted with decorations and so thin and well-made that they made a metalic sound, when struck. But the most astonishing thing was that a number of them had spouts. (Plate VIII) Now such vessels are rarely made and used, particularly in Maharashtra. The Muslims no doubt use them, but then their types are different. Besides these painted clay vessels, occasionally large storage jars, decorated with spirals, and copper objects were also unearthed.

We twice explored the site, and then dug there for a week. There is no doubt now that at Jorwe we have the remains of a copper Age civilisation. Though the inhabitants made beautiful pottery, which was turned on the

wheel and painted before firing, so that paintings have survived for hundreds of years, they were still in a Stone and Copper Age. Copper they knew, but used sparingly for large axes, bangles etc. (Plate VIII) Most of their tools for cutting, like knives, sickles, gouges, etc. were made of tiny stone chips. They are called microliths. (Plate X) Just as when we cut a mango, and get straight and curved chips and the stone remains, so these people very carefully chipped a stone. These stone chips were then further trimmed or blunted on one side or edge, and hafted in a bone or wooden handle, and kept in position by gum or some kind of sticky material. A composite tool was thus prepared. As now, it consisted of a cutting blade or blades and the handle. These composite stone tools are the prototypes of our modern iron or steel knives, sickles, chisels, etc. The material has changed, but the basic principle first discovered by Stone Age man has remained.

So far we have no data to fix the exact date of this Copper Age culture of Maharashtra. Few copper objects have been found, so far, in these parts or South India. It was, therefore, believed that only North India had witnessed all the stages of man's development from the Early Stone Age, New Stone Age and through the Copper or Bronze Age to the historical periods. But recent discoveries at Brahmagiri (where the evidence was very negligible), then at Kallur in the Raichur District, and now at Jorwe where copper axes, bangles etc. are discovered in association with painted pottery and microliths, prove unmistakably that South India had also gone through the cultural evolution, which has been noticed in North India, and other parts of the world, e.g. Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, the Mediterrarean countries and Europe. Who the authors of the Maharashtra Copper Age culture were, whether they were the same as the people who used copper tools and weapons in the Gangetic or the Indus Valley can be discovered only by further work in Maharashtra and elsewhere. But without establishing contacts between the known and the unknown, nothing can be said about the age and the makers of this civilization.

Evidence was also found to show that prior to this Copper-Stone Age Culture two purely Stone Age Cultures flourished on the banks of the Godavari. In the one (Stone Age Culture) that immediately preceded the Jorwe and Nasik painted pottery culture men made probably small tools of stone only. They were similar to, but cruder than those found at Jorwe. These cruder microliths were found by us previously at Nandur, Madhmeshwar, Kopargaon etc. in the gravel layers on the banks of the Godavari. So far no other cultural remains of this purely microlithic period have been found.

The other Stone Age Culture, perhaps the earliest, was revealed through unexpected circumstances. No amount of regular and systematic search could have probably brought it to light. Near Gangawadi, about 10 miles north-west of Nasik a deep trench was cut for laying the foundation

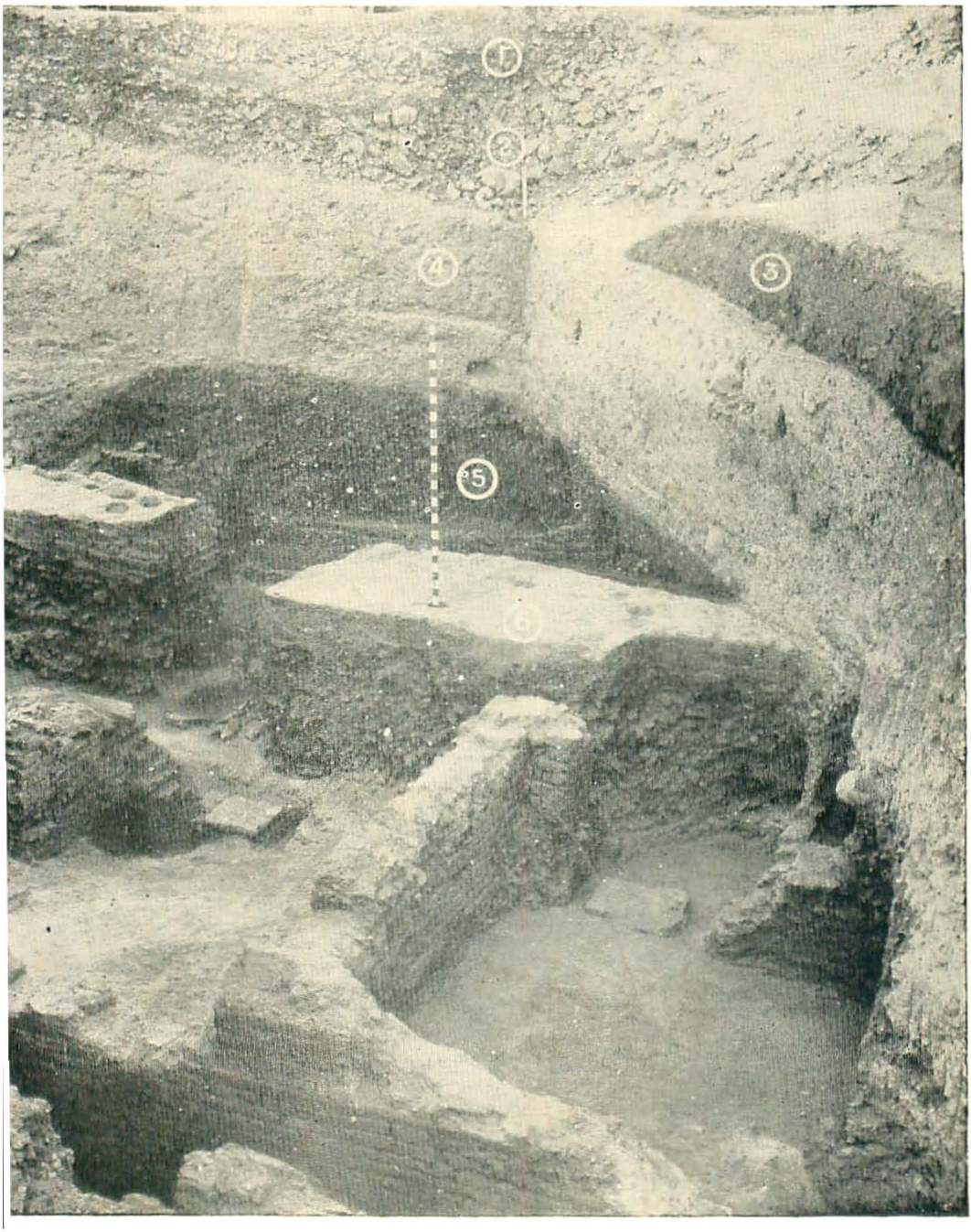

PLATE I. Section showing the Satavahana houses under the debris of six later deposits, Brahmapuri mound, Kolhapur.

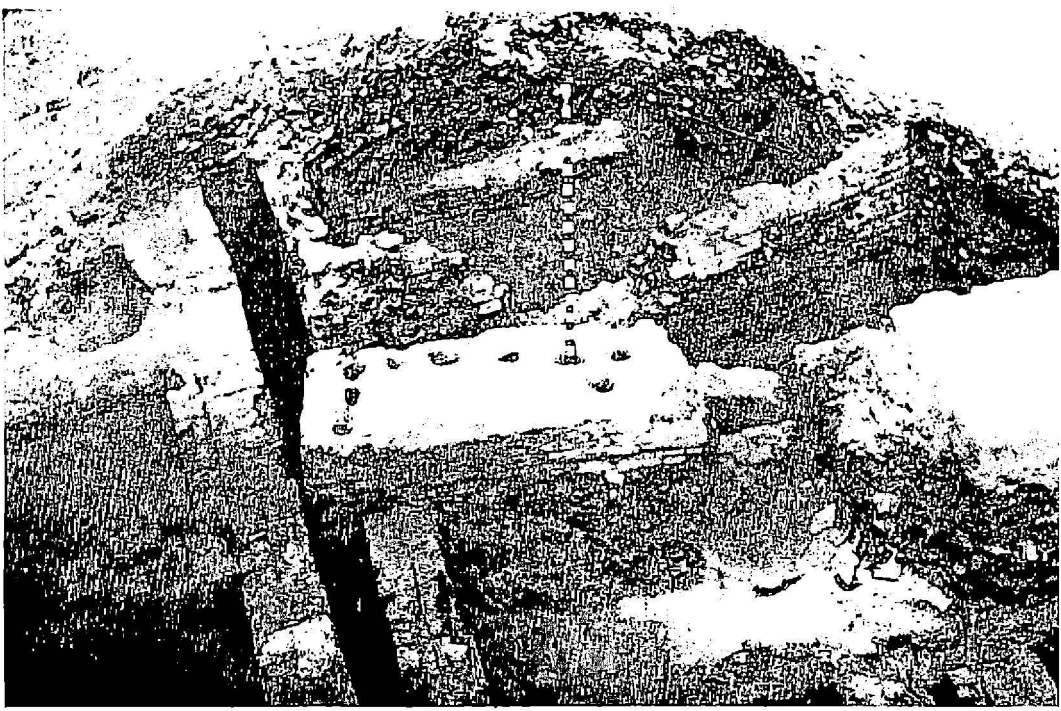

PLATE II. Remains of two Satavahana houses, Brahmapuri, Kolhapur.

