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P. V. KANE H. D. VELANKAR

G. C. JHALA GEORGE M. MORAES

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CONTENTS

THE CONCEPT OF MORALITY IN BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

By

B. C. Law

Definition.—*Sīla* (Sanskrit *Śīla*) is assigned an important place in Buddhism and Jainism. It is the foundation of all good qualities. It means moral habit,[1] custom, usage, natural or acquired way of living or acting, moral practice, moral conduct, good disposition, tendency, noble character, nature, uprightness, integrity, morality, piety, virtue and moral precept.[2]

Mrs. Rhys Davids says that *sīla* is moral habit, habitual good or moral conduct. The conduct of one who does not hurt or rob living things, is sexually straight, truthful and gentle of speech, and sober as to drink. Such conduct is only the essential basis of a higher life. She says that virtue is more elegant but a little vague.[3]

The five fundamental rules of moral conduct.—The five precepts are the five fundamental rules of moral conduct. They are binding on all Buddhists as they briefly sum up the primary duties of a man. A lay man may acquire merit by observing five, eight or ten *sīlas* either for a limited period or till death.

Wisdom and morality.—Wisdom is purified by morality and morality is purified by wisdom. Where there is morality, there is wisdom, and where there is wisdom, there is morality. To one endowed with morality, there is wisdom and to one who is endowed with wisdom, there is morality. Morality and wisdom are declared to be the foremost in the world. They may be treated as an essential pair.[4] Good conduct, faith, energy, recollection, and meditation are the good qualities (*kusaladhammā*). Moral quality, potentiality, supreme knowledge, right path, right recollection, right concentration, constituent of miraculous power, ecstasy, emancipation, meditation, and attainment have good conduct as their basis.[5] A virtuous man is like a medicine to sentient being in destroying the poison of sin. He is like water to human being in destroying the disease of sin. He is a jewel to human being in making a charity of all attainments. He is like a boat to human being in crossing four floods. He is like a caravan trader in getting rid of births. He is like wind in extinguishing three kinds of fire. He is like a great cloud in fulfilling their wishes. He is like a teacher in teaching good to human beings and he is like a good guide in finding out the right path for them.[6]

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[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Wayfarers' Words*, Vol. III, p. 908.

[2] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 1079; Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 476; Macdonell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 315; Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 10, p. 224.

[3] *Psalms of the Brethren* (PTS. Tr. Series), p. 269, f. n. 2.

[4] *Digha*, I, p. 124.

[5] *Milindapañho*, Trenckner's Ed., p. 33.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Characterisation of sīla (morality).—The characterisation of *sīla* or morality and the exposition of the subject as a whole cannot but remind us of what is significantly brought out in the *Questions of Milinda.*[7] Morality is the foundation like the earth to human beings, this is the root of increase in goodness, this is the beginning in the teachings of all conquerors, and this is the group of moral precept as laid down in the excellent *Pātimokkha.*[8]

The Ancients on morality.—According to the Ancients (*Porāṇas*) *sīla* is the ornament of an ascetic and it is the object of his decoration. The ascetics adorned with morality have acquired perfection in matters of decoration. All good deeds are based on morality.[9] The Buddha said thus, "morality is the best treasure in the teachings of the saviour of the world. Let one who stands faithfully by the Master's teachings honour morality."[10] In charity, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation and highest wisdom, there is none equal to the Master.[11] Through faith men at times display morality.[12]

Strict observance of morality.—The strict observance of morality leads to the purification of the body, while the practice of meditation leads to the purity of the soul, and thinking of wisdom leads to perfect wisdom. After having been established in precepts, a wise person should think of concentration and wisdom. An active and wise monk disentangles this lock.[13] The disentanglement of the lock is the final goal; it is *visuddhi* or purity. *Sīla* (morality), *samādhi* (meditation), and *paññā* (wisdom) are the ways to attain to it.

Dr. Keith rightly points out that the end of a man is to free himself, if possible, in this life from the intoxicants, the lust of being born again in this world or in the world of subtle matter or the world without matter and the ignorance of four noble truths. His aim is to free himself from desire or appetite, aversion and dullness. There cannot be any extinction of desire, if ignorance prevails, and therefore the extinction of ignorance is necessary. Conduct, concentration and wisdom are all essential. The concentration pervaded by conduct is fruitful. The self pervaded by wisdom is freed from the corruption of desire, false view, and ignorance. Concentration is attainable only through the observance of conduct (*sīla*).[14]

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[7] Milindapañho Trenckner's Ed., p. 34.

[8] "*Ayaṃ patiṭṭhādharaṇī va pāṇinaṃ | idañca mūlaṃ kusalābhivuddhā | mukhan cidaṃ sabbajinānusāsane yo sīlakhandho varapātimokkhiyoti.*"

The *Patimokkha* is the name given to a collection of various precepts (*sikkhāpadas*) contained in the *Vinaya.* It is a criminal code for monks and nuns.

[9] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 55-56 (P.T.S., Edition).

[10] *Mahāvastu* (Senart's Ed.), II, p. 357.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, p. 340.

[12] *Ibid.*, II, p. 58.

[13] *Visuddhimagga*, Intro. *Sīlepatiṭṭhāya naro sapañño, cittam paññaṃ ca bhāvayam | Ātāpinipako bhikkhu, so imam vijaṭaye jaṭanti ||*

[14] Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 115 ff.

The jewel of moral conduct.—The jewel of moral conduct may be summarised thus – (*i*) moral conduct of self-restraint according to the rules of the *Pātimokkha*; (*ii*) moral conduct of the restraint of senses; (*iii*) moral conduct resulting from the purity of livelihood; (*iv*) moral conduct regarding the requisites of a recluse; (*v*) short moral conduct, middle moral conduct and long moral conduct; and (*vi*) moral conduct of those who have taken the right path, and (*vii*) moral conduct of those who have attained the fruition. The whole world is filled with a desire for the person who is decorated with the jewel of right conduct. A monk shines greatly surpassing in lustre all the jewels.[15]

Classification of moral conduct.—*Sīla* (moral conduct) may be classified under three heads: physical (*kāyika*), verbal (*vācasika*) and mental (*mānasika*).[16] The first eight *sīlas* are to be observed on the sabbath (*uposatha*) by the more faithful. Those *sīlas* are called by Buddhaghosa as *gahaṭṭhasīlas*[17] or the precepts for the householders to observe.

The *Dīgha Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* mentions three kinds of *sīla*: *Cūlasīla* (short precept), *majjhimasīla* (middle precept) and *mahāsīla* (long precept).

Three kinds of sīla or morality.—Gotama the recluse holds aloof from the destruction of life. He takes what is given. He passes his life in honesty and purity of heart. He puts away unchastity. He holds himself aloof from calumny, harsh language, vain conversation and causing injury to seeds or plants. He takes one meal a day, not eating at night, refraining from food after midday. He abstains himself from dancing, singing, music and shows (*visūkadassanā*), from wearing, adorning or ornamenting himself with garlands, scents, and unguents, from using high and large beds, from accepting gold or silver, raw meat, women or girls, slaves or female slaves. He abstains from accepting uncooked grains, sheep or goats, fowls or hogs or pigs, elephants, cattle, horses, and mares. He abstains from accepting cultivated fields or lands on which dwelling houses may be built and from buying or selling. He refrains himself from acting as a messenger and from cheating with scales, or bronzes or measures. He does not indulge in crooked ways of bribery, cheating and fraud. He abstains from murder, highway robbery, dacoity and violence. All these fall under small precepts (*cūlasīla*).

[15] *Milindapañha*, p. 336.
[16] and [17] *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., I, pp. 9, 10 ff.

He holds himself aloof from the use of things stored up, namely, stores of food, drink, clothing, conveyance, bedding, perfume, and curry-stuff. He does not see fairy scenes, acrobatic feats, combats of elephants, horses, and buffaloes, sham fights, roll-calls, boxing, wrestling, etc. He does not indulge in such games and recreations as games with bulls, blowing through toy-pipes, ploughing with toy ploughs, turning somersaults and guessing at letters. He does not beatify his person by using mirrors, eye-ointments, garlands, rouge, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, etc. He does not find delight in such low conversations as the tales of kings, robbers, ministers of state, tales of war, terrors, battles, talks about food and drink, clothes, beds, garlands, perfumes, talks about villages, towns, cities, tales about women and army, relatives, gossip at street corners, ghoststories, desultory talks, etc. He holds aloof from wrangling phrases and servile duties. All these fall under middle precepts (*majjhimasīla*).

He keeps himself aloof from such low arts as poison craft, scorpion craft, mouse craft, bird craft, crow craft, foretelling the lease of human life, laying ghosts, laying demons in a cemetery, palmistry, augeries drawn from thunderbolts, prognostication, knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities in the following things and of the marks in them denoting the health or luck of their owners, namely, gems, staves, garments, swords, arrows, bows, and other weapons, women, men, boys, girls, slaves, slave-girls, etc. He does not like such low arts as casuistry, sophistry, counting without using fingers, foretelling an abundant rainfall, a good harvest, tranquillity, pestilence, healthy season, earthquake, etc. He remains aloof from such low arts as incantation to bring on deafness, fixing a lucky time for the expenditure of money, using charms to procure abortion, arranging a lucky day for marriages, in which the bride or bridegroom is brought home, fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties of peace, fixing a lucky time for the outbreak of hostilities, using charms to make people unlucky, causing virility, offering sacrifices, ceremonial rinsing of the mouth, purging people to relieve the head (*sīsavirecanam*), oiling the ears of the people, administering drugs through the nose, practising as a surgeon, as a doctor for children, applying collyrium for the eyes, consecrating sites, making a man impotent, administering roots, drugs, and medicines in rotation. All these come under big precepts (*mahāsīla*).[18]

Failure of morality.—The failure of morality leads to suspension. It takes place when the four offences[19] meriting expulsion from the priesthood and the thirteen priestly offences[20] next in heinousness to the four offences (*cattāripārājikāni*) are committed. A teacher not pure in morality pretends that he is

[18] *Digha*, I, pp. 4-12; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, (S.B.B., Series), pp. 3-26.

[19] Fornication, theft, life-slaughter, and falsely claiming Arahatship or any other supernatural gifts (Childers, *Pali Dictionary*); *Vinaya-Mahavagga*, P.T.S. p. 171.

[20] These offences entail a formal meeting of the Order.

pure in moral habit. He says that his morality is pure, clean and undepraved. His disciples know this about him. They protect such a teacher with regard to morality and such a teacher expects protection from his disciples.[21] The Order, if it so desires, may carry out a formal act of censure against a monk who has failed to observe morality. The *Pātimokkha* should not be suspended without any cause by good monks. If it is suspended by a monk who has failed to observe morality, this suspension of the *Pātimokkha* is illegal.[22]

Five disadvantages of the failure of morality.—The Lord spoke to the lay followers of Pātaligāma about the five disadvantages[23] of the failure of morality of the wicked. One who is wicked and whose morality is in danger, suffers great diminution of wealth owing to indolence. This is the first disadvantage. His evil reputation is heard. This is the second disadvantage. If he approaches a company of the Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas, house-holders or monks, he enters that assembly being unwise and troubled. This is the third disadvantage. He dies bewildered. This is the fourth disadvantage. Then he on account of his failure of moral habit, at the dissolution of the body, after death, arises in hell. This is the fifth disadvantage.[24] The Lord was informed of the monks of Bhaddiya ornamenting shoes in various ways, making grass shoes, and causing them to be made, neglecting higher morality, lofty thought and higher wisdom. The Master rebuked them.[25]

A monk is censured by the monks on account of his failure of morality. This is called a matter of dispute arising from censure.[26] Those who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummajaka harassed Dabba the Mallian with a false charge of his failure of morality. A verdict of innocence was passed by the Order in favour of Dabba.[27]

A monk being the master of minor moralities sees no danger from anyside. He experiences within himself a sense of ease without alloy, as he is endowed with morality.[28] He gifted with morality, mindfulness and restraint as to senses, chooses some lonely spot for rest on the way.[29]

Several talks on moral conduct given by the Lord.—Several talks on moral conduct were given by the Lord to different persons. A certain person with

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[21] *Vinaya-Cullavagga,* PTS., p. 186.
[22] Cullavagga, PTS., pp. 241 ff.
[23] *Pañca ādīnavā dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā.*
[24] *Vinaya-Mahāvagga,* PTS., pp. 226-27 ; *Vide* also Ang. III, pp. 252-53.
[25] *Ibid.,* PTS., pp. 189-90.
[26] *Vinayacullavagga,* P.T.S., p. 88.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 79.
[28] *Dīgha,* I, pp. 69-70.
[29] *Ibid.,* I, p. 71 — *vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ bhajati.*

a malignant mind and with a mind bent on murder,[30] the house-holder Anāthapiṇḍika,[31] a young man named Yesa,[32] his former wife and mother,[33] Belaṭṭha Kaccāna,[34] general Sīha[35] and the house-holder Meṇḍaka[36] listened to the talks on moral conduct given by the Lord. The Lord also gave a talk on moral conduct to a group of thirty friends of Bhaddavaggiya and to eighty thousand village overseers.[37] Roja the Mallian also listened to the talk on morality given by the Master.[38]

The Dīghanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka refers to attainment in moral conduct and in belief, failure in morality and in religious belief, and purity in morality and in religious belief.[39] A monk who is possessed of faith, morality, learning, sacrifice, and wisdom, cultivates thought and fixes his mind.[40] There is no offence if one is mindful in using after being unmindful in accepting the requisites.[41] The Buddha said, "previously his bodily action, his vocal action and his livelihood have been purified.[42] It is not proper that a monk without fulfilling the law of the minor precept should fulfil the law of the major precept".[43].

Successful practice of moral life.—The successful practice of a moral life (*sīlasampadā*) is the forerunner and the harbinger of the arising of the noble eightfold path. It may be expected that a monk possessed of morality will cultivate the noble eightfold part.[44] The control of sense-faculties completes the three moral habits.[45] A monk who is dependent on morality and who is established in morality, cultivates and increases the seven requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha.[46] The monks who are meditative and who are endowed with morality, wisdom, emancipation, and the knowledge of belief and emancipation cherish different opinions.[47]

Monk trained in higher morality.—The monk trains himself in higher morality, thought, and wisdom, and on completion of this training, passion, hatred, and delusion are abandoned by him. On the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion, he does not do any act of demerit and he does not follow

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[30] *Vinayacullavagga*, PTS., p. 192.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[32] *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, PTS., pp. 15 ff.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[37] *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*. PTS., p. 23, pp. 179 f. — *asītiyā gāmasahassesu*
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[39] *Dīgha*, III, pp. 213-14.
[40] *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, pp. 99-100.
[41] *Ibid.*, I, p. 12.
[42] *Anguttara*, III, pp. 124 ff.
[43] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 14 ff.
[44] *Samyutta*, V, p. 33.
[45] *Ibid.*, V, p. 74.
[46] *Ibid.*, V, p. 78.
[47] *Ibid.*, V, p. 67.

that which is sinful.[48] A monk keeps the laws of morality in full. He is moderately given to mental concentration and to striving for insight.[49]

A monk, who is virtuous, undertakes and practises the precepts. This is called utter purification of morals. The purification of morals, if it be incomplete, will be brought to perfection and if complete, will be supplemented by wisdom.[50]

There are some recluses and brahmins who proclaim a two-fold crossing of the flood : the way made by the purity of morals, and that made by self-mortification. Purity of morals is a factor of recluseship.[51]

Moral conduct is the refuge, guide, etc.—In the absence of good behaviour or conduct there can be no proper life for a mendicant or for a philosopher. It is, therefore, proper to lead a holy life which is attended with good conduct, keeping firmly to one's vows and perceiving the danger in the smallest of faults. It is by taking one's own stand on good conduct that all actions in the sphere of supreme good are possible. Moral conduct is the refuge, the guide as it were in the wilderness, the friend, the kinsman, the protector, the wealth and the strength.[52] It is the foundation of a higher life. Salvation is possible through freedom from passion, this freedom through right understanding, right understanding through intuition and vision, these through concentration, concentration through mental and bodily ease, ease through stillness, stillness through joy, joy through joyousness, joyousness through a clear conscience in the matter of deeds and this through the purity of morals.

Moral conduct implying moral discipline.—Good behaviour or moral conduct implies moral discipline which comes from habitual practice, habitual practice from keen desire for a thing and this from dependence on it. If good behaviour or moral conduct is the outer expression of an internal state of mind centred in self-control, this control is possible through Yoga, which enables us to hold back the senses from their objects, and to reach tranquillity through concentration. Right speech, right action and right livelihood, which are some of the factors that constitute the Noble Eightfold Path, are to be practised in the sphere of conduct for the mastery of the actions (*śīlāśrayam karmapārigrahāya*).

According to Aśvaghoṣa all actions take place in the domain of goodness, having recourse to moral conduct.[53] The freedom of the mind from blemish is based on purity of moral conduct. One should purify the moral conduct as it goes in front as the foremost.[54] Moral conduct is so called on account of

[48] *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 230-31
[49] *Ibid.*, I, p. 231.
[50] *Ibid.*, II, p. 195.
[51] *Ibid.*, II, p. 200
[52] Vide Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundaranandakāvya*, Canto., XIII, verse 28.
[53] *Saundaranandakāvya*. XIII, p. 21.
[54] *Ibid.*, XIII, 26.

repeated practice and service.[55] It should be perfected. Those who practise *yoga* take their stand on it in other actions for salvation.[56]

Right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanto*) and right livelihood (*sammaājīva*) constitute the well-tried method of the attainment of moral purity (*sīlavisuddhi*).[57] The moral purity is not to be viewed as an end in itself but only a means to an end. *Sīlavisuddhi* is in itself useless, if it does not lead to something still better.

Purity of conduct.—Purity of conduct, purity of behaviour, purity of livelihood, purity of motive, purity of morals, and purity of character are included in *sīlavisuddhi*. Purity of life takes a man as far as purity of heart and no further; purity of heart takes him only upto purity of views and so on till the fullest insight carries him on to absolute *Nirvāṇa*. One will have gradually the purity by dispelling doubts, the purity by the fullest insight into paths, right and wrong, the purity by insight into the way by which to walk, and the purity which insight gives.[58]

Self-culture through purity.—The rough scheme of self-culture through purity is set forth in the *Rathavinītasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, pp. 147-48) and it really includes *sīlavisuddhi* (purity of morals), *cittavisuddhi* (purity of mind), and *paññāvisuddhi* (purity of knowledge).[59] This rough scheme includes the following main items for consideration :—

Sīlavisuddhi[60] : Purity of conduct, purity of behaviour, purity of livelihood, purity of motive, purity of morals and purity of character.

The purity of will is the greatest of all virtues and the foundation of all.

Cittavisuddhi : Purity of mind, purity of all things mental, purity of mental attitude, purity of mental vision, purity of mental development, etc.

Diṭṭhivisuddhi : Purity of faith, purity of thought, and purity of intellect.

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇavisuddhi : Purity of faith by the removal of doubt.

Maggāmaggañāṇadassanavisuddhi : Purity of the path by the true understanding of what is and what is not the path.

Paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi : Purity of the intellectual perception of the true path.

Ñāṇadassanavisuddhi : Purity of knowledge and insight.

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[55] *Saundarananda kāvya*, XIII, p. 27.
[56] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 29.
[57] *Anguttara*, I, p. 95.
[58] Cf. *Rathavinīta Sutta*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 145-51.
[59] For details, Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 94.
[60] Cf. *Digha*, III, 214; *Anguttara*, I, p. 95.

The rough sketch of the Buddhist system of purity was developed by Buddhadatta in his *Abhidhammāvatāra* and more fully by Upatissa in his *Vimuttimagga*. The final development of the system took place in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (5th Century, A. D.).

The *Rathavinītasutta* points out that if the Lord had laid down that purity of moral habit was utter *nibbāna* without attachment, he would have laid down that *utter nibbāna* without attachment was the same as that with attachment Purity of moral habit is of purpose as far as purity of mind. Whatever is purity of mind, this is the goal, the peak, the culmination of purity of moral habit.[61]

The main ethical term to express the nature of Buddhist *nirvāṇa* is purity or *visuddhi*. From the ethical point of view to realise *nirvāṇa* is to attain the highest purity of one's own self, of one's own nature. According to the Jain text, *Sūtrakritāṅga*, by purity of the heart one reaches *nirvāṇa*.[62]

The three factors in the Buddhist path, namely, *sīlavisuddhi*, *cittavisuddhi* and *ñāṇavisuddhi* (purity of conduct, purity of mind, and purity of knowledge) are of no avail unless they lead to *vimutti* or emancipation. Conduct admits of two broad divisions as positive and negative. The *Atthasālinī* which is the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, an extra canonical Pali work on Buddhist psychological ethics,[63] contains the same classification of virtue, namely, positive virtue (*cārittasīla*) as opposed to *vārittasīla* or negative morality. The Buddha instructed his followers to follow certain principles of conduct.[64] Conduct again is of six kinds : conduct of lust, of hate, of delusion, of faith, of intelligence and of applied thought. By way of mixing and grouping four others are also made out of lust, and an equal number out of faith. There are 14 types of conduct together with these eight according to the *Visuddhimagga*. For all practical purposes the six broad divisions of conduct are generally recognised

Four-fold purity.—In the refinement and sublimation of immoral conduct, in its eventual uplift to moral and spiritual level, lies the well-being of man which is the essence of *sīlavisuddhi*. *Sīla* is divided into four parts referring to fourfold purity in moral habit :[65] *cetanāsīla*, *cetasikasīla*, *samvarasīla* and *avitikkamosīla*. The thought of a person who abstains from killing is called *cetanāsīla*. *Samvarasīla* is of five kinds : *pātimokkhasamvara*, *satisamvara*, *ñāṇasamvara*, *khantisamvara* and *viriyasamvara*. *Sīla* is again thought of as being threefold according to the varying degree of its efficacy as inferior (*hīna*). mediocre (*majjhima*) and superior (*paṇita*) and there are sub-divisions of these

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[61] *Majjhima Commy.*, I, p. 157.
[62] I, 1.2.27 ; *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 243.
[63] p. 772; Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 10 ; Expositer, P.T.S., I, p. 102 n.
[64] *Visuddhimagga*, p. 11.
[65] *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 15 ff.

three. Sīla is described as that which pacifies the mind. Its function is to destroy evil deeds and secure the purity of body, mind and speech. The celebrated Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa recommends in his *Visuddhimagga* (I. pp. 6-58), strict observance of the precepts (*sīla*) and enumerates the evil effects resulting from violation thereof. The duties of performance and avoidance, the twofold aspects of sīla, constitute the practical code of morality. Abstention from taking life, from false, abortive or idle speech, from theft, and use of intoxicants are the prohibitive injunctions while sexual purity forms a positive rule of conduct.

Dasasikkhāpadas or ten precepts.—There are ten precepts enumerated in the *Khuddakapāṭha* as well as in other Buddhist texts. They are as follows: (1) avoidance of life-slaughter (*pāṇātipātaveramaṇi*);[66] (2) avoidance of theft (*adinnādānāveramaṇi*); (3) avoidance of leading an irreligious life (*abrahmacariyāveramaṇi*); (4) avoidance of falsehood (*musāvādāveramaṇi*); (5) avoidance of drinking spirituous liquor (*surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānāveramaṇi*; (6) avoidance of dancing, singing and music (*naccagītavāditavisukadassanāveramaṇi*);[67] (7) avoidance of using garlands, scents, unguents and decorations (*mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānāveramani*) (8) avoidance of using high and large beds (*uccāsayanamahāsayanaveramaṇi*); (9) avoidance of using gold or silver (*jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇāveramani*);[68] and (10) avoidance of taking food at improper time (*vikālabhojanāveramaṇi*). Each of the ten precepts occurs in different groups and in different order in earlier parts of the Pali Canon; eight of them are in a different order in the *Suttanipāta*.[69]

A person abstaining from taking life, has mastered one of the guilty dreads. He abstaining from taking that which is not given, has mastered the second

[66] Vide *Digha*, I, 146. *Majjhima*, II, p. 5. Really *pāṇa* of *pāṇātipāta* means not life but vitality. The thought of destroying vitality is what is called pāṇātipāta. To kill with great effort a creature having good qualities brings about much sin, whereas to kill with the same effort a creature having no quality or not having great quality brings about less sin. If the body and the quality possessed by it be of equal standard, there will be a difference in the acquisition of sin, according to greatness or smallness of sins. To kill a lower animal devoid of good qualities and a small being brings small amount of sin and to kill a big creature full of sins brings large amount of sin because a good deal of effort is needed to kill a big animal and to kill a small animal much less effort is required. (*Visuddhimagga*, Intro.).

[67] According to the commentator *visūkadassanā* means show, spectacle, worldly amusement by destroying the side of merit on account of the arising of sin. (*Khuddakapāṭha Commy.* PTS., p. 37 — *Kilesupattipaccayato kusalapakkhe bhindanena visum dassanaṃ*).

[68] *Jātarupa* is gold (*suvaṇṇa*). The commentator refers to *kahāpaṇa, lohamāsaka, dārumāsaka* and *jatumāsaka*. One *kahāpaṇa* is equal to twenty *māsakas*. *Māsaka* is a small coin of very low value made up of copper, wood and lac. *Kahāpaṇa* denotes a coin of silver as well as of copper (*JRAS.*, 1901, pp. 877-79). It is a square copper coin (*PTS., Pali Dictionary*).

In the *Jātaka-Nidānakathā* (Fausboll, *Jat.*, I, p. 7), there is a reference to *sīsakahāpana* or lead *kahāpaṇa*.

[69] Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 139; Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 10, p. 224.

kind of guilty dread. He abstaining from wrongful action in sense-desires, has mastered the third kind of guilty dread. He abstaining from lying and from indulgence in strong drinks has mastered the remaining two kinds of guilty dread. Fivefold guilty dread (*pañcabhayāniverāṇi*) has been mastered by him.[70]

The ten sīlas (ten virtues) or *dasasikkhāpadas* (ten moral precepts) are binding on the members of the Order. The first five are binding on lay devotees.[71] The moral obligations of those who have renounced the world extend beyond ten precepts. The perfection of moral conduct (*sīlapāramitā*) is found in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* in the section on *sīlapāramitā*. Without purity of conduct salvation is impossible in Buddhism. Morality (*sīla*), patience (*khanti*), diligence (*viriya*), contemplation (*jhāna*), and *paññā* (wisdom) are the six kinds of perfection. Yamakami points out that the Buddhas and Bodhisattas teach all living beings and assist them in obtaining perfect beatitude (*nirvāṇa*) sometimes with the six perfections.[72]

Ten perfections.—The ten perfections (*pāramitās*) are included in the *Buddhakārakādhammā* in addition to *dāna* (charity), *sīla* (morality), *nekkhamma* (renunciation), *paññā* (wisdom), *viriya* (diligence or energy), *khanti* (patience), *sacca* (truth), *adhiṭṭhāna* (resolution), *mettā* (love), and *upekkhā* (indifference). This list does not agree with the Mahayana list.

Barnett points out that *sīlapāramitā* consists essentially in the will to hurt no living creature.[73] Bodhisatta Sumedha fulfilled *sīlapāramitā* by observing precepts without taking the least care for his own life. The following are the instances of *sīlapāramitā* : *sīlavanāgacariya*,[74] *Bhuridattacariya*,[75] *Campeyya-nāgacariya*,[76] *Cūlabodhicariya*,[77] *Mahimsarājacariya*,[78] *Rururājacariya*,[79] *Mātaṅ-gacariya*,[80] *Dhammādhammadevaputtavariya*,[81] *Jayaddisacariya*,[82] and *Saṃkha-pālacariya*.[83]

Asita was endowed with the perfection of morality (*paramasīlasampanna*). He ensued the path of ten moralities.[84]

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[70] *Samyutta*, II, p. 68.

[71] According to Rhys Davids, first five are binding on every Buddhist. The other three are not obligatory but a pious layman is to take the vow of eight precepts (*Buddhism*, p. 140).

[72] *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 269.

[73] *The Path of Light*, Wisdom of the East Series, p. 98.

[74] *Jat.*, I, pp. 319-22 ; Mātiposaka *Jat.*, No. 455

[75] *Jat.*, VI, pp. 157-219.

[76] *Jat.*, VI, pp. 454-68.

[77] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 22-27.

[78] *Ibid.*, II, 385-87.

[79] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 255-68.

[80] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 375-90.

[81] *Ibid*, IV, pp. 100-104.

[82] *Ibid.*, V. pp. 21-36.

[83] *Ibid.*, V, 161-71.

[84] *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 33.

In the *Śraddhotpādasūtra,* Aśvaghoṣa points out that the Bodhisattvas (Pali Bodhisattas) know that the nature of the *dharma,* being free from the influence of five sensual pleasures, and being free from immorality, is the perfection of stainless morality and they being far above all these vices practise *śīlaparamitā* (perfection of morality).

Dharma and Śīla.—It is interesting to note that the word *dharma* in Indian literature is conveniently employed together not only with *sacca* but also with such words as *sīla, sama, vinaya, paṭipadā, attha, takka, naya,* etc., evidently to represent two different aspects of one and the same idea, fact, doctrine or system.

Regarding correspondence between *dharma* and *sīla,* we may read in Asoka's Rock Edict IV : "*Dhammaṃhi sīlaṃhi tiṣṭamto dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti.*" Taking their stand on *dharma* (principle of righteousness, law, piety and morality) and *sīla* (moral conduct) they will administer *dharma,* impart instructions on it . Here *dharma* and *sīla* are to stand in conformity with each other. To say *dhammaṃhi sīlaṃhi tiṣṭamto* is the same as to say *dhamme ṭhito.*[85] "*Makhādevo nāma dhammiko dhammarāja dhamme ṭhito dhammaṃ carati brāhmaṇagahapatikesu negamesu ceva jānapadesu ca uposathañ ca upavasati.*" This shows that *dhamma* itself is the basis or foundation of both *dharma* and *sīla* that are to be fulfilled in practice. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly says that *dharma* or norm is identified with *sīla,* the moral code, the basis in Buddhism on which to build.[86]

He who has not ceased from immoral conduct cannot obtain God through the intelligence. It is enough to emphasize the clear moral teaching as a necessary preliminary to religion in the avoidance of immoral conduct. One cannot get to God if one is not self-restrained. According to the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1, 2, 24, 3, 7) he who is always impure is born again and again. He fails to reach the highest goal. The very word for right, law, and virtue, *dharma,* is employed to characterise the nature of God who brings right and removes evil from the world.[87] It is only through such moral training that man becomes capable of entering into union with God, which presupposes that God is free from all moral defects. The paths to (the abstract God) *Brahmā* are : benevolence, patience, peace, non-injury, truth, uprightness, freedom from insulting behaviour and from pride, modesty, endurance and tranquillity.[88] Morality is the basis of religion. The truth should be spoken and the passions must be kept under control. One should be generous, sympathetic and one should follow the old rules of good conduct for these are essential in the making

[85] Cf. Makhādevasutta, *Majjhima,* II, p. 74.
[86] *A Manual of Buddhism,* p. 169
[87] Hopkins, *Ethics of India,* p. 64.
[88] *Ibid.,* pp. 174-75.

of a man. The Buddhists teach the same thing.[89] Wisdom or essence of knowledge precedes morality and piety. Knowledge, morality and piety form a three-fold unity, which, alone eventuates in perfect happiness.[90]

Buddhaghosa on morality, a resume of his discussion.—Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* has ably dealt with the Buddhist view of morality. He says that consciousness is morality, that which is mental is morality, restraint is morality, and non-transgression is morality. Consciousness, which is morality, is that of one who abstains from life slaughter and so forth or of one who fulfils his set duties. That which is mental, is morality of one who has given up life-slaughter and so forth. Consciousness, which is morality, is that of the seven courses of action of one who has given up life-taking. That which is mental is morality of one who dwells giving up covetiousness and with a mind free from covetiousness. In this way non-coveticusness, absence of malice and right view are expressed. As regards restraint, which is morality it should be fivefold : restraint according to the precepts, restraint of recollection, knowledge, forbearance and energy.

One guards the controlling faculty of sight and obtains restraint in the controlling faculty of sight. This is restraint of recollection. There is knowledge – restraint in which the use of the four requisites is included. One endures cold and heat. This is patience-restraint. There is energy-restraint in which purity of livelihood is also included. Non-transgression is morality. This means the absence of bodily and vocal transgression in one practised in morality. *Sīla* is morality in the sense of being virtuous or moral. One is highly moral; one's bodily actions etc., are not disorderly under the influence of morality. It means supporting; being a support of good qualities by way of establishment is the meaning. Just as visibility is the characteristic mark of the different varieties of form, so what has been said about being moral by way of right placing of bodily actions etc., and of the establishment of good qualities, is the characteristic mark of the different varieties of morality such as consciousness and so on.

Morality possesses the essence in the sense of function of destroying wickedness, and has the essence in the sense of faultlessness. Morality manifests itself as purity; sense of shame and dread of blame are described by the wise as its proximate cause. This morality has purity said to be purity of body, of speech and of mind. Morality arises and establishes itself in the presence of the sense of shame and fear of blame. It does not arise nor establish itself in their absence. In this way the feature, essence, manifestation and proximate cause are to be understood.

Elsewhere we have already shown the five disadvantages of the failure of morality of the wicked. Here the five advantages of the fulfilment of morality obtained by the virtuous are stated : One who is virtuous endowed with morality,

[89] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 3,180,33, to 181,43 – Hopkins says that it may be Buddhistic in origin. *Vide* Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, p. 244.

[90] Jātaka, 522.

acquires much wealth due to exertion. Fame of the virtuous, endowed with morality, spreads. One who is moral goes to whatsoever assembly, whether it be an assembly of khattiyas, brahmins, house-holders or monks, he enters it bodly. One who is virtuous dies undeluded. On the dissolution of the body, after death, he reaches a happy state.

Special precept means the highest precept.

Morality is of one kind on account of its characteristic mark of being moral. It is of two kinds : duties of performance and duties of avoidance. It is of three kinds : inferior, mediocre and superior. It is of four kinds : conducive to deterioration, stability, speciality and penetration. It is of five kinds : limited precepts of purity, unlimited precepts of purity, completed precepts of purity, precepts of purity not misconstrued and tranquillised precepts of purity.[91]

There is morality ended by gain, fame, relative part of a body, and life. Someone in the world for the sake of gain exceeds any precept rightly practised. In this world for the sake of gain a certain person does not think of exceeding any precept rightly observed.[92]

Discipline is for the purpose of restraint which is for the purpose of non-repentence, which is for the purpose of delight, which is for the purpose of joy, which is for the purpose of tranquillity, which is for the purpose of happiness, concentration, knowing and seeing truth, disgust, dispassion, emancipation and annihilation.[93] For such purpose there are discourse (*kathā*), consultation (*mantanā*), cause (*upanisā*) and attention (*sotāvadhāna*). Spiritual morality leads to escape from existence and is the basis of the knowledge of contemplation.[94] Morality is spoken of as simply the natural disposition of the various beings in the world. In the *Paṭisambhidā* (1.44), there are three kinds of morality ; moral, immoral, and unmoral.[95] Immoral moral conduct does not correspond to any of the characteristics of morality. There are precepts enacted for the monks who should keep them separate from those enacted for the nuns. The ten precepts for novices, male and female, constitute morality. There are five precepts – ten if possible – for the constant practice of lay disciples, male and female.[96]

Morality is fixed law (*dhammatā*).[97] Morality of such pure being as Mahākassapa and others is morality as the fruit of former conditions. A monk

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[91] *Visuddhimagga*, PTS., p. 11.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[95] *Avyākata* really means undefined, unexplained, neither good nor bad (*Ibid.*, p. 14).
[96] *Vasuddhimagga*, I. p. 15
[97] *Dhammatā* means general practice, higher law, cosmic law, habit, nature, custom. *PTS., Dictionary* and Childers' *Pali Dictionary.*

lives in this world being restrained according to the rules of the *Pātimokkha*, is possessed of good conduct and lawful resort, sees danger in the smallest faults, and himself learns the precepts.[98] The abstinence from wrong livelihood under the influence of sinful conditions such as the transgression of the six precepts, enacted for the sake of livelihood, and such as hypocrisy, boastful talk, fortune-telling, cheating and coveting gain with gain, is morality as purity of livelihood.[99]

An unwise person, full of wrong thoughts, does not pay attention to sense-organs. All his moral conduct turns to corruption. One who is moral, seeking fixity of thought, has his morality turned to pre-eminence. His morality is turned to penetration.[100]

A person sees a form by means of eye-consciousness commonly called the eye as instrument, and capable of seeing a form. According to the ancients (*Porāṇā*) the eye does not see the form in the absence of the mind. The mind does not see the form in the absence of the eye. But one sees by the mind with the eye as object, when an impact takes place between the door of the eye and the object.[101]

Morality as restraint of sense-organ, should be understood as possessing the characteristic mark of avoidance of signs, etc., in following the corruptions in forms.[102] Moral law enacted by the Master of the world should not be for saken. The sense-organ should be guarded in sights, sounds, tastes, odours, and touches. Passion enters the uncultivated mind like rain entering an ill-roofed house. Passion cannot penetrate a well-taught mind, as rain cannot penetrate a well-roofed house.[103]

The mind is flighty. Hence restraint of the senses is to be attained by removing the arisen lust. Purity of livelihood should be attained by energy, as restraint of the senses is attained by recollection. An ascetic, faith-ordained, should purify his livelihood. Morality connected with the requisites, should be attained by wisdom, as purity of livelihood is attained by energy. A wise-man is able to see the advantages and disadvantages in the requisites. Hence morality is to be attained by abandoning greediness for the requisites arisen righteously (*dhammena*) and justly (*samena*) and enjoying them after consideration and with wisdom.[104] Search purity is called morality of purity of livelihood; it is called search purity on account of the purity of search avoiding impropriety in requisites arisen righteously and justly.[105]

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98 Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, p. 244.