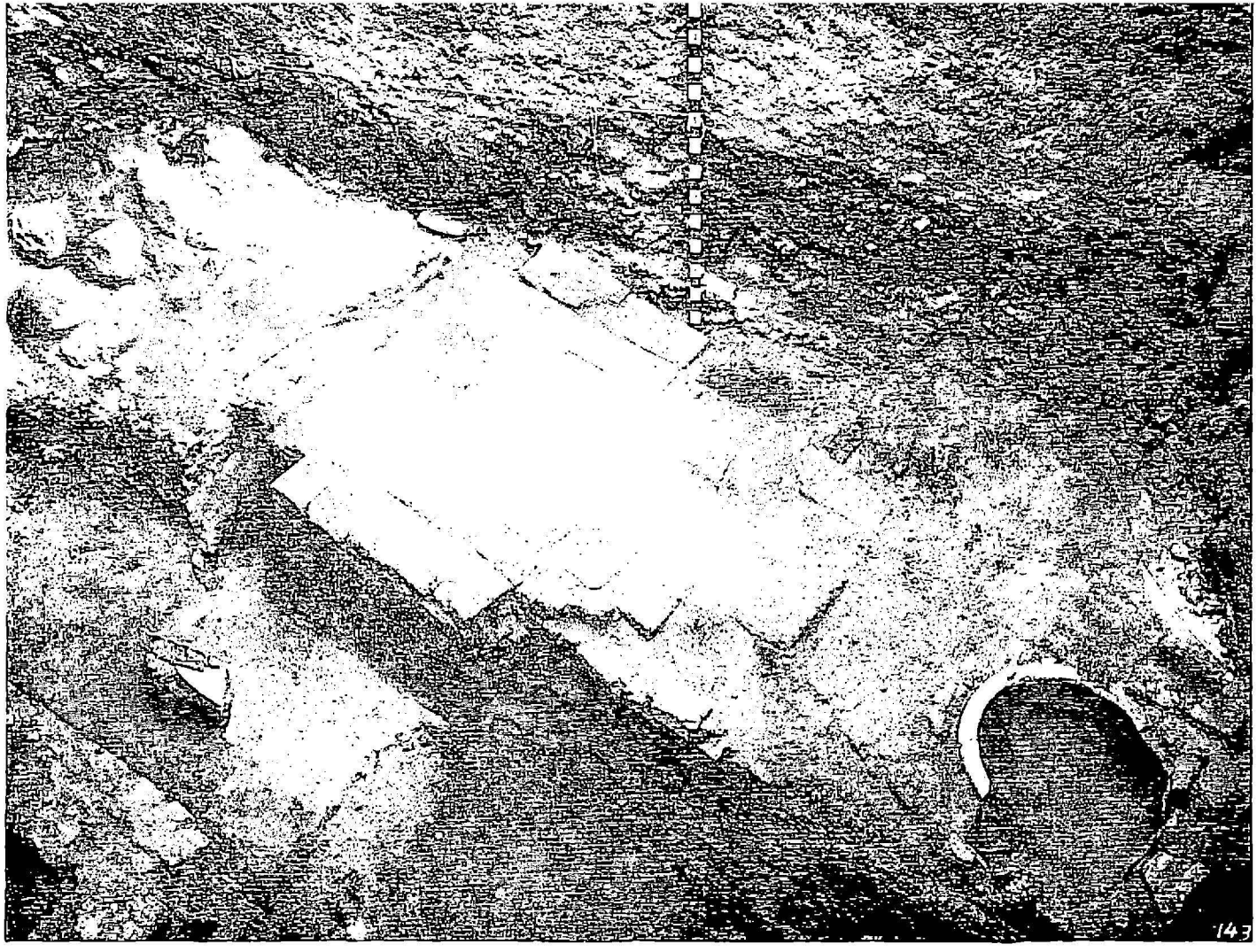

PLATE III. Satavahana Kitchen, Kolhapur.

PLATE IV. (*a*) Bronze Figure of Roman God of the sea, Posedien, Kolhapur.

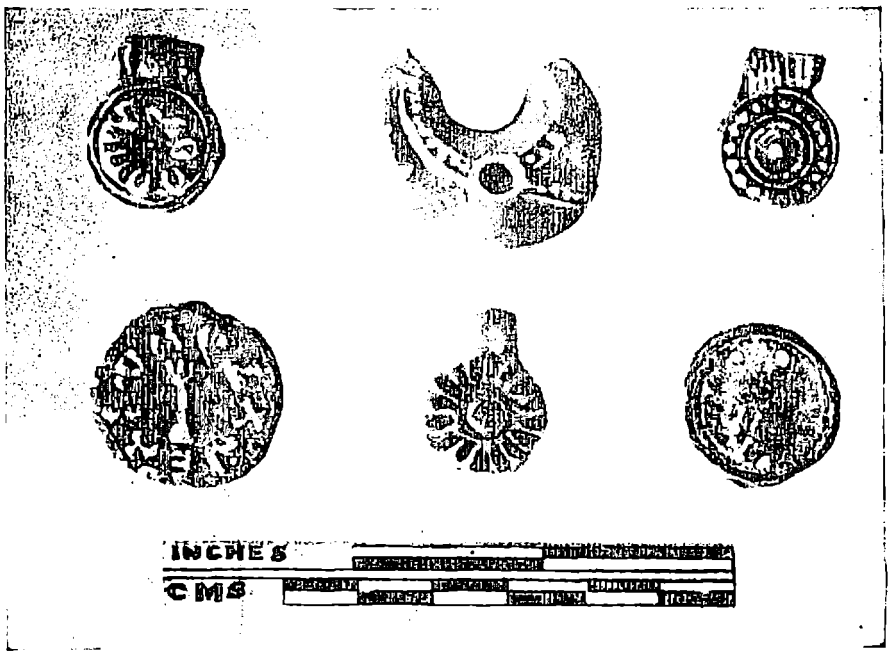

PLATE IV. (*b*) 1, 2, 3, 5 Satvahana terracotta ornaments 4—seal in early Brahmi letters, with a trisul.

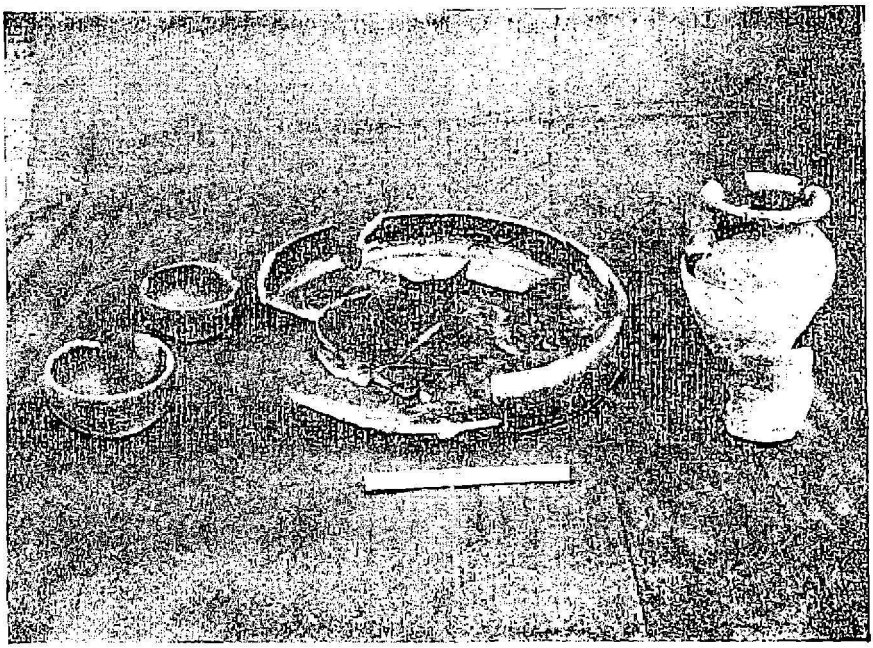

PLATE V. (*a*) Satavahana 'Dining' set, NASIK. Two bowls (*vatis*), dish (*thali*), water-pot (*lota*) and tumbler.

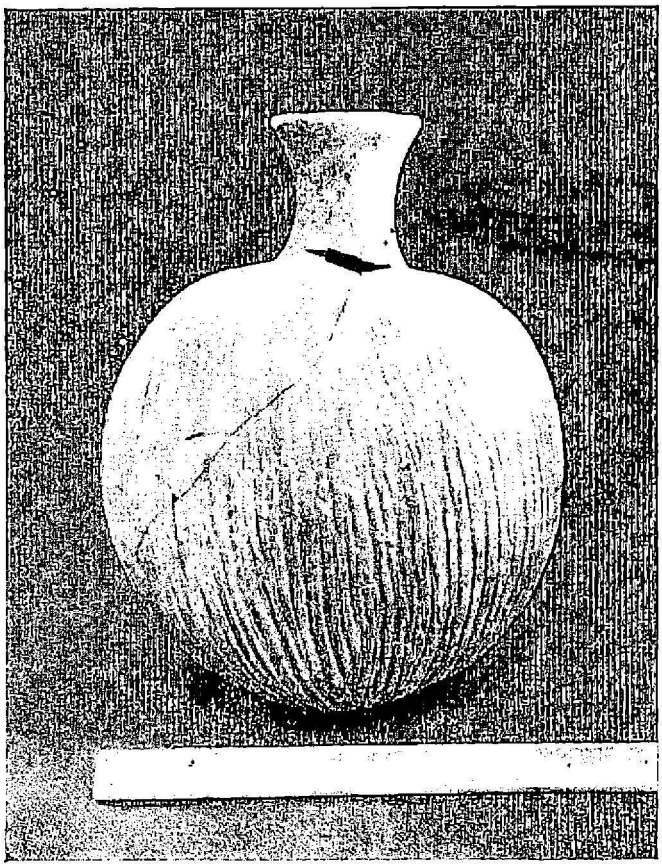

PLATE V. (*b*) Earthen vessel imitating the external of a cocoanut.

PLATE VI. Terracotta Figurine, Kolhapur.

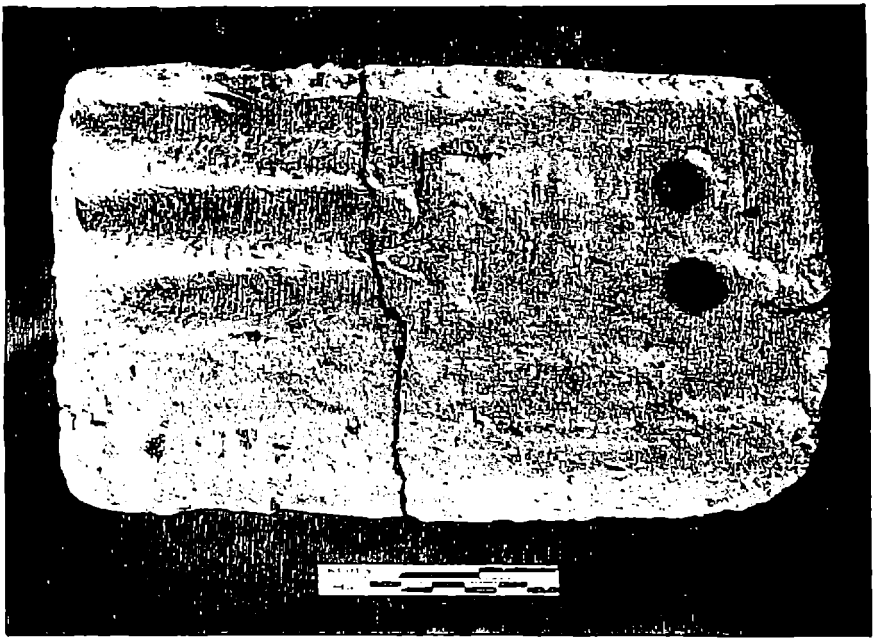

PLATE VII. (*a*) Satavahana Tile.

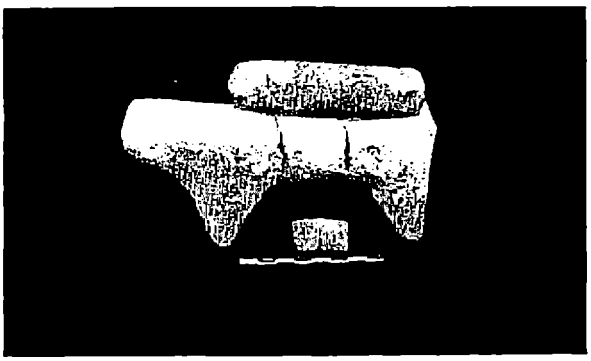

PLATE VII. (*b*) Satavahana Grinding Stone.

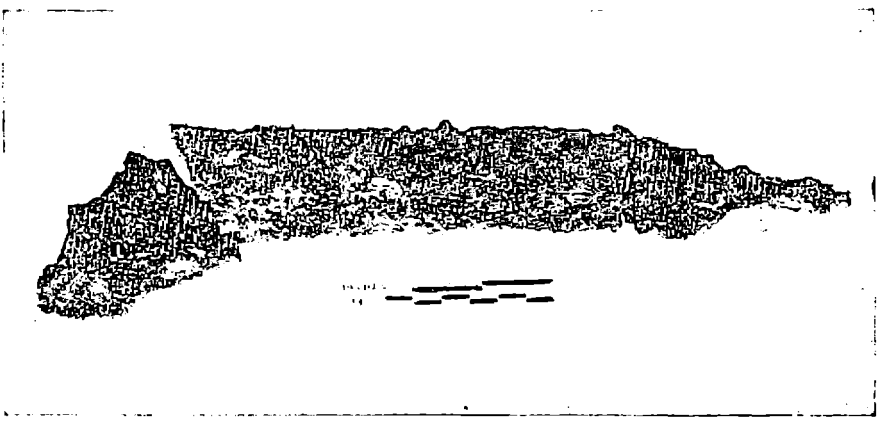

PLATE VII. (*c*) Satavahana Knife.

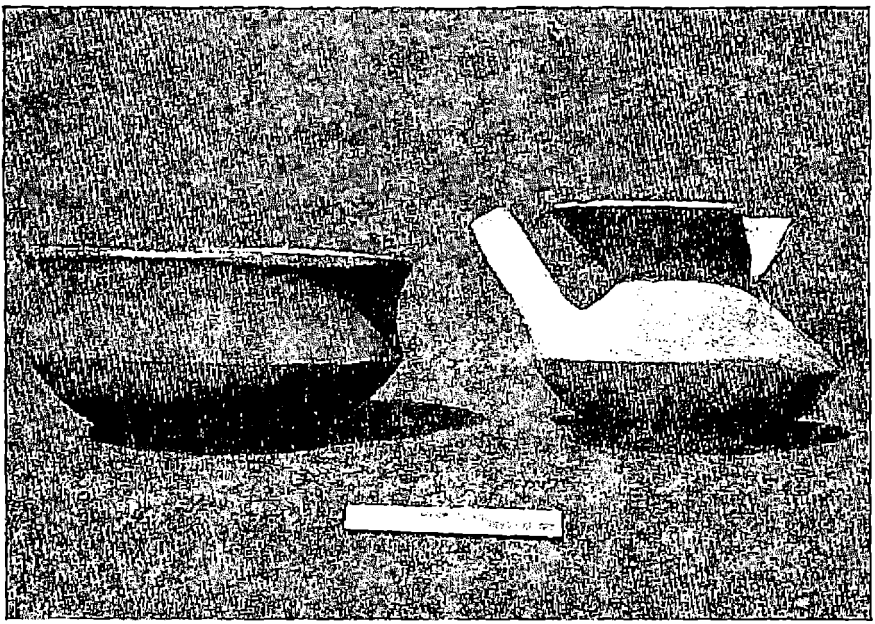

PLATE VIII. (*a*) Painted Pottery from Jorwe.

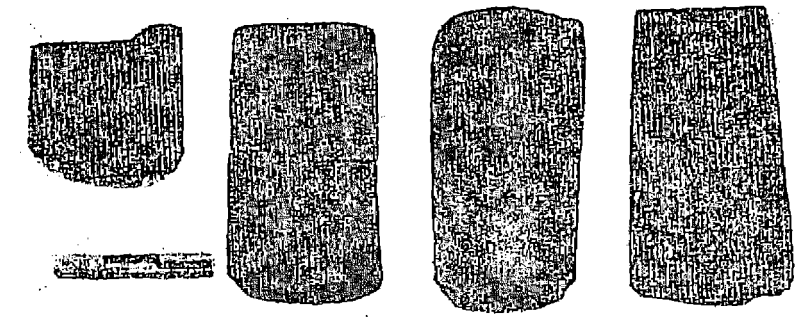

PLATE VIII. (*b*) Copper Axes from Jorwe.