99 *Visuddhimagga*, p. 16 – *ājīvapārisuddhisīlam*; Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, p. 345.

100 *Visuddhimagga*, I. p. 15 – *hotinibbedhabhāgiyamsīlam*.

101 Ibid., p. 20 – cakkhurūpam na passati acittakattā, cittam na passati acakkhukattā, dvārārammaṇasanghaṭṭi pana cakkhupasādavatthukena cittena passati

102 *Ibid.*, I, p. 22.

103 Cf. *Dhammapada*, vs., 13-14; *Visuddhimagga*, I, p 37.

104 *Visuddhimagga*, I. p. 43.

105 *Ibid.*, I, p. 44.

The purity of calming is to be known as the morality of saints and others on account of the purity of quieting down of all sufferings.[106]

The rejection of life-taking is morality. Avoidance is morality, consciousness is morality, restraint is morality, and non-transgression is morality. Morality is the rejection of theft, of wrong conduct in sensual pleasures, of falsehood, harsh speech, backbiting, frivolous talk, covetiousness, ill-will, wrong views, etc. Such kinds of moral conduct conduce to absence of mental remorse, to delight, joy, tranquillity, satisfaction, practice, earnest consideration, development, decoration, pomp, fulness, certain disgust, dispassion, cessation, higher knowledge, perfect knowledge and *nibbāna* (perfect beatitude), etc.[107] The broken state of morality is impurity and its unbroken state is purity.[108]

Those moral practices, which are not broken for the sake of gain and so on or which are broken and redressed through the fault of negligence, and which are not oppressed by the fetter of sexual intercourse and anger, enmity or other evil conditions, are all said to be unbroken, uninjured, unvaried and unspotted.[109]

Purification is fulfilled in two ways: by seeing the disadvantage of the failure of morality, and by seeing the advantage of the fulfilment of morality.[110]

By contemplation the disadvantage of the failure of morality is to be understood.[111] One who is moral is worthy of honour and veneration. The sins of the present existence do not annoy one who is endowed with morality.[112]

The mind of a person endowed with morality runs after *nibbāna*. The wise should think of the advantage of morality, root of all attainments, various and different.[113] Seeing the disadvantage of the failure of morality and the advantage of its attainment, morality should be purified with every respect.[114]

Good consciousness (*kusalacetanā*) consists of moral conduct,[115] beginning with morality, that which arises attaining morality is wisdom, knowing. The investigation of the Norm is right view, free from delusion. This is called wisdom consisting of morality.[116] The attachment to religious practice is

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106 *Visuddhimagga*, p. 49.

107 *Visuddhimagga*, I, pp. 49-50.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

109 *Ibid.*, I, p. 53.

110 *Sīlavipattiyā ca ādinava-nisamsadassanāa ; sīlasampattiyā ca ānisamsadassanenen — Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 53.

111 *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 57.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

113 *Mano sampannasīlassamanudhavati ;. . sabbasampattimūlamhi sīlamhi iti parito ; anekākāravoktram ānisamsam vibhāvaye — Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 58.

114 *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 58 — . . *imam sīlavipattiya ādinavam imañca sīlasampattiyā anisamsam disvā abhādarna Silam Vodapetabbam.* For a detailed discussion see Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, I, pp. 6-58.

115 *Vibhanga*, p. 135.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 325 — *Silām ārabha silādhigaccha yasā uppajjati paññā pafānaa . . amoho dhammavicayo sammādiṭṭhi : ayam vuccati silamayā paññā.*

called the attachment due to craving.[117] *Sīlabbataparāmāsa* is one of the three bonds.[118] It is one of the four bonds (*gaṇthā*). Foreign to Buddhism there is purity by morality among the monks and brahmins, purity by vow and purity by religious practice.[119] The attachment to the practice of morality is one of the four attachments.[120] The practice of morality (*Sīlabbataparāmāso*)[121] is one of the five bonds belonging to the lower part (*Orambhāgiyānī samyojanāni*).[122] Bodily and vocal transgression is a breach of morality. All wickedness is a breach of morality.[123]

Jain view of morality.—According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (1.6.14) *Cāritra*[124] means the sphere of conduct and behaviour. The three spheres of self came to be represented by these three terms : *jñāna* or sphere of knowledge and intuition, *darśana* or sphere of faith and devotion, and *cāritra* or the sphere of moral conduct and behaviour. Knowledge, faith, and virtue signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra, who meditated on himself for 12 years with supreme knowledge, faith and conduct. Knowledge is characterised as right knowledge, faith as right faith, and virtue as right conduct. These three constitute the path to *nirvāṇa* or liberation or perfect beatitude. Virtue consists in right conduct. There is no right conduct without right belief[125] and no right belief without the right perception of truth. The quintessence of right conduct is the purity of morals,[126] which is achieved by the restraint of body, speech, and mind.[127] Virtue is that form of conduct which furthers the self-realisation of man, helps him in the purification of the heart, and the attainment of liberation. It leads to perfection. It is of immense value in correcting and disciplining the spirit. It elevates entire moral disposition. It clarifies our vision, refines our thought, and animates our will.[128]

The first step to virtue lies in the avoidance of sins. There are various ways of committing sins directly or indirectly by one's own activity, by commission, and by approval of the deed.[129] Not to kill anything, to live according

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[117] *Vibhaṅga*, p. 136.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 364.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 374.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 375.
[121] *Silabbata-parāmāsa* (affectation of the practice of morality), is a view of those who hold that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of certain moral precepts or by means of keeping certain vows. The *Vinayavāda* (the doctrine of discipline) is supposed to have been the same doctrine as what is called *silabbataparāmāsa* in Pali. (Cf. *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 5 ; *Suttanipāta*, V, 231 ; *Vinaya*, I, p. 184 ; *Majjhima*, I, p. 433 ; *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, 1005 ; *Aṅguttara*, III, p. 377 ; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 144 ff ; *Mahāniddesa*, p. 98).
[122] *Vibhaṅga*, p. 377.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 361.—*Sabbaṃ pi dussilyaṃ sīlavipatti.*
[124] *Cāritra* really means cessation from doing all that is sinful or evil. It consists of *ahiṃsā*, not taking life even by mistake or unmindfulness. It is the right conduct included in the *bhāvasaṃvaras*. (S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 199 and 195)
[125] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXVIII, 28, 29.
[126] *Sūtrakritaṅga*, I, 1-2-27.
[127] *Ibid.*, I, 1-2-27.
[128] Nahar & Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, p. 477.
[129] *Sūtrakritaṅga*, I, 2.26.

to the rules of conduct, and without greed, to take care of the highest good, to control oneself always in walking, sitting and lying down, and in the matter of food and drink, to get rid of pride, wrath, deceit, and greed, to possess the *samitis*, to be protected by the five *samvaras* (restraints), and to reach perfection by remaining unfettered among the fettered (namely, householders). These are in short the cardinal principles of *Cāritra* as taught by Mahāvīra,[130] who knew everything in the whole world.[131] Right knowledge, faith, and conduct are the three essential points in Jainism, which constitute the path leading to the destruction of karma and to perfection.[132] Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the *ārādhanās*.

A wiseman should abstain from all that is contrary to the rules of conduct.[133] Those who are virtuous have arrived at the right understanding of the passions and have well practised control.[134] A monk who complies with the rules for hermits as regards postures, lying down, sitting, and exertion, who is acquainted with the samitis[135] and guptis,[136] should in teaching others explain every point of conduct.[136]

One should abstain from killing beings, theft, falsehood, sensual, pleasure, and spirituous liquor. The pious obtains purity and the pure stand firmly in the law. He who possesses virtuous conduct, who has practised the best self-control, and who has destroyed *karma*, will obtain liberation. Those who practise moral precepts regard pleasures as equal to diseases. There are four ways to meditate on purity of mind : love, love towards the suffering world, love towards the happy, and love towards the criminal or cruel person. The three sources of happiness are right knowledge, belief and conduct. Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct are the three jewels or three excellences in Jainism.

The five rules of conduct or *cāritra* are specially binding on monks and nuns. They should also be observed by the laity. An ideal teacher observes them.[137] The first rule entails two things : the giving up of all evil conduct and the turning to good actions such as meditation. In order to carry out the

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130 *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I, 1-4-10, 13.
131 *Ibid.*, I, 2-2-31.
132 *Ibid.*, I, 2, 1, 21, 22.
133 *Ibid.*, I, 9, 12.
134 *Ibid.*, I, 2, 2, 29.
135 The five *samitis* and three *guptis* constitute eight articles of the Jain creed. They are the means of self-control (cf. *Digha*, I, 172). The five samitis are the following : (1) a man who would be holy must take the greatest care, whenever he walks, anywhere, not to injure any living thing ; (2) one must guard the words of one's mouth ; (3) circumspection must be exercised about all matters connected with eating ; (4) a holy man must be careful to possess only five cloths and (5) a careful disposal of rubbish and refuse is one of the ways of preventing *karma* being acquired (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 145, ff.).
136 *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I, (14, 5).
137 S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 241.

rule perfectly both laity and monks should try to keep their minds in a state of equanimity and to look on all mankind with indifference. The duty of repentence is also binding on all arresting the growth of *karma*. If a monk sins, he must confess to his own preceptor and do the penance inflicted. The third duty (*parihāravisuddha-cāritra*) is variously interpreted by the different sects. The Sthānakavāsī and Śvetāmbara believe it to be carried out when nine monks at the order of their superior, go out together to perform austerities or *tapas* for 18 months. The Digambaras regard the duty as performed simply by being careful not to injure any living being while moving about. The fourth rule emphasises the importance of being bound to the world as loosely as possible, and of casting out the last root of passion after the tumult caused by it has died away. By the time a man has reached the last stage of this upward road, he will have lost all attachment to the world and think only of his soul, so that he will automatically keep the last of the five rules of conduct.[138]

According to the *Tattvārthādigama sūtra* the ten virtues are the following :—forgiveness (*uttamakṣamā*), humility (*uttamamārdava*), honesty (*uttamārjava*), contentment (*uttamaśauca*), truthfulness (*uttamastya*), restraint (*uttamasamyama*), austerity (*uttamatapa*), renunciation (*uttamatyāga*), selflessness (*uttamaākiñcanya*) and chaste life (*uttamabrahmacaryā*). *Uttamaārjava* (honesty) has been understood by some as that simplicity which is opposed to cunningness. As regards *uttamaśauca* Stevenson points out that there is a manifold duty of purity and cleanliness binding on all monks, for an ascetic must keep himself free from all suspicion of dishonesty or thieving; he must also keep his body pure and his soul free from all dark thoughts.[139]

The four vows of Pārśva[140] were the following :—

(1) abstinence from killing living beings.[141] According to the *Panhāvāgaranāiṃ* the first principle of non-harming is praised as the refuge, the destination, the basis and *nirvāṇa* to the worlds of gods, men and demons. It is another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-guarding and the virtue which is the abode of the perfected ones (*siddha*). A Jain is careful in walking. He searches into his mind and speech. He eats and drinks after proper inspection. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging.

(2) Avoidance of falsehood.[142] A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear and mirth. According to the *Paṇhāvāgaranāiṃ* the truthful speech is the second door to self-restraint. It implies one's moral purity and uprightness and it is a virtue which inspires

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[138] S. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, pp. 154-156.

[139] *Ibid.*, 154.

[140] According to some these four vows are the same as the four restraints in Jainism (Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, II, 7. 17).

[141] Cf. Buddhist *pāṇatipātāveramaṇi*.

[142] Cf. Buddhist *musāvādāveramaṇi*.

confidence. It requires a person to abstain from praising himself and condemning others.

(3)Avoidance of theft.[143] It is defined as an act of stealing, oppressing, bringing death and fear, an iniquity which is terrifying, a sinful deed, which is rooted in covetiousness and greed, according to the *Paṇhāvāgaranāim*.[144] A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superiors. He who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time.[145] He may beg for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation.

(4) Freedom from possessions.[146] The non-hankering after worldly possessions may be internal and external. The external hankering is a hindrance to religious practice and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness and moral contamination according to the *Paṇhāvāgaranāim*.

If a person hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds (Cf. Buddhist *naccagītavāditavisūkadassanāveramaṇi*), sees forms, smells (Cf. Buddhist *mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānāveramaṇi*), tastes things, and feels touches,[147] he or she should not be attached to them. The vow of chastity was later added by Mahāvīra by dividing the vow of property into two parts : one relating to women and the other relating to material possessions. The nations and individuals who came under his influence were taught that chastity, sexual and moral, was virtue for them.

The *Paṇhāvāgaranāiṃ* explains the great moral vows of the Jains, which are nothing but precepts (*sīla*). The Jains laid greater emphasis on the abstinence from impious acts, while the Buddhists attached much importance to the positive aspect of virtues.[148]

By the four-fold self restrains (*cātuyāmasaṃvarasamvuto*),[149] the Buddha meant the four moral precepts, each of which is viewed in its four-fold aspect. The four precepts and self-privation are recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.[150] Upāli, a Jain householder, said that his Master had considered every act of killing a demerit, whether the act be intentional or not. The Buddha held the view that it was not possible to avoid killing, for even in moving about a man was bound to destroy many lives. This Buddhist view was not accepted by the Jains.[151]

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143 Cf. Buddhist *Adinnādānāveramaṇi* (*adattādānaṃ*).
144 Law, *Some Jaina Canonical sūtras*, XI.
145 Cf. *Anguttara*, I, 206. This is known in Theravāda Buddhism as *Niganṭhūpasatho*.
146 Cf. Buddhist *Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇāveramaṇi*.
147 *Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 99-100.
148 Law, *Some Jaina Canonical sūtras*, pp. 62-63.
149 *Digha*, III, 49, *Samyutta*, I, p. 66.
150 *Majjhima*, II, pp. 35-36.
151 Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 30-31.

According to the *Tatthvārthādigama sūtra* equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion and ideal and passionless state, are the five kinds of conduct.[152]

According to the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra,* without right faith, there is no right knowledge, without right knowledge there is no virtuous conduct, without virtue there is no deliverance and without deliverance there is no perfection.[153]

By conduct one gets freedom from *karma* and by austerity one reaches purity.[154] By possession of moral conduct (*cāritrasampannatā*), one obtains stability, perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, final beatitude and puts an end to all misery.[155]

In Jainism right conduct (*cāritra*) with right belief and right knowledge constitutes the path to liberation. Without right knowledge right conduct is impossible. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself and the means of conducting. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief. There is no right conduct without right belief and it must be cultivated for obtaining right faith. Righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.[156] The road as taught by the Jainas consists of right knowledge, faith, conduct and austerities. There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is to arise. Virtue consists in right conduct. There is no right belief without the right perception of truth.[157] It is the other aspect of *dukkhakārikā* or *tapas.* It is included in the doctrine of nine terms (*navatattva*). The *Sūtrakritāṅga* (I. 1, 2, 27) points out that the restraint as regards body, speech and mind can enable a person to achieve the purity of morals which is the essence of right conduct.

The category of *samvara*[158] comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct. It is an aspect of *tapa* or austerity. *Mohanīya* is two-fold as referring to faith and conduct. The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are : (1) what is experienced in the form of four cardinal passions, and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.[159]

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[152] Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga,* I, 1.4. 10-13.
[153] Lec. XXVIII, 30.
[154] *Uttarādhyayana sūtra,* XXVIII, 35.
[155] *Ibid.,* XXIX, 61.
[156] *Uttaradhyayanaūtra,* XXVIII, 28-29 :—
Pāramatthasaṃthavo vā sudiṭṭhaparamatthasevaṇaṃvā |
Vāvannakudaṃsaṇavajjaṇā ya sammattasaddahaṇā ||
Natthi carittam cammattavihūnaṃ damsaṇeubhaiyavvam |
Sammattacarittāāiṃ jugavaṃ puvvam va sammattaṃ ||
[157] *Ibid.,* XXVIII, 28-29.
[158] It is preventing by means of *samitis* and *guptis* the sins or influx of the *karma* upon the soul. It is the practice of self-restraint with regard to body, speech and mind.
[159] *Uttarādhyayana sūtra,* XXXIII, 10.

HOLY KURUKṢETRA IN LAOS

By

R. C. Majumdar

Laos in Indo-China has recently drawn public attention as a possible theatre of war, ending in a global conflict. But it has got an ancient history as a seat of Indian culture which is little known outside a small circle of specialists. It is on an interesting episode of this aspect of its history that I propose to say a few words.

Laos owes its name to the Laotians, an important division of the widespread Thai or Shan race, who form the chief elements of its population. The country is also inhabited by various aboriginal peoples known as Khas, an appellation of a primitive people frequently met with in Indian literature. The big river Mekong flows through the country, which is entirely surrounded by China, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and Tongking. Its northern part is covered by a tangle of mountain chains, clothed with dense forests and traversed by small rivulets, tributaries of the Mekong. The southern part is an extensive wooden plateau with an average altitude of between 3,000 and 5,000 feet. There are also wide plains, between hill ranges, watered by the affluents of the Mekong.

This far-off inhospitable region, comparatively unknown to the civilized world till very recent times, was penetrated by the Hindus in ancient times — nearly two thousand years ago — and they developed a local culture of which many remains still exist in the shape of temples and images of Hindu gods, and inscriptions written in Sanskrit language and Indian script. A recently published Sanskrit inscription found in this region throws a great deal of light on the Hindu culture prevailing in Loas. As it has not yet attracted the attention of Indian scholars, I proceed to give a short account of the record which presents some interesting features.

The inscription is engraved on a stone stele in a locality, known as Vat Luong Kau, close to the right bank of the Mekong, immediately to the south of its junction with the rivulet Huei Sa Hua. The western face of the stele is badly damaged and the letters are mostly illegible, but the writings on the other three faces are in a good state of preservation. The inscription is not dated, but may be referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the second half of the fifth century A. D.

The inscription begins with a verse paying homage to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva, and refers to a ceremony performed by the King. Then follows a description, in prose, of the great King — Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmān Śrī-Devānīka — in a grandiloquent style, comparing him with Yudhiṣṭhira, Indra, Dhanañjaya,

Indradyumna, Śibi, Mahāpuruṣa, Kanakapāṇḍya (?), the great ocean and Meru. In order to enable all beings to cross the ocean of existence (*apāra-saṁsāra-sāgarāt-taraṇāya*), he performed various religious ceremonies beginning with a grand sacrifice to Agni (*mahāgni-makha-purogamaṁ*), and made a gift of many thousands of cows. Next few lines are illegible but there are clear references to the Agnihotra sacrifice, images of Viṣṇu and Śiva and the establishment of a holy place of pilgrimage. Bearing in mind the great merits acquired by those who live, take bath, or die in a *mahātīrtha* (a great place of pilgrimage), the King thought of setting up one, to be known as New Kurukṣetra. The reason for this selection is given in the next fifteen verses (vv. 8-22) eulogizing, the virtues of Kurukṣetra. The texts of these verses are given at the end.

The merits of Kurukṣetra, are mentioned in several Purāṇas. Thus, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the great *Ṛṣis* performed a long sacrifice in Kurukṣetra which is also a *dharmakṣetra*, on the banks of the *Dṛṣadvatī* (I. 12); it was most holy (*puṇyatama*) (LIX. 107); residence in Kurukṣetra is one of the four means of salvation (CV. 16); whereas shaving of head and fasting are prescribed in all holy places, exception is made only in respect of Kurukṣetra and Gayā (CV. 25). The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* refers to the merit acquired by fasting, in Kurukṣetra (VI. 8. 29). The *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to Kurukṣetra as very holy (*mahāpuṇya*) and describes it as all other *tīrthas* put together (*sarvva-tīrtha-samanvitam*) (XXII. 18). Great interest, however, attaches to a verse in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CIX. 3), which is identical with verse 13 of the present record. It will be discussed later.

All these are mostly isolated verses in the Purāṇas, containing brief references to the holiness of Kurukṣetra as a place of pilgrimage, but they do not convey any idea of the pre-eminence of Kurukṣetra over the other *tīrthas*. King Devānīka, however, cites fifteen verses as authority for taking Kurukṣetra to be the holy place *par excellence*. These are eulogistic verses such as are found in the Purāṇas in respect of many *tīrthas*, but so far as I know, no such long eulogies in regard to Kurukṣetra occur in any Purāṇa or other literature. There is, however, no doubt that Devānīka or his Court *Paṇḍitas* must have come across such eulogies in Indian literature. This is proved by the fact that several verses in the inscription of Devānīka may be traced in the *Mahābhārata*, Āraṇyaka-parva, Chapter 81 (Critical Edition, Poona).

Thus the verse XI of the inscription, reads as follows :—

Ta (trai) vāpi Kurukṣetre vāsunā samudīritāḥ|
Mahāduṣkṛtakarmmāṇam nayanti paramāṁ gatim||

Corresponds to the verse 174 of the Āraṇyaka-parva :—

Pāṁsavopi Kurukṣetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ|
Api duṣkṛtakarmāṇaṁ nayanti paramāṁ gatim||

Now, the word which has been read as *vāsunā* in the inscription is clearly *vāyunā* in the estampage. The first two letters of the verse are very indistinct

as the stone is damaged, and most probably they are *pāṁsa*. Besides, the line in the inscription, as read, gives no sense, while the verse in the *Mahābhārata* offers very good meaning. I have no doubt, therefore, that the first line of the verse in the inscription exactly corresponded to the first line of the verse in the *Mahābhārata*. The difference in the second line — *api* in the *Mahābhārata* and *mahā* in the inscription — is a very minor one, and the letters read as *mahā* are also very indistinct.

The first line of verse XII of the inscription exactly corresponds to the first line of verse 176 of the *Mahābhārata*, while the second line of verse XII forms the second line of verse 175 of the *Mahābhārata*.

The verse XIII of the inscription corresponds to the verse 173 of the *Mahābhārata*, which also occurs in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Chapter 109, verse 3). This verse in the inscription has been read as follows :—

Pṛithivyāṁ naimiśaṁ puṇyam-antarīkṣe tu puṣkaram |
Nṛpānāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate ||

The *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have got the following verse :—

Pṛithivyāṁ naimiśaṁ puṇyamantarīkṣe tu puṣkaram|
Trayāṇāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate ||

As will be seen, the only difference is the first word in the second line. But it appears from the estampage of the record that the word read by the Editor as *nṛpānām* is really *trayāṇām*. The two verses may therefore be regarded as identical for all practical purposes and proclaim the superiority of Kurukṣetra over all other *tīrthas*. This suits the context very well in the record of Devānīka, for it justifies and explains the action of the King in creating a new Kurukṣetra. It is, however, not so in the case of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Here, after listening to the eulogy of Prayāga-*tīrtha* from Mārkaṇḍeya, Yudhiṣṭhira cites the above verse and then asks him why, in view of this verse, he lauds up Prayāga. He even expresses the opinion that what Mārkaṇḍeya said was not, therefore, authentic or trustworthy. In reply Mārkaṇḍeya reiterates his view and justifies it.

The verse cited in the *Matsya Purāṇa* shows that there was a time when Kurukṣetra did really occupy the position of supremacy, but at the time when this Purāṇa received its present form, it lost that position. As a matter of fact the existing Purāṇas devote more eulogistic verses to Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Gayā and even many less known places than they do in respect of Kurukṣetra. The *Mahābhārata*, however, shows by the number of verses devoted to Kurukṣetra, that it was, still the holy of the holies, as believed in Laos in the fifth century A.D.

The occurrence of three crucial verses of the inscription in the *Mahābhārata* and of one in the *Matsya Purāṇa* leaves no doubt that the eulogy of Kurukṣetra in Devānīka's record was based on some Indian authority. The invocation of the Trinity and the description of the King at the beginning of the record show the great familiarity of the Court *Paṇḍitas* of Devānīka with Sanskrit literature in general and religious-*cum*-ritualistic texts in particular. It is difficult to believe that they would have composed the verses in honour of Kurukṣetra without the authority of some Indian religious texts. The existence of such a Kurukṣetra *Māhātmya* is indicated by the common verses in the *Mahābhārata* and the inscription, specially the one which puts Kurukṣetra above all other holy places of pilgrimage. If anybody can trace such *Māhātmya* in Sanskrit, it would be an important contribution. For we know that the record was composed in the second half of the fifth century A. D., and the text of the Kurukṣetra *Māhātmya* on the lines of the record may be easily presumed to have been composed at least not later than the fourth century A. D., which is generally assumed to be the beginning of Purāṇa literature.

But whether such texts are ever found in India or not, the inscription of King Devānīka holds out before us a very interesting evidence of the spread of Hindu culture and civilization in far distant Laos, a region which never excited any interest in the heart of modern Indians until very recent times.

५। ये वसन्ति महातीर्थे तत्र च ये मृता नराः।
स्तवनं ये च कुर्व्वन्ति तत्फलं प्राप्नुवन्तु ते ॥

६। यत्तत् पुण्योपमफलं प्रमासादिपुराकृतेः।
— — नामतदेवात्र भवतु धृतमद्य मे ॥

७। ये देवा यज्ञमात्रार्थमागतारोहिता दिवि।
ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रेश्वराद्यास्ते तन्नाम प्रदिशन्तु वै ॥

८। (इत्ये)वमादिप्रणिधी राज्ञश्चिन्तयतस्तदा।
नामगं कुरुक्षेत्र — — प्यफलैस्समम् ॥

९। यत्पूर्व्वाभिहितं स्वर्ग्यं फलं देवर्षि कीर्त्तितं।
(कुरुक्षे)त्रे तदेवास्तु कुरुक्षेत्रे नवोत्थिते ॥

१०। ऋषिणा कुरुणा पूर्व्वं — — क्षेत्रीकृतं सतां।
तस्मादिदं कुरुक्षेत्रं ख्यातं तीर्थं महाफलम् ॥

११। त (त्रै)वापि कुरुक्षेत्रे वासुना समुदाहिताः।
महादुष्कृतकर्म्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥

१२। कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम्।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

१३। पृथिव्यां नैमिशं पुण्यमन्तरीक्षे तु पुष्करम्।
नृपानामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ॥

१४। तन्नाम कीर्त्तनेनापि केन ह्यासण्तमं कुलम्।
किं पुनर्य्येतु सेवन्ते मनुजा धर्म्मबुद्धयः ॥

१५। अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य वाजपेयशतस्य च।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग् दत्तस्य यत्फलम् ॥

१६। तत्फलं तु कुरुक्षेत्रे कुर्व्वन्ति स्तवनादि ये।
तत्राप्यहेतु दुष्प्रापं लभन्ते ते ध्रुवं फलम् ॥

१७। इत्येवमादिकुशलं पुर्व्वमुक्तं सुहर्षिभिः।
तदेवात्र कुरुक्षेत्रे लभन्तु बहवो ज (नाः) ॥

१८। यानि तीर्थसहस्राणां कुरुक्षेत्रे फलानि च।
अत्र निःशेषतस्ता(नि) सन्तु सन्निहितानि च ॥

१९। अर्द्धयोजनमायाममस्य तीर्थस्य कीर्त्ति(तम्)।
यं यं प्रदेशमागम्य स महापापपावनः ॥

२० ये शरीरपरित्यागं कुर्व्वन्ति स्तवनं च ये।
ये तृष्णया च सेवन्ते पिबन्ति च समाहिताः ॥

२१। येषामग्निमखादीनां दानानां नैकसम्पदाम्।
फलानि यान्यशेषाणि प्राप्यन्तां तानि ते जनाः ॥

२२। पापिष्ठास्त्रिलपुरुषा मुच्यन्त्यां बहुपापतः।
किं पुनर्धर्म्मनिरता महानीर्थनिषेवनात् ॥

FOLK CULTURE REFLECTED IN NAMES

By

R. P. Masani

What is a name? A mere label to distinguish one individual from another? Or is it a vehicle of some definite idea? A mirror in which one's personality or destiny is reflected? Or is it something more? An integral part of one's personality, nay his vital self?

"It is not hand, nor foot, nor arm, nor face, nor any other part belonging to a man", sighs love-sick Juliet in Shakespeare's immortal tragedy when she finds that her lover's name is an impediment to their union. Another fascinating figure in the realm of romance, however, strikes a different note. In the world-famous ancient drama of Kalidasa, Sakuntala tells her sweet campanion: "Rightly have men named thee Pryamvada (one on whose lips spring gracious words). Herein she gives expression to the general conception that a name is or, ought to be a mirror in which one's personality, or some distinguishing trait of character, is reflected. Turning from the realm of fancy to the world of reality, we find that the word and the object have kept together and have had a much closer relationship than even the sagacious heroine of Kalidasa could have imagined. In the popular folk tales current in all parts of the world, also in religious, cultural and literary love one's name is not only a mirror reflecting one's traits of character but also a repository of ideas, traditions and culture of the race to which one belongs.

NAMES OF POWER

It is universally believed that just as there are words of power, there are names of power. Each is supposed to have its mystic property, its inherent virtue. A name is, therefore, believed to give a magic bias to one's character and fortune. Was it a mere coincidence that Moses (lit. drawn out) was able to lead the people of God out of the land of Egypt or was it the bias given to his destiny by his name? Does not the same conception underlie that world-famed prophecy, "Thou art Peter (Rock) and on that rock I would build my Church".

"There exists", says Plato, "an intimate connection between the meaning of a proper name and the character and destiny of the man who bears it." There was, therefore, some philosophy behind the fiat of that Imam of Muscat who once dubbed an Italian physician, by name Vincenzo. "Shaikh Mansur."

"What is your name?" asked the Imam of the physician who was a candidate for the post of Medical Adviser to the Chief.

"Vincenzo", he replied.

"Explain to me its meaning in Arabic", said the Imam.

"Mansur, Victorious", was the explanation.

A physician who could conquer disease was worth his weight in gold. Taking the name as a happy omen, the Imam enlisted Vincenzo in his personal staff. "Henceforth", he commanded, "thy name shall be 'Shaikh Mansur'."

The story of this Imam brings vividly to mind the pronouncement of another concerning the inherent virtue of certain names. It is related that once Jabir accompanied Imam Muhammad Bakir to a house. A child accosted them on the steps.

"What is your name? asked the Imam.

"Muhammad", was the reply.

"And what is your *Kunyeh* (family name)?"

"Abu Ali", said the little one.

"The child", observed the Imam, "has guarded himself in a strong enclosure against Shaitan. Verily, when Shaitan hears any one being called by the name of Muhammad, or Ali, he melts away like mercury, whereas he is in exultation when he hears persons called by the names of our enemies."

MAGIC IN NAMES

The same conception concerning the magic in names underlies the saying ascribed to Imam Musa that poverty does not enter the house inhabited by a person named after Muhammad, Ahmad, Ali, Hasan, Husain, Jaffer, Talib, Abdulla, or Fatima. Another facinating tradition, concerning the influence of some of these names, comes from the Prophet himself. According to this tradition, if there be in the midst of an assembly a person bearing the name Muhammad, Hamid, Mahmood or Ahmad, the assembly is sure to arrive at a felicitous decision on the question under discussion. While Muhammad Ali Jinnah was alive and was enlivening the Muslim League with his stirring speeches, the writer of this article used to amuse himself with the reflection that the League had reason to congratulate itself on the fact that its President combined in his name the names of two of the holiest and most eminent figures in the history of Islam, and that on the strength of that tradition, emanating from so high an authority, its members could look up to him as a leader on whose shrewdness and sagacity as much as on the magic of whose name its members could confidently rely for fruitful and felicitous decisions. Whether the decisions

arrived at under his guidance, which rendered inevitable the partition of India into two dominions, was felicitous or not will remain for some time yet a controversial issue. But this much is certain that, thanks to the combination of the two names of great mystical value, Muhammad Ali Jinnah had entrenched himself against the powerful onslaughts of all his opponents!

A NOTE OF CAUTION

A good turn one can do to one's children, the very first after birth, is to give them a good name. There are, however, some indifferent people to whom the selection of a hat or an umbrella is a question of greater concern and demands greater deliberation than choice of names for children. For their enlightenment may be recalled the sage counsel of the author of *Akhlak-i-Jalali,* a highly esteemed ethical work of the Middle Ages on the practical philosophy of the Islamic people. "Since we are recommended by the traditions," says the author, "to give the name on the seventh day, the precept had better be conformed to. In delaying it until the seventh day there is this advantage that time is given for a *deliberate selection of an appropriate name.* For, if we give the child an ill-assorted one his life is embittered in consequence."

THE NAMES MOST POTENT

The names of prophets and saints are believed to be the most potent. To pronounce them is to insure health, happiness and good fortune in this world and ensure salvation of one's soul and spiritual bliss in the next. An analysis of Hindu names also reveals a marked predilection for those derived from the names and attributes of the deites. Similarly, Parsis build fortresses behind their children by giving them the names derived from those of the Creator and archangels. But a'though Islamic traditions recommend the adoption of the names of the Prophet and his successors and saints and although according to those traditions it is believed that whoever recites the ninety-nine names of God will enter paradise, it is considered positively profane for a Muslim to adopt the name Allah or Malik-ul-Amlak (the King of Kings.) While profound reverence for the holy name may be the reason for this inhibition, it may be noted that there are authentic traditions to the effect that whoever recites the ninety-nine names of God will enter paradise.

In fact there is a general belief everywhere that each of the holy names, whether of God or an angel or a prophet or a seer, is in itself a spell. Whoever takes it on his lips equips himself with the best of armours to protect himself against the assaults of the Evil Spirit. A typical illustration of this is found in one of the sacred books of the Parsis (*Yasht*) wherein the Prophet of Iran himself is asked by the Creator, *Ahura Mazda,* to repeat His name. The following is a rendering of the text in English by Moulton[1] :—

If thou wilt, O Zarathushtra,
Vanquish all that hate malignant,

[1] *The Treasure of the Magic,* p. 94.

Hate of demons, hate of mortals,
Hate of sorcerers, hate of witches,
Of the Faith's perverse oppressors,
Two-foot heretics and liars,
Four-foot wolves, wide-fronted armies,
Bearing on the bloodstained banner,
Then these Names repeat be muttering,
All the day and all the night time.

THE NAME MORE POWERFUL THAN RAMA HIMSELF

Many an interesting illustration can be given from the scriptures of other communities. For instance, according to one of the beliefs the name of God current among the Hindus, Rama, is more powerful than Rama himself. When Hanuman, the chief village god in the Deccan was building a bridge, whereby he might cross to *Lanka* (Ceylon), by throwing into the sea, stones on which he had inscribed the name Rama with a view to prevent them from sinking, Rama who watched this fantastic enterprise with keen interest, himself threw a stone into the sea without his name written on it. It sank forthwith, whilst the other stones kept floating. He turned in amazement to Hanuman for an explanation. "Because", said Hanuman, "Rama's name has greater power than Rama himself".[1] Hindu Shastras abound in stories illustrating the tradition that *punya* (merit) is obtained by the recital of the names of gods and saints. There is, says Abbott, the story of Ramdas about a fallen woman who taught her parrot to say "Rama" and so won *punya* for herself. Ajamal acquired *punya* because he called his son Narayan and when addressing his son constantly used the holy name. Valmiki was a *Koli*, a murderer and robber who kept a record of the murders, he had committed by placing in seven earthern vessels, a pebble for every murder committed. Even he lost his sin when he called "Rama, Rama" and eventually became a sage.[2]

VENERATION IMPOSES TABOO ON CERTAIN NAMES

The feeling of veneration which the names of the Supreme Being and prophets and saints evoke amongst the devout followers of Islam is most impressive. A classic illustration is that of Sultan Humayun of Delhi. It is related that his respect for the holy names of God was so profound that one morning when he wished to send for Mir Abdul Haiye (Slave of the Eternal), he stopped short at the words "Abd-ul" (Slave of), leaving the name of God, *Haiye*. According to Farishta, the historian, the reason for this omission was that Humayun had not yet had had his bath that morning and it would have been sacrilegious on his part "to take the holy name on his tongue", before ablutions.