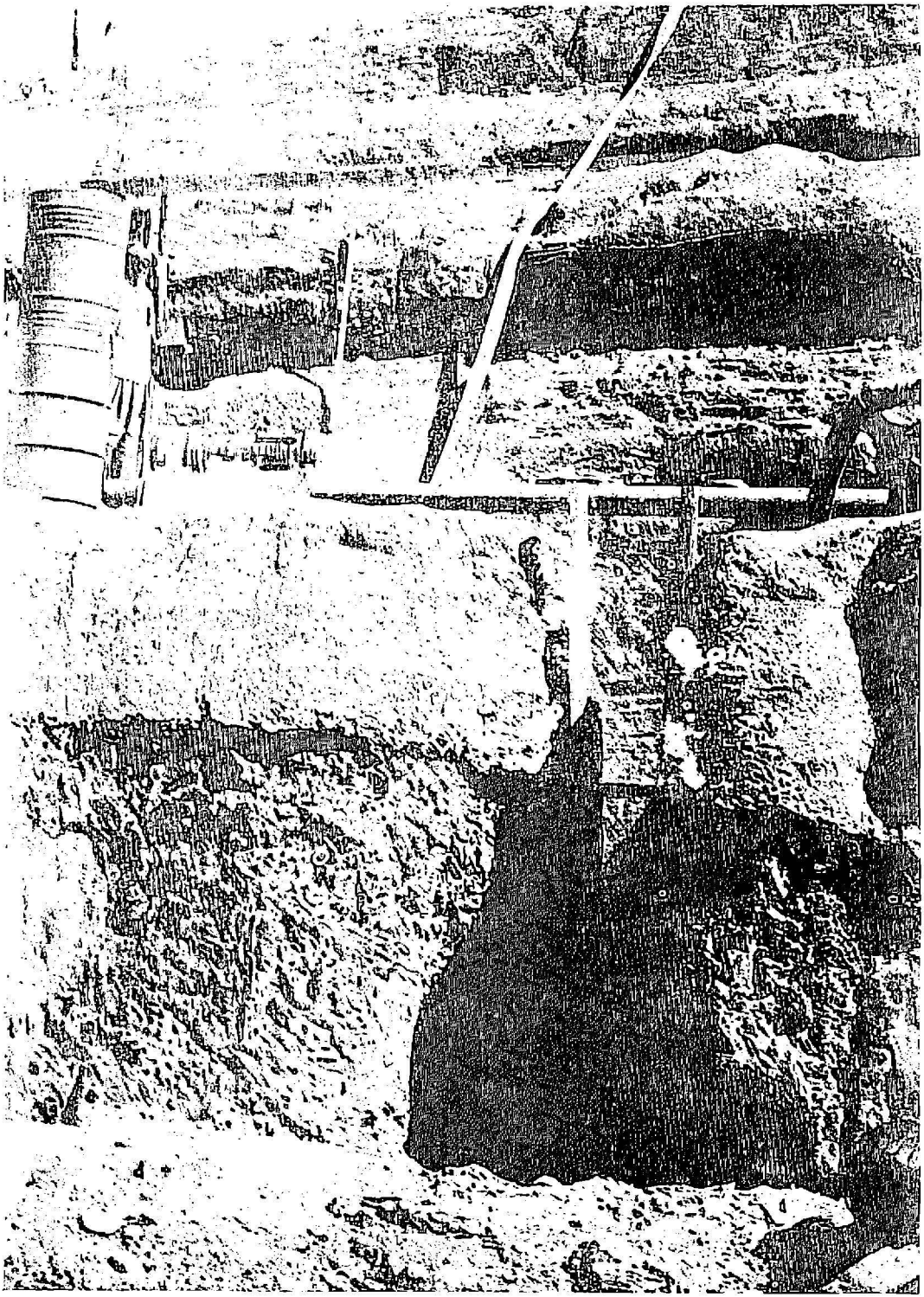

PLATE IX. Section showing the tool-bearing and later deposits at Gangawadi.

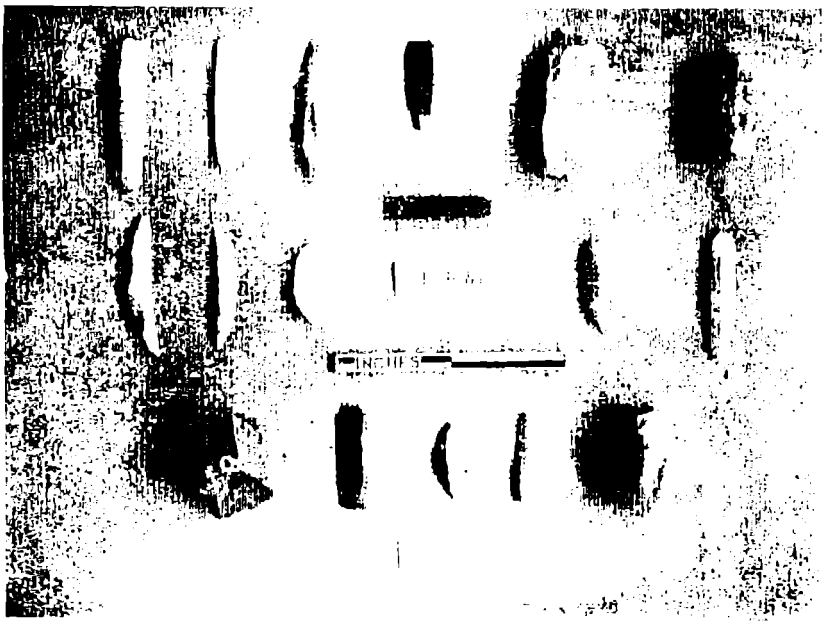

PLATE X. (*a*) Microliths from Jorwe.

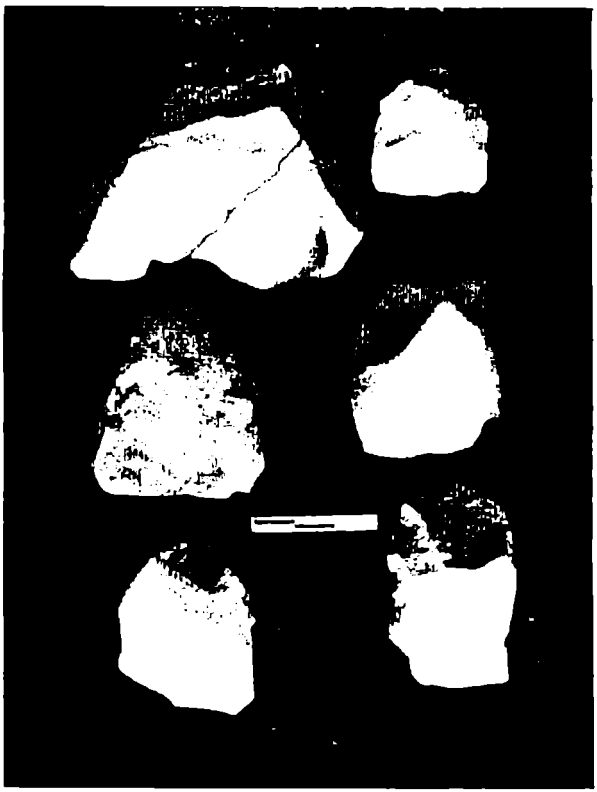

PLATE X. (*b*) Flakes from Gangawadi.

of an earth work dam across the head waters of the Godavari. The engineers who were in charge of this project thought that they would soon strike the basal rock, as owing to the peculiar formation of the Deccan, usually trap, a lava rock, forms the surface of the land, and the soil cover is generally very thin. But to their surprise and disappointment and our good luck they found that there were over 60 feet of gravel, silt and other deposits, laid by the past river and other agencies over the bed rock.

A study of these deposits is very illuminating, as it tells us what had happened in Maharashtra some three to four hundred thousand years ago. The story seems to be this. After the formation of the land surface by the eruption and spread of the lava a river had begun to flow where Gangawadi at present is. It has its source in the Western hills, near Trambak. To the east the surface, though not hilly, was not quite plain. There were a number of depressions. The river deposited its load, in the form of pebbles, small gravel, sand and fine silt into this depression. Man probably existed at this phase of the river formation, but we cannot say that he definitely did, because this lowest deposit is not exposed to our view. The river then shifted its bed for some time. But it again returned to the scene, and once again left its traces in the form of pebbles etc. Man was definitely present at this time. For his tools of stone, made with the help of other stones, used as hammer, are found in these river deposits. (Plates IX-X).