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[1] J. Abbott., *The Keys of Power*, pp. 40-41.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Dr. Modi says in his Anthropological Papers that he has come across documents of title deeds of the times of the grandson of Humayan, Emperor Jehangir, in which, wherever the words *Gaz-i-lahi* were to be used, the word *ilahi* (divine) was omitted and a little space kept blank. Similarly where the name "Jehangir" was to be mentioned, a blank space was left, leaving it to the reader to infer from the context what word had been omitted out of respect for the Emperor.

NAMES OF HEROES AND ANCESTORS

Next to devotional names come in order of priority, names of famous kings and heroes, religious leaders, saints and patriots made famous in history and ancestors of revered memory. Whether the spirits of Hoshang, Faridun, Jamshed, Kaikhushru, Gustasp and Noshirwan, Parviz and Behram, Rustam and Sorab, Burjor and Asfandiar at all feel honoured by the homage thus paid to them may be left to those gifted to communicate with the spirits of the dead to say. But the incongruity of such names, particularly those of heroes, is often painfully brought home to those bearing the names. The name of the author of this book may be cited as an illustration. According to his horoscope cast by a Parsi priest, Edulji Kanga, father of the famous Avestan scholar Ervad Kavasji Kanga, the ruling or initial letter of the author's astrological name was 'N'. His parents could have chosen any name commencing with that letter, in consonance with the desire to hark back to the glorious days of the ancient Iranians, and named him Nariman or Noshirwan but they preferred to dub him Rustom. Never was he made so embarrasingly conscious of the absurdity of a pigmy called after a giant as at the moment when he was introduced to Shah Reza Shah Pehlavi in the year 1932. Aga Muhammad Ali Foroughi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented him to the Shah as Rustom Masani. Where upon Reza Shah fixed his penerating eyes for a few moments on the dwarfish namesake of the national hero and exclaimed, *Rustom-e-sani,* the Second Rustam! His witticism made every one present burst into laughter including the puny possessor of the name.

The theory of metempsychoisis governs the entire life philosophy of the people of India. No wonder it influences the choice of names. Numerous communities name their children after deceased ancestors whose souls are supposed to be re-incarnated in the family. This practice prevails amongst the Parsis also perhaps to a greater extent than among other communities. But among them sons are named after grandfathers and girls after grandmothers not so much because they believe in reincarnation but as a form of filial devotion.

Next to kings, heroes, illustrious ancestors, seers and saints, genuine or pinchback, national or alien, have also influenced the choice of names. It is remarkable that childless parents among Hindus make vows to Muslim saints and give the children with whom they are blest the names of the saints. The Madras bouquet of names gains in aroma by the introduction of a few flowers

from a foreign stock. Names of Christian celebrities seem to have had a fascination for the subjugated people of the South during the days of the British rulers. They had their Munrolappes (after Sir Thomas Munro), Rapsons (corruption of Robertson) and Longleys, after a member of the Civil Service. Longley had a maimed limb; hence the name was used for a maimed person. In the Province of Bombay, we seldom come across such celebrities, but in July 1910, the writer had the honour to meet a Minto at Deolali. He was sitting under a tree with members of his family, when a stout, well-clad, Hindu lad, about 10 years old, approached the company for alms. "What is your name? was the first question put to him. The reply, to the great amusement of the company, was "Minto"! In all probability he had received this as an additional name during the regime of the ex-Viceroy, but he would not admit that he had any other name.

OPPROBRIOUS NAMES

A peculiar feature of Indian nurseries is the multiplicity of children bearing deprecatory names. Sweet and melodious names attract evil spirits and excite the jealousy of envious people. A simple device to avert the mischief of such malevolent agents is to give a child a disgusting name.

"My Lord", said counsel, one day in the Bombay High Court in opening a libel case against a Parsi Journalist for calling the complainant Dobraji (broken pot), "this Dobraji is on the face of it a fictitious name and if one searches all the Parsis of the world, one would not find a man of the name Dobraji".

"Because", observed his Lordship, "no one would like to be called a broken pot".

In making that observation his Lordship betrayed deplorable ignorance of the practice prevailing among Hindus, Muslims and Parsis alike of giving disgusting names to children. It needed no special study of ethnic and linguistic lore to know that numerous parents in various parts of the world believed that they had saved their children from the jaws of disease, demon and death by giving them disgusting, spirit-searing and spirit-deluding names.

The first scholar to introduce to the student of Indian nomenclature the flowers of Indian nurseries endowed, of necessity, with contemptuous names, was G. A. Grierson of the Indian Civil Service. He gave a formidable list of names of boys and girls to show that the practice of designating children born of parents who had been bereaved of their off-spring during their infancy was universal in Bihar. There was no "Dobra" among the good people of Bihar but they were not ashamed of having amongst them not a few Karia and Dhuria (dark and dusty), Machhia and Kirwa (flies and worms), Fakira and Ganda (Destitute and Deranged).

It would require a volume to indicate all the sources from which sweet and melodious, pleasant and powerful, blessed and auspicious personal names are derived. Theology, angelogy, demonology, linguistics, phonetics, philology, psychology, folk philosophy, ethnology, history, geography, the animal kingdom, the vegetable kingdom, the days of the week and the months of the year, the mineral kingdom, all have contributed to the selection of names and enrichment of the nomenclature of a nation and provided in the names of persons a clue to various quaint beliefs, traditions and customs which were at one time current among the peoples of the world and which have as yet survived among not a few of them. No less interesting is the influence exercised in the choice of names by animism demonolatry and magic. It is not, however, the mystic value or connotation of names or the belief concerning them that gives the study of names its peculiar charm. It is the evidence that comes from all sides of the popular belief that one's name is an integral part of one's personality, one's vital self, that enhances the interest of the student.

NAME EQUATED WITH SOUL

The belief that one's name is a part of one's self, his most precious possession which accompanies him to the next world, when everything else that belonged to him is taken away from him, is nowhere so emphatically expressed as in the ancient Egyptian doctrine concerning the composition of man. According to this belief man consisted of a natural body, a spiritual body, a double, a soul, a heart, a shadow, an ethereal casing of the spiritual body which develops in heaven with the gods, a form, or a personified power of the man, and a name – all bound together indissolubly so that the Egyptian stood in mortal fear of annihilation, should his name be blotted out. This ancient ontology has influenced the philosophy of life of many a people in many a land and India is no exception to the general rule.

In the celebrated dialogue between the Greek King Milanda or Menander of Sakala, and Nagasen, a Buddhist saint, the king asks : "What is your name ?" "I am called Nagasen," says the holy man, "by my parents, the priests and others. But Nagasen is not a separate entity." He takes as an illustration the chariot in which the king had gone to him and says : "As the five parts of the chariot when united form the chariot, so the five *skandhas* when united in one body, form a being or living existence." The five skandhas are *Rupa* (physical constituents), *Vijnana* (self-conciousness), *Vedana* (feeling of pleasure or pain), *Samjna* (name) and *Samskara* (love, hatred, infatuation). These five constitute the human being."

Although there is no objective resemblance between a name and the person whom it distinguishes from others, the association of the two in the mind induces the belief that there is an intimate relationship between the name and the

Collected works of Sir N. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. I, p. 8.

named. The student of anthropology is familiar with the process of the human mind which leads man in a low stage of culture to establish a real connection between an object and its image. He does not need to be told how the delusions of idolatry, sorcery and numerous superstitious practices can be traced to such confusion of the subjective and objective relation between the two. Brought together in the mind by virtue of their resemblance, an object and its image are regarded as co-existing in the outside world as well. Similarly, although there is no objective resemblance between a name and the person whom it distinguishes from others, the association of the two in the mind engenders the belief that there is a real connection between the name and the named. Hence arise beliefs and practises not dissimilar to those relating to images. A man may be blest, cured of deadly disease and his spirit beatified, through his name. Likewise, through the same word of power he can be cursed, his existence blotted out and his ghost molested, at the will and pleasure of his enemy.

A HISTORIC ILLUSTRATION FROM NEPAL

Folklore abounds in illustrations of this belief establishing its prevalence at one time throughout the world and its persistence in various parts of the world to this day. A striking illustration is recorded in Indian history. Amongst the despatches intercepted by the British army during the Nepal War, was a letter from Gowree Shah, the gallant old Goorkha Commander of the Mornee Fort, to Runjore, as follows :—

> "I have consulted the Shastras. Until the 15th day of Bysak you will be greatly distressed; afterwards your fortune will turn. Do this: form an iron sheet and make upon it the picture of Bhimsing and the Hanooman and the moon and the sun; put it, upon a Sunday, into the eastern tower of the fort: by this, fortune will turn. Find out the name of the Commander of the British army, write it upon a piece of paper, take it and some rice and turmeric, say the great incantation three times; having said it, send for some plum-tree wood and therewith burn it."

In the folk philosophy of Java one comes across a variant of the same belief. It was believed by the people of Java that if a man's name were written on a skull, a bone, a shroud, a bier, or an image made of paste, and were placed on the threshold of a house or at the junction of two roads, a fearful calamity would overtake the man.

It is the birth-name, be it noted, not an *alias*, which thus comes under the spell of the sorcerers and other malevolent agents. The *alias* is not held to belong really to the man so as to be equated with his personality. The easiest way, therefore, to bamboozle the evil spirit and other evil doers is to adopt an *alias* for ordinary use in addition to the real baptismal name.

SAFETY IN CONCEALING ONE'S NAME

Even now for people in varying stages of evolution, the name is indubitably a part and parcel of one's personality. It places, so to say, under one's own eyes, the object or the individual named. Hence the fear that if any one gets hold of a man's real name, he would be directly under the influence of the discoverer of the name and hence the injunctions to conceal it from foes and friends alike. Hence also the various quaint customs governing the selection, avoidance, perversion, change and exchange of names. Hence likewise the fantastic code of etiquette requiring husbands and wives to abstain from mentioning or calling one another by name. How wide-spread such conceptions were and how they persisted for centuries is exquisitely reflected, whether by design or by accident, in the simple game-rhyme :

"What is your name?"

"Pudding and tame.

If you ask me again,

I'll tell you the same."

KAṆIṢKA AND THE ŚAKA ERA

By

D. D. Kosambi, Poona

The international conference held at the London School of Oriental and African Studies (April 20-22, 1960) discussed all the evidence now at hand without reaching a generally accepted conclusion about the date of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaṇiṣka. Chairman Basham showed the delegates' and his own disappointment through lucid comment upon the inconclusive debates. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the conflicting opinions do point to a conclusion not presented at the conference. It is offered here as a suggestion to those who have the leisure and the capacity to work out a detailed argument for or against the hypothesis.

The accepted view that the Kaṇiṣka era of 78 AD is the fundamental Kuṣāṇa date received powerful support from Tolstov's report on the Soviet Khorezm excavations, and the radiocarbon dating of his finds. The numismatic evidence as presented by MacDowall and Göbl (particularly a coin of Sabina and the parallels between Roman and Kuṣāṇa coinage issues) would bring the date of Kaṇiṣka well down into the second century. This agrees with the view expressed by Barrett on grounds of iconography and sculpture, as well as Allchin's survey of archaeological material in what is now Pakistan. The data from the coins might be explained away separately detail by detail, but no single explanation other than the later date suffices for all the salient facts presented by the numismatists. However, the following identification would reconcile both these divergent points of view, and fit the evidence of the Chinese and Buddhist texts as well :

THE ŚAKA ERA OF 78 AD WAS FOUNDED BY A KANIṢKA WHO STRUCK COINS ONLY UNDER THE TITLE OF SOTER MEGAS. THE KUṢAṆA EMPEROR WHO STYLES HIMSELF KANIṢKA ON THE COINS WAS KANIṢKA II.

There is no point in discussing the Era inscription, the 'dropped hundreds' of some later epigraphs, the position of the Kadphises, a possible grandfather-grandson relationship between the two Kaniṣkas, etc. Buddhist tradition can hardly be interpreted in logical fashion without two Kaṇiṣkas; the *dharma-mahārāja* would be Kaṇiṣka II. That other deities appear on the coinage besides the Teacher means only that no theological conflict between these cults or religions existed at the time. It was possible for king Harṣa to worship the Sun, Mahādeva, and the Buddha simultaneously with no sense of incompatibility. Sotêr Megas was certainly not the name of the king, who must nevertheless have had some personal name. No other *sotêr* or *basileôs basileôn*

failed to add a personal name to these titles on any coin. The Sotêr Megas coins seem far too numerous for a mere satrap or *stratêgos*, while the explanation that they were struck by a whole succession of anonymous *strategoi* is ridiculous. The king in question took it for granted that everyone knew who he was, a lofty attitude not to be expected of an upstrart, interloper, or any of the Kuṣāṇas except the first. This is in the Asokan imperial tradition, where a simple *Māgadhe rājā* or *Devānāṃ-piya Piyadasi* sufficed, with the casual addition of the name Asoka in two minor edicts at Maski and Gujarra.

H. Humbach's interpretation (*Die Kaniska-Inschrift von Surkh-Koṭāl*; Wiesbaden, 1960) of the hymn to a deified Kaṇiṣka, son of Kozgaśka, has been contested by Henning and others. Nevertheless, the main features seem to me consistent and significant. The hero of the inscription is described as : Lord of the sacrificial fire, He who pours out the streams, He who bursts the canals (? dams), King of the intoxicating draught (? *soma*), Sovereign of the waters brought forth from the shattered rock, etc. These are precisely the Vedic attributes reserved for Indra. Humbach cannot have been prejudiced in this matter, because he takes the general bearing and tone of the inscription as neo-Mithraistic Iranian, and never once refers to Indra or the Vedas. The epigraph as it stands cannot be reconciled to contemporary Iranian religion, even when full allowance is made for the adjectives shifted to Ahura Mazda from the older god whom Zoroastrian reform had transformed into a *daeva* demon. The standard Kuṣāṇa title *daiva-putra* (or *deva-putra*), though traced back to the imperial Chinese 'Son of Heaven', would be highly offensive in first century Iranian. The translators read this nevertheless into the *bago-pouros* in III-*c* of the Surkh Koṭāl inscription. It would seem that we have the memorial to a hero who began life as a tribal chief in the more premitive tradition of the still Aryan hinterland, but rose to the topmost heights of imperial power. That would account for the title and the anonymity of Sotêr Megas ; *trātā* qualifies several Vedic gods, but in the later period applied peculiarly to Indra. Succeeding Kuṣāṇas naturally adopted more fashionable and sophisticated cults. Their catholic taste shows that the deities indicated on their coins were all equally strange to the original clan tradition — which was not strong or popular enough to be imposed upon the whole empire.

The equation Sotêr Megas = Kaṇiṣka I does not depend upon any special interpretation of the Surkh-Koṭāl inscription, and is offered here for what it may be worth. Kaṇiṣka II = Kaṇiṣka-of-the-coins is a simple corollary.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE TO ALIENS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

S. L. Malhotra

The problem of administering justice to foreigners always demands the special consideration of a State. In modern times a nation is under obligation to follow rules of Public or Private International Law in dealing with the citizens of other States. Public International Law governs the jurisdiction of a state over aliens and determines the rights and duties of the latter. Private International Law, more appropriately called the Choice-of-Laws or the Conflict of Laws, decides as to which territorial system of law, should be chosen for the adjudication of a case which has contact with more than one territory.

But the position was quite different in ancient times. There was no single body of laws, recognized by all or a large number of states, that governed the relations between the states and consequently a state was independent in laying down rules for dealing with foreigners. A state could even disown responsibility towards them and could deal with them arbitrarily. For instance, the Greeks did not accept any moral or legal obligation towards aliens until and unless bound by a treaty.[1] The Romans manifested the same attitude. The life and property of the citizens of a state which had no treaty of friendship with Rome were not safe in the Roman territory; such persons could be made slaves and their property seized.[2]

Such principles cannot be harmonized with the rising contacts of a state with the members of other political communities and so must sink before the needs of the time. The intermingling of the people of diverse nations and distant lands is a powerful solvent of prejudices against other nations and races. It is evident from the development of the Stoic philosophy in Greece though it found its true expression in Rome.

But the mode of adjudication of cases involving foreigners could be evolved only out of the moral and legal norms of a political community. For instance, law among the ancients was usually considered as personal and not as territorial which meant that the conduct of a person could be judged only by the law he observed or the law of the community to which he belonged. So in conformity with this principle the Ptolemies, the Greek rulers of Egypt, appointed different judges in Alexandria for administering justice to the members of different communities.[3]

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[1] Will Durant, *The story of Civilization, Part II; the Life of Greece*, p. 263 (1939).
[2] Oppenheim, *Public International Law, Vol. I*, pp. 59-61 (4th edition).
[3] Rostovzeff, M., *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Vol. I*, p. 323.

This principle also implied that separate arrangement must be made for deciding cases between aliens since they observed different systems of law. So Aristotle felt the necessity of instituting a separate court for that purpose.[4]

Of course, the problem became difficult whenever parties to the dispute followed different sets of law. It again demanded special arrangement. Thus in Egypt a special court was created in the 3rd century B. C. to judge disputes between the Greeks and the Egyptians taking into account the laws of both.[5] Similarly one of the divisions of the court dealing with the cases of aliens, recommended by Aristotle, decided disputes between foreigners and citizens. The Romans attempted to tackle this problem by developing the conception of a Universal Law which was applicable to all mankind. It was called the law of nature and was identified with the law of Nations. It was defined as a moral code implanted in men by 'natural reason'. Cicero described it in the following words, "True law is right reason in agreement with nature, world-wide in scope, unchanging, everlasting – we may not oppose or alter that law, we cannot abolish it, we cannot be freed from its obligations by any legislature, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder of it. This law does not differ for Rome and for Athens, for the present and for the future – it is and will be valid for all nations."[6] Such ideas helped in the development of a separate body of laws called *jus gentium* and was applied in cases involving foreigners.

In line with the practice of the ancients, the Indians too, evolved the mode of adjudication of cases involving aliens out of their own moral and legal norms. Administration of justice in ancient India was based on a number of principles.

First, it was considered as a rule of absolute virtue which no other factor or sentiment could qualify or alter. There was even divine sanctity attached to it. According to Kauṭilya, it is verily the power of the ruler when exercised with impartiality and in proportion to guilt, whether it be his enemy or his son, which sustains this world and the next.[7] So a violation of this principle was sure to be visited by divine punishment. In the Śilappadikaram, the poet depicts how the capital of the Pāṇḍya king was destroyed because of the execution of an innocent person who had just come from Puhār, the capital of the Chola king.

So the ancient Indians acquired high reputation among foreigners for being very just. Ktesias speaks of them as being extremely so.[8] Similarly other Greek writers pay glowing tributes to the system of administrating justice to the foreigners in India.[9]

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[4] Barker, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Bk. IV, ch. xvi, p. 201 (1946).
[5] Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 157.
[6] Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization, Part III; Caesar and Christ*, p. 405 (1944).
[7] Jolly & Schmidt, *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, III, i. 55.
[8] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ktesias*, p. 12 (1882).
[9] See Below p. 43.

Secondly, law was regarded as personal. It was the recognized principle that proper justice could not be done until and unless it was administered in accordance with the laws of the parties to the dispute. No law or custom was considered as beneficial to all. An action of an individual could be best judged in the light of the notions and standards of morality or conduct observed by the community to which he belonged since his character was formed largely in that environment. Thus the customs recognised by the community were accepted as authoritative in matters relating to the administration of justice. Kauṭilya gives expression to this principle when he admits that it is no crime for Mlechchhas to sell their own offspring though it was crime in the case of Aryas.[10] Similarly, all the writers of the Hindu Law Books recognize the customs observed by different communities and professional groups and the king is asked to follow them while administering justice".

Further, once it was accepted that the parties to the dispute had the right to appeal to the laws of their own community, the king was advised to take into confidence some one from that community who was well versed in its customs and usages. Thus Gautama advises the king that " Having learned the (state of) affairs from those who (in such class have the authority to speak, the king shall give) his legal decision.[12] This means as Hardadatta explains that the king's decision must be given in accordance with that which is declared to be established custom in a community by its authorised and accredited spokesman and representative who alone is entitled to pronounce on it. It virtually meant that the king was to seek the advice of the leader of that community. It is for this reason that Kātyāyana declares that " In the cases of Mlechchhas, Chaṇḍālas, rogues, gamblers, ascetices, the decisions against those who (are alleged to) have violated the conventions, does not rest with the king."[13] It was more expedient for him if he assigned the task of deciding such cases to a prominent person among them. According to Bhrigu, the members of caravan of merchants were to settle dispute among themselves.[14] The reason for this is quite obvious. The local ruler was not conversant with their practices.

Such legal norms enabled a king to allow all the foreigners, whether they had settled in his realm or had established commercial colonies, to settle their disputes among themselves in accordance with their own laws. The grant of

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[10] Jolly, *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, III, xiii, 5-6

[11] Nārada lays down the rule that "the aggregate of the rules settled amongst heretics, followers of the Veda (naigamas) and others, is called samay (a compact or established usage). Thus arises a title of law, termed transgression of a compact. He further says, "Among heretics, followers of the Veda (Naigmas), guilds (of merchants) (Pūgas), troops of soldiers, assemblages (of kinsmen) and others, the king must maintain the usages settled among them." (*Nārada and Brihaspati*, Jolly, X, i, p. 153).

Yaj., provides that the varying usages and conventions of śreṇis (guilds) of artisans, naigamas, traders, heretics and associations (soldiers and the like), should be respected by the king in the same way as he honours the usages of learned Brāhmaṇas (II., 192).

[12] Buhler, *Sacred Laws of the Aryas, Vol. II*, Part I, xi-22 (Sacred Books of the East).

[13] Kane, P. V., *Kātyāyanasmriti on Vyavahāra*. 943 (1933).

[14] Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, p. 283.

Sthanu Ravi Gupta in the 9th century A. D. conferred on a Syrian Christian the right of administering justice among his followers.[15] Similarly, the grant of Bhāskar Ravivarman in the 10th century conferred certain privileges on a particular Jew.[16] These privileges were of the nature of feudal lordship including jurisdiction over his followers.

Like the Jews, the Muslims were bound by their religion to settle their disputes in accordance with their own laws. The prophet ordered the non-resident Muslims to observe the Muslim Law wherever they might be. Hence the dictum of Abu-Yusuf that "a Muslim is to regulate his conduct according to the laws of Islam wherever he may be."[17] Accordingly, wherever the Muslim merchants went they had an understanding with the local ruler that they should be governed by their own laws. Usually, someone among them was appointed to administer their affairs on behalf of the ruler. In India this function was performed by Hunermah who was generally an influential Muslim merchant. Apart from administering justice to the Muslims he also advised the king in all cases in which Muslim interests were involved. The following account will show how justice was administered to the Muslim sojourners in India in the 9th century A. D.

Buzurg-ibn-Shariyar relates that "theft is generally punished in India by death. If the thief be Muslim he is adjudicated by the Hunermah of the Muslims who pronounces sentences according to the Muslim Law."[18] He narrates a case in which a Muslim sailor was involved. "Once," according to him, "a new comer, a Muslim sailor, violated the sanctity of a temple in Saimur. One of the priests caught hold of his hand and took him before the king of Saimur and related to him the whole affair. The sailor confessed his guilt. The king asked the people around him: "what should we do with him?" Some said, 'Let him be trampled by elephants;' other said, 'Vivisect him,' 'No' said the king, 'this is not permissible since he is an Arab, and there are pacts between us and them. So one of you should go to al-abbas-ibn-Mahan, the Hunarman of the Muslims and ask him what he would do if he found a man in similar conditions in a mosque."[19]

Similarly we learn from Masudiy[20] and Ishtakhari[21] that a Muslim ruled over the Muslims on behalf of the king in Hindu kingdoms. Ibn Hawq-ual while giving similar information, adds some details. "This is the same practice that I found in most of the cities ruled over by infidel kings like Khazar-al-sarir, al-lan, Ghana and Kugha. In these cities the Muslims, however, few

[15] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, vol. VI, p. 415; Logan, *Manual of Malbar*, vol. I, p. 270.

[16] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 333; *Epigraphica* Indica, Vol. III, 1894-95; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 496.

[17] Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, p. 104 (1945).

[18] Devic, Marcel, *Kitabe-Ajaib-ul-Hind*, Story XCIX, p. 137-138.

[19] *Ibid.*, LXXXIV, p. 120-121.

[20] Hamidullah, *Muslim conduct of state*, p. 109-110

[21] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 27.

they will not tolerate the exercise of authority, nor the imposition of punishment, nor the testimony of a witness except by Muslims. But in some parts I have seen Muslims seeking witness among non-Muslims who have reputation for honesty and the other party is satisfied. Sometimes the other party refuses to accept the witness, and Muslim takes his place and so the decision will be reached."[22]

It appears that this arrangement was found very beneficial by the foreigners and so they had all praise for it. But it must not be interpreted to mean any limitation to the authority of the king in whose territory they either settled or stayed for a temporary period. It was the logical result of the principles governing administration of justice in ancient India that we have already pointed out.

CONFLICT OF LAWS

But such a system involves another problem. How could a dispute be settled if the persons involved followed different sets of law? The problem was not difficult if the parties to the dispute were Indian or Aryan. It could be settled on the basis of rules laid down in the Dharmaśāstras as they were regarded as higher than the customs of the different communities. According to Kātyāyana. "In disputes between the residents of the same country or capital, hamlet or cowherd town or village, the decision should be based on their own conventional usages, but in disputes between the inhabitants of these and others the decision must be in accordance with the sacred texts."[23]

But what would be the position if the dispute was between an Indian and non-Indian or an Aryan and a Yavana. Justice in such cases, required of a judge to set before himself a standard higher than that of a particular code. The Romans looked to the Law of Nature or Natural Reason for guidance in such matters. Natural reason, in fact, was the enlightened judgement of a judge formed by humanitarian and liberal ideas. Kauṭilya suggests a similar criterion. According to him whenever sacred law or the law contained in the Vedas and the Dharmaśāstras is in conflict with Dharmanyāya, then nyāya or justice shall be held authoritative.[24] Dharmanyāya here means any decision that is consistent with reason or the decision which the conscience of the judge takes to be right or true even when it is not in conformity with the Dharmaśāstras.

Further, a liberal judge could seek common basis in the legal codes of different communities and could pronounce judgement according to the common standards. It was not unusual for the writers of nītiśāstra to find common rules of behaviour between the codes of the Indians and the non-Indians. According

[22] Nainar, S. Muhammad Husayan, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, p. 163.
[23] Kane, P. V., *Kātyāyansmriti*, 47.
[24] *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, III, i, 57.

to Śukra, "The Yavanas have all the four castes mixed together. They recognise authority other than that of the Vedas——. Their śāstras have been framed for their welfare by their own masters. But the rules that are followed for ordinary purposes are the same in the two cases."[25]

This attitude manifests respect for the laws of the foreigners and assures them just treatment at the hands of Indian judges.

Such ideals and principles enabled an Indian ruler to extend special consideration to the interests of an alien whenever he was involved in a dispute with an Indian. We are told by a Greek writer that "the (Indian) judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them."[26] Kauṭilya affords even ampler concessions to the outsiders in cases of civil disputes. He lays down the rule that foreigners (importing merchandise), shall be exempted from civil suits.[27] Probably it means that civil disputes involving foreigners may be settled by a special authority, may be by some high administrative body entrusted with the work of looking after the foreigners like the one existing in Pāṭaliputra under Chandragupta Maurya.

But this concession was not extended to the employees of foreigners. In their case civil disputes were permissible. This is because they were mostly citizens.

Similarly the sixth century inscription of Viṣṇusena states among other customary laws that a stranger merchant from another kingdom is not to be implicated in a case in which he is not directly involved.[28]

CONCLUSION

Our enquiry reveals that foreigners in ancient India were not at a disadvantage in matters relating to the administration of justice. The were often extended certain concessions in view of their special position. They were not fully aware of the local conditions and so needed sympathetic treatment by the Indian judges. Their short stay often demanded speedy justice by such persons as were in touch with them and so could appreciate their difficulties.

Further, Indian legal philosophy was flexible enough to adjust to the legal norms of the foreign communities and the conception of justice was sufficiently liberal to accommodate reason and equity.

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[25] Sarkar, *Śukranītisāra*, IV, sec., i, 74-77.

[26] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 44.

[27] *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, II, xvi, 17.

In this connection also see Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XII, Part I, 1926). Ganapati Sastri follows Bhaṭṭasvāmin's Interpretation (Arthaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 243). Shamasastry interprets the passage as follows: "Foreigners importing merchandise, shall be exempted from being sued for debts, unless they are (local), associations and partners." (*Kautilya's Arthaśastra*, II, xvi, p. 105 (1951).

(anabhiyogaśchārthesshvāgantūnāmanyatassabhyopakāribhyah)

[28] J. R. A. S. B., Vol XVI, No 1, 1950, rule 16.

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA AS MODELS FOR THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA

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I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

When one who has read the *Bhagavadgītā* repeatedly takes to a study of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* one cannot fail to be struck by the several points of concordance and discordance observable between the said two works. Being struck by them he is naturally led to study them more closely and the result of such a labour of love is the acquisition of an ability to form a definite conclusion as to the inter-relation existing between the two works, which have caught the imagination of and serve as guides to the aspirants for the knowledge and realisation of the truth all over this vast country for several centuries. The object of this paper is to place before those qualified to appreciate it, the result of such a comparative study thereof, on setting forth the points of concordance and discordance, then making critical observations on those points in the light of other facts connected with them and lastly, the conclusion pointed at by them.

II. POINTS OF CONCORDANCE AND DISCORDANCE

1. (*a*) *Points of Concordance*—Subject-matter and Title.—Both the works claim to be treatises on the Science of Yoga. The very title *Yogavāsiṣṭha* conveys the notion that the work purports to be an account of the exposition of that science as made by the sage Vasiṣṭha and the title of each Adhyāya of the *Bhagavadgītā* is a compound word whose second member is the term 'Yoga', the first being descriptive of the salient feature of the contents of the

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* By this time it is well-known to the Oriental scholars that the *Bhagavadgītā* is available in two recensions, the Vulgate and the Kāśmīr. All the points of distinction between them have been set forth in relief by me in Appendix II to Part I of my work entitled CRITICAL WORD-INDEX TO THE BHAGVADGITĀ (New Book Co., Bombay, 1946). It is not however equally well-known that apart from the fact that there are both a BṚHAD and a LAGHU YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA, the former itself is available in two recensions, one of which is as had been printed by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay in two volumes in 1918, with the commentary of Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī and the other still in a manuscript form at Sri Pratapsinha Public Library, Śrīnagar, Kāśmīr, written in the Śāradā script. The citations in this paper have been made from the Vulgate of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the abovementioned edition of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, both of which are easily available to the scholars who are keen on verifying them. Special notes have also been made wherever necessary, on drawing upon the Kāśmīr text of the *Gītā*, which is now available with several commentaries from the Madras University, Sanskrit Department, and upon the Devanagari transcript of the whole of the *VĀSIṢṬHA RĀMĀYAṆA* together with YOGAVĀSISTHE NĀNĀ PRAŚNĀḤ which I had procured for my use before the State of Jammu and Kashmir became a republic with the son of the late Maharaja as its Sadar-e-Riyasat.

particular Adhyāya such as Viṣāda-yoga, Sāṁkhya-yoga &c., and the colophon at the end of each of them mentions that particular Yoga as "forming part of *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, a group of *Upaniṣads* in the form of a dialogue between Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the Science of Yoga in Brahmavidyā."

The term 'Yoga' is a noun derived from the root 'yuj' meaning to join. Etymologically therefore it means 'a union' of any two persons or things. In that sense it is frequently used in the Sanskrit language and in the modern Indian languages derived therefrom. This is however too general a sense. Besides that it has a special significance in philosophical parlance and that is a union of the individual with the Supreme Soul'. Hence any treatise relating to that topic is a treatise on Yoga. Technical as this meaning is, it is still a general one. That science has two branches, one theoretical which treats of the theory as to the essential nature of the individual and Supreme souls and their inter-relation, which every aspirant for knowledge must know as a first step towards liberation, and the other practical, which treats of the means by the adoption whereof an aspirant can realise for himself the truth inculcated in the doctrinal branch of the Science of Brahman.[1] The latter branch of science comprises several means called 'Mārgas' (paths) leading to the goal, from which an aspirant may select any that suits his temperament and environments. They are broadly-speaking divisible into three classes, namely, Jñāna-mārga, Yoga-mārga, or Upāsanā-mārga and Karma-mārga. One who takes to the first has to do nothing else except to take seriously to the study (*Śravaṇa*) of the Vedāntaśāstra, then to do reflection (*Manana*) over the teaching contained therein and lastly, to practise meditation (*Nididhyāsana* or *Parisaṁkhyāna*) over the truth till one's individual consciousness is merged in the universal. The follower of the second, has however to go through a prescribed course of exercises, which may be physical or mental, (*Haṭha-Yoga* or *Rāja-Yoga*), till the mind is brought under full control and the Pure Essence is pleased to reveal its own secret. He who selects the third goes on discharging the ordinary duties pertaining to his position in society just like an ordinary individual so far as outward appearance is concerned but there is a lot of difference between their mental attitudes towards the activities of their sense-organs. An ordinary individual has his own motive in doing a particular act and is anxious about its result. An aspirant following this Mārga does an act without any selfish motive and leaves the result thereof to the Almighty. Such selfless devotion to duty purges his mind of all the dross collected in it through innumerable past lives spent in bodies having varying grades of the powers of knowledge and action and kindles therein, the spark of right knowledge, which ultimately leads to the same goal as the other paths.

The two works under consideration are treatises on the Science of Yoga in the first comprehensive sense in that they treat of not only the theoretical side of Brahmavidyā but also of its practical side and that too in all its above aspects,

[1] Y. V. VI/I. 13.3.

i.e., to say, they contain expositions of the Jñāna-yoga and Karma-mārgas as known to them. Of course the author of each indicates his own preference but that does not make the works to any degree less comprehensive.

2. General Plan.—They also agree in their general plan. The occasion for the teaching in the *Gītā* is that Arjuna, a scion of the Lunar race of Kṣatriyas, is overwhelmed by a spirit of despondency at the prospect of having to fight his own kith and kin on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, while in the *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa,* it is that the sage Viśvāmitra having approached King Daśaratha of the Solar race of Kṣatriyas with a request to send his eldest son Rāma with him to his hermitage for guarding a great sacrifice, which he had commenced, against the villainous attacks of the Rākṣasas, an aboriginal race not believing in the Aryan gods and their mode of propitiating them, and the King sends for his son and finds that his mind had been overpowered by a spirit of indifference towards all the wordly pursuits and that he had become incapable of being persuaded to engage himself in the discharge of his duties towards the society, the family and his own physical body. As the result of the teaching imparted in both, the pupil's mind is pacified and he expresses his willingness to do his master's bidding, which was to engage himself in the conscientious discharge of his duties for the sake of duty and not for gaining any benefit therefrom for himself or for avoiding any unpleasant consequence. The substance of the teaching too in both is that it is no use worrying oneself over the changes in the phenomenal world including the states of the physical body because it is not given to any single individual, however powerful, wise and perfect, to change the laws of nature, which have been immutably fixed from the beginning of evolution, that true wisdom consists in realising the true nature of the self of man by first knowing it from the scriptures or a Guru and then purging one's mind of desires and doubts either by the method of Jñāna, *i.e.,* deep thinking or by that of Yoga including Upāsanā or Bhakti, that any of the two methods can be pursued even while continuing to discharge the duties appropriate to one's station in life in a spirit of detachment and resignation to the will of the Almighty, that when that kind of wisdom is attained the soul experiences a state of perfect freedom, in which state it is immaterial whether one lives in the midst of civilisation discharging one's duties or in a far away solitary jungle. The *Bhagavadgītā* directs the attention of the reader in general terms to the instances of Janaka and others[2] in support of the latter view while the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* mentions the instances of several, Aryan and non-Aryan, historical and mythological, personages such as Janaka, Dilīpa, Manu, Māndhātā, Bali, Namuci, Vṛtra, Saṁbara, and others in support of the latter and Bhṛgu, Bhāradvāja, Viśvāmitra, Śuka and others in support of the former,[3] and illustrates each method by reciting in details the traditional stories of several aspirants for spiritual freedom, some of whom such as Dāśura, Saṁbara, Praḷlāda and Bali seem to have belonged to non-Aryan tribes.

[2] B. G., III. 20
[3] Y. V., V. 75.

3. NATURE AND STYLE OF COMPOSITION.—The concordance between the two works does not end there but extends also to the external forms in which they have been presented to the world. Thus, both are poetical compositions in which the principal metre employed is the Anuṣṭubh or śloka metre, in which each of the four quarters thereof consists of eight syllables. In both the monotony consequent upon the employment of the same metre throughout is relieved occasionally by the use of other popular metres in which each quarter has more than eight syllables.

Further both being Sanskrit works on the Vedānta philosophy based mainly on the Upaniṣad teaching it is natural that some technical terms occurring in both should be identical but what is remarkable about them is that there are several expressions and several quarter, half and even complete stanzas common to them[4] and what is still more remarkable is that stanzas 8 and 9 of Sarga 52 of the first half of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* introduce the reader to an *Arjunopākhyāna* in order to illustrate the principle that if an aspirant forsakes his narrow individual view-point and embraces the wide universal one of the Almighty, with whom his self is identical in essence, while attending to one's wordly pursuits, one attains the high altitude of the latter and becomes a Jīvanmukta. The author gives this kind of Abhyāsa the name '*Asaṁsakti*-yoga' and says in a prophetic vein that on Arjuna being initiated into it by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, he will pass the rest of his life freed from all misery. This Ākhyāna occupies the whole of the remaining part of that Sarga and the next six Sargas. These Sargas contain the largest number of expressions and stanzas or portions thereof, common to both the works.[5] This is but natural because Vasiṣṭha summarises in that Ākhyāna the teaching of Śrī Kṛṣṇa on the subject of Anāsakti called Asaṁsakti in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which means absence of attachment towards the sense-objects. It will appear from foot-notes 4 and 5 given below that there are in all 49 instances in which stanzas and half-stanzas occurring in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* can be traced to the *Bhagavadgītā*. Thereout there is one only which occurs in both the 1st and the 3rd books of the former, 4 occur in

[4] E. G., compare B. G., XVIII, 40/1 with Y. V. I. 31. 7/1; B. G., IV. 1-3 and IX. 2/1 with Y. V. II, 11 17/2, 18/1; B. G., XVI. 9/1 with Y. V., II. 13 1/1; B. G., XIV. 22/2 with Y. V., II. 18, 30/1; B. G., III. 18/1 with Y. V., II. 19, 25/1; B. G., II. 16/1 with Y. V., III. 7. 38/1.

[5] E. G., Compare :—

1.	Y. V. VI/1.	52.	36	with	B. G. II. 20.	11.	Y. V. VI. 1.	B. G.	27/1	„	„ XIII. 16/1
2.	„ „	52.	37	„	B. G. II. 37.	12.	„ „	„	30/2.	„	„ XVIII. 2 31/1
3.	„ „	53.	2	„	B. XVIII, 17.	13.	„ „	„	34	„	„ IX. 34.
4	„ „	„	5/2	„	„ III, 27/2	14.	„ „	„	43	„	„ VI. 29.
5.	„ „	„	9	„	„ V. 11.	15.	„ „	„	44	„	„ VI. 31.
6.	„ „	„	12/1	„	„ XII.18/2	16.	„ „	„	56	„	„ XIII. 28
7.	„ „	„	16/1	„	„ II. 48/1	17.	„ „	„	60/1	„	„ VI, 29/1 (repeated)
8.	„ „	„	16/2	„	„ IV. 22/2						
9.	„ „	„	17	„	„ IV. 24	18.	„ „	„	60/1	„	„ XIII. 29/2
10.	„ „	„	19/2	„	„ IX. 28/2	19.	„ „	54.	1	„	„ X. 1.

the 2nd while the remaining 43 occur in the Arjunopākhyāna which occurs in Part I of the 6th book and occupies Sargas 52 to 58 in the printed edition and 56 to 62 in the Kāśmīr Ms. Two out of the first six, and thirty out of the next forty-three, agree word for word, while in the case of the remaining seventeen, variations in readings are noticeable but they are not such as to leave any room for doubt as to their traceability. In addition to these there are several stanzas and half-stanzas in the Arjunopākhyāna which, though differently worded, express ideas which can be traced to the *Gītā*. On the other hand, words and expressions found in the *Gītā* are found employed in the *Vāsiṣṭha* to express quite different ideas. These, though useful for establishing a close connection between the two works are points of the discordance and will therefore be noticed in the next section to which we now pass on.

(*b*) *Points of Discordance.*

Just as on the one hand there are the above striking points of concordance so on the other there are such of discordance as well.

1. VIEW OF THE PHENOMENAL WORLD.—The first of them is that whereas the *Bhagavadgītā* nowhere denies but on the contrary assumes the reality of the universe and explains it as the result of the working of one of the Lord's Prakṛtis, divided into eight distinct entities, called Guṇamayī Māyā, and describes the processes of evolution and involution thereof, as taking place in fact on their being set in motion by the Lord of his free-will by impregnating it with

20	Y. V.	VI/1.	54.	2	with	B. G.	II.	14.	32.	Y. V.	VI/1.	55.	4/1	with B. G. IV. 21/1.
21.	,,	,,	,,	4/2	,,	,,	II.	15/2.	33.	,,	,,	,,	4/2	,, ,, IV. 20/2.
22.	,,	,,	,,	7/1	,,	,,	II.	16/1.	34.	,,	,,	,,	12	,, ,, II. 16.
23.	,,	,,	,,	22	,,	,,	IX.	27.	35.	,,	,,	,,	13	,, ,, II. 17.
24.	,,	,,	,,	25	,,	,,	IV.	18.	36.	,,	,,	,,	14	,, ,, II. 18.
25.	,,	,,	,,	26	,,	,,	II	49/2, 48/1.	37.	,,	,,	,,	18/1	,, ,, VII. 4/1.
26.	,,	,,	,,	28	,,	,,	IV.	20.	38.	,,	,,	,,	21/1	,, ,, XV. 9/1.
27.	,,	,,	,,	33	,,	,,	IV.	19.	39.	,,	,,	,,	21/2	,, ,, XV. 8/2.
28.	,,	,,	,,	35/1	,,	,,	II.	45/2.	40.	,,	,,	,,	24	,, ,, ,, ,, (Repeated with variation)
29.	,,	,,	,,	36	,,	,,	III.	6.	41.	,,	,,	,,	33	,, ,, XVI. 24.
30.	,,	,,	,,	37	,,	,,	III.	7.	42.	,,	,,	57.	11	,, ,, V. 10.
31.	,,	,,	,,	38	,,	,,	II.	70.	43.	,,	,,	58.	1	,, ,, XVIII. 73

Sargas 52-58 in the printed edition correspond to Sargas 56-62 in the Kāśmīr Ms., in my possession. There are several variant readings therein and some of the stanzas and half stanzas in the former are not found in the latter and *vice versâ*. One of the stanzas found in the Kāśmīr Ms., but not in the printed edition is :—

त्वं मानुषेणोपहतान्तरात्मा विषादमोहाभिभवाद् विसंज्ञ : ।
कृपागृहीत: समवेक्ष्य बन्धूनभिप्रपन्नान् मुखमन्तकस्य ॥

This is not found in the All-India text of the *Gītā* also.

It is however found in all the editions of the *Kāśmīr recension of the Gītā* as II. 10-1. (See the *Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavadgītā*, page 196). It is in the form, adopted by Bhāskara according Dr. Chintamani, which differs from that adopted by the other commentators of Kāśmīr, only in this that in place of the word मानुषेण his text has the word मानुषण which is also the word found in the Kāśmīr Ms. of the *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*.

life, called the Jīva, a particle of His Own Being but affected by *Yogamāya*, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* denies the objective existence of the universe altogether and affirms the absolute existence of one entity only, namely, the Pure Cit, but explains the appearance and disappearance of the phenomena taking place in a very limited portion thereof like the waves in an ocean on the basis of the said Cit having a double aspect, one from the view-point of perfect wisdom in which there is no room for any distinction including even that between the subject and object and another from that of ignorance in which it is identical with its Śakti, which makes itself manifest periodically in diverse ways and forms, not from any motive but quite spontanously as forming part of its very nature. In such manifestations there is a well-defined method as viewed from the human standpoint, the first step in each process being a desire, an idea in the mind of the Universal Being. By rumination it becomes a thought and the process begins, that of absorption taking place in the inverse order of that in the case of emergence.

2. MEANS OF SALVATION.—Another point of divergence between the two works is that whereas the *Bhagavadgītā* specially recommends the Upāsanā of Saguṇa Brahman in the form of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as the surest and easiest way for the eradication of all dross from the mind and the cause thereof and for the attainment of salvation by His Grace,[6] the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* lays special emphasis on the development of the intellect by a special and persistent effort on the lines laid down in the scriptures under the guidance of a Guru or even without help from any human being.[7] According to that work old Saṁskāras are revived at times by some chance circumstance and thereafter the whole trend of one's thoughts and actions is changed altogether and the episode of King Janaka of Videha is narrated therein in support of that view. That King spending his life in luxuries once happened to go to a forest for shooting and there heard a dialogue between Siddhas (adepts). That put him to deep thinking and induced him to change the whole course of his subsequent life to such an extent that even Śuka, a born Yogī, had to go to him for initiation.[8] Such cases are however few and far between. The average man rises only by degrees through self-effort directed in a prescribed manner.

It is also true that the evolution of the universe has been explained in the Gītā, on the basis of the original theistic Sāṁkhya doctrine of Prakṛti made up of the three guṇas acting under the guidance of the Almighty[9] while in *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, it is explained on the basis of a theistic Advaitism which bears a close parallel to the doctrine of the Kāśmīr Śaivites propounded, or as they say, first brought to light by Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, and Somānanda.[10]

[6] B. G., IX. 22, 30-34; XII. 20; XIV. 26; XVIII. 56-66.

[7] Y. V., III. 74. 28, 92.8-28, 111; IV. 32 and 33; V. 6, 7, 12, 24, 43 and 92; VI/1. 29, 5-11, 68-84; 31. 15, 41. 11-17, 51. 47, 55. 33-34, 64. 9-36, 73. 7-8, 83. 12-29, 94, 24-27, 118. 4, 119. 9, 128. 63.

[8] Y. V. V. 8. 18.

[9] B. G., IX. 7-10; XIV. 3-4.

[10] Kāśmīr Saivism, Part I, History and Literature, pp. 23-40.

According to it there arises in the Pure Cit itself a Sāṃkalpa or Kalanā quite spontaneously and becomes by cogitation transformed into the Citta, which is the root-cause of the evolution of the elements in the subtle form and these become subsequently solidified and by the permutations and combinations of those solid forms become the material cause of the existence of diverse objects of the universe.[11] The Arjunopākhyāna in the Nirvāṇa differs from the *Gītā* as to cosmogony by positing a dual aspect of the original single entity, Cit, indentified in this episode with Nārāyaṇa in form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,[12] because it explains the process of evolution and involution in a way consistent with the doctrine of the work as a whole in which it occurs.

3. Extent and Division of the Subject-matter.—The third point is that while the *Bhagavadgītā* is a small work comprising 700 stanzas only, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is a voluminous work containing more than 29,000 stanzas, though not the full 32,000, as stated therein.[13] The division of the subject-matter in both is also quite dissimilar, for whereas we find the former work divided into 18 Adhyāyas,[14] the subject-matters wherein, drawn from several sources have been strung together by the thread of the Karma-yoga doctrine expounded by resorting to the epic and Paurāṇic form of a dialogue between a serene teacher and a pupil overpowered by an emotion of dejection, the latter is divided into only 6 Prakaraṇas, the titles whereof, indicate that the subject-matters thereof are connected together by a common objective, namely, that of preparing the mind of the aspirant for final liberation by first implanting therein, the seed of [detachment from the objects of sense (Vairāgya), then the seed of] desire for liberation (Mumukṣutā), then explaining the nature of the phenomenal world, how it is evolved, how maintained and how dissolved, the substratum behind it and the inter-relation between the true self of man and that substratum, how one can realise it in actual experience and lastly, the nature of liberation, the state of the liberated soul and his place in the economy of nature. Such inter-relation is clearly stated in the Sarga of Mumukṣu-prakaraṇa above-referred to. The literary form given to this teaching also is that of a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil but the latter is immersed in reflection over the nature of the phenomena to the extent of neglecting his duties whereas the pupil in the *Gītā* is in a state of perplexion and implores the teacher for guidance.

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[11] *Ibid.*, Part II, The Main Doctrines of the System, pp. 41-45; The Process of Manifestation, pp. 53-60. Compare with it Y. V., III. 12, 67. 6-36, 96. 13-35. 112. 5-15; IV. 44. 12-49; V. 13. 51-117, 26. 11-16; 34-35; 59. 78, 82, 83, 84, 91. 78-122; VI/1. 10, 28. 1-34, 29. 85-152, 35, 21-22, 37. 8-32. 67; VI/2. 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12. 1-28.

[12] Y. V., VI/1. 53. 22-26, 35-66. In the second group of stanzas, Kṛṣṇa too explains that he has two forms, one called the *Apara* or *Sāmānya*, having four hands, etc., and the other *Para* or *Parama*, which has no beginning or end and is usually referred to by the designations *Brahman*, *Ātman* and *Paramātman* and that the first remains worthy of adoration so long as one is not in a position to know the nature of the second.

[13] Y. V., II. 17. 6.

[14] A reference to foot-note 5 above, will show that the *Gītā* must have existed in the present complete form having 18 chapters when the Arjunopākhyāna was composed.

4. VARIATIONS OF METRES AND METAPHORS.—In the matter also of the use of other popular metres for the sake of relieving the monotony consequent upon the employment of one metre throughout, there is a remarkable difference, for whereas the monotony is in the *Gītā* relieved rarely and at irregular intervals by the use of a few metres having 11 or 12 syllables only in a quarter such as the Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Upajāti, it is relieved in the other work at regular intervals by the use of metres having 11, 12, 14, 17,, 19 and 21 syllables in a quarter such as the Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Drutavilambitā, Vasantatilakā, Śikhariṇī, Śārdūla and Sragdharā and by the introduction of prose passages in the midst of stanzas,[15] and even of some whole Sargas in such passages.[16] The former work contains the use of the metaphors only for the sake of making the author's meaning vividly clear to the reader's mind[17] while the latter on the other hand piles metaphors upon metaphors and adds long long episodes to illustrate one single point. The incorporation of episodes, some historical, some mythological and some purely imaginary, gives the author opportunities to describe minutely and picturesquely, mountain-peaks, quarters, caves, forests, individual trees, seasons, high-fall, day-break,[18] architectural designs,[19] courts of kings,[20] wars,[21] young men and women and their amorous sports,[22] sages and anchorites, their spiritual exercises and experiences,[23] ceremonies,[24] the structure and nature of the human body[25] etc., and to insert long argumentative dissertations on such extraneous subjects as the principle that might is right,[26] the power which the god of love exercises on young minds[27] etc. In fact it is a highly artistic work designedly made so with the object of creating interest in philosophy in the minds of the unsophisticated, even at the risk being obscure and pedantic at times.[28]

(*c*) *The above points considered collectively.*

The above points of comparison leave no doubt as to the author of the one having taken the general plan and some expressions and stanzas, wholly or partly, from the other because there is no known earlier source from which both could have taken them. The question for determination therefore, is which must be the earlier of the two works. As to that it is noteworthy that the *Bhagavadgītā*,

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15 E.g., see Y. V., II. 12. 12-18, 13. 9-10; III. 67. 77-82, 93. 1-7, 9-16, 116-8, 1023, 122. 1-13; VI/2, 61. 4, 6, 10-16, 18.

16 E.g., see Y. V., III. 63.

17 E.g., see B. G., III. 38; VI. 19; XIII. 32-33; XVIII. 48

18 Eg., see Y. V., IV. 14, 49 and 50.

19 E.g., see Y. V., VII. 11, 46, 6-12.

20 Eg., see Y. V., III. 4. 1-34, 15. 19-31; V. 13, VI/1 77, 6-52.

21 Eg., see Y. V., III. 31 to 39. 43 to 50; IV. 28.

22 Eg., see Y. V., III. 16. 1-16, 89-90; IV. 6,7; VI/1. 77. 6-52, 85. 20-43, 87-105

23 Eg., see Y. V., III. 68-84, 120-21; IV. 8. 9, 14. 1-22, 48; V. 8. 1-8, 39. 11-20, 84-85.

24 E.g., see Y. V., VI/1. 106 and 110.

25 E.g., see Y. V., IV. 15 and 33; VI/1. 24. 1-38.

26 E.g., see Y. V., III. 77. 22; V. 14 and 37.

27 E.g., see Y. V., IV. 5 to 8; VI/1. 104

28 शास्त्रं सुबोधमेवेदं सालंकारविभूषितम् ।
काव्यं रसमयं चारु दृष्टान्तैः प्रतिपादितम् ॥ २.१८.३३

although a philosophical work and an eclectic one at that, contains no reference to Gautama Buddha or his doctrine even as originally propounded. That being so, it is impossible that it should contain any reference to the doctrines of the later Buddhist schools known as the Śūnyavādins, Vijñānavādins & c. There is also no reference therein, to the developed philosophical systems of Gautama (Akṣapāda), Kapila, Kaṇāda, Patañjali, and Bādarāyaṇa. The reference in *B. G.* XIII. 4 to Brahmasūtra-padas points to certain Upaniṣad texts not to the *Sārīrakasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, as explainted by Saṅkara in his Bhāṣya thereon. On the contrary there is reference to the *Gītā* in the said Sūtras.[29] None who has interpreted it as referring to the *Brahmasūtra* has pointed out any of the Sūtras therein, as containing a rational exposition of the nature, form, source, etc., of the Kṣetra as described in the stanzas which follow the said stanza of the *Gītā*. Patañjali's "Kriyā-yoga"[30] has as one of its elements, *Iśvarapraṇidhāna*, which unmistakeably points to an adoption by him of the theory of Karma-yoga elaborately propounded in the *Gītā* for the first time after it was long forgotten.[31] Nor does it take note of the *Ajātavāda of Gauḍapāda* or the theistic doctrines of the Pāñćarātras and Pāśupatas. It is therefore impossible that there should be any reference therein to the later developments thereof. On the contrary Śaṅkara, who was the grandpupil of Gauḍapāda and his junior contemporary, refers to even an earlier Vṛtti thereon by Dramiḍācārya in his Bhāṣya thereon. As for *Yogavāsiṣṭha* on the other hand, besides containing the stanzas and half-stanzas noted in foot-notes 4 and 5 above, it recognises Gautama Buddha as an Avatāra[32] and admires his life of complete renunciation[33] and also takes note of and at places criticises the doctrines of the Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda propounded by his followers long after his Nirvāṇa.[34] Nay more! It betrays, an intimate knowledge, on the part of the author, of the Mādhyamika line of reasoning adopted by Gauḍapāda in his *Kārikās* in order to rationally establish the Upaniṣad doctrine[35] and makes use thereof and also of the illustrations of Gandharvanagara, Vandhyāsuta, Keśoḍraka, Svapnamāyā, Alātacakra, & c., which Gauḍapāda had made use of in his work, and even copies out some of his verses.[36] And still more! Gauḍapāda is brief in his explanations as to how the appearance of the wordly phenomena is possible in the Absolute Brahman, which according to him is the only reality,[37] and does not proceed to describe the whole process of evolution. The author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* however undertakes to do that very elaborately and does so with the help of the theistic Advaitism of the Kāsmīr Śaivites, adopting not only

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[29] Br. Su. IV. 2. 21.
[30] Y. S., II. 1.
[31] B. G., IV. 1-3.
[32] Y. V., VI/1, 22. 16.
[33] Y. V., VI/1, 93. 61.
[34] Ibid., III. 6-7, 70. 13-14, 96. 50;
IV. 14. 11, 21. 28-30; V. 87. 18-20;
VI/1. 125. 3. VI/2. 38. 3-4, 97. 15-16, 100. 33-38, 163. 36-39, 173. 34.
[35] G. K., II and Śankara's Bhāsya on II. 1.
[36] Y. V., III. 7, 43. 9. 57-58, 11. 3. 21. 40. 23. 10; IV. 56. 21,
[37] G. K., I, 9.

their line of reasoning but even their technical terminology such as Cit, Cit-śakti, Cetyonmukhatā, Kalanā, Spanda and Aspanda, Kalā, Cid-bhairavama-yavapuḥ, Ābhāsa, Ābhāsana, Unmeṣa, Nimeṣa, Vidyātattva, Mala, Bandha, Paśu, Saṃvit, Icchā-śakti, Jñāna-śakti, and Kriyā-śkti, Śaktipāta &c. The doctrine of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* taken in its double aspect, one as arrived at from the standpoint of the perfectly wise and the other as arrived at from that of an average human being, is a reconciliation of the absolute idealistic doctrine of Gauḍapāda, with the realistic Trika doctrine of the Saivites of Kāśmīr, prominent amongst whom were Siddha Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, Somānanda, Nātha, Utpaladeva, Kṣemarāja, Bhāskara, Rāmakaṅṭha, and Abhinavagupta, who lived between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 11th century A.D.[38] This explains why the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* disapproves of the view that Brahman is the only reality and that the Jagat is Mithyā and says that the Vivartavāda was invented for the infants in the region of philosophical wisdom.[39] That work also refers to the practices of the Haṭhayogins, though at places characterising them as painful and therefore not preferable to those of the Rājayogins deduced from certain Upaniṣad texts but later on eulogises them and recommends Prāṇacintā (thinking over the nature and functions of the vital breath) as an alternative means for the destruction of the Citta, without which perfect peace is not possible, and also describes the various inner parts of the body, the functions of the vital breath, the way to bring it under control and raise it up to the crown of the head and attain numerous Siddhis.[40]

It is thus clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that the doctrine of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* at least in its present form points to its having been composed at a time much later than the *Bhagavadgītā* and that therefore its author must have adopted the general plan of the latter and even some terse expressions and lucid stanzas, wholly or partially, therefrom, in order to bring round the reader to his own views on the topics common to both the works.

The above facts also make it clear why the attitude of the two works towards the wordly phenomena differ remarkably.

As for the difference between them as to the recommendation of special means for the realisation of the truth expounded therein, though the *Bhagvadgītā* specially recommends the worship of Vāsudev-Kṛṣṇa with a singular

[38] Introduction to Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī, Vol. II. (Kāśmīr Series of Texts and Studies No. XXII), pp. I to VII. Compare with it Y. V., 11. 10. 11-12; III. 6, 8, 9. 58-76, 12. 45, 67. 6-36, 96. 13-35, 112. 5-8; IV. 18. 22, 36-42, 42, 44. 12-49, 45. 6, 59. 34-36, 61. 22; V. 8, 9, 10, 13, 51-117, 26. 11-16, 27. 34, 35, 59, 78, 82, 83, 84, 91. 78-122; VI/1. 10, 19, 29, 85-152, 30. 11-109, 31. 1-22, 35. 21-22. 36. 1-2, 37. 8-32, 38, 39, 44. 16-22, 45, 59. 21-48. 67, 70-73, 78, 96. 34-41, 118. 18, 126. 71, 127. 38-58, 128. 26, 60-61, 63; VI/2. 2, 3, 4, 7. 7-10, 12. 1-28. The publication of the Bhagavadgītā with the commentary of Ānandvardhana of the same school in 1941, goes to show that the tradition of the said school has been continued up to the end of the 17th Century.

[39] Y. V., III. 1. 24-26; IV. 21-26, 31. 21; VI/1. 127. 28.

[40] Y. V., V. 13. 51-117, 23, 24, 78. 5-38, 91. 92. 11-43; VI/1, 13, 3, 13, 24 and 25 (Episode of Bhuśuṇḍa), 81-82 (Episode of Cūḍālā).

devotion to Him, as the easiest means for the eradication of all evils and for the attainment of true knowledge, it does so merely because its author had in mind the good of the general mass of humanity, which cannot be expected to undergo the hard discipline which a devotee of the Absolute has to submit to, not because he did not admit the existence of the Absolute.[41] On the other hand the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* tells a plain truth, realisable by everybody who has an insight into this subtle subject, when it says that every aspirant for freedom must be indifferent to the objects of sexual enjoyment, must have a keen desire to be liberated and must make a special effort on the prescribed lines for that purpose, beginning with the cultivation of the habit of introspection,[42] because even according to *Gītā*, the grace of God descends on him only who possesses those qualifications and is singularly devoted to HIM.[43] Even when Arjuna, the most favoured devotee of Kṛṣṇa,[44] and indeed his second self,[45] is shown as having become qualified to receive His teaching when his mind was filled with Vairāgya,[46] and to have implored him in a spirit of complete self-resignation to show him as his pupil a practical way out of the difficulty, much more would ordinary mortals stand in need of a persistent effort – carried on for years and years and even lives and lives for being qualified to receive the grace of the Almighty. The Lord Himself says so in the *Gītā*.[47] In this respect therefore there is in fact no divergence between the two works.

The differences in the matters of size and style are allied to each other and easily explicable by that in the dates of composition of the two works. Thus we have already seen that the *Bhagavadgītā* had been composed at a time prior to the birth of Lord Buddha and to the systematisation and separation of the doctrine of the Sāṁkhya and the other orthodox schools, and when the theistic school of Pāñcarātras was in the process of formation, while the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was composed at a time subsequent not only to their systematisation and separation but also subsequent to the origin of several subsidiary schools, each advocating a Vāda (theory) and some other heterodox schools. The author of the former had therefore to take note of, reconcile or refute very few current philosophical dogmas while that of the latter had before him many well-reasoned out doctrines which had long gained adherents. If therefore the author of the latter had intended that his work should be all-comprehensive he was bound to take stock of all of them and show how far his own doctrine was in agreement or disagreement with each of them and why in the latter case his was more acceptable than the others. Secondly, with the progress of civilisation and wider contact with the peoples of other provinces, countries and

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41 B. G., XII. 2-5; XIII. 12-17.
42 Y. V., V. 43. 4-40.
43 B. G., XVIII. 48-66.
44 B. G., XVIII. 69.
45 Y. V., VI/1. 52. 27. 35.
46 B. G., I. 28-47; 11. 4-8.
47 B. G., VI. 45; VII. 19.

religious beliefs, the number of doubts arising in the minds of even the believers increases. Thirdly, during the period subsequent to the preaching activity of the Buddha, the people of Northern and Eastern India had become accustomed to philosophical arguments being illustrated by historical, mythological or even maginary episodes such as those occurring in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Purāṇas*. Fourthly, if it is the deliberate aim of the author of a philosophical work to attract to it half-ripe and hesitant aspirants for freedom, he must indulge in digressions and embellish his work with occasional sallies of wit and descriptions in flowery language of men and women engaged in various pursuits, natural sceneries, etc., so that he may be enabled to impart his teaching in an agreeable manner like a lovely woman, which according to Mammaṭa is one of the purposes which a poetical composition is intended to subserve. This naturally tends to increase the size of a work. That the author of the *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* had such a purpose in view when he composed it is apparent from his own declarations.[48] The *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇas* have also been composed with a similar aim in view. Hence it is that the size and style of this work resemble those of that class of works and particularly those of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Although that *Purāṇa* may have existed in a concise form since the 5th century A. D., as contended by Mr. Krishnamurti Sarma in his article on "The Date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*", published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, it must have received its present artistic form in the early part of the 10th century A. D.[49] The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* too, in the form in which it is found published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, must have been composed in the 3rd or 4th quarter of the same century as shown by me in my paper on "The Date and Place of Origin of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*", read at the seventh session of the Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December 1933.[50] The fact that there is an abridgment of a work of the same name by Gauḍa Abhinanda who flourished in the 9th century A. D., does not militate against the said conclusion because I have found on a word-to-word comparison of the two works[51] that the said Pandit must have made his abridgment from one of the earlier recensions of the work, from which the whole of the Uttarārdha of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa and Sarga 32 of the Sthiti-prakaraṇa, in which there is the mention of King Yaśaskara Deva of Kāśmīr, must be absent and in which the arrangement of the chapters, cantos and even stanzas must be different from that found in the edition of the larger work above referred to. The points of agreement and disagreement between the two works supporting the above conclusion have been set forth by me in a separate paper entitled "Further Light on the Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha", published in 1938.[52] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* must thus have been composed somewhat

[48] Y. V., 1. 2, 2-3; II. 18; III. 8. 3-17, 84-45-47; IV. 51. 32; VI/2, 163. 50-55.

[49] Vol. XIV. Parts III and IV., p. 182, foot-note 1 and pp. 217-18.

[50] Proceedings, Seventh Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933, pp. 15-30.

[51] Y. V., (N. S. P. Edition, Śake 1840 and L. Y. V. (N. S. P. Editions, Śake 1810 and 1859).

[52] Poona Orientalist, Vol. III. pp. 29-44.

earlier and must have served as a model to the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the matter of literary style and diction.

As for the divergence in the matter of division and sub-division of the subject-matter, although the different chapters of the *Gītā* may, at first sight, appear to contain a crude collection of several divergent doctrines, they are not so as a matter of fact. They are welded together by connecting stanzas containing the expression of doubts by Arjuna or reference by Śrī Kṛṣṇa or by being shown to be connected with the main theme either directly or indirectly. There is also a principal philosophical doctrine running through all of them, to expound which effectively the others current in the time of the author have been brought in by way of comparison or contrast. That is that for an average human being a life of complete renunciation and of absolute devotion to the task of achieving one's salvation to the complete neglect of one's social duties is not advisable and that one's environments, however disagreeable, can be turned to a good account by looking upon all the necessary activities as the natural functions of the organs of sense, from which the self of man is completely distinct, or as an unavoidable divine dispensation which one must bow to, or as the outcome of circumstances beyond one's control, the only safe course to remain unaffected by the consequences whereof is to give no thought to them but leave them to the Almighty. Naturally therefore the highest target of attack therein is the doctrine that complete physical renunciation is absolutely necessary in order to attain complete freedom of the soul from misery of all sorts. This is made in the 2nd to the 6th chapters which are interconnected by the existence of a common topic, namely, an exposition of the erroneous nature of the said doctrine considered in all its aspects. The same subject is again reverted to in the closing chapter in order to emphasise the main doctrine from the standpoint of the theistic Sāṁkhya doctrine of the manifestation of the three Guṇas of Prakṛti in all the spheres of human activity, mental as well as physical, and to re-affirm the proposition that the easiest way to rise above their effects is to throw oneself without reserve on the mercy of the All-pervading Supreme Soul who controls that Prakṛti.[53] The 7th to 12th chapters are also all connected together by a common subject, namely an exposition of the nature of the Supreme Soul which, one who practises Karma-yoga ought to be aware of, and the different ways and forms in which He can be and is being worshipped by people of different temparaments and proclivities. That exposition is wound up in the 12th chapter with an enumeration of the characteristics of the devotee who becomes dear to God and is therefore the best of those who are acquainted with the practice of Yoga.[54] The next two chapters have been introduced with a view to explain the nature of the physical body, that of the soul, their relations *inter se* and to the relation subsisting between the Sāṁkhya Prakṛti and Puruṣa, their functions &c., because a devotee must know these

[53] B. G. XVIII. 1-66.
[54] *Ibid.*, XII. 13-20.

things, in order that his mind may be turned towards the wider outlook on life which enables him to be freed from the narrow individualistic grooves and consequently from misery of all sorts which results from the very nature of Śaṁsāra. The 15th chapter is devoted to an explanation of the nature of Saṁsāra, the nature of the Jīva or individual Puruṣa, who is immersed in it, the easiest means by which he can be freed from it, which is singular devotion to the Higher Puruṣa, who is ever free, and the exalted position which he attains to thereafter. The 16th enumerates the natural characteristics of the spiritually—and the materially—minded persons in order that an Adhikārī can be distinguished from a non-Adhikārī. The 17th receiving its name from the subject-matter of the initial question is connected with the same owing to its containing a division on the Sāṁkhya line into three classes not only of Sraddhā (faith), in the word of the Scripture but also of Tapas, Āhāra, Yajña and Dāna, the knowledge of which divisions enables an aspirant to chalk out his line of action after he has taken to the path of freedom and a dissertation on the Mantra "OM! TAT SAT," each word occurring in which is a symbol of Bhahman to whom all action is to be dedicated. The first 66 stanzas of the final chapter do as stated above, revert to the subject of Karma-yoga but now from the standpoint of the Sāṁkhya doctrine. In doing so it carries the Sāṁkhya line of division into such subtle objects as Jñāna, Karma, Buddhi, &c., with a view to enable a Bhakta to know Brahman more intimately and become a part of it by the practice of Parā Bhakti and winds up the whole teaching by indicating the easiest means by which one in the position of Ajuna can achieve his goal. It is true that this method of treatment differs from that in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* to a certain extent, for although we find the Vairāgya-prakaraṇa corresponding to the Viṣādayoga and the Mumukṣu-prakaraṇa to the first 10 stanzas of the Sāṁkhya-yoga chapter, the correspondence ends there except that the practical part of the teaching in the *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* is of the same nature as that in the *Gītā*. All the same, the Asaṁsakti-yoga of the *Gītā* does form part of the teaching of Vasiṣṭha in the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa considered in the preceding paragraphs hereof and there are also some Sargas in the Upaśama-prakaraṇa corresponding to the Vibhūti-yoga and the Visva-rūpa-darsana-yoga of the *Gītā*. And when it is said that the author of the *Vāsiṣṭha* has adopted the general plan of the *Gītā* and incorporated some of its stanzas, it was not meant that he was not possessed of any originality and had slavishly imitated that work. Far from it! There is considerable originality in his titles of the chapters and in the development of the subject-matters thereof, consistently with his main doctrine, which too, though evolved out of a fusion of the idealistic doctrine of Gauḍapāda and the realistic one of the Kāśmīr Śaivites is the result of deep and original thinking and practical experience as a Yogī of a very high order. It cannot also be denied that it was this work which, for the first time in the history of Indian philosophy, defined the limit to which Tattvajñāna without Vāsanākṣaya and Cittanāśa can help an average aspirant in the object of the realisation of the essential identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul,

which is the accepted purport of the teaching of the Upaniṣads.[55] Vidyāraṇya was the first to recognise that limit and having based the distinction between Vividiṣā Sannyāsa and Vidvat Sannyāsa thereon, to expatiate on the necessity of Vāsanākṣava and Manonāśa in his *Jīvanmuktiviveka* on the strength of several passages taken bodily from the *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa.*[56] Since then Madhusūdana Saraswatī, another eminent Vedāntin of the Śankara school has also recognised it in his *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* on the *Bhagavadgītā.*[57] There are also several other original thoughts in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* showing that its author had logically arrived at the same conclusions as to several topics which are now arrived at by physicists like Jeans, Eddington & Einstein. To them I will refer on some other occasion. As for the adoption of some expressions and stanzas from the *Gītā,* it is enough to say that it being a national asset and a well-known popular work, everybody was free to borrow from it as much as suited his purpose. Thus for instance, Verses 101-103 of chapter XI of the *Pañcadaśī* are word-to-word *B.G.* VI. 25-27, 104-07 are *B.G.* VI. 20-23, 108 is *B.G.* VI. 28, 109 is *B.G.* III. 41 and *Pañcadaśī,* IX. 47-50 are *B.G.* VI. 41-44.

(*d*) *Conclusion*

The *Bhagavadgītā* is thus a very ancient work while the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in its present recension is a comparatively far modern one. There is therefore no doubt as to the latter being indebted to the former for its general plan and some expressions and stanzas. Its doctrine is the result of a combination of the Ajātavāda of Gauḍapāda with the Trika doctrine of the Kāśmīr Śaivites but it is so formulated as to make room for the assimilation of the doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā* so far as it relates to the attitude towards life of one who has realised the philosophical truth. While purporting to reproduce the teaching imparted to Arjuna by Srī Kṛṣṇa, it gives that teaching a slightly different turn so as to make it consistent with the main doctrine of the work. Although the narrative style has been adopted in both, the *Bhagavadgītā* falls in a line with the *Bhārata Epic* in point of simplicity of language and prosody while the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* falls in the class of such works of the classical period as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*

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[55] Y. V. III. 1. 24-26; IV. 21. 26-27; V. 92. 11-26.