Once again the river went away from Gangawadi. The climate then probably changed. A thick forest grew up. For thousands of years these conditions remained. So a thick layer of black soil was formed over the previous river deposits. For some reasons unknown to us these times ended. The climate was again as before. The river once again began to flow over the area. The man who made stone tools was also there, living on its banks. This river gradually went on raising its bed, depositing finer gravel and sand.* When the last phase was reached the First Stone Age man disappeared from the scene. Men probably of other race, a maker of tiny tools, came as these are found at Nandur and other places on the Godavari. After this stage the river once more left the area and has not returned until the present day! So once again a black soil was formed over the latest river phase. This forms the surface soil in the Deccan. Over this grew up the Copper and Stone Age Cultures at Nasik, Jorwe and a number of other places in Maharashtra.

The series of layers revealed by the dam cutting at Gangawadi is a history of river aggradation, river capture and the formation of new river beds.

* Further work this season has shown that the Godavari then swayed to and fro over a broad bed of probably a mile or more in extent, and filled up the depressions at places with fine silt, and others with gravel, pebbles and silt, and in addition staining them with coal black vegetation matter.

It means in simple language that the rivers do not remain at the same place as we see them today. This has happened not only at Gangawadi, but at Nasik proper and probably all over Maharashtra, and other parts of India. At Nasik, there is definite evidence to show that the river had once raised its bed and flowed at least 60 feet above and about three furlongs away to the south-east of its present bed. This was probably due to decreasing rainfall. When it increased the flow of the water became faster, so the river gradually cut out a new channel, which is the present river bed at Nasik. The huge gorge at Tapovan was also formed, perhaps violently, at this time.

The tools of man which are found in the ancient river beds at Gangawadi are exactly similar to those found in Karnatak and Gujarat. In Gujarat they are also found in such deep deposits. It is, therefore, very likely that the Early Men in all these regions were contemporary. It is calculated that this was at least 3,00,000 years ago. In Maharashtra, however, we can follow Man's progress to civilization as shown above, up to the historical period. The details are lacking at present. But we have a time table. This is briefly as follows :

1.	Buildings of the Muslim Period at Kolhapur and Nasik	c. 1600 A.D.
2.	Buildings and cultural remains of the Andhra Satavahana Period at Kolhapur and Nasik	c. 1st century A.D.-3rd century B.C.
3.	Nothern Black Pottery at Nasik	c. 300 B.C. and earlier c. 500 B.C.
4.	Painted pottery, microliths and copper tools at Nasik and Jorwe	c. 1000-2000 B.C.
5.	Microliths at Nandur Madhmeshwar, Niphad and Nasik	Late Stone Age c. 5000 B.C. or earlier.
6.	Palaeoliths Old Stone Age tools at Gangawadi, near Gangapur, Nasik	c. 3,00,000 and earlier.

Such a time table is not available for other parts of India. It seems, therefore, to be the good luck of the Poona University that its very first venture in archaeological excavation should prove so successful.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Verbal composition in Indo-Aryan (Deccan College Dissertation Series, 6). By R.N. Vale, M.A., Ph.D.

This well planned, comprehensive and methodical study starts from the present linguistic stage—the use of verbal composition in the modern Indian languages (philologically called New Indo-Aryan, or NIA) and traces the genuine verb-composition back through the Pāli-Prākṛt stage (=Middle Indo-Aryan, or MIA) to the Sanskṛit-Vedic period (Old Indo-Aryan, or OIA) and to its IA origins. A special chapter gives a clear idea of the similar phenomenon in the Dravidian languages in order to elucidate the question whether the rich and living verbal composition active in NIA is due to Dravidian influence.

Taking this question first, we think that the author does prove his point—that the verbal composition of NIA has its roots inside of the oldest stages of OIA itself, and that the tendency towards that kind of composition is a trend of development and even of progress of the IA languages which need not, and indeed should not, be explained by a simple direct borrowing from the Dravidian speeches. Yet, on the other hand, the whole development of IA, both in language and in culture, being what it historically was in reality—a continuous process of "blood-transfusion" between the Ārya invaders and the non-Āryà substrata — it would be unadvisable to go to the other extreme, to which the author seems to incline, of considering the IA process as an independent parallel development. It should be carefully noted that the non-Ārya influence began at the oldest stages which we can trace in the IA, including the hoary Ṛgveda itself, "orthodox" claims to the contrary notwithstanding !

The first elements of verbal composition were indeed there in OIA, but the reason why it developed into such a lively and enriching linguistic factor was undoubtedly the influence of the (chiefly at least) Dravidian substratum. It is something similar to the phenomenon of the lingual-cerebral sounds in Sanskrit. The language possessed the fundamental factors in its native structure, but it only assumed the full panoply of these sounds under Dravidian-substratum influences. To believe with our author that the Dravidian languages might have developed the verbal composition *after* the IA is rather adventurous.

The careful analysis that the author makes of the *real*, as against the mere formalistic, meaning of "composition" carries conviction, though it

may be granted that there are degrees in its process — degrees which are reflected in the different stages of unity still transparent in the Vedic "devatâ-dvandvas", "aluk"-compounds, etc. Even the author's own types have a very varied unity of composition, some being rather on the outskirts of it, or even questionable. But the real unity of the verbal compounds is especially striking and obvious in the cases when it is so clearly nothing but a simplifying and stream-lining of the old grammatical technicalities and virtuosities that could produce the so telling "desideratives", "intensives", etc. in *one* single word (itself the product of an Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European process of synthesis !) — which shows how evidently the new composite expressions were a unit of thought in the language sense of the OIA speakers.

The typographical presentation is praiseworthy as is also the general accuracy of the *romanised* transliteration of the IA words and texts. This romanisation was an eminently sensible thing to do in order to simplify the typesetting, which otherwise would have been a veritable nightmare. It is a step in the right direction, if only from the practical point of view, and we congratulate the Institute for its courage and broadmindedness in these days of antiquated chauvinisms. The worst dyed-in-the-wool anti-romaniser would get the object-lesson of his life if condemned to type-set this thesis *without* romanising.

Ch. VI ("Historical evolution in MIA and OIA") was of special interest to this reviewer. Hence the following remarks. The reference on p. 236 (a) : "Wackernagel, 21, 786", should read : "II, 1 ; paras. 76, 78." On the same p. and foll. the subtitle to (a) (i) is missing : "With the acc. case-ending in the first member", and the word "with" should be prefixed to the following subtitles up to (iv) ; the additional (v-a) should be justified by the subtitle "With *apparent* case-ending", and the reference to Wack. II, 1 repeated and specified. On p. 243 the list corresponding to Bhaṭṭoji's classification of compounds should have the same numbers (1) (2). . . instead of the confusing I, II. . . and the subtitle "Noun-noun" added to (1). As for II—or, as it should be, (2)—it ought to have the corresponding subtitle but *not* "Noun-verb" (as given previously) since *pra, pari, para, ā* cannot be termed *nouns* in English !

One more point. The present reviewer has always demurred to the quotation from the Râmâyaṇa (here on p. 257, 14), "*cakre śobhayitum purīm*" being given as an example of "*kṛ*" in an "inceptive" sense ; he believes that it possibly belongs to the following (No. 15 here) "*kram*" : *cakre* for "*cakrame*"—it being a solecism due to the same poetic licence that out of *jagme* from *gam*, over *gā*, created the (only epic !) *adhi-jage*. So also from *kram*, over an (imaginative only ?) *krā, cakre* for *cakrame*—possibly helped by the *kram*-forms with *long* root-vowel. Of course the Rāmāy. Commentator duly completes the

phrase into "*cakre yatnam*", for *he* could not admit that "Valmīkī" would slip so badly....A more natural explanation is to consider *cakre śobhayitum* as a periphrastic *causative* of the type *gantum akarot*, noted by Bergaigne (s. Renou's *Grammaire Sanscrite*, II, p. 473), which really is a legitimate successor of the Vedic use of *kṛ* with the *dative* infinitive (which was later discarded for the *—tum* form, but which our author would have done well to add) in phrases like "*agnim samidhe cakartha*" as given by Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 352, para. 982, b.

To sum up : this is a typical example of the scholarly work being done at the Deccan College Postgraduate Research Institute under the inspiring and expert guidence of Dr. S. M. Katre, who is the right kind of Guru to train the new generation of Indian research workers in the balanced and fruitful synthesis of the best in both the Western and Eastern scholarship. To the author and to his guru : *śivāḥ santu panthānaḥ* !

A. ESTELLER

Caste in India. Its Nature, Function, and Origins. By J. N. Hutton. 2nd edition. Pp. X + 315. Oxford University Press, 1951. Price Rs. 10/-.