[56] Y. V. II and III (A. S. Series, Poona, pp. 202-326).
The number of the passages incorporated therein, is so large as to make it impossible to cite all of them here.

[57] G. D., on B. G., Introduction and Com., on B. G. VI. 29.

BOMBAY AND SAMBHAJI

By

B. G. Gokhale

(1680-1689)

The passing away of the great Shivaji on the 4th of April 1680, created a condition of deep crisis for the young Maratha state. Shivaji had left behind two sons, Sambhaji and Rajaram. Sambhaji, who then was twenty-two years old, was incarcerated in the Panhala fort. Rajaram was barely ten years old at the time of Shivaji's demise. Shivaji had little confidence in Sambhaji's political sagacity and administrative ability and an abortive attempt to place Rajaram on the throne was made by the ministerial party led by Annaji Datto. However, on receipt of the news of Shivaji's passing away Sambhaji secured both his own release and the help of the army leaders with whose co-operation he set himself up as the sovereign of the Marathas though his formal coronation was delayed until the 10th of January 1681.[1]

Shivaji had valiantly battled against the Mughal empire and established an independent Maratha state. But he scarcely had the time to consolidate the power of this new state. Under his inspired leadership Maharashtra had witnessed the birth of a new life pulsating with a sense of unity of purpose cutting across the divisive frontiers of caste and faction. Shivaji had given the Marathas an ideal to fight for and had created a system of military and administrative organization which enabled them to challenge successfully the whole might of the Mughal empire marshalled under the fanatical leadership of Aurangzeb. Sambhaji was personally brave, almost to the point of recklessness. But he lacked vision and sagacity; he was tactless and a poor judge of character. These failings of his were rendered fatal by his suspicious nature. His immediate concern after accession was to continue the war against the Mughals. The Mughals were aided on the Western Coast by the Siddis of Janjira and the Portuguese at Chaul and Goa. To complicate the situation further there were the English who had settled on the Island of Bombay by 1668. The acquisition of Bombay by the East India Company opened a new chapter in the political and economic history of Western India. From 1668 to 1680, during the time of Shivaji, Bombay had significantly intruded into the course of Maratha policy on the Western Coast. The course of this intrusion has been traced by the present author elsewhere.[2] During the reign of Sambhaji the English carried further their tentative efforts at formulating a policy towards their Maratha neighbours. The early phases of this policy were pursued

[1] See G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, (Bombay, 1957), I, pp. 303-304.

[2] See "Bombay and Shivaji", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, pp.

vigourously by the English during this time and the limitations, such as they were, came mainly from the events on the Island and English commitments elsewhere. The most important such event was the rebellion of Captain Richard Keigwin, commander of the garrison and third member of the council. The ostensible cause of this rebellion was reduction in military pay and the lowering of military ranks effected by the administration. The rebellion erupted in 1683 and was not completely suppressed until 1685. It affected life on the Island harassed by duels, embezzlement, robberies and general disorder.[1] Another catastrophe came in 1689, when Siddi Kasim invaded and occupied parts of the Island and it was not until June 1690, more than a year after the tragic death of Sambhaji, that the Siddi menace decreased as a result of a *firman* from the Mughal Emperor.[2] Sambhaji, however, was too deeply involved in his own wars with the Mughals and the Portuguese to find any time or opportunity to benefit from these happenings on the Island.

The basis of the policy pursued by Bombay towards the Marathas lay in the Company's concern about the preservation of its sovereignty over the Island, of its territorial integrity and its continued commercial prosperity. For this it was necessary either to tolerate or encourage, if need be, the Portuguese and the Siddi alternately so as to checkmate the Maratha moves on the Western Seaboard. The present paper attempts to focus attention on the role of Bombay in the Maratha politics of the times and ascertain the extent to which this affected the Maratha fortunes. The *Factory Records* of that East India Company contain material for such an appraisal and it is proposed to draw on this information to explore a rather ignored aspect of early Anglo-Maratha relations.

The English occupation of the Island of Bombay opened a new dimension for the growth of English power in India. Over Bombay, the Company claimed suzerainty and sovereignty in the name of the Crown. It was their Island which they took care to fortify even during the time of Shivaji. The seas surrounding it were frequented by the ships of the Dutch and the Siddis of Janjira who used the Island as a regular "wintering harbour" for over two decades. The Siddis were the most determined enemies of the Marathas on the Western Seaboard and the English too, had occasion to be concerned about their presence on the Island from time to time. The Siddis, for all practical purposes, acted like an independent power and had entered into a marriage of political convenience with the Mughals as the latter's naval commanders. The Portuguese settlements in Goa and Salsette blocked the path of Maratha expansion vital to the trade and commerce of Maharashtra. The early English attitude towards the Marathas was a mixture of curiosity and fear and it was fear that led them into the largers politics of Western India. Consequently, their attitude towards the Siddis and the Portuguese was often pragmatic and ambivalent. By 1680,

[1] For an account of this interesting chapter in the early history of Bombay, see S. M. Edwards, *The Rise of Bombay-A Retrospect*, pp. 127-128.

[2] D. R. Banaji, *Bombay and the Siddis*, (Bombay, 1932), pp. 43-53.

the English had succeeded in asserting their naval supremacy in the Arabian Sea area and the days of bitter complaints against the hostility and cupidity of the "Portingalls" were left far behind. On the other hand the time had now come for the English to adopt a somewhat patronizing attitude towards the vicissitudes of Portuguese fortunes. The existence of Portuguese strongholds in Western India often proved an obstacle to the smooth flow of goods but this disadvantage was more than offset by the Portuguese blocking the path of Maratha expansion. As for the Siddis at best they created difficulties for the Marathas and at worst tended to be a nuisance which could be easily controlled. With the Mughals, the English cultivated cautious and correct relations and thus by virtue of their own position in Bombay the English had to determine their own relations with the Marathas in their larger interests elsewhere.

Probably one of the earliest references to the reign of Sambhaji in the English Records is found in a letter from Rajapur to Bombay, dated the 27th of April 1680. *Inter alia* it says : Sambhaji Raja has taken upon himself to govern under the title of king. He has sent for all persons that were in command, as Subadars, Havildars, etc. Some he imprisons and some he discharges of their employ(ment). We have lately come here a new Subadar sent by him. We gave him a visit. He received us with great deal of love and friendship."[5] Two months later, June 10th, 1680, there is another notice reporting that some merchants of Rajapur had difficulties in dealing with the Maratha Subadar. Representations in this matter were made to Sambhaji who assured the English that he would look into the complaint when he had better opportunity.[6] A month later, on the 12th of July 1680, Bombay wrote to Surat that Sambhaji was publicly declared Raja and added that, according to current reports, he was very diligent and careful.[7] In October 1680, Surat wrote to the Company that Sambhaji's accession was "quiet" and described his government as "more moderate and humane". But this benevolent curiosity soon turned to anger and exasperation when the struggle between the Marathas and the Siddis was resumed. As was their custom during the time of Shivaji, the Siddis continued to use Bombay as their "winter" quarters treating the Island as a base for staging marauding operations against the territories of the Marathas on the Mainland. In August 1680, John Child received a communication from Sambhaji complaining of the Siddi's presence in Bombay and inquiring about his intentions. This was followed by the despatch of an envoy to Bombay with a request that one or two English representatives be sent to the Maratha court for the purpose of negotiations for a new treaty. Surat, however, advised Bombay to be cautious in this matter and defer direct negotiations for a few months as instructions were awaited from England on the precise attitude to be taken

[5] *English Records on Shivaji*, (Poona, 1931), II, p. 311.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 313.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, p. 314.

concerning the occupation of Khanderi by the Marathas. Child complied with these instructions, though with great uneasiness in his mind as it had been reported that a Maratha fleet under the command of Daulat Khan was ordered out of Rajapur to make an attenpt on Bombay. In November 1680, Avaji Pandit, "an old experienced, subtle man, one that did his father Shivaji Raja great service", went to Bombay with a letter from Sambhaji accusing the English of helping the Siddis. The envoy demanded that the Siddi be turned away from the Island in default of which Sambhaji may be constrained to take punitive action against Bombay. After some hedging the English agreed to ensure that the Siddi did not use the Island as a base for depradations against the territories of the Marathas. As Fawcett observes the English were pursuing a policy of "temprizing with Sambhaji. Child was to treat the ambassador well according to his quality, but was to keep a watchful eye on him lest he should be more a spy than an envoy, and at the same time avoid giving him the least mistrust". The aim was to "delay and temper things" so that "nothing inconvenient might happen in Bombay or in Surat to prevent the lading of the homeward ships".[8] As a policy of beneficial inaction, it was both necessary and advantageous for the English to explore the possibilities of profitable developments in the evolving pattern of Anglo-Maratha relations. But if they expected that Sambhaji would be deluded into a sympathetic inaction they were to be disillusioned. Ever since the occupation of the island of Khanderi by Shivaji in August 1679, the English were not disposed to be overfriendly towards the Marathas. They had persistently claimed the island as an "appurtenance" of Bombay, a claim justifiably ignored by the Marathas. The two islands of Khanderi and Underi, off Bombay, were uninhabited and until occupation of Khanderi by the Marathas, the English had shown little or no interest in them. The English uneasiness over the Maratha occupation of Khanderi was natural as the island commanded entrance to the Bombay harbour. Underi was occupied by the Siddi and the Marathas had made several attempts at dislodging him from there. The constant war between the Marathas and the Siddi, based on Khanderi and Underi respectively, seriously interfered with the commerce of Bombay. On the 18th of August 1680, Bombay reported to Surat that Sambhaji's men had attacked the Siddi on Underi and had failed in the attempt. In the encouter, 80 Maratha heads were cut off by the Siddi who attempted to bring them into Bombay for the purpose of display as trophies of his triumph.[9] Through the two months of October and November 1680, Sambhaji continued to protest against the English conniving at the misdeeds of the Siddi and not without reason.[10] The English protested that they gave no more quarter to the Siddi than according to him the normal port facilities which would be available to the Maratha ships as to any other friendly ships; but there is little doubt that the English neutrality in the

[8] Sir Charles Fawcett, *English Factories in India*, (New Series), III, (1678-1684), pp. 75-76.
[9] *English Records on Shivaji*, II, p. 315.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 317-318.

Maratha-Siddi conflict leaned heavily in favour of the Siddi. For instance instructions like "These are to enorder you to repair on board of the Right Honourable Company's sloop with your men and make the best of your way with Habshi Hakim, a Moorman, and his people to Hendri (Underi)", implies more than a mere tolerance of an inevitable evil.[11] Earlier in August 1680, the Bombay Council lent the Siddi a sum of Rs. 5,000 "for which he gave a bill payable at Surat" and the Company, being in somewhat affluent circumstances, hoped to make a gain of some 12 per cent. on the Siddis' bills of exchange. Surat had agreed that the Siddi should have remittances up to Rs. 20,000. Such transactions indicate more than mere sufferance.[12] But this was a delicate matter since fears of Maratha reprisals were always there.

And for these fears the Siddi had given enough provocation. As early as the 1st of November 1680, Rajapur reported rumours of Sambhaji's threat to Bombay[13] and on the 4th of November 1680, Bombay wrote to Surat about the reported move of Sambhaji's armada on its way to Bombay adding that the Raja "is very much enraged that we should harbour the Siddi ..... We shall be very vigilant and endeavour to prevent any surprise that they attempt against us". Edwards observes that the administration of Bombay was rendered very difficult due to the presence of Maratha forces on Khanderi and the Siddi, sitting on Underi for Sambhaji's armed galivats interupted Bombay's trade.[14] Towards the end of December 1680, an alarm of an attack on the Island by Sambhaji's men was raised and Child took the precaution of keeping a whole company on guard in the Fort for a week.[15] The English records make it quite clear that Sambhaji was actively considering punitive action against Bombay for its hospitality towards his bitterest enemy, the Siddi. In February 1681, the Siddis's ships from Underi threatened Bombay's trade and two of his galivats seized a boat returning to the Mainland. Sambhaji's subadar at Pen demanded restoration of the boat by Child threatening that Bombay would be attacked if the request was not complied with. Child took up the matter with the Siddi and in April 1681, the boat and its crew were released to return home.[16] Tensions, however, continued and Bombay maintained its posture of preparedness through the two months of February and March 1682.[17] The expenses of keeping Bombay fortified were so great that at last the Company began to find themselves involved in difficulties. In 1684, it was stated that "the Island has stood us in first and last three hundred thousand pounds" and the debit upon the deadstock exactly amounted to that sum. They were exhausted by these efforts and looked about for more

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11 See Edwardes, *Op. Cit.*, p. 136.
12 Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, III, pp. 74-75; these facilities continued at least until 1682 as shown by the fact that Child was instructed to lend Rs. 10,000 to Siddi Kasim, *Ibid.*, p. 115.
13 *English Records on Shivaji*, II, p. 318.
14 *Op. Cit.*, p. 134.
15 Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, III, p. 77.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 85
17 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

resources.[18] On Sambhaji's side the results of the threats, though not substantial, were not entirely disappointing, for Bombay obtained an agreement from the Siddi that he would not go into the "Coorlas" (tract of land on the Mainland from the south point of the harbour to the river Pen) on any account whatsoever and disturb the peace of Pen and Nagothna.[19] In February 1682, Aurangzeb sent a force of 20,000 horses and 15,000 foot soldiers commanded by Nawab Hasan Ali Khan to Kalyan to ravage the Maratha lands. The Mughals requested Bombay to supply them with gunpowder and provisions and Surat strongly advised Bombay to comply with the request with a rider that "no Englishman was to be sent till the Mughal General's success in his campaign against Sambhaji was more certain; but to please him the Council might surrepetitously exchange gunpowder and ammunition for ready money. As regards provisions they were to tell him that they had no corn and temporize as much as possible".[20] In the meanwhile the great struggle between the Marathas and the Siddi had already been joined and it naturally affected the commercial fortunes of Bombay. Sambhaji was unsuccessful in his war against Siddi and when in May 1682, the Siddi's ships arrived in Bombay, Sambhaji ordered his ships at Khanderi to plunder every vessel putting into port after the Siddi's arrival.[21] That, this was not an empty threat is indicated by the presence of a large Maratha armada near Bombay. In the month of May, Ward reported that there were eighty-five galivats lying in their rivers "against us"; among these forty were stationed at Khanderi with a force of some 5,000 men on them. Two redoubtable sea-captains were in command of this force and they were Siddi Sambhal and his brother-in-law Siddi Misri.[22] The Deputy Governor of the Island warned the Janjira Siddis that he had information that Sambhaji's forces were out to destroy their ships.[23] Such friendly hints indicated concern for the welfare of the Janjira Siddis rather than an attitude of neutrality in the Siddi-Maratha conflict. The Marathas were determined to carry on a war of attrition against the Siddis and went on plundering ships going into Bombay and Ward reported that between November 1681 and July 1682, damage to the extent of Rs. 4,500 was inflicted by the Raja's galivats operating from Khanderi.[24] The Siddi retaliated by going back on his promise of not molesting Maratha territory; he took numerous slaves and caused considerable damage to property.[25] A breif engagement was fought out in 1682, when thirty galivats emerged from the Nagothna creek and were attacked by Siddi Kasim leading a flotila of sixteen ships. Sambhaji's fleet retired and the Siddi captured six galivats and took forty men into capitivity. Siddi Misri subsequently died of wounds in Bombay.[26] In October

[18] See Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 69.
[19] Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, III, p. 109.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

1682, the Siddi fleet was anchored in Bombay at which Sambhaji was enraged and ordered a prohibition of exports of supplies to the Island from his territories.[27] A letter of the time informs us that Daulat Khan, the Maratha Admiral, was ordered to invade the Island before the arrival of the Mughal fleet.[28] Towards the end of the month Sambhaji's envoy in Bombay reported that Aurangzeb wanted to destroy both the English and the Portuguese and suggested the possibility of Maratha help to the English with a hint that the English should send an envoy to negotiate with the Raja in the matter of mutual help.[29] This throws interesting light on the activities of Sambhaji for in this situation at least he showed a certain flair for diplomacy. The English, on their part and for reasons of their own, felt the need for substained diplomacy and in November 1682, asked Henry Smith to go on a mission to the Marathas.[30] The mission, however, did not materialize until the middle of January 1683, when Smith journeyed to the Maratha Court with Ramachandra Shenavi as his interpretor. The main object of the mission was to secure a *firman* from Sambhaji permitting the setting up of English factories in the Gingee territory. But the mission does not seem to have realized its aims.[31] The mission was prompted by mixed motives of allaying the suspicions of the Marathas about English complicties in the Mughal offensive and the Siddi outrages as well as exploring the possibilities of the expansion of English commerce in Maratha territories. On November 28, 1682, Child wrote "How prejudicial this Island hath been to the Rajah Your Honour well knows and how soon we may be in the condition of the Portuguese is uncertain, when his army lies around us ....."[32] The intensification of the Maratha war against the Portuguese undoubtedly affected Bombay's commerce and life as the Island was entirely dependent for its various supplies which came from the mainland held by the Marathas.[33] The presence of the Siddi in the port was obviously annoying but its benefits were not entirely negligible since his men and their families spent considerable amounts of money in Bombay.[34] The English policy, therefore, was not to trust Sambhaji but "to use his friendship for getting firewood" and other essential supplies from the mainland.[35] Surat took the view that "Sambhaji, inspite of the Siddi's continuing to get supplies from the Island, would remain friendly because of its trade with the Coorlas which brought him a lot of money yearly; and they pointed out that Bombay would gain protection against Sambhaji while the Siddi's fleet was there".[36] And

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[27] Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, III, p. 108.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118; 125-126.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

the Marathas too stood to gain much from an expansion of English commerce in their own territories. Earlier in the 17th century the English had made concerted efforts at opening up Dabhul and other ports on the Western coast of India for their own trade as an alternative for escaping the restrictive practices of the Mughal administration in Surat adversely affecting freedom of trade.[37] There was occasional demand for English broadcloth from Maratha territories [38] and the Marathas were sorely in need of supplies of ammunition which Bombay could sell to them if the Island so chose.[39] The impact of foreign trade in Western India was felt much before it began to show its results in Bengal and elsewhere and there is reason to believe that the commercial revolution generally ascribed to happenings in Bengal with the coming of the English there must be traced first in Western India as early as the opening decades of the 17th century. Bengal does not seriously come into such a picture before the end of the 17th century whereas places like Surat, Cambay, Chaul, Dabhul and others on the Western Coast of India figure in the economic history of this period much earlier.

Keigwin's rebellion on Bombay had some interesting side-effects on Anglo-Maratha relations of the times. Though Keigwin somewhat contemptuously spoke of the value to be attached to Maratha assurances[40] in April 1684, he deemed it expedient to send Gary on a mission to the Marathas seeking permission for trade in Nagothna and Pen. The proposed treaty contained three important articles dealing with free and unhampered import of wood from the mainland, the despatch of a Maratha ambassador to Bombay and mutual help against the Siddi.[41] But these negotiations did not amount to much.

Between 1683 to 1689, Sambhaji was constantly engaged in war against the Siddis, the Portuguese and the Mughals. He played host to the fugitive Mughal prince Akbar from June 1681 to February 1687 and his main attention very naturally was focussed on what was happening in the interior rather than on happenings on the Western seaboard. The Western coast was vital to the Marathas both because of their struggle against the Siddis and their desire to drive the Portuguese into the sea. In this struggle the Island of Bombay assumed a crucial role because of its strategic position and the economic and war-like build-up on the Island. The disturbed conditions caused a heavy drain on Bombay's finances and the expenses of keeping Bombay fortified were so great that at last the Company began to find itself involved in difficulties. The Maratha threat around Bombay continued throughout the reign of Sambhaji though its seriousness was no doubt minimized because of Sambhaji's involvement in the war of attrition against the Mughals and his final destruction in the course of that war.

[37] See Foster, William, *The English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 158.
[38] Frazer, *Op. Cit.*, III, (NS), pp. 72, 113.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

From 1690 to 1708, the Marathas were fighting for their survival and hence much of their pressure on the Western Coast could not continue. But after the enthronement of Shahu and the advent of the imperial policy of the Marathas, there came a turn reflected in the changing course of Bombay's relations with them. The period of Sambhaji witnessed the continuation of English policy first tentatively formulated during the time of the Great Shivaji. It was a policy of adroitly playing the Siddi off against the Marathas, of encouraging the Portuguese to hold out whenever possible and to solicit favourable treatment of English trade and commerce at Maratha hands. By 1730, the Maratha Navy had become a formidable force in the Arabian sea area and with this the English, as much as the Portuguese and the Siddi had to reckon.[42] But that history belongs to an age which had left the era of Sambhaji far behind.

[42] See Sardesai, *Op. Cit.*, II, pp. 22-27.

THE GENESIS OF THE STORY OF JĪMŪTA VĀHANA

By

S. A. Dange

The story of Jīmūta-Vāhana's sacrifice and the resulting emancipation of the nāgas from the clutches of Garuḍa forms the main theme of '*Nāgānandam*', the famous drama of Harṣa. While writing about the sources of this drama it has become customary to point generally to the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī of Kṣemendra, or the Kathāsarit-sāgara. The 'Vetāla-Pañcaviṁśathiḥ' also records this tale. But it would be worth while to see if we can probe further and go deeper still. We shall briefly note the tale as it occurs in the Kathāsaritsāgara[1] (K. S. S.– henceforth) :–

On the mountain Himavat, there was a beautiful city named Kāñcanapura. There reigned Jīmūtaketu, the king of the Vidyādharas. In the garden of his house stood a desire-yielding tree (Kalpa-vṛkṣa) for generations. By propitiating that family-tree the king was favoured with a son who had the essence of Bodhisattva in him. When he came of age he was installed on the throne. The ministers of the king told Jīmūtavāhana that the family-tree (i.e., the Kalpa-Vṛkṣa), was invincible, and was the fulfiller of all desires. But Jīmūtavāhana thought to himself that, to have for himself or for his own family such a tree was only selfishness. Hence with the consent of his father he said to the tree to go away from the garden for the use of the people. The tree then shot up high upto the skies and showered such wealth upon, the whole world that not a single soul was afflicted by misery and want. Now, the other relatives came together with a view to uproot him along with his father devoid as he was, now, of the desire-yielding family-tree. Discerning what these people had in mind, Jīmūtavāhana left the place and the throne and came, along with his parents, to the mountain Malaya.

Once Jīmūtavāhana was having a stroll along with Mitrāvasu – his brother-in-law – on the mountain Malaya when suddenly he saw a huge heap of bones, and was told about the wager between Vinatā – the mother of Garuḍa and Kadrū – the mother of the serpents (nāgas). Garuḍa thence often ate the serpents. He would enter Pātāla and devour some of the serpents. Seeing this, Vāsuki, the king of the serpents, entered into an agreement with Garuḍa. According to it, one serpent (nāga) was to be sent daily to Garuḍa as food on the shore of the southern sea, and the latter was never to enter Pātāla. From that day onwards Garuḍa began eating a nāga daily on the shore of the southern ocean.

On hearing the account, Jīmūtavāhana decided to offer his own body to save the life of at least one nāga ; and, taking leave of his brother-in-law – Mitrā-

[1] K. S. S. XC,

vasu —, wandered away. Within a short time he heard a cry of grief and saw in front of him a handsome young man being taken by the king's servants to a high slab of stone, and warding off his weeping old mother and wife. Jīmūtavāhana, moved by the lamentations of the ladies, decided to offer himself in the place of that young man whose name was Śaṅkhacūḍa — the nāga — and when Śaṅkhacūḍa went to Gokaraṇa to propitiate the lord god before death, Jīmūtavāhana ascended the slab of Death (covering himself with the garment of Śaṅkhacūḍa). Garuḍa snatched him and flew off to the peak of the Malaya and began eating him. In the meanwhile Śaṅkhacūḍa came along smitten with grief and perplexed at what he saw. It was Garuḍa's turn now to get completely bewildered and utterly baffled on looking Jīmūtavāhana who was smiling even in the very grip of death. And in all amazement, not without the fear of committing sin, Garuḍa, doubting whether to-day's prey was a nāga, said to Jīmūtavāhana — who mightest thou be casting an unafeared glance at me. Not a nāga thou art! I do now realize'.[2] Jīmūtavāhana replied, "Nāga alone I am; wherefore is this querry of thine? — Do thou accomplish what thou hast started." But Śaṅkhacūḍa came in between those two and addressed to Garuḍa thus — "What confusion is this on thy part, O Garuḍa! I, (and not he — (Jīmūtavāhana) — am the nāga. Why art thou confounded? Seest thou not my hoods and my two-fold-tongue, and markest not thou the serene countenance of this *Vidyādhara*?" Garuḍa sighed, saying, "Alas! how!! have I devoured the one endowed with the essence of Bodhisattava?" Now Jīmūtavāhana was dead. Ultimately the goddess Gauri brought him back to life. Jīmūtavāhana, said to Garuḍa that the latter should not kill the nāgas any more and that those eaten upto that time should be brought back to life. Garuḍa agreed and there was joy everywhere.

Now, first of all we shall see who in reality, Jīmūtavāhana was. That Jīmūtavāhana was a king seems to be pretty clear from the story. In another place, i.e., in the Vetālapañcaviṁśatiḥ' — also he is said to be the king. The whole tale is given in short there.[3] But the capital of Jīmūtavāhana is changed from the Himālayas to the banks of the Narmadā. In this account Jīmūtavāhana is *not* said to be a Vidyādhara; but instead is hinted to be a Kṣatriya.[4] In the K. S. S. account he is said to be the essence of Bodhisattva.

Oldham refers to I-tsing the Chinese pilgrim according to whom the great 'Rājā Śilāditya got the story of Jīmūtavāhana often enacted, and he (Śilāditya) himself played the part of Jīmūtavāhana. At these times the king transformed himself into a 'nāga'. Oldham further writes that Jīmūtavāhana was considered to be a nāga at the time of Śilāditya.[5]

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[2] K. S. S. XC — 168 — Nāgo naivāsi tad brūhi mahātman ko bhavān iti.

[3] Cf., Story, 23rd of Jambhaldatta's recension — Calcutta (1873).

[4] Cf., *Ibid.* — Especially "bho mahāsattwa, kim brāḥmaṇo bhavān" rājā vadati — "nāham vipraḥ. Garuḍo vadati — kim kṣatriyo S si" tac Chrutwā rājā tūṣnīm sthitaḥ."

[5] Cf., Oldham's paper — 'The Nāgas (J. R. A. S., 1901, p. 465). Also his book 'The Sun and the Serpent' — London (1905), p. 90.

In another article[6] Oldham refers to a popular tale. According to it Bāsuki or Bāsde was always engaged with Garuḍa. It was, ultimately decided to offer one nāga daily to Garuḍa. Once, however, Garuḍa surprised Bāsuki by an attack. So the latter took shelter in the Kailāsa Kuṇḍa, a mountain-lake between the Chinab and the Rāvī. The vazir of Bāsuki saved him by offering to Garuḍa his own flesh. In the mean while an army was raised by which Garuḍa was defeated and killed—*at least so the legend says,* (the words in italics are of Oldham). The vazir's name is given as Jīmūtavāhana, who is even now worshipped (in Kaśmīr) at the order of Bāsuki. Jīmūtavāhana of the tale noted above is obviously our popular Jīmūtavāhana That he was the vazir of Bāsuki and was worshipped at the orders of the latter hints at his being a nāga, which is corroborated by the account of I-tsing recorded by Oldham as we have already referred to.

That Jīmūtavāhana was a nāga can also be gathered from the very account of the K. S. S., we have dealt with. If we carefully study the conversation between Garuḍa and Jīmūtavāhana we understand the points noted by Oldham. Jīmūtavāhana says to Garuḍa that he was only a nāga[7]. That Garuḍa took Jīmūtavāhana into his clutches and even began to eat him supposing him to be a nāga[8] clearly hints at the close similarity between a nāga and Jīmūtavāhana.

It could be thus proper to propound that Jīmūtavāhana was in original a nāga by race, and that he was also probably a king. The popular tale about Jīmūtavāhana's sacrifice to save Bāsuki speaks of him as the minister; but the tale itself should be taken at a discount. Bāsuki the tutelary nāga-deity, appears to have been spoken of as a king relying on the tradition which makes him the king of the nāgas; but in all probability Jīmūtavāhana was a very popular king held to be as important as Bāsuki and hence came to be the minister of the latter in folk-lore and thus worshipped. Now, a question may be asked: If Jīmūtavāhana could be taken to be a nāga on the support of the facts mentioned above, how could he have been called the king of the Vidyādharas and not of the nāgas? But this question might of itself be answered when we know what the term 'Vidyādhara means. There is no satisfactory explanation given of this term. It is generally applied to certain demigods. Dowson renders the term as a "class of inferior deities inhabiting the region between earth and sky and generally of benevolent disposition. They are attendants upon Indra.[9] What the term 'Vidyā' means is uncertain", say Keith and Macdonell.[10]

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[6] 'Serpent worship in India'—J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 364. Also 'The Sun and the Serpent'—p. 90.

[7] Cf., Nāga evāsmi ko-'yam te praśnah.—'.

[8] It may be remembered that 'nāga', here means a human being following nāga-cult, i.e., the nāga-worshipper; on this point see—Vogel—'The Indian serpent-lore' (London, 1926), p. 39, 172, etc. Also Oldham—'The sun and the serpent'.

[9] Dowson—"A classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology" (London, 1953), p. 356.

[10] Cf., 'Vedic Index of name and subjects'—Varanasi—(1958).

They give some of the renderings of that word : but the rendering by Eggeling seems to be more appropriate–viz.–" sciences like '*Sarpa Vidyā* or *Viṣavidyā*." Naturally, a *Vidyādhara* would mean *the knower of some such 'lore'* (vidyā). It should be noted here that this explanation of the term particularly suits our present context. We have already seen how Jīmūtavāhana is considered to be a nāga in popular belief in Kaśmīr. And now with the present meaning of the word 'Vidyādhara', he could be *a nāga having knowledge of certain lore.* Possibly he could be a nāga having mastered the special lore of the nāgas and hence could be well versed in that. Now, the special lore of the nāgas who are always indentified with the ancient[11] sarpas, is the 'Sarpavidyā'[12] called also 'Viṣavidyā'[13] or 'Sarpaveda'.[14] This 'vidyā' that is called variously (as we have just seen), is later said to be 'Gāruḍam' or 'Garuḍa-vidyā'.[15] MaxMuller rightly renders, the word 'Sarpa-vidyā' as the 'lore of snake-charming'.[16] The special lore of the nāgas (sarpas) being called Gāruḍam, shows that Garuḍa is its presiding deity. That is why the mantras on serpent-bite are called 'Gāruḍa-mantras' or 'Tārkṣya-mantras'.[17] Hence, those who learnt these mantras would not only have control over serpents, but would be supposed to be favoured by Garuḍa. Hence our position as regards to Jīmūtavāhana now could be–

that–(*i*) he was a nāga who was well versed in the lore of snake-charming, i.e., the special 'vidyā' of the nāgas,

that–(*ii*) he would have certain soft control over the deity of the lore, i.e., Garuḍa.

This goes well with the words in the mouth of Jīmūtavāhana when he addresses the old mother of Śaṅkhacūḍa " I am a *vidyādhara* and have come to rescue your son ",[18] and also with Śaṅkhacūḍa's words to Garuḍa about the *serene countenance* of Jīmūtavāhana who was a *Vidyādhara.*[19] We can now understand why Garuḍa could not differentiate between Śaṅkhacūḍa and Jīmūta-vāhana and also the ironical remark of Jīmūtavāhana to Garuḍa – " Nāga alone I am, wherefore dost thou question ?" ; because for all practical purposes he was only a nāga'.

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[11] For this identification, see Mb., I – 25-4 : 27-1 ; – 20-10. Also the whole of Suparṇā-dhyaya. Arbuda Kādraveya is the chief of the sarpas. (Cf., Śaṅkhāyana Śr. sūtra – XVI – 2-13 ; Āśwal. Sr. Sūtra. IV – 6-1. Uttara ṣaṭkam ; Śatapatha Br. XIII – 4-3-9, etc., etc.) Kādraveya is from Kadrū who is the mother of the nāgas and also the sarparājñī. (Cf., Vājasaneyī Samhitā – III-5 and Sāyaṇa thereon). Taitt., Samhitā – I – 5-4-etc.

[12] Śāṅkhāyana Śr. sūtra–XVI–2-13 and 14; Śatapatha Br. XIII–4-3-9.

[13] Āśwal. Śr. sūtra–IV–6-1–Uttar ṣaṭkam.

[14] Gopatha Brāhmaṇa–Pūrva-bhāg I–10.

[15] Cf., commentary of Anartīya on Śāṅkhāyana, Śr. sūtra (Calcutta–1897), also–Śaṅkara's commentary on Cchāndogya Up. VII–2-1 ;–4-1, etc.

[16] Cf., 'History of Ancient India'–(Allahabad, 1926), p. 20.

[17] Cf., Agni Purāṇa–295–4 and 5 for the mantras.

[18] K. S. S., 9. b(XC)–134–'Vidyādharo-hamāyāto rakṣitum sutam amba te'.

[19] *Ibid.*,–173. 'Vidyādharasya kim cāsya saumyām paśyasi nākṛtim'.

The portion of the story which says that Vāsuki agreed to send to Garuḍa every day a victim need not be surprising. It forms the motif of a number of folk-tales.[20] In most cases the primitive method of worshipping and propitiating the deity was by human sacrifice. Garuḍa, the deity presiding over the special lore of snake-charming could naturally be expected to be thus propitiated. We have seen how this deity was most probably adored by a section of the nāgas themselves and the human sacrifice to this deity would naturally take the form of the sacrifice of the members of the nāga-tribe itself. This sacrifice would come in folk-lore as an agreement between the special deity and the general representative (or the traditional god-head) of the tribe – in this case Garuḍa and Vāsuki respectively.[21]

The next part of such tales often deals with the redemption of the whole locality from this ferocious deity by some hero. This would indicate the check in the propitiation of the deity and the human sacrifice for it. In our story Jīmūtavāhana is the hero. We have seen how he was himself a nāga endowed with the 'vidyā'. It is highly probable that he, being the king, might have, by law, stopped the sacrifice of the nāgas at the altar of Garuḍa, though he was himself of the sect of the nāgas called Vidyādharas and propitiated Garuḍa.[22].

Having seen the original 'nāga-Garuḍa' – nature of the story we are, now, at a point to understand how the same story was used for different purposes. The version of the K. S. S. has Jīmūtavāhana as the '*Bodhisattvāṃśa*', which clearly speaks of the Buddhistic influence, obviously to glorify Buddha. The Vetāla-Pañcaviṁśatiḥ has Jīmūtavāhana as having a '*yajñopavīta*' and being a '*Kṣatriya*' indicating the Brahmanical influence. There are other examples where the original tribal folk-element of the nāga clan seems to have been used and exploited by the Buddhist[23] and the Brahmanic[24] faiths to enhance their own importance. It is out of the scope of this small article to deal with such tales; but one such tale may definitely deserve mention. This tale is a sort of a replica of the Jīmūtavāhana-tale with Śabaras, Niṣādas or Kirātas in the place of the nāgas with Jīmūtavāhana totally absent, his place being usurped (!) by a Brāḥmaṇa. It comes in the *Suparṇādhyāya*[25] (a work in the late Brāḥmaṇa period) and is followed with very slight variations by the Mb.[26] and

[20] Thus we have the tale of '*Lion and the hare*' (Pañca-Tantra–Bombay, 1950, p. 65) - *Bhima-Bakāsura*'–(Ādi Parvan of the Mb.), etc.

[21] I have fully dealt with this point in a separate article for which see '*Sarvodaya*'–(published by the Government of Maharashtra)–special issue on Folk-lore, May, 1961. the article is '*Loka-Kathāntīla-Rākṣasa*', (in Marathi). (i.e., 'Demon in Folk-tales.').

[22] Human sacrifice was common among the people called the nāgas; for which see Oldham–The Sun and the Serpent'–(London–1905), p. 40.

[23] For Buddha's part in such tales of the conflict between Garuḍa and the nāgas and the final reconciliation see–*Uraga Jātaka; Piṇḍara Jātaka*, etc.

[24] There are many such other instances where the original nāga-lore is cast into Brahmanical atmosphere. See for example Mb., V–101, the episode of Garuḍa and Sumukha nāga.