There is certainly no dearth in books on the Indian caste system. A recent Indologist in America claims to have compiled a list of over five thousand published works dealing with this subject. If Prof. Hutton's slim volume of only 190 pages—the rest of the book is taken up by long appendices, a detailed glossary and index—had to be republished only five years after its first edition by the Cambridge University Press, it must have its special merits.

The book indeed deserves well for its conciseness, its clear and systematic arrangement of a bewildering abundance of facts. It presents the reader in a short outline with a clear and compact description of a fascinating subject. Another distinction of the book is the well-balanced and impartial attitude which Prof. Hutton displays throughout in dealing with his subject and his success in giving us a well-documented, all-round picture of the caste system and its role in Indian social and economic life.

The book is divided into three parts. The first gives the general background, with an outline of the racial elements which constitute the population of this vast sub-continent of India as a whole, and area by area ; the second describes the structure, strictures, sanctions and functions of the caste system throughout India ; and the third examines the various theories which have been

ventured to explain this institution which in its importance and influence on all aspects of Indian life is unique in the world.

The author readily admits that his book does not deal exhaustively with the subject. This would require a whole encyclopaedia. His book is an outline, and many readers will prefer it to bulkier volumes just for this reason. But on the other hand, its very compactness makes it vulnerable to attacks from other experts on the question of caste. For the sake of conciseness Hutton often unduly generalises facts which only hold good for a certain area or for a certain group of people; at times he is incorrect or incomplete or over-emphasizes features which are of less importance.

This charge is especially true of Hutton's sometimes rather offhand sketches of the races and peoples of India (in his Introductory and in chapters 2 to 4). The picture which Hutton attempts to draw in a few sentences of each tribe or caste often appears incorrect or beside the point.

I would, for instance, affix a big question mark to most of what Hutton has to say about the Bhils (p. 21). Hutton's remarks are probably based on old reports about the Bhils which were more colourful than scientifically exact. I wonder if Hutton has seen W. Koppers' recent monograph on the Bhils of Central India (*Die Bhil in Zentralindien.* Horn-Wien 1948, and by the same author : *Monuments to the Dead of the Bhils and Other Primitive Tribes in Central India* and in co-operation with L. Jungblut : *Magic Songs* ; the former published in Annali Lateranensi, Rome Vol. VI, 1942, and the latter in Intern. Archiv f. Ethnographie, Leiden Vol. XLIII). Koppers would scarcely agree with Hutton that the Bhils "venerate the horse above other animals, but their chief festivals are those in hônour of the dead. They are inveterate believers in witchcraft. . ." and so on. What Hutton has to say about the physical character of the Bhils ("They are a smallish, swarthy race. . ."), is scarcely correct in the light of Majumdar's recent research in Gujarat (D. N. Majumdar : *Race Realities in Cultural Gujarat.* Bombay 1950, p. 24 and by the same author : *Races and Cultures of India.* Allahabad (without date), pp. 56-57).

On page 22 Hutton writes of the Baiga that they "are probably the most ancient survival that still retains a tribal consciousness. . . their marriage system has features that suggest a survival from some long-abandoned system of marriage classes analogous to those of the aboriginal Australians." Hutton probably was led astray by V. Elwin who in his monograph (*The Baiga.* London 1939) failed to mention that the Gonds have the same marriage system and that the Baiga most likely have adopted their present marriage customs from the Gonds (Cf. M. P. Buradkar : *Kinship among the Gonds.* Nagpur

University Journal 1940 No. 6, and by the same author: *Gond Marriage.* Nagpur University Journal 1944 No. 10).

Further, Hutton's view can scarcely any longer be upheld that the "Baiga and Gond are not dissimilar in physical type, and the same applies to Korku, Korwa, and other jungle tribes of this area." Measurements which W. Koppers had taken in 1939 of Gonds, Baiga, Korkus and Nahals prove that these tribes are not of uniform physical type (Cf. W. Koppers: *Zum Rassenund Sprachen-Problem in India. Die Sprache.* Vienna 1949. Vol. I, pp. 233-234). Nor do the Mundas "form one people with the Kharias; Hos, Kols, Bhuiyas and others." (p. 24). They differ not only in physical type, but also in their social and religious culture. Hutton, following antiquated sources, places the Doms of the United Provinces alongside the tribal groups (pp. 34 and 35), "but on anthropometric and serological evidence this is difficult to uphold. On the one hand the Dom approach the Kshattriya in stature, sitting height and other characters, on the other they show close relation with the Chamar... Whatever be the cultural status of the Dom, their dissociation from the tribal groups... is definitely established." (D. N. Majumdar: *The Racial Basis of Indian Social Structure.* The Eastern Anthropologist. Lucknow 1949. Vol. II, p. 149). Hutton, however, seems to be on more familiar ground in Assam, for he avoids similar sweeping statements when he speaks about the tribes in this area.

Perhaps owing to his method of describing the tribes and castes of India area by area, the significant fact escaped Hutton's attention that most low castes of Middle and Northern India, as for instance the Mahars, Kolis, Balahis, Koris, Chamars, etc., comprise a more or less uniform racial and cultural group. It is in these castes that we must search for the remnants of the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian population and culture of India. But I doubt if we shall ever discover among them much of the Australoid elements of which Hutton speaks on page three of his book. Recent anthropometric research by Dr. Majumdar does not support Hutton's statement that the Australoid type "is very widely spread all over India, particularly among the lower castes and humbler classes of society."

Chapters 5 and 6 on the structure and strictures of caste, as also the following chapters on its sanctions and functions, are so good that they more than make up for the deficiencies in the survey of tribes and castes. They give a clear and succinct picture of the complicated workings of the caste system in daily Indian life.

The problem of the origin of the caste system Hutton approaches with great caution first by a description of analogous institutions elsewhere. After

that he deals with the traditional explanations of the origin of the caste system as found in the Hindu scriptures. Then he discusses the theories put forward by various Sociologists and Anthropologists. In the concluding chapter he advances his own opinion about the origin of caste. He finds the key for this problem in the belief in soul-stuff or life-matter (mana). It may indeed to some extent have contributed to the origin of caste in India.

I consider it a distinct defect of the book that Hutton relegates the description of the untouchables (whom he calls 'Exterior Castes') to the appendix (A). At least in the revised second edition this chapter should have found a more prominent position in the body of the book. The 'exterior castes' cannot be dealt with in an appendix ; their existence is a problem which is connected with the very essence of the caste system. No treatise on caste in India can be complete without paying special attention to this question. For a more adequate and up-to-date study of the untouchables Hutton could with some profit have consulted the reviewer's monograph, "The Children of Hari" (Vienna 1950, 463 pp.) which for the first time describes in great detail the life of an important untouchable caste (the Balahis).

Hutton's appendix B "Hinduism and Primitive Religions" is only loosely connected with the question of caste. It is no doubt very interesting, though many details could be disputed. But since it has no direct bearing on the problem of caste, it should have been left out.

The bibliography is far from complete. At least some of the most important recent books with a bearing on this subject should have been included. I personally think that Hutton would have found J. E. Sanjana's *Caste and Outcaste* (Bombay 1946) very stimulating.

The glossary (21 pages) and the index (20 pages) must be welcome to all students of this book for their completeness and minuteness. The two maps at the end of the book will be of some help to readers with only a superficial acquaintance with the geography of India.

S. FUCHS

The Blue Annals. By George N. Roerich. Pp. XXI + 397. Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949.

Deb ther sngon po or "The Blue Annals" is one of the most important books on Tibetan history. The author is the Tibetan monk Gos lotsa ba gZhon nu dpal, who compiled the work between 1476—1478 A.D. The book shows very precisely how a Lamaistic scholar understands history. According to a typical Buddhistic pattern he has to deal with the history of Buddhism

only and all the other facts must fit into this scheme. History and science as independent and distinct objects were despised by the Tibetan monks, who call these studies "ajig rten pai chos", "wordly doctrine" (in a sinful meaning) in contradiction to their "lhai chos", "spiritual (holy) doctrine" which means Buddhism only and no other religion.

The first part of the translation comprises the beginning of Buddhism until the preaching of the Tantras ; book I to book VII of the Deb ther sngon po. The story of the Gautama family begins with the pedegree of thousands and thousands of kings. Finally the king Karṇika had a son called Gautama who became an ordained monk in his early youth. Accused of having had intercourse with the courtesan Bhadrī and then killing her, he was impaled by the order of the king. Suffering this horrible pain, the sage Asita approached him and asked him to produce a son. 'Son', said the sage, 'recollect your past experiences (of sexual life).' Gautama replied 'I am tortured by deathly pain, how can I recollect it ?' The sage then caused a rain storm to fall, and drops of rain fell on Gautama's body. A cool wind touched the body (of the sufferer), and his pain was alleviated. He recollected his past experiences, and two drops of semen with blood fell on the ground. These drops changed into two eggs, and ripened in the heat of the sun. They then burst and two male children came out, and hid in a nearby sugar-cane grove. Gautama, tortured by sun heat, passed out. . . Because they (the two boys) were born from sun rays, they became known as Sūryavaṃśa or Solar race. Because they were the sons of Gautama, they were called Gautamas (descendants of Gautama), (*The Blue Annals*, p. 7 f). This is the story of the family, Gautama. It is an example how Lamaistic scholars form the pattern of royal lineage or other descent by fantastic reports and unimaginable legends.

aGos lotsa ba begins the record of the Tibetan history with the story how Gautama Buddha visited Tibet seven times in order to become the creator of the Tibetan country and people. In this manner the fate of Tibet was to be connected with Gautama from the first beginning. aGos lotsa ba himself admits that "The above account is only a fiction" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). The material with regard to the beginning of Tibetan history which the author of *The Blue Annals* could collect is very scanty. All the myths and traditions of the Tibetan people were suppressed by the Lamaists and are thus lost for ever. This prejudice of Buddhist scholars has done much harm to the history of Tibet. Even if they pretended only to compile "Church history", they should have had some historical sense.

The seven books of part one are : 1) The beginning of the story of the Buddhist doctrine ; 2) The later spread of the doctrine in Tibet ; 3) The early translation of the Mantrayāna Tantras ; 4) The 'New' Tantras ; 5) The venerable Lord Atīśa ; 6) Mādhyamika and Nyāya ; 7) The preaching of the Tantras.

We must be very grateful to Dr. Roerich for his excellent translation work. Any one who ever translated such Tibetan originals, realises how difficult such work is. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal did well to publish *The Blue Annals* in her monograph series.

M. HERMANNS

Muktesvarakṛta Mahābhārata—Ādiparva (Khaṇḍa 1). Edited by A.K. Priyolkar. Pp. 20+36+244+10. Thakurdwar, Bombay: Marathi Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷ, 1951. Price Rs. 5.

Very few people in Maharashtra know the aims and objects of the Marathi Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷ founded in Bombay on 1st February, 1948, under the patronage of the Government of Bombay. The main objects of this Marathi Research Institute are the critical editing of Marathi texts and the preparation of a Dictionery of Marathi language on historical principles like the Oxford English Dictionary. To begin with the Maṇḍaḷ has started the work of the critical editing of Marathi texts. The volume under review is the first fruit of the research activities of this Maṇḍaḷ started four years ago.

Shri A. K. Priyolkar, the editor of the present volume and the Director of this Maṇḍaḷ, is a well-known research scholar in the field of Marathi literature. His application of the principles of Textual Criticism to the Marathi texts was very much appreciated by the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in 1935, when Shri Priyolkar presented to him a copy of his critical edition of the "*Damayanti-Svayaṁvara*" of Raghunātha Paṇḍita. In fact Dr. Sukthankar looked forward to many critical editions of Marathi texts prepared by Shri Priyolkar under the patronage of learned bodies in Maharashtra. The preparation of critical editions of texts is not an easy work. The collection of manuscripts and their systematic collation under the guidance of an expert editor is a work of considerable expense requiring a high degree of scholarly vigilance and patience, which are generally absent in an average editor. As Dr. Sukthankar observed at the time of the Silver Jubilee of the B.O.R. Institute on 5th January, 1943, "*Good printing costs money, good editing costs money and good editors cost money.*" The protagonists of Marathi literature should ponder over these remarks of Dr. Sukthankar whom we regard as the Father of Indian Textual Criticism.

The responsibility of learned bodies in this country is very great. It is their duty not only to patronise individual research workers but to do research themselves by undertaking literary projects and executing them with efficiency under the guidance of competent scholars. It is also the duty of Government to give substantial financial aid for such projects, which bring honour to the country

and its rulers. We are happy to find that the Hon'ble Shri B.G. Kher, the present Chief Minister of the Bombay State, has been all along conscious of his duty towards literature ever since he assumed office as the Chief Minister of the Bombay State which bristles now with many Universities and learned bodies of status and standing. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Hon'ble Shri Kher should write a very encouraging foreword to the present volume, as the Marathi Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal owes its very existence to his solicitude for the advancement of research in the field of literature, Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada.

Mukteśvara (born A. D. 1609) is a very popular poet of Maharashtra. He was the son of the daughter of Saint Ekanātha, who has exercised tremendous influence over the people of Maharashtra by his voluminous writings, mainly religious and devotional. Shri Priyolkar has, therefore, done well in taking up for critical editing the five Parvans of his *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi*, *Sabhā*, *Vana*, *Virāṭa* and *Sauptika*) so far available. The present volume contains the constituted text of Chapters 1—12 of the *Ādiparva* together with an elaborate critical Introduction (pages 6-32) which discusses all problems connected with the text and its author. None is more conscious than Shri Priyolkar of the limits of his textual research, which is strictly based on the manuscript material available to him. He quotes with approval Dr. Sukthankar's remarks : "It will, therefore, be prudent not to expect too much from the first critical edition, nor to claim too much for it." This is the correct attitude of a research scholar towards the problems of his research and we are happy to note that Shri Priyolkar, having done his best in the editing of the volume under review, invites brother workers to improve upon it in the light of new material that may be discovered by them in future years. The writer of this review still remembers the opinion of the late Dr. M. Winternitz expressed during his visit to the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, in 1922, about the duties of a critical editor of texts. After listening to the view expressed by some scholars that the Institute should wait till all possible material for the edition of the *Mahābhārata* has been collected during a long period to follow, Dr. Winternitz observed :—"No European editor would agree to wait for eternity in the hope of completing his collection of manuscript material for the text he intends to edit. After having obtained such material from known sources he must complete his edition based on the material gathered, leaving the task of improving his edition on the strength of new material to the future generations of scholars."

In the preparation of the present edition the editor has made use of two printed editions and eleven manuscripts of the text. The value of this material has been briefly indicated by him in his Introduction. We await with eagerness his promised discussion and evaluation of this material in his Introduction to the last part of the *Ādiparva*.

Lovers of Marathi literature should render financial support to the laudable work initiated by the Marathi Saṁśhodhana Maṇḍaḷ, Bombay, under the able guidance of Shri Priyolkar, whose present edition of the first part of Mukteśvara's *Ādiparva* augurs well for the future of this Maṇḍaḷ. We confidently hope that the Government of Bombay will not only give increased financial aid to this Maṇḍaḷ but make a special grant to it to enable it to organise the work of a Marathi Dictionary on historical principles, which is at present badly needed by all research workers in Indology.

P. K. GODE

The Ancient Khmer Empire. By Lawrence Palmer Briggs. Pp. 295. The American Philosophical Society, 1951 $ 6·00.

Ever since the discovery of the architectural marvel of Angkor interest in the history of the Indianized kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula has been steadily growing. The efforts of Bergaigne, Aymonier Maspero and Coedés have thrown much light on the mystery of the Khmers and a systematic study of inscriptions has led to the establishment of the Khmer history on the *terra firma* of well-attested and documented facts. The material, therefore, is now sufficiently extensive to attempt a comprehensive history of the Khmers and this is what forms the contents of the pages of Mr. Briggs' volume on the Khmer Empire.

The volume presents a detailed history of the ancient Khmers from the period of their early beginnings to the time of the fall of the Angkor kingdom. This history is divided into the three periods of Funan (1st cent. A.D. to *circa* 550 A.D.), the Chenla Period (*circa* 550 A.D. to 802 A.D.), and finally the Kambuja or Angkor Period (802 A.D. to 1432 A.D.)—thus covering the life-story of the land through roughly fifteen hundred years. And this history is not just political history, though it provides the frame-work; for, along with the history of reigns and events, the interpretation of trends in religion and art is very successfully attempted. Considering the very range of material, inscriptional and otherwise, the author has performed his task well and as the subject is the origin, growth and decay of one of the most remarkable manifestations of the Indic civilisation, the book makes a very fascinating reading as well. The contributions of Śaiviṣm and Vaiśṇavism and the influence of the *Devarāja* cult on the art of the land are all properly assessed, though discussions in appropriate detail on the political and social institutions of the country during the period, their organic relations with the Indian institutions and the modifications undergone within the Indo-Chinese *milieu* would have certainly been valuable additions to the volume. The causes of the fall of Angkor are stated to be building frenzy, loss of revenue and labour supply and the conflict with Thai. A wise choice of apt quotations, 58 figure reproductions, 17 plans and

22 maps along with an exhaustive list of inscriptions and bibliography make the volume indispensable to every student of the history and culture of Greater India. For the scholar it will appear as an admirable attempt at bringing scattered material on an important subject within the compass of a single volume, and as such it is a handy reference book. The printing and get-up of the volume leave nothing to be desired.