[25] Suparṇādhyāya–(According to Jarl Charpentier), VIII–16 to 18.

[26] Mb., (Acc. to Chitrashala Press), I–28 and 29.

later by the purāṇas.[27] According to the tale Garuḍa devours the Niṣādas (Śabaras, Kirātas and even Mlecchas according to the Padma Purāṇa) ; but in doing so he swallows even a Brāḥmaṇa along with his Niṣādī-wife and their children, but ultimately vomits him out along with his relatives. It could be seen how, even here, the one who is swallowed is a Brāḥmaṇa *dwelling among the Niṣādas* and has a Niṣāda-wife. This '*Brāḥmaṇa*' also hints at some one who is '*learned*' among the Niṣādas, and would be only another form of the '*Vidyādhara*' in the Jīmūtavāhana-tale ! But the purpose of this newly-forged 'Brāḥmaṇa-Niṣāda' — tale is purely to extol the power of the Brāḥmaṇas. It is clear that the Mb., records the old nāga tale of Jīmūtavāhana in a changed form.

What could be this 'Kalpa-Vṛkṣa' — the family-tree of the Vidyādharas ? It is because of this tree that Jīmūtavāhana was born to Jīmūtaketu. When the tree was forsaken by Jīmūtavāhana he and his father had to leave their Kingdom, and the other relatives thought of attacking them. Thus the tree has two important features — viz.—(*i*) giving of progeny, and (*ii*) bestowing of prosperity. We have seen that Jīmūtavāhana was a nāga. We naturally infer that his other relatives were also nāgas. This presents a situation — (*i*) where a sect of nāgas (the possessors of the 'Gāruḍa-vidyā), had rivalry with other nāgas ; and (*ii*) where there was antagonism between a tree sacred to that sect and the rest of the nāgas. In this respect we refer to an episode in the Mb. Where Takṣaka is said to be proceeding to bite king Parīkṣita. In the way he meets a brahmin named Kāśyapa who also is on the way to save the king, if Takṣaka bit him. These two are, thus, presented as rivals. One (the nāga Takṣaka), administering the deadly poison by his bite, and the other (Kāśyapa) nullifying the poison. These two are represented as testing their mutual strength and it is of particular interest to mark how a tree.....'Nyagrodha' (Ficus indica, the Indian Fig tree) — comes in the picture. Takṣaka burns the tree and instantly the brāḥmaṇa revives it.[28] The mention of this particular tree here, when any other tree (or any other object for that reason), would have sufficed, definitely speaks of its importance. Now, this Nyagrodha has also another name — viz.—'*Śuṅgī*' or '*Śuṅgā*'. Further '*Suṅgī*' is said to be a name of Vinatā who was the mother of Garuḍa, who is hence called 'Śauṅgeya.[29]

This 'Nygrodha' tree is also known as the '*Rauhiṇa*', or the *Vaṭa*. Garuḍa rests on the *Rauhiṇa* tree to eat the tortoise and the elephant when it (the tree)

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[27] Skanda Purāṇa—III—38-44 ff ; Padma Purāṇa—V—44.

[28] Mb. (Chitraśala)—I—43-2 and 3 '*nyagrodham* enam dhakṣyāmi paśyataste dvijottama' and 'daśa nāgendra Vṛkṣam tam yadyetad abhimantrase |
aham enam tvayā daṣtam jivayiṣye bhuiaṅgama ||"

[29] Cf., Suparṇādhyāya (Acc. to Charpentier)—IV—8-2 ; V—10-2 ; IX—17-4, 5.
It may be noted that Charpentier does not give any interpretation of this word 'Śungī'. He appears to wonder why Vinatā is called 'Śungī' at all ! For a full discussion of this see my paper 'Kadru, Vinatā and the Wager' — 'PURĀṆA' — (Varanasi) — vol. III—No. 2.

invites him.[30] He also carries the branch of this tree with the Vālakhilyas resting on it. This identification of *Vinatā* with the '*Śuṅgī*': (Nyagrodha) and the partiality of Garuḍa for this tree would prove that the tree had special importance for the followers of Garuḍa, or those who knew the lore of snake-charming – (Gāruḍa-Vidyā). We, now, are in a position to appreciate why the tree features in the tale of the brāḥmaṇa undoing the effect of Takṣaka's poison. The name of the brāḥmaṇa is given as 'Kāśyapa'. Garuḍa himself is often called 'Kāśyapeya'[31] or 'Kāśyapi';[32] and the snake-charmers themselves are called as *Kāśyapīyas*.[33] Now, the snake-charmers who would revere Garuḍa the presiding deity of the 'Gāruḍa-vidyā', would naturally be said to have reverence for this particular tree – Nygrodha. If the 'Vidyādharas' were, as we have already noted, such snake-charmers, they would have reverence for this tree. This would also be the Kalpa-Vṛkṣa which would give progeny and prosperity. The loss of this tree would bring about adversity. It is thus quite probable that the Kalpa-Vṛkṣa of the Vidyādharas was this tree – The Holy Nygrodha.[34]

[30] Mb. (Chitrasala)–I–29; Skanda Purāṇ–III–38, Padma Purāṇa–V–44.
Garuḍa is said to have killed the Niṣādas with a branch of this tree–(see Rāmāyaṇa) III–35-33.

[31] Mb., I–23-13; also I–30-41.

[32] K. S. S. XC-10.

[33] See commentary on Āśwala. Śr. Sūtra on the word '*Sarpavidaḥ*' = '*Kāśyapīyādi* Viṣa-tantravidaḥ'.

[34] The Nygrodha along with the Peepal is of great importance in the present Hindu religion. It is under Nyagrodha (Vaṭa) that Sāvitrī got her husband Satyavān back according to the Purāṇic version. It is also customary to place nāgas (cobras) carved in stone under these trees in relation to desire for progency.

ATHARVAVEDA AND EPIGRAPHI

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1. The Vedas are four, The Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda, but occassionally they are said to be three, no mention being made of the Atharvaveda. Authorities from the Vedic, Epic, Buddhist and classical Sanskrit literature for both the assertions are well known.

2. In the epigraphical literature also which is of a later date beginning with the fourth century A. D., a mention of the four Vedas is not consistent, sometimes three Vedas and sometimes, in the same period and in the same place, four Vedas being mentioned without sufficient reason. In the Mayidvolu Prakrit inscription of Śivaskandavarman (beginning of fourth century A. D.), four Vedas are mentioned (E. C. VII Skt. SK. 264). In the Tālguṇḍā inscription, of the Kadamba King Kākusthavarma, dated (c. 455 A. D.), however, only the three Vedas are mentioned. (E. I. 8-31). The A. V. is not mentioned where there was an occassion to do so. In the Nālandā c. p. inscription of Samudragupta the epithet *traividya* of a Brāhmana grantee is found (E. I. 25.50). In the Tirodi c. p. inscription of the fourth century A. D. of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II noted below although the donee is a learned Atharva Veda Brāhmaṇa he is said to be proficient in three Vedas only. (E. I. 22. 172). In the Kudarkoṭ (Iṭāvā District U. P.) inscription of the latter half of the seventh century A. D., which records the building of a Veda temple (*Traividya-mandira*). at Gavīdhumat, the words Trayī and Traividya are explicitly mentioned and the six Brāhmaṇas in charge of the Veda-śāta are mentioned to have belonged to the three Vedas only. (E. I., Vol. I, 182). In the Alīnā plates of the Maitraka king Śilāditya VII of Valabhī, dated 766 A. D., noted below the king Dhrubhaṭa is said to be proficient in three Vedas in spite of the fact that many A. V. Brāhmana families were living in Saurāshṭra and Gujarat at the time and were given grants (C. I. I, III, p. 290). The Ennāyiram (S. Arcot District), c. p. inscription of c. 1025 A. D. (Mod. Ep., Collection No. 333 of 1917), of the time of the Cola sovereign Rājendra I (1014-44), records provision made at an important Vaiṣṇava centre for a Vedic College with 14 teachers and 340 studentslearning the Vedas, "Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya under them. Three professors were appointed to teach the Ṛgveda, four to teach the Yajurveda and two to teach the Sāmaveda but none to teach the Atharvaveda though there were ten students to study that Veda. In the Malkāpuram inscription of the Kākatīya ruler Rudradeva (Rudrāmbā), dated 1261 A.D., which records the foundation of a Sanskrit College at the agrahāra of Viśvara Golaki in Āndhra provision is made for the professors of the three Vedas only and no mention is made of

the Atharvaveda anywhere. (Q. J. A. H. R. S. IV 160). Similarly, in the Unamajeri grant (*śāsana*) of the Vijayanagar king Achyutarāya, dated 1540 A.D., 21 of the donees were students of the Ṛgveda (*bahvṛca*), 18 of the Yajurveda and one of the Sāmaveda, six followed the sūtra of Drāhyāyaṇa and one that of Āpastamba are noted but none of the Atharvaveda. (E. I. 3. 150). In some grants where a large number of donees are mentioned along with the name of the Veda they followed, the A. V. Brāhmaṇa is conspicuous by his absence, e.g., the Gaonri grant of Vākpati, dated V. S. 1038 (981, A. D.) (E. I. 23. 105). Many more instances can be quoted in this way, where the A. V. ought to have been mentioned along with the three other Vedas. On the contrary the expression expert in four Vedas *Caturveda-pāraṅgata* is found in some inscriptions, e.g., in one of the grants of the Somavaṁśi kings of Orissa, dated 674 A.D. (E. I. 27. 116). This shows that though the existance and importance of the A. V., was recognised and the A. V. Brāhmaṇas enjoyed equal consideration and rank among the Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas who regularly studied it as svaśākhā were always very few. The performance of Vedic sacrifies and the observance of Tulāpuruṣa mahāḍāna requires the presence of priests of all the Vedas but it seems that for want of the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa of *svaśākhā*, a Brāhmaṇa of another Śākhā represented the A. V.

3. Thus the mention of three Vedas only in the above-mentioned references cannot be ignored. Some scholars have tried to explain this difficulty, (e.g., Dr. Subhadra Jha, J. B. R. S. 1052. 236), by saying that the non-recognition of the A. V. may be due to the fact that the three Vedas are purely religious and spiritual in character while the A. V. represents the ancient Indian political and secular traditions though it contains some sacred formulas. The three Vedas also contain material of a secular nature but they are not so predominant as in the A. V. According to Winternitz, there are several facts which prove indisputably that the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā is later than that of the Ṛigveda. (Hist. Ind. Lit., I. 123). If the following points are considered there is reason to believe that not only the A. V. is later than the other Vedas but its Saṁhita which now consists of 20 Kāṅḍa, had been developed by stages. The twentieth Kāṇḍa seems to be a later addition. The 19th Kāṇḍa ends with a significant-hymn strongly suggests that the A. V. Saṁhitā at one time ended with it. The Sūtra No. 72 at the end of the Kāṇḍa runs like this.

यस्मात्कोषादुदभराम वेदं तस्मिन्नतः अवदधम एनं

I now keep down the Veda (or I now keep it), in the box or bundle from which I had taken it out". The Sūtra means that the Vedic manuscript which was taken out for recitation was placed back in the box carefully. It must be remembered that this Sūtra is found only at the end of the 19th Kāṇḍa and not at the end of the 20th Kāṇḍa where it ought to have been or at the end of all other Kāṇḍas. The 19th Kāṇḍa seems also to be a later compilation for its hymns though found in the Paippalāda recension are scattered throughout that text. Both the 19th and 20th Kāṇḍas

are omitted in the Prātiśākhya of the Atharvaveda. They are manifestly a later addition to the collection (Griffith, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, Vol. I, p. VII.) The 18th Kāṇḍa which deals with matters of the death and therefore, inauspisious also seems to be later because the contents are absent in the Paippalāda recension. It may be further noted that we do not hear the name of the sage Pipplāda in any of the early Vedic texts until we come down to the Upaniśads. (Bloomfield, A.V. sec. II). Patanjali states on Pāṇini (5. 2. 37), that the text of Āṅgirasa consists of 20 Kāṇḍas which shows the A.V. Saṁhitā was complete in twenty Kāṇḍas as now before his time.

4. It is supposed by some scholars that the place of the domicile of the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas was either N. W. India, particularly Kashmir or East India. According to them it was Kashmir because the only manuscript of the Paippalāda text so far found is written in the Śāradā script and was obtained by Roth from Kashmir (I. A. Vol. 50. 104), Dr. Subhadra Jha thinks on philological grounds and on the tradition that Patanjali who refers to the Paippalāda Śākhā was a resident of East India and that the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas were Easterners. (J. Bihar. R. S., June 1957).

5. But the following epigraphical data show that the A. V. Brāhmaṇas were spread over throughout India, in the East Panjab, Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat, East Mahārāṣṭra, Orissa, Goa, Karṇāṭaka, Orissa and Bengal, and that they were an All-India Brāhmaṇa community like the Brāhmanas of the other Vedas. I had shown this thirty years back in my Marathi article, on the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas published in the volume '*Chitpavana*' (ed., N. G. Chapekar), but it has not attracted the attention of Vedic scholars in general.

(*1*) The Vāśim (in Vidarbha) plates of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II, dated 37, A. D., assignable to the fourth century A. D., record the grant of the village Ākāśapadra situated near Tākālakhoppaka in the Vāśim division to a body of the Brāhmaṇas of the Atharvaṇika charaṇa as below, of the Bhālandāyana, Kauśika, Kapiñjala and Śrāviṣṭhāyana gotras of the *Paippalāda* Śākhā. (E. I. 26. 139). The names of all the donees and in the word *ajja* as in the early grants of the Pallavas Bṛihatphalāyanas and Ānandas. If the Vākāṭaka rulers in Vidarbha had come from Āndhra, it is just possible that these Brāhmaṇas also had come from Āndhra.

(2) The Tiroḍi (Bālāghāṭ, District, Nagpur), plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II, assignable to about 425 A.D., records the grant of the village Kosambā in the Bālāghāṭ District to an A. V. Brāhmaṇa of the Harakeri gotra, resident of Chandrapura and proficient in three Vedas (E. I. 22. 172).

(3) The Kukkaḍa (Saurāshṭra) plates of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I of Valabhi (in Saurāṣṭra), dated in Val. Saṁ. 207 (526 A.D.), record the grant of lands to an A. V. Brāhmaṇa, named Sacitivarman of Droṇāyana gotra resident of Hastavapra (I. A. 5. 204).

(*4*) The Sāngoli (near Bijāpur), plates of the Kadamba king Harivarman, dated in his eighth regnal year corresponding to 545 A.D., records the grant of the village Tedava with all its eighteen sub-divisions to the following Brāhmaṇas well versed in the Atharvaveda.

(*a*) Of the Kembala gotra – Śivaśarman, Prajāpatiśarman, Dhātṛśarman. Vandiśarman and Dharmaśarman.

(*b*) Of the Kālāśa gotra – Vaikunṭhaśarman, Vasuśarman, Nāgaśarman and Maṇḍanaśarman.

(*c*) Of the Gārgya gotra, Viṣṇuśarman, Prajāpatiśarman and Piṭṛśarman.

(*d*) Of the Kautsa gotra – Kumāraśarman, Tvashṭraśarman, Skandaśaramn and Varuṇaśarman.

(*e*) Of the Śrāviṣṭa-gotra Yaśaḥśarman, Āryaśarman, Paśupatiśarman and Mitraśarman.

(*f*) Of the Cauliya gotra – Vanaśarman.

(*g*) Of the Valandāta gotra – Prajāpatiśarman.

(*h*) Of the Kāśyapa gotra – Kumāraśarman (E. I. 14. 166).

(*5*) The Bhāḍvā plates of the Maitraka king Dharasenta II, dated, Val. Saṁ. 252 (571, A.D.), record grant of the village Iṣikānaka in the Ambareṇu *sthali* to an A. V. Brāhmaṇa named Rudragopa, son of Rudraghoṣa of the Kauśravasa gotra, resident of Ānartapura (A.B. O.R. I. 4. 38).

(*6*) The Nirmuṇḍa (on the Sutlej in the Kāngrā District, Punjab) plates of the Mahāsāmanta Hahārāja Samudrasena, dated in the sixth year of the Harṣa era, 612-13 A.D., confirm the grant of the village Śūlisagrāma to a body of the A. V. Brāhamaṇas of the *agrahāra* of Nirmaṇḍa, formerly granted by Mihiralakṣmī, the king's mother. The plates were found fixed in the local Paraśurāma temple (E. I. I. III. p. 290; Bombay Or. Conf Rep. p. 300). The gotras of the A. V. Brāhamaṇas are not given.

(*7*) The Bhāvanagar plates of the Maitraka king Dharasena III, dated Val. Saṁ. 304 (623, A.D.), record grant of lands to an A. V. Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, of the Ātreya gotra, resident of Hastavapra (E. I. 21. 181).

(*8*) The Godāvari grant of Pṛthivimūla, dated in the 25th year of his rule records the gift of a village named Cuyipāka in the Tālupaka *vishaya* as an *agrahāra* to 43 families of Brāhmaṇas who study the Atharvaveda born in the families of the Upādhyāyas and belonging to many gotras at the behest of the overlord (adhirāja) Indra (J. B. B. H. A. S. 16. 114: I. A. H. R. S. 11. 23). The gotras of the several Brāhmaṇas are not given.

(*9*) The Cendalur (Nellur District), grant of the Cālukya king Sarvalokāśraya, son of Viṣṇuvardhana II, issued from Kāncipura in 673 A.D., was

composed by an Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa named Pambeya Sarvottama (E. I. 8. 228). The gotra of the Brāhamaṇa is not given.

(*10*) The Luṇāvāḍā plates of the Maitraka king Śīlāditya VI, dated Val. Saṁ. 441 (760 A.D.), record grant of the village Bahuvāṭaka in the Sūryāpura *viṣaya* to an A. V. Brāhamaṇa named Śambhulla, son of Dattila of the Pārāśara gotra, resident of Dahaka. (I. A. 6. 17).

(*11*) The Neulpur (Orissa) grant of Śubhākaradeva, dated in the ninth century records the grant of the village Solampur on the north bank of the Vaitaraṇi river near Jājpur to two hundred Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas fifty of which were followers of the Atharvaveda headed by Bhaṭṭa Purohita Bhavadeva. The gotras of the Brāhmaṇas are not given. (P. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*).

(*12*) Kaira (Gujarat) plates of the Gurjara king Dadda II assignable to the fifth century A. D., record grant of lands in the village Sirisapadra in the Akrura *viṣaya* to five A. V. Brāhamaṇas named Bhadra, Vāyuśarman, Droṇasvāmi, Rudrāditya and Pūrṇasvāmi of the Cauli gotra and *Paippalāda* Caraṇa who had migrated from Bharukaceha and resided in Bherajjikā along with thirty-five Brāhamaṇas of other Śākhās and Caraṇas. (I. A. 13. 81).

(*13*) The Belvā (Dināǰpur District, E. Bengal); plates of Vigrahapāla III, dated in the regnal year 11 (C. 1065, A.D.), record grant of lands in the village Lavaṇikāma in the Phāṇitavīthi *vishaya* of the Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇa Jayānandadevaśarman, great grandson of Mitrakaradeva, grandson of Hṛṣikeśadeva, and son of Śrīpatideva, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, follower of the *Paippalāda* Śākhā and well versed in Mīmāṁsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka, who had migrated from the village Vāhaḍā and had settled in the village Vellā [J. A. S. B. 17 (1951) p. 134 and E. I. 29. 10].

(*14*) The Goa plates of the Kadamba king Tribhuvanamalla, dated in Ś.1028 (1106, A.D.), record grants of lands to two A. V. Brāhmaṇas of the Śankha and Bhālandāyana gotras who were chief Purāṇikas of the king, well versed in the *Śāntika. Puṣṭika* mantras and tantras. (Sources of *Med. Hist. Dec.* B. I. S. M. Poona, 4. 45).

(*15*) Mānhainagar (Bengal) plates of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena issued from Dhāryagrāma record a grant of the village Dāpaniyāpāṭaka near Kāntipura in Varendra within the Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* on the occasion of the *Aindrī mahāśānti* ceremony on the 27th day of Śrāvaṇa to a Brāhmaṇa named Govindadevaśarman in charge of the house of the propitiatory rites (Śāntyāgārika), great grandson of Dāmodaradevaśarman, grandson of Rāmadevaśarman and son of the Kumāradevaśarman of the Kauśika gotra with three *pravaras* and a follower of the Paippalāda Śākhā of the Atharvaveda. (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. II).

(*16*) Kheḍ Māhuli (Sātārā Dist.), Mahārāshtra, stone inscription, dated Ś. 1499 (?). The incription is too much worn out but it seems to record the colonisation of some Atharvavedi Brāhmana families at the place (unpublished).

(*17*) The Hanampur (Dharwar Dist.) inscription of the 16th cent. A. D. mentions an A. V. Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the Gautama gotra, Kātyāyana sūtra and Mādhyandina Śākhā. (A. R. I-Ep. 1949-50, No. 85, p 25). The mention of the Mādhyandina Śākhā, which is really of the Yajurveda, along with the Atharvaveda shows how the Brāhmaṇas began to possess imperfect knowledge of the Veda to which they properly belonged.

(*18*) One of the inscriptions of the Cambodian (in S. E. Asia) king Rājendravarman, dated Ś. 883 (No. 97 of *Inscriptions of Cambodia* by R. C. Majumdar) speaks of the donee's knowledge of Sanskrit literature and of the Atharvaveda and the king Sūryavarman is said to be *Atharvaniśṇāta* (No. 160, v. 33). This shows that the A. V. Brāhmaṇās were living in Cambodia in the 9th century A. D. or at least the A. Veda was studied there.

6. The following gotras of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas are known from the inscriptions. Some of them are peculiar and are not found owned by Brāhmaṇas of the other Vedas. Ātreya, Bhālandāyana, Bhāradvāja, Cauli (or Cauliya), Droṇāyana, Gārgya, Gautama, Harakeri, Kālaśa, Kapiñjala, Kāśyapa, Keṃbaḷa, Kautsa, Kauśika, Kauśravasa, Parāśara, Śankha, Śrāviṣṭha, Valandāta.

7. Another point and it is the most important one, which arises from a study of the above given list of inscriptions referring to the A. V. Brāhmaṇas for the consideration of the scholars of Vedic research is this: Among the sixteen inscriptions referring to the A. V. Brāhmaṇas only four (Nos. 1, 12, 13 and 15) mention their Śākhā and it is the Paippalāda Śākhā. Not a single A. V Brāhmaṇa claiming to have belonged to the Śaunaki Śākhā is mentioned. The inscriptions which mention the Paippalāda Śākhā are found at Baśīm in Vidarbha, Kair in Gujarat and at Belvā and Madhainagar in Bengal and refer to the A. V. Brāhmaṇās in those places. It cannot therefore be said that the A. V. Brāhmaṇas of the Paippalāda śākhā were domiciled in a particular province and those of the Śaunaki śākhā in other provinces. Now we find that the Śaunakī Śākhā of the A. V. is more commonly known than the Paippalāda one It is the Śaunaki Saṁhitā which is commonly meant when the A. V. is mentioned in ancient and modern literature. (*Vedic Age* p. 233). Many manuscripts of that śākhā are found and only one imperfect birchbark manuscript of the Paippalāda śākhā was found in Kashmir and and one palm-leaf manuscript is recently found in Orissa. Sāyaṇāchārya who commented on the A. V. as on the three other Vedas, had only the Śaunaki Śākhā of the Veda before him. This presupposes the existance of a number of A. V. Brāhmaṇas of the

Śaunakī Śākhā and that of very few Brāhmaṇas of the Paippalāda Śākhā. The mss. of the Veda and the A. V. Brāhmaṇas found by S. P. Pandit in Mahārāshṭra and Gujarat, were all of the Śaunakī Śākhā and not a single ms. of the Paippalāda Śākhā was found though the inscriptions found in those provincies are of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Paippalāda Śākhā. Why not a single inscription of an A. V. Brāhmaṇa following the Śaunakī Śākhā is found is a mystery. On the contrary we ought to have found many mss. of the Paippalāda Śākhā and very few of the Śaunakī Śākhā.

According to the Muktikopanishad (13) the A. V. had fifty śākhās– अथर्वणस्य शाखाः स्युः पञ्चाशद्भेदतो हरेः। But the *Charaṇavyūha* records the following nine Śākhās only – Paippalāda, Tauda, Mauda, Śaunakī, Jābālā, Brahmavāda, Devādarśa, and Caraṇavedya. These nine śākhās are sometimes differently named as Paippalāda, Dānta, Pradānta, Auta, Jābāla, Śaunaka, Brahmapālāśa, Kunakhī, Vedadarśi and Caraṇavedya. Of these nine Śākhās only two Śākhās, the Paippalāda and the Śaunakī, are said to be existing in modern times. Inscriptions of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas which are dated from the fourth century A. D., mention the name of the P. Śākhā only. From the fact that manuscripts generally of the Ś : Śākhā and rarely of the P. Śākhā are found though the Ś. Śākhā is not mentioned in any inscription, it may be supposed that the other Śākhās of the Veda were lost before the fourth century A. D. It may be noted that the modern A. V. Brāhmaṇas from Mahārāṣṭra while performing their sandhyā profess to belong to the Paippalāda – Śaunakī Śākhā implying that both of them represent one Śākhā only! It seems that although the two śākhās the Paippalāda and the Śaunaki were existing the Paippalāda being the most ancient and important of all the A. V. Brāhmaṇas used to call themselves as belonging to the Paippalāda Śākhā. Dr. Buhler must be referring to these A. V. Brāhmaṇas who believed themselves to be Paippalādas and who in fact recited the Śaunakī version (see L. Renou, *The Vedic Schools and Epigraphy* p. 217 of *Siddhabhārati* or the *Rosary of Indology*).

8. The third thing revealed by an examination of the epigraphical records referring to A. V. Brāhmaṇas is this : Whether for the late formation and recognition of the Atharvaveda or for the peculiar mantras of a lower nature or for some other reasons it is certain that the number of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas seems to have been very small from the earliest times to this day. If a census of the Brāhmaṇas is taken according to the Vedas which they follow it will be found that the Yajurveda claims the largest number of its adherents. The number of the Ṛigvedi Brāhmaṇas comes next and that of the Sāmavedi and the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas is comparatively very small, the A. V. claiming the smallest number of them. The *Indian Antiquary* in the very first volume (1872) had stated thus, "why should not a census be taken of the several Vedas and Śākhās and of the more important sects of theosophy or religious philosophy (p. 163) (?)". Unfortunately this has never been done and will never be done. If the history of the formation of the Brāhmaṇa class and its usefulness to the Hindu society in general is taken into consideration this

proportion of the Brāhmaṇas is but quite natural. The Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas are found in a large majority both in north and south India. It is well known that the Brāhmaṇas form an overwhelming majority of the beneficiaries of the numerous donatory charters found in India. The above examination of the grants with reference to the Vedas which donees followed reveals the same fact. The proportion of the Brāhmaṇas has all along remained the same throughout the ages. Among the hundreds and thousands of the donatary charters given to the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vedas not more than fifteen charters are found granted to the A. V. Brāhmaṇas as may be seen from the above list. There might have been some cases where some Brāhmaṇas had changed their Vedas but it cannot change the proportion.

9. Some of the above mentioned inscriptions (No. 14 and 15) show that the A. V. Brāhmaṇas were generally employed by the royal families as their *Purohitas* and were in charge of the Śāntyāgara of the kings. They had to perform the Śāntika, Puṣṭika mantras and tantras. In fact the study of the Atharvaveda as detailed in Kāṇḍa 3, hymn 19, seems to have been a necessary qualification of the royal chaplain or Purohita as stated in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra : पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलषडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां च अभिविनीतमापदा दैवमानुषाणां अथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत । (१-५९).
The Purohitas were generally hereditary with the royal families and naturally wielded great influence with them. Its study was recommended to rulers and statesmen. Vaśiṣṭha is described as *Atharvanidhi* by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa (I. 59). He seems to have been an Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa and had to do the work of the Brahmā in sacrifices. The duty of the Brahmā in sacrifices was entrusted to those following the school of Vaśishṭha. King Rājendravarman of Kambuja in S. E. Asia is said to have studied the A. V. along with the Rāmāpaṇa, Mahābhārata, Pāṇini's *ashṭādhyāyī* and Rashuvaṁśa (*Inscriptions of Kambuja,* No. 97). Similarly another king of the same country named Sūryavarman who lived about 1002 A. D. is said to have been well versed in the Atharvaveda (*Atharvanisṇāta*) as well as in Bhāshya, Darśana and Dharmaśāstra (*ibid.*, No. 160, Vols. 33 and 34).

10. Although experts in their own Veda and in the priestly lore above-mentioned the A. Brāhmaṇas do not seem to have shone as literary authors. Among the Brāhmaṇa classical authors, who have casually mentioned their veda there is no body following the A. V. Although the A. V. Brāhmaṇas were generally royal purohits and lived at their courts, they had rarely composed the royal charters or other inscriptions of the kings. Pambeya Sarvottama who composed the above mentioned Chendlur grant of Sarvalokeśvara, dated 673 A.D. (No. 9) seems to be a solitery instance of an Atharvavedī inscriptional poet. He was no doubt a great scholar of Sanskrit literature. His skill in praising the valour and royal splendour of the king in two compound words only which fill five lines of the inscription is

really wonderful. (E. I. S. 228). An anonymous Atharvavedī is said to have written a grammatical treaties in Telugu and translated the Mahābhārata in Telgu in the 13th century A. D. (*Struggle for Empire,* p. 337).

12. The association of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas with the worship of the God Paraśurāma is noteworthy. The A. V. is known as Bhṛgu-Āngirasa Veda and Paraśurāma was the best of the Bhṛigus endowed with both priestly and martial qualities. It is but natural that he is worshiped by the A. V. Brāhmaṇas who must have possessed the martial qualities. It may be mentioned that the Chāṭsu inscription of the 7th century compares the Brāhmaṇa ruler Dharapaṭṭa of the Guhila family with Parśurāma. The A. V. Brāhmaṇas of the Punjab mentioned in the Nirmund plates of 612 A. D. referred to above, were in charge of the Paraśurāma temple and the plates were found tied in its walls. The Kheḍa-Māhuli (Satara District) inscription of Ś. 1499 noted above refers to the building of a temple of Paraśurāma and the colonisation of the A. V. Brāhmaṇa families. The place is mentioned as Paraśurāma Kṣetra in the Marathi historical records and is still known as such. There is an old Bhārgavarāma temple at Māhuli on the confluence of the Krishṇā and Veṇṇā which is still in charge of the A. V. Brāhmaṇas. The poet Bhavabhūti who was a Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇa was a great Vedic scholar (J. R. A. S. 1914) and had critically studied the A. V. as seen from several references to it in his Mahāvīrcharita, where he compares Paraṣurāma in I. 24 with his Brahmanic yet virile aspect with the Atharvaveda the repository of rites for benevolent as well as malevolent purposes of Śāntika, Puṣṭika and Abhicharika (V. Raghavan, Sārdhaśatābdi, Vol. A.S.B.).

THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MARATHA STATE

By

V. G. Dighe

The problem of sovereignty in the Maratha State involves a two-fold inquiry—search for the person or persons who wielded supreme or sovereign power in the State and examination of the process through which the person came to attain the supreme position.

Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha State, represented in himself the sovereign or ultimate authority. He directed all the activities of the State and ruled as well as reigned. The final authority rested solely in him, and his ministers were his secretaries who carried out his orders.

Shivaji stood for unadulterated indepedence; he declared that his objective was to establish *Hindavi* Swaraj on *Maharashtra* Raj. He wanted a national home for his people and this he achieved by his able leadership and by an appeal to race and religion. The Marathas would be free in the State of their own and would become the spearhead of opposition to Muslim ascendancy. The dominant position which the Marathas occupied in the armies and the councils of the Deccan Sultanates and the *Bhakti* Movement which worked for social amelioration and brought about the emotional integration of the people—facilitated his work. Shivaji always acted as an independent sovereign; he refused to be dictated by others and pursued his policies independently, struck coin in his own name and had his own seal. His coronation in 1674 declared the independence of his State in a formal way.

With the return of Shahu there was a shift in political thinking. Taken captive when a young boy of seven, Raja Shahu had passed the impressionable years in Mughal camp. He had been deeply influenced by the pomp and splendour of the Mughal Court and the great awe and reverence with which the Padishah was held by his subjects. He imbibed this reverence for the empire and was unable to grasp the significance of the great upsurge in his homeland. Though his release had been effected by the virtual triumph of Maratha arms over Mughal hordes, he accepted the subordinate position of a vassal. He looked to the imperial Court for recognition of his succession, and he was not happy till he obtained from Delhi the Sanads of *Swaraj, Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* in 1719. Swaraj literally means 'our own sovereignty'; though this had been created by Maratha arms it came to be dependent on a grant from the Emperor. Chauth was one-fourth share of

the revenue of the six subhas of the Deccan and Sardeshmukhi one-tenth of the same.

"For the Swaraj territory Shahu promised to pay to the imperial treasury a peskhush or tribute of ten lacs of rupees; for the sardeshmukhi he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves to punishment or restore the stolen amount and to pay the usual fee of six hundred and fifty-one per cent. on the annual income. For the grant of Chauth, he agreed to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the subahdar of the Deccan for preserving order and tranquillity[1]."

These grants have been differently interpreted by Maratha historians; Sardesai and others, oblivious of their legal implication read in them the recognition of the independent status of the Maratha kingdom and of their claims to the tribute from the six subhas, of the Deccan. Others would go to the other extreme and would call the Sanads gilded chains for which Raja Shahu bartered away the independence of his native country and altogether deny an independent status for the Maratha kindgom. To them the Maratha State became a tributary of the empire—a tributory who was thoroughly disloyal and worked against his master's interest.

Further documentary evidence in favour of the second interpretation could be cited. The action of Maratha chiefs when they crossed into Hindustan, lends support to this view. When Baji Rao Peshwa was negotiating for the chauth of Malwa he asked for a hereditary estate under the crown, grants of mansabs and jagirs for himself and his chiefs. Khan Dauran and Jai Singh who stood for appeasment, represented to the emperor, that the Peshwa was ready to serve the imperial government provided his requests were granted. The negotiations in 1736, 1738, 1743 followed the same pattern. In 1752 while undertaking the defence of the empire against the Abdali, all that the Maratha chieftains, Sindhia and Holkar—asked for was the Subahdari of Agra and Ajmere and the chauth from the Punjab, Sind and Doab. In 1785 Mahadji Sindhia obtained from the phantom emperor the title and robes of the post of Vakil-i-Mutlaq for the master.

Is it then safe to conclude that in law the Maratha State had no independent status, and that its position was no better than a dependency of the empire? Do not Maratha coins bearing the legend of emperor Shah Alam, lend further support to this interpretation?

This dismal interpretation is contrary to truth and goes against facts. It is a distortion of truth to say that 'swaraj' was a gift of the emperor.

[1] Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, (1921, ed.), Vol. I, p. 334.

To use Hastings' phraseology "the sword had given the Marathas the dominion of the Deccan and it was presumptuous of the emperor to give what was not his to give." In seeking recognition Shahu was but subscribing to the 18th century convention. With the decline of the empire, the emperor became a legendary figure. Whoever ruled in the distant provinces, ruled in the name of the Mughal emperor, as his deputy. Shahu followed the same course.

Shahu's ministers and successors were realists and the total eclipse of the Mughal empire was not lost on them. The stipulations attached to the grants of payment of peshcush and fees of six hundred and fifty-one per cent. on the annual income of the Deccan computed at eighteen crores of rupees were never observed and an agreement whose conditions were not observed could not be held as valid.

There is a second and a very plausible reason why Shahu obtained these documents. He wanted to reduce political and communal tensions. On the strength of these documents the Marathas could persuade the neighbouring Muslim Subahdars and Rajput Rajas that they were acting in behalf of the emperor and could always hope to get allies at the Mughal court. If the successors of Baji Rao had understood and followed his conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs and Jats the disaster of Panipat could have been averted.

Malcolm aptly points out, "Bajerow and his principal leaders, content with the profit and substance of what they had attained, so far from weakening impression, or alarming prejudice, by the assumption of rank and state seem to have increased in their professions of humility, as they advance in power. They affected a scrupulous sense of inferiority in all their intercourse and correspondence with the Emperors, and with their principal chiefs, particularly the Rajpoot princes. The Maratha leaders, indeed, not only submitted to be treated, in all points of form and ceremony, as the inferiors of those whose countries they had despoiled and usurped, but in hardly any instance considered the right of conquest as a sufficient title to the smallest possession. Grants for every usurpation were sought, and obtained, from those who possessed the local sovereignty. By this mode of proceeding, which was singularly suited to the feelings of a people like the inhabitants of India, who may be generally described as inveterate in their habits and abhorrent of change, they evaded many of those obstacles which had impeded former conquerors[1]."