B. G. GOKHALE

Khotanese Buddhist Texts. By H.W. Bailey. Pp. IX+157. London : Taylor's Press, 1951. 30 *s.* net.

The present volume contains parts of the Buddhist literature of Khotan. The Manuscripts from which these texts are edited were discovered by M. Aural Stein some forty years ago and the publication, therefore, will be eagerly wel-comed by all students of Buddhism.

The volume contains parts of the famous Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra, the Sudhana-Avadāna, the story of Aśoka and Yaśas and Aśoka and Kuṇāla, the tale of the merchant Nanda, a summary of the Pragñyā-Pāramitā complex, the Bhadrakalpikā and the Aparimitāyuḥ sūtras as also Sumukha Sūtra, the Buddhist verses of Prince Tcūṃ-ttchi, a Deśanā, Homage to the Buddhas and another sūtra in verse form. The Vimalakīrti sūtra, the Mañjuśri-nairātmya-avatāra-sūtra and a part of a Vajrayāna text are as yet unidentified. The Sumukha sūtra corresponds to the Sumukha-dhāraṇī of the *Kanjyur*, Rgyud 13, 416 v-424 r(Narthang). The collection, therefore, is fairly representative, offering as it does specimens of Mahāyānist and Vajrayānist texts as well as compositions by Prince Tcūṃ-ttchi and Prince Tcū-syau. The importance of the volume in the task of the understanding of the development and expansion of Buddhism in Central Asia needs no emphasis. The volume will also be of great help in the study of the development of the North-West Prakrit and Buddhist Sanskrit languages. The texts belong to the period ranging from the 8th to the 10th centuries A.D. and a comparitive study of similar texts of the same period would repay richly. The editor intends to publish a subsequent volume containing a translation and a commentary with details of the manuscripts in use, which would, indeed be eagerly awaited. As it stands the present volume in itself is a rich contribution to the literature on Central Asian Buddhism.

B. G. GOKHALE

Les Inscriptions d'Aśoka—(With translation and commentary in French). By M. Jules Bloch, Professor au College de France, Paris. Published in the series called 'Collection Emile Senart, Pp. 5-8 (Preface) + 9-11 (Bibliography) + 13-88 (Introduction) + 89-172 (text of Inscriptions

transliterated with French translation and notes) + 173-216 (Index of words in the Inscriptions alphabetically arranged), map of India in Aśoka's times and table of contents, 1950.

This is a very useful and handy edition of all the Inscriptions of Aśoka on rocks, pillars etc. Eminent orientalists such as Senart, Bühler, Woolner, Lüders have dealt with these inscriptions at length in scholarly works. But these are not easily available and are costly. Professor Bloch's objects in bringing out this book are two, *viz.*, to supply the long-felt want of an easily accessible and handy work on the unique inscriptions of Aśoka and point out the obscurities in their interpretation that still exist. The text is principally that of Hultzsch in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I (Oxford, 1925). He has made one important innovation, *viz.*, he has given the double consonants which are never marked in the original inscriptions. The translation (in French) has been made as close as possible to the original text. The commentary has two objects in view, *viz.*, linguistic and historical. With regard to the linguistic part, his main concern is to fix the place of Aśoka's language in relation to Pāli. The historical part of the Introduction has been reduced to what is absolutely indispensable. To those readers who require deeper historical knowledge about Aśoka and his times the learned Professor recommends the work of De La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas*. The important conclusions reached in the historical part are that there is great difference between the figure of Aśoka that emerges from a study of the inscriptions and that which the Buddhist Literature presents, that virtues which Aśoka wishes to propagate in his edicts are not exactly those that are peculiar to Buddhist works on doctrines and discipline, that it is not easy from the inscriptions to visualize thoroughly the personality of Aśoka which is very complex, and that the inscriptions make one think of such ancient European Emperors as Marcus Aurelius, Constantine, Charlemagne. The linguistic part of the Introduction deals with the Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax and vocabulary of the inscriptions and the conclusions reached are that there were three dialectal regions of India in the times of Aśoka, namely, the centre and East, the North-West, and the West, that the language of Pāṭaliputra is the prototype of the Māgadhī of the classical drama, though some forms in the dramas (that are several centuries later than the inscriptions) are earlier, such as *ahakam*, while in the inscriptions we meet with *hakam*.

From the Indian student's point of view it may be said that the appeal of this work would have been far greater and more wide-spread, if the learned author had included along with the French an English translation of the inscriptions. As it is, this is an excellent edition of the inscriptions of Aśoka for beginners in the study of the ancient edicts of one of the greatest rulers of men.

P. V. KANE

NOTES AND NEWS

THE FATIMID JURIST NU'MĀN AND HIS BOOK, *THE PILLARS OF ISLAM*

The illustrious Cadi Nu'mān Ibn Muḥammad was born in the last decade of the third century A. H. (tenth century A. D.) at Qayrawān in North Africa. Originally a Mālikī, he became in turn the Cadi of Manṣūri'ya, Tripoli, and later the Chief Cadi of Cairo during the reign of al-Mu'izz, Fourth Fatimid Caliph. He was the founder of Fatimid Jurisprudence, a historian, author and judge, and reached the highest rank in the Da'wat in his time. He was the author of *Da'ā imu'l-Islām* (*The Pillars of Islam*), the leading text-book of Fatimid Jurisprudence. He died in Cairo in A. H. 363/A. D. 974, and so great was his reputation and status that the Caliph himself, al-Mu'izz, led the funeral prayers.

The Pillars of Islam is a work in two volumes and is considered the classical compendium of the Law as understood by the Fatimid Jurists. It was for two centuries the *corpus juris* of the wide-spread empire of the Fatimids and throughout the last eleven centuries, it is recognized as the fundamental work on *Sharī'a* by all sectarians who belong to the Fatimid School of Islamic Law.

On an examination of the Fatimid legal system several peculiar characteristics are to be noted. *First*, it is in reality a one-man system ; in other words it is the creation of Nu'mān alone and hardly any other jurist has attained the first rank. In fact, the Fatimid tradition is that it was not Nu'mān who alone composed the book, but he wrote in consultation with Imām Mu'izz himself, the personality of the two being completely submerged in one entity. Thus the work of Nu'man is supposed to be a miracle of Imām Mu'izz, the Imām finding an eloquent mouth-piece in his great Cadi and propagandist (*dā'ī*) Nu 'mān. *Secondly*, the style and form of the *Da'ā' im* is more akin to the earlier Hadith literature than the later works on the law. Practically all the traditions are reported from Imām Ja 'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. *Thirdly*, the Fatimids make no distinction between *Uṣūl* (First Principles) and *Furū'* (Applications of the Law) as in Sunnite or Shiite Jurisprudence. Generally the *Sharī'a* laws are divided into two distinct classes. The first is called the *Roots* of the Law—the *Uṣūl* ; and the second is the *Branches* of the Law—the *Furū'*. This distinction is not known in Fatimid Law. *Fourthly*, the *Da'ā'im* represents a complete fusion of Shiite theology with Sunnite law. For instance, the first book of the first volume deals with *Walāya*, which means the devotion and obedience due to the Imāms descended from the Prophet and generally

to the members of his house, the *Ahl' ul-Bayt* ; whereas the rest of the law is based on Mālikī and Shāfi'ī principles. It is, therefore, certain that upon an examination and study of this work, our present classification of Law into Sunnite and Shiite will have to be revised, and a new classification based upon historical, social and national considerations will have to be formulated. Thus the *Da'ā imu' l-Islām* is of the highest value for the historical study of Muslim Law.

And *lastly*, an examination of the book will also give an insight into the social and economic condition of Egypt during the Fatimid regime and will thus pave the way for further researches into the history, culture and philosophy of the Fatimid branch of Islam, represented by the different groups of Ismailis existing in the world.

Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, the former Ambassador of India in Egypt, has prepared during the last seven years a critical edition of the Arabic text of first volume of the *Da 'ā' im* in India. During his stay in Egypt the work has been printed and will shortly be published by the well-known publishing house 'Dar-ul-Maaref' (Sharia Maspero, Cairo). It consists of 466 pages of Arabic text, an Arabic introduction of 23 pages, English introduction 23 pages and indexes about 30 pages.

Mr. Fyzee hopes to publish the second volume in the next two years. He is the author of *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* (Oxford University Press, 1949). He has been invited by the Rockefeller Foundation to visit the United States during 1952 to lecture on Muhammadan Law in the Universities of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Chicago and McGill (Toronto).

P. V. KANE

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