The argument of Mughal sovereignty in the Maratha State if stretched too far, is likely to lead to an erroneous position. Princes of India like the Nizam or the Nawab of Oudh, made haste on their accession to obtain

[1] Sir John Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, Vol. I, p. 67.

a formal confirmation in their offices and were willing to pay a price for it. They continued to strike coins in the emperor's name. Their seals declared them humble servants of the emperor. Unlike these Mughal subahdars, no Raja of Satara after Shahu or his ministers ever looked to Delhi for recognition of their succession. The conferment of Vakil-I-Mutlaq in 1785 in no way affected the Maratha sovereign position at home. No Peshkash or tribute was ever paid for territory held in Maharashtra. The Nazar that was occasionally offered by the Peshwa's vakil at Delhi was a ceremonial and a Court etiquette which the eastern mind of the Marathas could not violate. Much need not be read into it. The name of the emperor does not appear either in the seal of the Raja of Satara or of the Peshwa. Neither is it ever mentioned in the treaties concluded by the Maratha State with neighbouring powers. Maratha documents use the Shivaji era and not the Mughal era. From 1750 onwards all treaties were concluded in the name of the Peshwa and even the Raja of Satara is not mentioned. Maratha policies, internal or external, were at no stage ever under the dictation of the Mughal crown. Whatever the forms of the eighteenth century, it is obvious that Maratha position in its homeland and in its early conquests in Malwa and Bundelkhand, was that of a sovereign ruler.

The later conquests made by Mahadji Sindhia belong to a different category. There Sindhia was distinctly operating on behalf of the emperor—and the Maratha position is equivocal, if not altogether subordinate.

We may now turn to the second aspect of our inquiry. Wherein did sovereignty or ultimate authority rest in the Maratha State? Now it might be contended that in ancient India Dharma was the supreme authority; the moral order was set down by ancient sages and philosophers; that kings or their ministers could not transgress this order; in their executive capacity they merely upheld or preserved it. Dharma or the moral order, I look upon as a kind of benign influence to which sovereigns tried to conform, it had no dictatorial authority. It was a vague indefinite kind of influence and its violation involved no punishment. Such an intangible kind of influence we may leave out of account in our discussion and concentrate on the tangible.

The administrative structure in medieval times was a simple one, government activities centering round defence from foreign enemies and security from turbulent element at home. Defence called for an efficient army which for its proper functioning needs unity of command. The leader of the hosts who could successfully beat back the enemy, naturally came to occupy the first place in the State. He became the king. For internal security the monarch looked to the support of the artistocracy. This privileged order at the centre formed the King's court and advised him on the conduct of administration.

In the Maratha policy we thus find political power resting in the highest executive, the crowned prince. Shivaji was his own master and as remarked above, ruled as well as reigned. In his Council no minister possessed overriding authority. This was left in the hands of the sovereing himself.

Shivaji's successors did not possess his tireless energy and came to rely more and more on their ministers. Sambhaji resigned his authority to his minister Kalasha, while in the fugitive Rajaram's reign the exigency of the situation required that the king should give a free hand to his advisers. In his absence in the South, Ramchandra Amatya and Shankaraji Sachiv directed Maratha activities on their own initiative. Even at Jinji, Rajaram resigned himself to the advice of another Minister the Pratinidhi.

FEUDALIZATION

In the interregum from Sambhaji's capture to the home-coming of Shahu in May 1707 conditions in Maharashtra were abnormal. The machinery of government as devised by Shivaji broke down. A number of Maratha captains raised forces on their own, led expeditions in Mughal provinces and made collection of revenues from which they reimbursed themselves. Shahu when he returned home with a handful of body-guards was called upon to establish his superior claims against local Mughal officers and the protege of his aunt Tara Bai and set up his authority over the war-lords. At first the patriotic tradition of his grand-father, the bitter memory of the sufferings of his father and the support of Zulfiqar Khan enabled him to hold his own against his rivals. But this initial advantage needed to be buttressed by personal valour and leadership in a country bristling with arms. Shahu lacked the commanding talents and energy of his grand-father, and the patriotic tradition could not help him long; he was scarcely able to hold his own against the party of his aunt, when the support of Zulfiqar Khan was gone. Balaji Vishwanath who became Peshwa in 1713, in face of mounting difficulties came to realize that it was no longer possible to adhere to Shivaji's old constitution under which the king, aided by his eight ministers, was the sole ruler of his dominions. The King's position as against the warlords who made themselves practically independent in several parts of the Deccan, had deteriorated. The only way to save the kingship being submerged and the country being involved in civil war and turmoil, was to accept the chiefs as vassals, with practically free reins in their territory, to acknowledge them as hereditary jagirdars who would bring their armies to the command standard when called upon, but otherwise would have a free hand in the management of their chiefs. Shahu accepted the advice of his minister, concluded an agreement with Angria on these lines, gave similar freedom of action to other chiefs. A revolution in feudalizing the Maratha State began.

Shahu's stay-at-home policy accelerated the process of feudalization and the want of capacity in his successors completed it. The chiefs who raised

LAND TENURES OF MALABAR

By

T. K. Ravindran, M.A., LL.B.

The Malabar land system, with all its multiplicity and complexity, which tend to baffle the minds that approach to study it, cannot be taken as a mere historical accident. It is not the choice of the people made in a day or two, but is an inevitable result of the peculiar circumstances, occasions, tempers, dispositions and moral, civil and social habitudes of the people which disclose themselves only in a long space of time.

In the evolution of the land system of this country, several factors have played their part such as the geographical character, sociological considerations, the vicissitudes of political history and the religious attitude of the people.

The speciality of Malabar law is, that it is customary. This is variously described in Malayalam as "Maryāda", "Mārgam" and "Āchāram", which regulates every phase of the individual life in Malabar – the family conditions and constitution, inheritance and succession and various facets of agricultural relations, especially the system of land holding. During the British period full recognition was given by the courts and legislation to customs and usages. From times immemorial, the relations of the landlord and tenants were decided by "Kāṇa Janma Maryāda" (rules concerning Kāṇam and Janmam, the agrarian law of the country). There were in currency local customs, class customs and family customs in regard to land tenures.

To understand properly the land tenures of Malayalis, one should have some knowledge of the early history of the castes and classes and the religious pursuits of the people. It is one of the dismal events of this history that the ancient proprietors of land like the Pulayars, Idayars and Villavars, were deprived of their ownership rights, imperceptibly, without the use of arms, and vested in a few Nambudiri Brahmins, living under the shadow of a sanctimonious nimbus. As Logan pointed out "It is, therefore, first of all necessary to realise the fundamental idea that certain castes and classes in the State were told off to the work of cultivation and the land was made over to them *in trust* for that purpose and in trust that shares of produce due to the persons in authority should be faithfully surrendered".[1]

It will be interesting to examine the history of this 'trust' and the element of truth contained in the stories behind the creation of this trust. The Aryan

[1] Logan, W., *Malabar*, p. 605.

men and money for distant expeditions on their own, could not be expected to be subservient to royal commands and render minute accounts to court officers, when the sovereign himself gave no directive and showed little interest in distant operations. The Peshwa or chief-minister who could have saved royal authority from falling into disuse, himself became the leading feudal chief and kept his conquests on the west-coast and in Hindustan to himself. The example set by the Peshwa was copied by other ministers and chiefs. The Pratinidhi, Sachiv, Senapati and other cabinet-members, though they retained their nominal rank, became transformed into hereditary feudatories and the new war-lords that had sprung during the war with Aurangzeb, swelled their ranks.

RISE OF THE PESHWA

For quite some time the revolution was not apparent. The King's authority was bolstered up by his very able Peshwas, Balaji Vishwanath, his son Baji Rao I and his grandson Balaji. The Peshwas with other ministers attended the Raja's court, and when absent on campaigns were represented by their deputies. The king was kept informed of happenings outside and was formally consulted on all matters of importance. But as the Maratha State expanded the Peshwas showed themselves great leaders of men and far outstripped other ministers. No wonder that the grateful sovereign came to rely more and more on the Peshwa than the other ministers who chose the case of the capital and kept at home, contenting themselves with giving advice. The result was that the Peshwa who originally was one of the eight ministers, came to occupy the first position in the kings council.

This was confirmed by Raja Śhahu himself. On his death-bed he wrote two wills or rescripts. The first says "we order that you should command the forces. The Government of the empire must be carried on. You are to take measures to preserve the kingdom. Our successors will not interfere with your post". The other paper was a solemn injunction to the Raja's successors to maintain the Peshwa in power.

Armed with these documents, the Peshwa called a meeting of the council and declared that he would administer the kingdom on behalf of the dead Raja's successor. The successor being an inexperienced youth brought up in humble circumstances, was in no position to oppose the Peshwa, and gave his written sanction that the Peshwa's authority should be obeyed. The Pratinidhi, Raghuji Bhonsle, and others who showed themselves recalcitrant, were over-awed. Thus from 1750, the supreme authority in the Maratha Government came to be exercised by the Brahmin Peshwa in the name of the Maratha sovereign, who became a shadowy figure, a mere cipher. Though he continued to be publicly honoured and issued ceremonial dresses, he had no authority in the conduct of administration and even his household expenses came to be controlled by the vice-regent.

The East India Company in its dealing with the Marathas, recognised this position and showed itself anxious to come to an understanding with the head of the Maratha Government, the Peshwa. In Raghoba it found a willing tool to carry out its policies and supported his candidature for the Peshwaship. When that policy failed by the diplomacy of Nana Phadnavis, it raised Mahadji Sindhia as mediator between the two parties, rousing the jealously of the Poona Government. Wellesley's anxiety to separate the Peshwa from the confederacy can be understood only when we take into consideration his supreme position in the Maratha State. The treaties of 1803, concluded by the Company with the various Maratha Chiefs snapped the bonds uniting them with the Peshwa, but it required another war to make the chiefs accept the position.

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Brahmins (Nambudiris) after their advent in Malabar in the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, began to exert great influence on the social, political, economic and religious life of the people. It was a period of great religious activity and the dissemination of Aryan culture in the South. As a symbol of this religious dynamism, scores of temples appeared throughout the length and breadth of Kerala.[2]

Alongside this religious upheaval there occurred an economic awakening which to a great extent modulated the cultural life of the people. Temples became the centres of all activities. That is why almost all the great cities of ancient Kerala, sprang up around these abodes of worship. Emperors, Rājas, Nāduvālis and Dēsavālis used to build temples and bequeath vast landed estates for their maintenance. The administration of these landed property was vested in a body of Brahmins known as "Ūrāla Samiti". When the temples increased in number in course of time, a major portion of the landed property came in the hands of these assemblies of Brahmins.[3]

Another significant fact regarding the concentration of property in the hands of the Brahmins was that people of considerable wealth used to donate most of their lands to temples in order to secure spiritual solace and also to get exemption from land taxes. Much of the private property in Malabar was thus converted into temple property or Devaswam. Generally when a gift was made, the deed used to specify the names of the persons in whom the right to cultivate the land should be vested. These legal heirs were known as "Kārālars". Usually, the "Kārāima" or the right to hold these temple property was held by the grantors themselves.[4]

Even though the Nāttukūttams (district assemblies) Ūr Kūttams (provincial assemblies), Nāduvālis and "Kōyil Adhikāris" (the direct representative of the Perumal), exerted control over the Ūrāla Samiti in course of time that control seems to have been relaxed. Several rules and regulations were being framed to prevent the Ūrālars from usurping the rights of the Kārālars and from converting the Dēvasvams into Brahmasvams. These rules were known as "Mūzhikala Kachcham" — rules framed at Mūzhikalam.[5] By the time we reach the 11th century, these regulations became totally ineffective. The power and prestige of the Nambudiris increased as the wealth had flown to them from all quarters. The Nāttukūttams and Ūr Kūttams began to support the Ūrālars because the influential members of these assemblies were also the members of the Ūrāla Samitis.

At first the Ūrānma right was not hereditary but later on it turned to be so and the Kārāima began to be absorbed by the Ūrānma. This resulted in the apportioning of the temple property between the members of the

[2] Pillai, E. P. N. K., *Janmi System in Kerala*, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
[4] *Ibid*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Ūrāla Samiti. An instance in point is given by Dr. K. K. Pillai who says that in 8th century A. D., the nine members of the Ūrāla Samiti of Suchindrum Temple apportioned the whole Dēvasvam lands among themselves.[6] When the same Brahmins had the Ūrānma rights in the properties of more than one temple, they began to exchange, buy or sell these rights. This mode of disposal was known as "Vechu māral".[7]

Before the Ūrānma right became hereditary, the members of the Samiti were allowed to hold it for their life-time or 'Janmam'. That means they had only a life interest in the land as was indicated by the word janmam. Even after the Ūrālar became the hereditary holder, the term Janman might have been used to show that they had no permanent and absolute interest in the temple lands. This term was later on interpreted by the Brahmins as containing the meaning that they are the real owners of the land.

The characteristic feature of the land system in Malabar is the perplexing complexity and subtle variety of its sub-tenures. Usually ownership of land would be concentrated in the hands of people who could wield the spade or the sword. But that principle does not apply to the Brahmin settlers of Malabar, who as a general rule, were the least inclined to fight or plough. It was their spiritual influence and superior intellect that performed the miracle of making them the Jannis of the major portion of the landed estates in Malbar. Because they were not willing to cultivate the lands that came under their possession, they had to devise ways and means to do that. On most favourable terms they began to alienate property by mortgage and lease, permanent or temporary. Thus the different kinds of land tenures began to appear.

The invention of these leases and mortgages exhibit the keen ingenuity of the Malayalis. The owner cultivators were very few in number Dr. Buchanan says that before the invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali, a few of the Nambudiris cultivated their estates by means of their slaves called Cherumars and these industrious Brahmins were said to have received the Janmam pāṭṭam or full produce of their lands.[8] But a greater number of landlords let their lands to farmers. These farmers in their turn used to sublet the property and this process continued, till the land reached the agricultural labourers who cultivated it of their own accord, utilising their own labour power. Thus between the Janmi or landlord and the agricultural labourers there are numerous intermediaries.

Janmam: We cannot go deep into the details of the nature and incidents of the various tenures that exist in Malabar such as Janmam, Kāṇam, Kuzhikāṇam, Pāṭṭam, Verumpāṭṭam, for they are too complicated to be dealt with

[6] Pillai, K. K., *The Suchindram Temple*, p. 156.
[7] Pillai, E. P. N. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71.
[8] Buchanan, F., *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, pp. 360-61.

in a few pages. The historical background of the emergence of Janmam tenure has already been drawn out in the foregoing paragraphs. Bitter controversies arose on the point whether the Janmis are the real owners of the soil having absolute right or whether they have the rights of ouster over the tenants. This is the great Serbonian bog where armies whole have sunk. Major Walker says: "The Janmakaran possesses the entire right to the soil and no earthly authority can with justice deprive him of it".[9] The British administrators, though they admitted the proprietory right of the Janmi, were not inclined to recognise the allodial right which they claimed. Mr. Thackeray also admits the Janmam right as conveying full, absolute property in the soil, when he says, "Every public and private authority, except Tippu, appears to have recognised it and the people of Malabar have shown that they are able and willing to defend it with stronger arguments than words and at all events whether the right existed or not, it would be impolitic and unjust to call it in question.....The Janmakar or proprietor can dispose of his land as he pleases, by executing the deeds of transfer he transfers it to an individual, by treason he forfeits it to the sovereign. If he dies intestate without heirs, it escheats to the state, but as the Janmakars claim to the right of adoption, and power to devising their lands to whom they please, but chiefly to Pagodas, land seldom reverts to the State for want of heirs".[10] As Wilks pointed out this hereditary right to landed property is indefeasible even by the longest prescriptive occupancy; the heir may at any distance of time reclaim his patrimony on paying the expenses of such improvements as may have been made in the estate."[11]

That this view was supported by the authorities in England and the Board of Revenue could be seen from the Minutes of the Board of Revenue dated 5th January 1818 which stated: "In the Province of Malabar the exclusive rights of the ryot to the hereditary possession and usufruct of the soil is known by the term jenmam or birth right and originally belonged exclusively to the natives of that Province. The Janmakars were the independent owners of the land. They held by right of birth, not of the prince, but in common with him and therefore may be considered as having possessed a property in the soil more absolute than even those of the landlords of Europe".[12] The rights and privileges of the Janmis were clearly upheld by the British authorities through the agency of Courts and legislations. The Sudder Adalat Court in its Proceedings in 1854 laid down for the guidance of the subordinate courts that the Janmi's right of absolute ownership was paramount and since then all judicial authorities have recognised it.[13]

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[9] Walker, *Report*, p. 29.

[10] *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28.

[11] Wilks, *Report*, Vol. I, p. 95.

[12] *Minute of the Board of Revenue*, 5th January 1818, paragraph 3.

[13] *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28.

But it is doubtful whether the earliest British administrators in Malabar had in view this absolute nature of the Janmis' rights. On 29th of June 1803, Mr. Rickards, the first judge and Principal Collector of Malabar issued in Calicut a Proclamation which was delivered to the Rajas, Nambudiris, Mookistans and principal landholders.[14] This Proclamation has not only defined the share due to the Kudians but also fixed permanently the share of the produce to the Government and the share due to the Janmi. The apportionment of the produce as per the Proclamation is as follows :

Kudiyān	..	1/12 of the gross produce.
Janmi	..	1/5 of the gross produce.
Government	..	3/10 of the gross produce.
Total	..	1

The several facts stated in this document succinctly show that the Janmis were prevented by the early Rulers of the Company from exacting anything more than their legitimate share. They did not recognise the unlimited and absolute right of the Janmi. This Proclamation was based on the custom prevailing in Malabar from time immemorial. The later administrators overlooked this fact and placed Janmi on a par with the 'dominus' of Roman Law. As Logan observed "The civil courts acting on the idea that the Janmi was a dominus and as such entitled to take what he could get out of the land, viewed his pledges as pledges of the soil itself, and in this way, they have almost completely upset the native system of customary sharing of the produce".[15] In his Report of 1882, as the Special Commissioner to investigate the grievances of tenants in Malabar, Logan maintained that prior to the commencement of the British rule, no private property in European sense of the term existed in Malabar, that Janmam right did not import absolute property in the soil, that the three classes connected with the land—the Janmi, the Kanakkar and the actual cultivator—had been co-proprietors entitled each to one-third share of the net produce. He was of the opinion that the Kanam tenure was practically a permanent one that actual cultivators were entitled to one-third of the net produce and that the toddy drawers, carpenters, blacksmiths and other people of the humbler classes possessed with the Janmis co-ordinate interests in the soil termed "cheru janmam", or small birth right.[16] The mistake of the civil courts resulted ultimately in the excessive renewal fees and social tyranny of the Janmis which resulted in agrarian discontent. Logan described the cultivating classes "as rapidly degenerating into a state of insolvent cotterism".

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[14] Logan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 354.
[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 611.
[16] *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28.

Kāṇam : The next important land tenure is Kāṇam. Mr. Warden observed : "The common tenure upon which the ryot holds his ground of the Janmakār is what is called Kāṇam".[17] Originally this was a military tenure granted to the protecting classes. As supervisors or Kānakkār they collected the share of produce due to Janmi. When hard pressed the Janmis used to borrow from the Kāṇakkār. In proportion to the sum borrowed the Kāṇakkār deducted from the Pāṭṭam collected by him for the Janmi, a quantity of produce sufficient to meet the interest on the sum lent. The rates and the balance of produce alone went to the Janmi.[18] In course of time, this tenure imperceptibly altered its complexion. Service tenures were not at all a necessity then. The old Kāṇakkār were not subject to redemption or ejection. But later on Janmi began to exercise the ouster right against them, indiscriminately whether old or new.

Kāṇam partakes the character of both a lease and a mortgage. It is described in the Sudder Court Proceedings as a mortgage with possession; the mortgagee recovers interest on the money he had advanced from the produce of the land, and the balance is paid over to the Janmi as net rent, or 'Michavāram'.[19] In most cases provision is made for the rent also, thus making it a lease. The peculiarity of Kāṇam is that it is never foreclosed and is redeemable after the lapse of 12 years on payment of the amount advanced and the value of the improvements, if any. In a Kāṇam lease, the lease is the substantial thing, the security being a minor matter. In the case of Kāṇam mortgage, the amount advanced is substantial the Michavāram being but a trifle. The British Courts have regarded Kāṇam transactions as anomalous mortgages except when no amount is advanced in which case the transaction is regarded as a lease.[20]

Kāṇam is better described in one of the letters written by the Dutch Traveller, Jacob Canter Visscher in 1743. He observes : "Kāṇam is a mode of loan which is very common and can only be explained by example. Thus supposing a man has a garden worth 10000 panams, he demises it for 8000 or 9000 panams, retaining for the remainder of the value the right to the proprietorship of the estate. For these 1000 panams or 2000 panams the purchaser must pay an interest. If the seller wishes at the end of some years to buy back his estate he must restore 8000 or 9000 panams and pay in addition the sum of money that shall have been fixed by men commissioned to value the improvements made upon the property in the interim by fresh plantations of cocoa palms or other fruit trees".[21] From this statement it is evident that the Janmi, as he stood at that time, had the right of redemption

17 *Report on the Conditions of Palghat and other divisions of Balabar*, 19th March, 1801.

18 Logan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 610.

19 *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Visscher, J. C., *Letters from Malabar* (Major Duray's Translation).

and the Kāṇakkār possessed the right to the value of improvements effected by him. If the Kāṇakkār refused to pay the rent. or michavāram, the Janmi had the right to evict him.

The renewal of Kāṇam was supposed to be a prerogative inherent in Janmam right. It will be specified in the Kāṇam deed (Kāṇadhāram) that after the lapse of a certain number of years (commonly 12 years) it should be renewed. This was known as Mēlchārth. In his report on the land tenures Gream describes the system of renewal and its incidents. He states "The 'Polichelu thu' (renewal fee) payable under this deed seems intended as an equivalent for the tenant's profit named 'chirlābham' which he has derived from the land. On the demise of the tenant, it is a fine of entry to his succession, the amount of it and the frequency of its renewal seem to depend upon the quality of the soil and the chirlābham which has been enjoyed by the tenant. The latter is generally ascertained by the competition of neighbours who offer better terms to the proprietors".[22] The renewal entitled the Janmakkār to a remission of a fixed percentage on his original debt. By such periodical renewals and committant deductions the land in process of time becomes disencumbered of its Kāṇam and the lease naturally fell in, unless the heirs in succession may have been satisfied.

Varieties of Kāṇam.—There are numerous varieties of Kāṇam tenure, some of which may have gone into desuetude. The proceedings of the court of Sudder Adalat at Madras dated 5th August 1856 notices about 24 tenures including Janmam and Kāṇam. Justice Kunhuraman Nayar says, in Travancore there were more than 100 tenures in use to designate tenures subordinate to Janmam. We shall discuss some of the important varieties.[23]

Kettiadakkam Kāṇam.—is a species of Kāṇam mortgage in which the interest upon the sum advanced absorbs the whole rent of the land. It does not amount to an oṭṭi in which the interest on the sum borrowed wipes out the whole of Janmi's share of the produce and the mortgagee does not hold the right of pre-emption.[24]

Kāṇam Puṟamkadam or *Puṟa Vāippa.*—is the further loan which the Kāṇakkār makes to the Kāṇam mortgagor on the security of the land already demised to him on Kāṇam. The Janmi can raise still another loan from a third party, if he grants a second Kāṇam on the same property to him and the latter will be entitled to possession on paying off the Kāṇam amount due to the first Kāṇakkār.[25]

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[22] Wigram, *Malabar Law and Customs*, pp. 106-08.
[23] Menon, K. P. P., *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, p. 311.
[24] Strachey, J., *A Report on the Northern Division of Malabar*, 7th March 1801, p. 3, paragraph 14
[25] Nair, E. G., *The Malabar Tenancy Act*, 1929.

Kuzhikāṇam.—It is described in the Sudder Court proceedings as the mortgage of waste land with a view to its being planted. In the event of the tenant failing to reclaim the land, plant trees, or otherwise fulfil the conditions of the deed, or deny the landlord's title, he may be dispossessed by the landlord before the expiration of the period specified. Barring this, there is no difference between this tenure and Kāṇam.[26]

Kāṇam Kuzhikāṇam is a mortgage of waste land for improvement, the landlord receiving some pecuniary consideration. As the tenant possesses a pecuniary interest in the land, he cannot be dispossessed for neglect to improve it.[27]

Kuṭṭi Kāṇam is a mortgage of forest land, the mortgagee felling timber and paying a fee on each stump or tree to the landlord.[28]

Mēlkāṇam.—If the tenant is not prepared to make an advance, the landlord will have recourse to a stranger in whose favour he will execute a Mēlkāṇam. So, it is a Kāṇam given by the Janmi to a third party, with power to redeem an outstanding Kāṇam. It is created by a document known as "Mēlchārth" and is treated as a mortgage. It operates for 12 years from the date of the execution of the melcharth and not for 12 years from the date of redemption of the earlier Kāṇam.

Oṭṭi is described as a usufructuary mortgage, the full value of the land being advanced. The entire produce of the land goes to the mortgagee for interest, the landlord merely retaining the proprietory title and the right to redeem.[30] In the Sudder Court Proceedings of 5th August 1856, it is stated that where no period is stipulated, the landlord may pay off the mortgage at any time but it has since been decided that it cannot be redeemed before 12 years. In Kumini Ama V. Parkam Kulseri, it is observed that an Otti differs from a Kāṇam only in two respects. "First in the right of pre-emption, which the Ottidar possesses in case the Janmi wished to sell the premises and secondly, in the amount secured which is generally so large as practically to absorb the whole rent."[31] By denial of Janmi's title the right to retain possession for 12 years is forfeited. A Kāṇam free from payment of rent is not an Otti. It goes under different names in different parts of Kerala. It is called *Veppu* in Palaghat and *Palisamadakkam* in Walluvanad. Other names are *Vari madakkam. Nir ozhikka Otti; Nir Palisa.*[32]

[26] Maclean, C. D., *Standing Information Regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency* p. 113; Stratchery, *op. Cit.*, paragraph 16, p. 4.
[27] Nair, *op. cit.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Nair, *op. cit.*

Perũartham.—approximates to Otti and it is transaction under which the land is mortgaged for its full value and can only be redeemed on payment of the full market value at the time of the redemption, the tenant having the benefit of any rise in value. It is also known as *Alukiva Aṭṭipēr.*[33]

Kaividuga Oṭṭi.—The chief incident of this is that it is redeemable on payment of the amount originally advanced.[34]

Oṭṭikum Puram.—is a charge for further advance made by the Ottidar which the mortgager undertakes to pay along with the amount. It bears the same relation to Otti as Puramkanam to Kāṇam.[35]

Aṭṭiper.—is the transfer of the entire proprietory right of a Janmi.[36]

Other Mortgage Tenures

These are more or less equivalent to simple mortgages and mortgages with possession as defined in section 58 of the Transfer of Property Act.[37] Some of them are Paṇayam, Chūndi Paṇayam, Thoḍu Paḷayam, Kaivāsa Paṇayam; Kari Paṇayam; Kozhu paṇayam or Kodhu-erakkam Paṇayam; Achu-palisa or Kudiyirupad.[38]

Janma Paṇayam.—is the transaction by which the landlord relinquishes the power to redeem his land and nothing is left to him but a nominal proprietorship. He cannot sell the proprietory right to any but the Janma Paṇayam holder.[39]

Paṇayam.—The term used alone or in connection with Chōōndi or Thoḍu means a simple mortgage. If usufructuary it is called Kari Paṇayam, or Kaivaśa Paṇayam, or Kozhu-erakam Paṇayam. If no period is fixed, it is redeemable at any time[40]

Keṭṭiyaḍakkam.—is described by Major Walker, as usufructuary mortgage, the mortgager remaining in possession till he makes default in payment of interest in which event the mortgage may enter.[41]

Uṇḍaruthi Paṇayam.—is usufructuary mortgage where both principal and interest is paid out of the usufruct. Under this the landlord receives in

[33] Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*, p. 262.
[34] *Ibid.*, Gream, *Glossary*, note on the term Otti
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Transfer of Property Act.*
[38] *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28, paragraph 20.
[39] *Ibid.*, paragraph 27.
[40] Macleam, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.
Baden-Powell, B. H., *A Manual of the Land Revenue Systems and Land Tenures of British India*, p. 665.
[41] Walker, *Report*, 1801.

advance the rent for a certain number of years and the land is let to the tenant for the same period. The tenant has no more payments to make to the landlord. When the period expires, the land is returned to the landlord.[42]

Leases

There are tenures partaking the character of leases both temporary and permanent.

Temporary Leases.—

Verumpaṭṭam.—is a simple lease. Where no term is fixed, it tenures for one year only. Sometimes it is for longer periods. This thus under various names : Veṛumkari or Verum kozhu, meaning a bare lease, i.e., one unaccompanied by an advance. In Verum Paṭṭam generally a rent of 2/3rd of the produce of the land is annually paid by the tenant to the landlord. Sometimes, after deducting the bare cost of seed and cultivation, the whole of the estimated net produce is payable to the landlord. The tenant is in fact a labourer on subsistence wages liable to be turned out when the landlord chooses. In certain cases, a year's rent called Muppattam will be paid in advance at the commencement of the tenancy as security for the annual payment of rent which will be refunded at the determination of the lease. This is otherwise known as Talappaṭṭam or Kaṭṭa Kāṇam.[43]

Kuli Kalam and *Kuli Kanam Pattam* are improvement leases, the former applying to waste lands and the latter partly to cultivated and partly not. The lease enures for 12 years.[44].

Paṇḍārapāṭṭam.—As a rule no fee is paid to the leaser but in case of Pandarapattam lands (lands belonging to the Rajas), a fee is paid by the lessee usually at the rate of one rupee for every Paras seed area. By the payment of this fee the lessee acquires a right to hold for 12 years.[45]

Perpetual Leases : Or Śāśwatham :

The Śāśwatham leases do not require renewal and run either for the life time of the lessee or until failure of heirs. They mostly involve an element of service either past or future or both. The grant, if made to a Brahmin is called *Santati Brahmaswam*, if made to one of equal or higher class non-Brahmin, it is called *Anubhavam ;* if to a low class man, Aḍima, or Kuḍima, or Aḍima Yavana or Kuḍima Janma, or Kuḍimanir.[46] A nominal fee is ordinarily payable to the Janmi in acknowledgement of his title in which case, it is

[42] Maclean, *op. cit.*
[43] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 366. Stratechey, *op. cit.*, p. 4, paragraphs 17, 20, 21.
[44] Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
[45] Farmer, W., *Report on Malabar Land Tenures*, 1793.
[46] Logam, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. xix.

called *Karam Kari* or Janma Kozhu.[47] Where the tenure is one for service in connection with temples, it is called Kārāima. Where in addition to doing service, the tenant is to produce a certain quantity of rice for Nivedyam or offering to Deity, it is called *Arijanmam*. The inferior temple servants hold land on Kazhagam tenure.[48]

For centuries, the relation between the landlord and the tenant was very cordial. It was based on the customary law known as "Kāṇa Janma maryādā" which neither the Janmi nor the tenant wanted to violate.[49] But during the latter half of the British period agrarian discontent flared up due to several reasons. Many of the Janmis and non-cultivating Kāṇamdars have begun to act in utter disregard to the moral unwritten law. All the sentimental obligations that bind the Janmi and the tenant in their relation to one another began to die out and a litigious disposition emerged out of their ashes.[50]

Whether the Janmi had the unlimited and absolute proprietory right or not, there is little doubt that under the customary law, the right of redemption was rarely exercised. In former times continuity was the general rule and change was exception. As Mr. Rickards pointed out, "it was a point of honour with the great *Nayar* families never to turn out a tenant while he continued to pay his rent".[51] Dr. Buchanan also testifies that the right of redemption was rarely exercised by the Nambudiries and that the same families had continued to hold estates in mortgage for generation.[52] Ancient families in Malabar often built their Taravad or family houses on Kanam lands and gave the names of these lands to the Tarawads themselves. The family deities are also located and worshipped in these houses. All these show that tenants had no fear of arbitrary evictions. The tenant's rights were thus recognised by customs and usages. The position was nevertheless anomalous. In law, he was little more than a tenant at will and liable to capricious eviction. In practice, so long as he got along with his landlord, he had a permanent right of occupancy.

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47 Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-14.
48 Nair, *op. cit.*
49 Logam, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 110.
50 *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, 1927-28, paragraph 65.
51 *Ibid.*
52 Buchanan, op. cit., p. 366.

A "BRAHMODYA" – OR A PALIMPSEST?

FIRST PART

By

E. J. Esteller

The subject of this text-critical study is the famous hymn, Ṛgveda X, 121. Before we enter into details, let us reproduce the text as given to us by the Saṃhita-kāra (SK for short), but adding under every pāda the *text-critical reconstruction* of the *original* text of the ṛṣi-kavis which we believe, can be recovered (at least in a *preliminary* stage of reconstruction), from under the SK's Saṃhitā "*palimpsest*" – as we shall prove in the course of our study.* In doing so we shall, as a rule, omit the saṃdhis (following the "padapāṭha" style), resolve the diphthongs ("agre=agr*ai*; tasmai=tasm*āi*, tasm*ā*(*y*)*i*; guro=gurau; tau=tāu") and also the long vowels (like "devān*aam*, imaaḥ") if the metre demands it. Saṃdhis of vowels will be indicated by a *plus*-sign; For instance, "samavartata+agrai". We shall give the text – as *emendated* by us *italicising* the words whose place, we change (according to the demands of rhythm, etc.), and giving in italics *between inverted commas* the words restored or emendated.–X, 121 :

I

1. (a) hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgrai
hiraṇyagarbhaḥ sam-avartata+agrai
(b) bhūtasya jātāḥ patireka āsīt
= bhūtasya jātaḥ patiḥ "*āsa*" *aikaḥ*
(c) sa dādhāra pṛthivīṃ dyām utemām
= sa dādhāra *dyāṃ pṛthivīm* uta+imām
(d) kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema
= "tasm*ā*(*y*)*i* daiv*āi*" haviṣā vidhaima

2. (a) ya ātmadā baladā yasya viśva
= yaḥ ātmadāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśvai
(b) upāsate praśiṣaṃ yasya devāḥ
= upāsatai praśiṣaṃ yasya daivāḥ
(c) yasya chāyāmṛtaṃ yasya mṛtyuḥ
= yasya chāyā amṛtaṃ yasya mṛtyuḥ
= *chāyā yasya* amṛtaṃ yasya mṛtyuḥ (?)
(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

3. (a) yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato mahitvā(+ekah!)
= yaḥ pra+anataḥ ni-miṣataḥ mahitvā

* A "palimpsest" – as it is well known – is a text written on top of an older or previous one. Our Saṃhitā is thus a *re*-writing of the original Ṛgveda-text of the ṛṣi-kavis. That real *original* text lies burried *under* the Saṃhitāvform.

(b) eka id rājā jagato babhūva
= *rājā aikaḥ it* jagataḥ bahūva

(c) ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ (12) !
= yaḥ īśay asya dvipadaḥ catuṣpadaḥ

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

4. (a) yasyeme himavanto mahitvā
= yasya+imai "*yāi*" himavantaḥ "mahit*vam*"

(b) yasya samudram rasayā sahāhuḥ
= yasya+"as" samudram rasayā saha+āhuḥ

(c)yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū
= *imāś* "*ca yāḥ*" pradiśaḥ yasya bāhū

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

5. (a) yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḷhā
= yaina+ug(*a*)*rā dyāuḥ* pṛthivī ca "*dṛḷhai*" (?)

(b) yena svaḥ stabhitaṃ yena nākaḥ
= yaina+"*ut*" suvaḥ stabhitaṃ yaina nākaḥ

(c) yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ
= yaḥ antarikṣai rājasaḥ vimānaḥ

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

6. (a) yaṃ krandasī avasā tastabhāne
= yaṃ "krand*asi avatā caska*bhānai"

(b) abhyaikṣetāṃ manasā rejamāne
= *a*-iksaitāṃ "*raudasī*" raijamānai

(c) yatra+adhi sūra udito vibhāti
= sūra(ḥ)+uditaḥ "*adhi*" "*yasmin*" vibhāti
= sūra(ḥ)+uditaḥ "adhi" "yasmin" vibhāti (?)

7. (a) āpo ha yad bṛhatīr viśvam āyan
= āpa(ḥ)+"*aikām*", yat bṛhatīḥ "viṣvamā*yāḥ*"

(b) garbhaṃ dadhānā janayantīḥ agnim
= garbhaṃ dadhānāḥ "janayant*a agrai*"

(c) yato devānāṃ samavartatāsus
= "*yasmāt ca daivām*" sam-avartata+asuḥ

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

8. (a) yaś cidāpo mahinā paryapaśyad
= "*apaḥ* cit yaḥ "mah*naa*" pāri "paś*yan*" (?)

(b) dakṣaṃ dadhānāḥ janayantīr yajñam
= dakṣaṃ "dadhā*naḥ* janay*ãta*" yajñam

(c) yo deveṣvadhi deva eka āsīt
= yaḥ daivaiṣu adhi daiv*a*(*ḥ*)+*ai*kaḥ "āsa"

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

9. (a) mā no hiṃsīj janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ
= mā naḥ "*hiṃsiḥ*" (?) janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ

(b) yo vā divaṃ satyadharmā jajāna
= yaś "*ca dyaam*" satyadharmā jajāna

(c) yaś cāpaś candrāḥ bṛhatīr jajāna
= *apaḥ candrāḥ yaḥ* bṛhatīḥ "janāyat" (?)

(d) (*Refrain*, as in 1 d)

[(10. (a) prajāpate na tvad etānyanyo
= prajāpatai na tuvad anyaḥ "*aitā*"

(b) viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva
= viśvā *jātā* "*yā*" pari tā babhūva

(c) yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu
= yatkāmāḥ tai juhumaḥ tat naḥ astu

(d) vayaṃ syāma patayo rayīṇām
= vayaṃ siyāma patayaḥ rayīṇām)]

This is the complete text. In the course of its text-critical scrutiny, we shall often refer to *Grassmann* (meaning his precious Ṛgvedic Dictionary), to *Oldenberg* ("Prolegomena" — by pages; "Noten" — implying the corresponding hymns there); *Geldner* (in his translation — HOS — under the corresponding hymns also); *Wackernagel* (in his masterly "Grammatik" — by volumes and pages); *Whitney* (in his "Grammar", by pages); *Macdonell* (*Vedic Mythology*, under the corresponding topics, or by pages); *Bloomfield* (*Vedic Concordance*, in the *alphabetical* order of pāda-beginnings). This will save repetition and prolixity.

II

And now for our text-critical scrutiny.

This ṛgvedic hymn (X, 121), has long been the subject of discussion and investigation. It has been considered as a "brahmodya" or riddle-hymn — all the more because its recurring refrain (the last pāda of stanzas 1-9), appears as a riddle-*question*:

"kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema"?

It is a matter of common knowledge that the brahmanic speculation has made out of this "kasmai" a name of Prajāpati, who is supposed to be "kaḥ devaḥ", whence our "kasmai devāya". This, of course, has no real value as a translation of the words in question. But it has a merit that has been overlooked; it changes the *question* into a positive *assertion*: "To the god Kaḥ (Prajāpati), we should do service with an oblation". This looks non-sensical on the face of it, but, we think, it reflects a fine sense of the genius of the language – in this way, that it shows that the old vedic commentators felt in their bones that in a whole hymn which has a whole series of constructions: "yaḥ ....., yena ....., yasya .....", that "*kasmāi* devāya" cannot be idiomatically a *question*, but *should be* an *assertion*! The parallel hymn, II, 12 (which Oldenberg rightly says – in his Proleg, p. 315f., and in his *Noten* (*q. v.*) – is imitated by *our* hymn), shows that what we *idiomatically* must expect is: "yaḥ ....., yena ..... yasya .....".

"*tasmāi* devāya haviṣā vidhema"

And, in fact, in that parallel-model hymn (II, 12), we find a similar construction with a similar sort of refrain: "yaḥ ....., yasya ....., yena – *sa*":

"(*yaḥ* acyutacyut) *sa*(!) janāsaḥ indraḥ"

Hence we have every right to suspect that the "brahmodya" – appearance in our hymn is the work of the *redactor of the Saṃhitā* ("Saṃhitā-kāraḥ – SK, for short), who took the original poet's composition and tried to enhance its interest by turning it into a "brahmodya" – and, *possibly* at least, at the same time supplying it with an additional stanza (10) as the answer to his own *made-up* riddle.

That someone *has* added stanza 10 is clear: it is the only stanza that lacks *the* refrain-ending; it is *not* analysed by the *padā-pāṭha*; it breaks the saṃhitā's own order of arrangement (by decreasing length) – as pointed out by Oldenberg (Proleg., p. 511). Under such circumstances, it is logical to conclude that the *collectors* and *arrangers* of the Saṃhitā in its *last* stage (X Maṇḍala!) of compilation had found only verses 1-9 as an *assertion*-hymn ("tasmāi") and that the (last?) SK. text-editor (and *grammatical* uniformiser of the *present* saṃhitā text) changed it into a *question*-hymn ("kasmāi") – possibly in order *the better to justify* the inclusion of the last stanza as an *answer* to the "query" that he himself had surreptitiously introduced? In doing that he – or whoever introduced 10 – did not intend to *falsify*, but merely to *clarify* the idea of the hymn. For, indeed, the goal that the original poet seems to have had in mind *did* correspond to what the Brāhmaṇa literature represented by *Prajāpati* and by the *golden egg* from which he sprung (cfr. Geldner, Transl.). Already Grassmann had called attention to the fact that our 1 b, "bhūtasya patiḥ" is tantamount to "prajāpatiḥ", and that is

right; but is has to be noted that our stanza 10 is the *only* place in the whole Saṃhitā – and that, in M. X :–where Prajāpati is used in *the* sense given to it in the *later* vedic literature. It occurs three times more – in M. X only – as the name of a *special deity,* but only as that of one who gives abundant offspring to men and cows. In other maṇḍalas (the IX), it means "lord of (born) creatures". but is applied to Savitṛ and to Soma (cfr. Grassmann); hence it is not the name of any particular deity, much less of *the* Creater.

Therefore, we can conclude that there is no reasonable doubt that stanza 10 is an interpolation; and it is not unlikely that the same hand which added it is the natural agent to suspect of having made any redactorial alterations that suited its purpose – foremost amongst them the change of the idiomatically natural "tasmāi" into the artificially unnatural "kasmāi". And it is not improbable to suggest that the SK was influenced in this particular change – (into question-"brahmodya") – by the fact that the very similar "nāsadīya-sūkta" (X, 129), in the neighbourhood of our hymn ended in a *question* and in a hesitating *doubt* about the true explanation of the origin of the world and its creator (X, 129, 6+7). *Here he* takes up and reiterates the question (*against* the *kavi*'s original intention!). Yet *he* may have left it at that, as a brahmodya-riddle, *without* furnishing the final answer for everybody's complete satisfaction.

But – even, if he did add it – since stanza 10 is *not* analysed in the padapāṭha, there must have been a clear tradition in the Padapāṭha-kāra's school (the Śākala-school) that it was a young addition to the poem, possibly even – as we said – by the Saṃhitā-kāra himself – who adopted (probably, *not composed!*), it as a clarification-gloss to the older hymn. The SK, therefore (in that case), had the liberty to *edit* the traditional text, and to change its "tasmāi" to "kasmāi" (unless it had been changed before?) – but he was not entitled to *add* a non-traditional stanza, except as a gloss-"khila". And thus this self-contained prayer of the younger, Brāhmaṇa-like type, was recognised by the Padapāṭhā-kāra as a recent additament (by his own school – or himself?) and passed over *without analysis* unchanged from the state in which the SK (or whoever it was) had left it when introducing it into this Saṃhitā-text. At a later date that *unchanged* text was included – irrationally – in the *Padapāṭha text* itself. (Cfr. Oldenberg, *Proleg.*, p. 510 f. – who thinks the stanza was added *after* the Padapāṭha – which is also possible).

Now, as to the *deity* meant by the original ṛṣi-kavi, there is little doubt that it is "hiraṇyagarbhaḥ" as the *name* of the mysterious "ekam ābhu" hatched by darkness in the primordial waters (spoken of in X, 129, 2+3), and of the embryo of which, X, 82, 5+6 says :

"tam it garbhaṃ prathamaṃ dadhray āpaḥ"

in answer to the question:

"kaṃ svit garbhaṃ prathamaṃ dadhray āpaḥ"

Hence, there is no need of adding a fictitious *extra*-subject, as Geldner does, by translating the very first line ("hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartata+agre") as: 'at the beginning *he*(!) turned into (became) a golden germ". The real translation is the one already given by Muir (Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 16-17): "Hiraṇya-garbha arose in the beginning"; or one could say "developed, came into being, sprung up", in the sense in which, in verse 7 c, it is said (for the exact original text see above):

"yataḥ daivānāṃ samavartata+asuḥ".

And, with this (*explicit*!) *subject* before us, we can only have a refrain referring back to it with an *asserting*:

"*tasmāi* devāya haviṣā vidhema",

and *not* with a foolish-sounding, still-*questioning* "kasmāi"!

Hence we have reconstructed the refrain-pāda as:

"*tasmā(y)i* daivāi haviṣā vidhaima".

And we shall now, *before* tackling any other text-critical problem here involved, proceed to justify this reconstruction which is so pivotal for this hymn.

III

But before we do so, we have to take for granted that the reader knows what we have expounded in our previous articles (esp. in "*Indian Linguistics*") about our new method and approach and *metrical* standards (for the latter *cfr.* further down). Besides we want to draw attention to the fact that our discovery of the *archaic* form of the rgvedic *dative* (agreeing with the Avesta!), giving "daivāi" for the usual "daivāya", has been justified in a paper (presented to the last session of the "Linguistic Society of India") which is in course of publication. In the same paper we justify the diphthong-resolutions "tasmā(y)i, daivā(y)i, tasmaai daivaai". Further proofs of those two discoveries of ours will be found in the course of this very study beginning from the next paragraphs.

If we now want likely parallels that support our reconstruction of our refrain-pāda, we have VIII, 48, 12+13:

12. (a) ya(ḥ) na(ḥ) induḥ pitaro hṛtsu pītaḥ
= yaḥ induḥ naḥ pitaraḥ hṛtsu pītaḥ
= yaḥ naḥ hṛtsu pitaraḥ pītaḥ induḥ (?)

(b) amartiyaḥ martiyān āvivaiśā

(c) taśmā(*y*)(i) "saumāi" haviṣā vidhaima (!)
(= tasmāy "*u*" saumāi haviṣā vidhaima) (?)

(d) mṛḍīkay asya sumatāu siyāma

13. (a) tuvaṃ sauma pitṛbhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ

(b) anu dyāvā-pṛthivī ā tatantha

(c) tasmāi tay indau haviṣā vidhaima

(d) vayaṃ siyāma patayaḥ rayīṇām

There is very little doubt that *this could* have been – and most probably *was* – the model for the *original text* of *our* refrain-pāda and hymn. Note in 12a the obvious hobby of our SK – to place the enclitic pronoun after the *first* word in the pāda, even non-sensically as here ("naḥ induḥ *vs.* naḥ hṛtsu"!), as against the natural way of *our* reconstruction, in its *difference* from 13c. But the SK *must* uniformise, never mind "minor" rhythms *and-or* sense! This shows how absolutely certain it is (*against* the usual assumption of the text-critics – in the face of the *contrary* practice of all other saṃhitā-kāras and Brāhmaṇa-kāras, when quoting the Ṛgveda!) that *our* SK *also* reshuffles the word-position. (N. B.!)

But the difference between the two refrain-pādas:

12. (e) tasmā(*y*)*i* saumāi haviṣā vidhema

13. (c) tasmāi tay indau " "

suggests a further analysis of the way the ṛṣi-kavis handle the diphthong *āi* in "tasmāi".

In our Saṃhitā there are 20 pādas (including the above two) beginning with "tasmāi" (cfr., Bloomfield, *Conc.*). Of them the following are perfect in rhythm-pattern (esp. – *if* in a triṣṭubh-jagatī – in the *pre*-yati part with "tasmāi"):

X, 34, 12c; I, 68, (3d), 6b; VIII, 48, 13c; II, 20, 8a; I, 93, 10c; I, 93, 2c; VIII, 75, 6a; I, 12, 9c; IV, 35, 6c; IV, 50, 8c; V, 63, 1d; X, 42, 5c; IX, 67, 32c; VIII, 8, 15c; X, 79, 5c; X, 30, 3d; X, 173, 3c – 17 in all (and in *all* of them "tasmāi" is *without* diphthong-resolution). But *only* 2 other pādas break the pre-yati rhythm – and both of them because there is

a "modern" dative in *-āya* with which the rhythm cannot be set right sensibly! That cannot be a mere chance – and it is a convincing proof that the *archaic* dative in *-āi has* been substituted by the SK:

X, 168, (4d) tasmāi vātāya haviṣā vidhaima

VIII, 48, (12c) tasmāi somāya haviṣā vidhaima.

We could, absolutely speaking, set the rhythm right by saying "vātāya (somāya) tasmāi", but the testimony of *all* the other cases proves that no kavi would go in for *that* inversion. Finally, there is *one* solitary pāda that is rhythm-perfect with an *-āya* dative:

X, 165, (4d) tasmāi yamāya haviṣā vidhaima.

But, considering the witness of all the other 20+2 cases (occurring in all kinds of maṇḍalas, even X), *that* can only be a sheer co-incidence, due to the form of this particular name. Hence there can be no doubt that the original of the 3 aberrant cases must be reconstructed with "vātāi, saumāi" and "yamā(y)i". This suggests that the solution lies in diphthong-resolution of one of the two words: "tasmā(*y*)*i*" for the first two "yamā(y)i" for the other. But there is a further possible solution for the first two "tasmā(y) *u*" *without* any resolution. Let us examine the pādas beginning with "tasmā(y)".

The following have "tasmā(y)" without "u" (cfr., *Concord.*), yet are *pattern-true*: I, 116, 16c; IV, 25, 4a; V, 37, 1c; X, 9, 3a; X, 135, 2d; V, 34, 9c; I, 125, 5c; I, 132, 5d; IV, 50, 8b; I, 125, 5d; VII, 26, 1c; III, 59, 5c; II, 14, 3c – 13 in all.

Those that *seem* to break the pattern are:

VII, 59, (1c) tasmā(y) agnai varuṇa mitrāryaman
= tasmā(y) agnai *mitra* varŭṇa aryaman (!).

X, 165, (1c) tasmā(y) arcāma kṛṇavāma niṣkṛtim
= tasmā+(a) r (a) cāma .... [(*double*-samdhi+svarabhakti?]
= arcāma *tasmāi* .... (?)

II, 25, (4a) tasmā(y) arṣanti diviyāḥ asaścataḥ
= tasmā+(a) r (a) ṣanti .... [(do!)]
= arsanti *tasmāi* .... (?)

[(*N. B.*—This seems an *archaic* remnant of the interchange of *ar*: *ra* as guṇa of ṛ – cfr. Wack. I, pp. 7, ff., 212 f. – so that really the ṛṣi-kavis considered as "tasmāi r(a)cāma, tasmāi r(a)ṣanti", which gives a normal preyati rhythm! That this *can* be so is confirmed by all the other cases above and

below, where that rhythm is scrupulously observed by the ṛṣi-kavis as against the SK's concoctions. Yet *here* the possibility of a transposition — as against *our* refrain-pāda ! — cannot be ruled out)].

I, 40, (4c) tasmā(y) iḍāṃ suvīrām ā yajāmahai
= tasmā(y) iḍām ā suvīrām"

[(*N. B.*—Obvious transfer of *upasarga* towards *verb* by the SK, to avoid misunderstanding as "āsu". Most instructive !)].

I, 4, (10c) tasmā(y) indrāya gāyata [(metrical !)].
= tasmā(y)+"indarā(*y*)*i*" gāyata
= tasmāi gāyata indarā*i* (?).

[(*N. B.*—Though metrical, it has to be restored to the *archaic* form with *double*-saṃdhi and svarabhakti — cfr., the next cases)]

I, 5, (4c) = I, 4, 10c

X, 30, (7c) tasmā(y)+"indarā(*y*)*i*" madhumantam-urmim
= tasmā(y)i indrā*i* madhumantam-urmim (?)

II, 14, (5d) "tasmā(y)+"indrā(*y*)*i*" andhasaḥ "*juhūta*"
= tasmā(y)i indrāi andhasaḥ "ju*hūta*" (?)

[(III, 59, 5c) tasmā aitat panyata*mā*(*y*)*i* juṣṭam)]

II, 14, (2c) tasmā(y) aitaṃ bharata (?) taḍvaśā(*y*)*i*
= tasmā(y) aitaṃ bharata+*ait*ad-tadvaśā(*y*)*i*

II, 37, (1c) tasmā(y) aitaṃ bharata+*ait*ad-tad-vaśaḥ dadiḥ (?!).
= tasmā(y) aitaṃ bharata+*āi*tad-vaśaḥ "*sa hi*" (!).

[In both these last cases the SK *would* "clarify;" or misanalyse, since a reciters' haplology, or the merest slip of recitation would make it sound "bhara*te*". In II, 37, 1c "dadiḥ", is borrowed by the SK from 2b, for a mis-analysed "vaśas(s)ahi" !)]

It is clear that in all the above cases where the *archaic* ending *-āi* is dissolved (= āyi), we have exactly the same phenomenon as the well-known *-tavā*(*y*)*i* from *-tavāi* infinitives in the similar *rhythmical* position at the end of a triṣṭubh (which is duplicated most closely at the end of the pre-yati portion in the late-caesura pādas).

Hence none of the eleven cases above breaks the pattern, though they (all but one) presented insoluble cases *for the SK* — to whom *alone* the apparent breaches are due. But the ṛṣi-kavis made use of their *archaic* orthoepy: they could have said either "tasmā(y)i indrāi" or "tasmā(y)+

indarā(y)i". In both cases there must be a diphthong-resolution; but we have given preference to the second alternative because, in one case, *that* seemed to be exclusively demanded by the metre: I, 4, 10c=I, 5, 4c:

"tasmā(y)+indarā(*y*)*i* gāyata
Of course, we could also think of:
"tasmāi gāyata indarāi".

But the word-order of the parallel texts excludes that possibility as rather improbable.

There now remain the cases with "tasmā(y) it, tasmā(y)u". They are *four* of each kind. Actually it is possible (very!) that the SK himself may have added those "pūraṇas" precisely to fill the gap for *his* lack of any diphthong-resolutions. But the fact that the text does not show only *one* kind of "filler" is reassuring – much more so since the demonstrative "sa-tat" does show such emphatic particles in texts where no archaic orthoepy can be at work. Besides, the very nature of the demonstrative has a natural aptitude for such emphasis. And, in fact, a look at the *Vedic Concordance* will suffice to show that the kavi *here* could very well have said "tasmāy *u* daivāi haviṣā vidhaima", since *here* "tasmāy *it* daivāi" is rhythmically unviable. Let us see those cases of emphasis:

IV, 16, (1c) tasmā(y) it andhaḥ suṣumā sudakṣam

VII, 102, (3a) tasmā(y) it āsiyai haviḥ

VIII, 44, (15c) tasmā(y) it dīdayat vasu

II, 25, (5a) tasmā it viśve dhunayanta sindhavaḥ (!?)
= tasmā(*y*)*i* viśvai dhunayanta sindhavaḥ.

Note that this "tasmā(y) it siśve" is unrhythmical – and it precisely comes at the beginning of a stanza (without any "yaḥ" clause, which could indicate the need for underlining emphasis!), and follows upon another stanza (cfr. above, II, 25, 4a) that begins with a parallel "tasmāi" *without any* emphatic praticle! Hence *this* "it" is the SK's own, while the kavi could, at most, have said "tasmāy u viśvai" (which the reciters could have haplologised away – thus forcing the SK to fill up the gap in *his* own way). But, here, everything speaks for "tasmā(y)i". In the two cases further up (X, 168, 4d; VIII, 48, 12c), which are the exact parallels of *our* refrain-pāda, the first would be more likely to be "tasmā(y)i", the second "tasmāy *u*" – were it not for the fact that they are twins and composed of a recurring formula, which is likely to keep a constant form. And since we have seen so many cases in which "tasmāi", *without* any emphatic particle, is used by the ṛṣi-kavis, even after a "yaḥ" (relative) clause, we have to incline to consider the above formula as (originally) *without* such a particle. Hence wherever the text does *not*

contain "it, u", or wherever the particle is unrhythmical, we shall have to restore the text, on principles, as we did in our refrain-pāda:

tasmā(y)i daivāi haviṣā vidhaima
or: tasmāi yamā(y)i haviṣā vidhaima

As for the possibility of the ṛṣi-kavis' using "u", the actual occurrence are:

VIII, 66, (7c) tasmā u adya samanā sutaṃ bhara

X, 173, (3d) tasmā u brahmaṇaḥ-patiḥ

V, 39, (5c) tasmā u brahmavāhasai

VIII, 80, (10c) tasmā u rādhaḥ kṃuta praśastam

It will be obvious that all these cases can be made perfectly metrical *without* "u", by reading "tasmā(y)i" — which the SK *would* read "tasmāi" and "fill up" with a "pūraṇa"=*u*. Still, since there is no cogent metrical or other reason to suppress it, we should retain the "u" (or the "it") wherever metrical, but *not* introduce it (to avoid a diphthong-resolution) unless *special* considerations or parallel texts support it — though the SK *would* suppress an *original* one to make room for the extra-syllable in his *-āya vs. -āi*.

Finally, we can confirm our restitution of "kasmāi devāya" into "tasmā(y)i daivāi" from the following considerations: *first*, there is no other case in the whole Saṃhitā where the construction: "yaḥ ..... yena ..... yasya ..... *kasmai*" is repeated; *second*, we find that construction of "tasmāi" *with* the relative clause (and also *without* it) in a repeatedly used *formulaic* phrase, which shows that it was a stock-in-trade expression with the ṛṣi-kavis, and that *our* kavi *must* have used the same. (Note how different is this case from the idiomatic-archaic X, 52, 3a: "ayaṃ hautā *yaḥ* kiḥ u sā yamasya" — where mark the obvious rhythmical lengthening of "sā"! — or from phrases like, "he *who* did ..... — *who* is *he*? or who will honour *him*?" so that we *can* have "yaḥ ....., kaḥ *asmāi*", but *not* "yaḥ ..... *kasmāi*").

It will be very instructive to see how the SK mishandles yet another stanza that one might think, could be a corroborating parallel to *his* "yaḥ .... kasmāi". It is in VIII, 58, 1:

(*a*) yam ṛtvijaḥ bahudhā kalpayantaḥ

(*b*) sacaitasaḥ yajñam imaṃ vahanti

(*c*) yo anūcāno brāhmaṇo yukta āsīt (!?!)

= anūcānaḥ brāhmaṇaḥ "*yukta yasmin*" (!)

(*d*) kaḥ svit tatra yajamānasya saṃvit.

Note, first of all, that even if the text were correct as it lies, the presence of "tatra" makes it a sentence quite different from the SK's "yaḥ-kasmāi", since it is equivalent to "yam yajñam – *tasmin* yajñe kaḥ ....." But the SK has completely missed the sense of the original and misanalysed the (accented!) 3rd p. sing. aorist of "yuj" *ātman.*: "yuktá yasmin" (given by the reciters as "yuktà (y)-asmin : yuktaasmin") as "yuktaḥ asmi" [with haplology: "asmin ka; asmi(ṅ)ka : asmi ka"]; but since the SK's saṃdhi *would* spoil the final rhythm with "yukto asmi" or "yukto 'smi" – and, on the other hand, 1d speaks of "tatra", not "atra" (while in the next stanzas the chief verbs are *perfects*: "babhūva, jajñe"), the SK – in spite of "vahanti":–changes it into "āsīt", (also, possibly, eschewing the "ātmastuti" involved in "anūcānaḥ brāmaṇaḥ"?). But not all the kings' horses or the Bhāṣyakāra – twists of a Geldner can make us swallow that the illogical and senseless (and completely unmetrical!) text, as concocted by the SK, really represents the idiomatic "free use of the relative". That can only be for the gargantuan consumption of a veritable "timitimiṅgila"! And that is confirmed by the fact that the SK's own "yaḥ" leaves "āsīt" *without* accent:–(cfr., Oldenberg, *Noten.*).

It may be helpful to study the only other text in the Saṃhitā that shows some similarity to this pāda and which *could* have suggested the change to the SK, I, 84:

16. (a) kaḥ adya yuṅktai dhuri gāḥ ṛtasya
= kaḥ adya yuṅktai gāḥ dhurī ṛtasya

(b) śimīvataḥ bhāminaḥ durhṛṇāyūn

(c) āsann iṣūn? hṛtsv+asaḥ mayobhūn
= "āsi+iṣuun" (?) hṛtsu-asaḥ mayobhūn

(d) yaḥ eṣāṃ bhṛtyām ṛṇadhat sa jīvāt
= bhṛtyāṃ yaḥ aiṣām ṛṇadhat sa jīvāt

17. (a) kaḥ īṣatai tujyatai kaḥ bibhāya

(b) kaḥ maṃsatai santam indraṃ kaḥ anti

(c) kaḥ taukāya ka(ḥ) ibhāyatuta rāye
= kaḥ "tauk*aai*" ka(ḥ)+"ibh*aay*" ūta rāyai

(d) adhi bravat tanuvai kaḥ "jan*ā(y)i*"

18. (a) kaḥ agnim īṭṭai haviṣā ghṛtaina

(b) srucā yajātāi ṛtubhiḥ "dhruvā(*y*)*iḥ*"
= srucā yajātāi "dhruvaaiḥ" ṛtūbhiḥ (?)

(c) kasmāi "*daivāḥ* ā "vah*āt*" āśu hauma (!!)

(d) kaḥ maṃsatai vītihautraḥ sudaivaḥ

19. (a) tuvam aṅga pra śaṃsiṣaḥ
(b) śaviṣṭha "daiva" martiyam (!!)
(c) na+anyaḥ *tuvat* maghavann asti marḍitā
(d) indra bravīmi tai vacaḥ

Here note the possibility that in 6c, we have an *archaic* "āsi" (cfr., "ās" above!) which would have been substituted by the SK (to gain the needed *one* syllable!) with "āsan". The saṃdhi "āsann" is modern-classical-pāṇinean, but *not* ṛgvedic (cfr. Wackern. I, p. 329 ff). But possibly (?) there was the rhythmical lengthening at the compound joint "āsăn+iṣūn" by *analogy* of the cases like "ṛtā-vṛdh", as if "āsā-niṣūn" – (cfr. Wack. I, p. 130 ff). But the richest find is here the recovery of "kamāi daivān", which is obviously what the context (with "kaḥ – kasmāi – kaḥ") demands. Cfr. Oldenberg, *Noten*, for the discussion – *without* a real solution. What happend here is the weakening of the anusvāra-pronunciation of "daivān : daivāṃ" between two *ā*-vowels in the reciters' mouth, and a misanalysis by the SK for whom it sounded as a hiatus-like -ā(ḥ)ā-. He therefore reconstructed "daivāḥ= devāḥ", and – *consequently* :–mis-corrected "vahāt" (cfr. "yajātai" in 18b!) into "vahān". Poor Bhāṣyakāras (cfr. Oldenberg)! There is a possible alternative – that "hauma" is=haumā" which would leave "vahān"; but "hauma" does not occur in the pl., in the Ṛgv., hence we cannot adopt it, all the less since the SK *is* meddling here! The result is that Benfey had been right all along – *pace* Oldenberg (cfr. *Noten*). There is still one more "trick of the trade" in our SK's box of tricks : in 19, he deliberately changes the natural :

"śaviṣṭha daiva martiyam"

into a most violent (*pace* Geldner's accommodating contortion') "daivaḥ (!) śaviṣṭha martiyam" – merely to avoid the "swishing" recitation-cacophony : (a) "…. praśaṃsiṣaḥ śaviṣṭham"? (What an object-lesson for text-critics who do not seem to know a palimpsets – redactor when they see one – life-size!) For the rest, note the *double*-saṃdhis and transpositions, and the restorations of *archaic* datives and *normal* instrum. pl. in 16 d, 17 cd, 18 b. Everywhere the same madness-in-method and method-in-madness of our SK – uncovered by the metre and the method here advocated, and confirming it by the results obtained.

The above will show how the only two other genuine "kasmāi" – headed pādas in the Saṃhitā have to be restored – V, 54 :

2. (c) "kasmāi sasruḥ sudāse anvāpaye (!?)
= kasmāi sudāsai sasruḥ ānu āpayai
or : = kasmāi sudāsai sasruḥ āpayăy anu
or : = kasmāi sudāsai anu sasruḥ āpayai.

Here the SK most probably understands "sudāsai" as a *proper* noun, and wishes to make *two* sentences: "To whom did they go? (They went) after (their) friends Sudās". Hence his desperate reshuffling and wrecking of the verse (which can be made to yield both sensible sense *and* perfect rhythm in so many ways – the *last* (above) being possibly the *best*).

The last "kasmāi"-text is in the *same* hymn, and is an echo of the previous verse:

12. (a) kasmā(y) adya sujātāya (!?!)
= kasmā(i) adya "sujā*taai*"

(b) rātahavyāya pra yayuḥ (!?!)
= *pra yayuḥ* "rātahavya*aai*" (-hāviyai?)
= na rāta-"havya*aai*" yayuḥ (?)

(c) ainā (?) yāmaina "*mă*rutaḥ" (!)

This is a convincing proof of the reality of the *archaic* dative and of the *universal* rhythmical langthening of "brevis inter breves". *Nothing* else *can* make those verses *iambic* – as they were intended to to be *in their context* (q. v.) – Truly, Q.E.D.

For a still fuller confirmation – esp. of the *archaic* dative – we can add (for good measure) the following:

VIII, 43, is a hymn in *iambic* gāyatri-ṭṛcas – 33 stanzas. Of their 99 pādas, only *one* (!) is *non*-iambic, 11 a – due *precisely* to its *-āya* dative! The conclusion is apodictic: the original text *must* have been *not* "ukṣānnāya vṛṣānnāya" but:

"ukṣa*nnaai* vṛṣānna*aai*"

Hence, *all* the other *-āya* datives, even though metrical, were originally *archaic*, and in conformity with the rhythm demands we have to restore:

11 b ("saumapriṣṭhā(*y*)*i* vaidhasai");

15 a ("satvaṃ viprā(*y*)*i* dāśuṣai");

17 b ("vaśrā(*y*)*i* prathiharyatai");

18 c ("agnai kamā(*y*)*i* yaimirai");

19 c ("admasadyā(*y*)*i* hinvirai");

And, by the same token, we have to attribute to the SK the hybrid instrum. plural "bhadrebhiḥ" in 31 c, and reconstruct: "hṛdbhiḥ bhadrā(*y*)*iḥ* īmahai". And this leads to the unmasking of the monstrous "patsu-taḥ" (!) in 6a as another SK filler and "clarification" for "kṛṣṇā rajāṃsi patsu *ā*" – which (for him!), would have been "patsvá" with a single (fused) udātta (Poor ṛṣi-kavis – and poorer Bhāṣyakāras!)

[We can further add X, 43, 4 as incontrovertible confirmation :

(*a*) vayaḥ na vṛkṣaṃ supalāśam āsadan = 12

(*b*) saumāsaḥ indraṃ mandinaḥ camūṣadaḥ = 12

(*c*) pra+aiṣām anīkaṃ śavasā davidyutat = 12

(*d*) vidat suvaḥ manavai jyautiḥ āriyāṃ (!?) = 12
– vidat suvaḥ manavai jyautiḥ ārī*yāi* (!!)

This (*hap. leg.*!) "jyautiḥ *āriyam*" is *the* limit for an SK's joke on the gullible Bhāṣyakāras, esp., when compared (as Geldner suggests!) with 8 cd and VIII, 15, 5 (*q. v.*) :–The same applies to X, 49, 4 b, 5 d, but especially to 6 (cfr. Geldner's perplexity *ad loc.*!) :

(*a*) ahaṃ sa yaḥ navavāst*vāi* bṛhad-rat*hāi* (!)

(*b*) saṃ vṛtra*ṃ na daa*saṃ vṛtrahā+arujam

Also to VIII, 32, 17 (a) pany*āy* (!) it upa gāyata (?)

(*b*) pan*yāi* (!) ukthāni śaṃsata

(*c*) brahmā kṛṇŭta pan*yaai* (!)

This last (triple!) case is of exceptional importance because the verbs so clearly *demand* a *dative* – and yet the SK *had to* resort to a *locative*, since it *alone* could give him sense (*some*!) and an iambic rhythm in all three cases (*q. v.*). In 17 a "*upa*+gāyata" has only *one* parallel, in IX, 11, 1, where significantly it goes with a *dative*! : (*a*) "upa+asmāi (!) gāyata naraḥ – (*b*) pavamān*ā*(*y*)*i* indavai". Hence, in *our* text, we practically *must* consider as original : (a) "panyā(y)i upa gāyata", the "it" being an SK's filler. Besides, there is *no other case at all* of "gāi" with a *locative*! As for "śaṃs+uktha-" there is *no other* case with locative either, but *only* with *dative* in all possible combinations with synonyms of "uktha-" (cfr. Grassmann). And the same holds good for "brahma+kṛ"! These three cases, even singly, are irrefutable ; *combined*, they give absolute proof and certainty of the truth of our discovery.

And now one more-final-*unanswerable* proof :–X, 39, 4 b is the laughing stock of vedic scholars (cfr. Wack, I, p. XV).–X, 39, 4 b :

"punaḥ yuvānaṃ carathāya *takṣathuḥ*" (!!)

But the joke is on *them* –from the SK's own work-shop! The kavi could never have perpetrated such a solecism – only the SK, who needed room for his *-āya* dative! The *original* was obviously :

"punaḥ yuvānaṃ carat*hāi ta*takṣathuḥ"

That hymn (X, 39) is chock-full of *correct and proper* perfects:

"āsathuḥ, ūhathuḥ, cakrathuḥ, dadathuḥ, cakruḥ",

(some of them *repeated*)! The *kavi*, then, could *not* have made *that* mistake – but the SK could be misled by other unreduplicated perfect forms like "viduḥ", or by the saṃprasāraṇa ones "ūhathuḥ" (cfr. also "āsathuḥ") or still more by *seemingly* unreduplicated "cakṣuḥ". This last must have been the SK's pseudo-model for his "takṣuḥ" in II, 19, 8:

(*a*) evā te (!) gṛtsamadāḥ śūra manma (?!)
= aivā gṛtsa-madaaḥ śūra manma = 11

(*b*) avasyavaḥ na vayunāni takṣuḥ (!?)
= avasyavaḥ na vayu*nā* *ta*takṣuḥ = 11

(*c*) brahmaṇyantaḥ indara tai(i) navīyaḥ = 11

(*d*) iṣam ūrjaṃ sukṣitiṃ sumnam aśyuḥ (?!)
= ūrjaṃ sumnaṃ sukṣitim iṣam aśyuḥ = 11

It is obvious that this (*hap. leg.*!) "takṣuḥ" is concocted on purpose by the SK to prop up *his* own one and only "takṣathuḥ", which otherwise would stand completely unsupported. This is fully confirmed by the fact that in *no other* of the (*ten*!) "tatakṣuḥ" occurrences (we *have* checked them – cfr. Grassmann), it was possible for the SK to suppress the "ta" as unobtrusively as here – with "vayu*nāni* for "vayunā".

Hence, Wackernagel (I, p. XV) was wrong in attributing these two solecisms ("takṣathuḥ, takṣuḥ") to the "younger *poets*" – in *any* way! *Neither* is genuine, but *both* are the SK's own brood.

A further proof of it is the parallel case in X, 66, 4 b – which, speaking of the gods as a whole, says:

"dyāvābhūmī pṛthivī skambhur ojasā" (!?)
= "dyāvābhūmī pṛthivī cāskabhuḥ pṛthv*iy*" aujasā

Here the SK *needed* room for *his* "prthivī"+*pragṛhya*! And watch Geldner's "twists"! Yet the SK "confirms" this solecism with a fellow-monster of his own making too:

VI, 72, (2c) upa dyāṃ skambhathuḥ skambhanena (!?)
(= dyāṃ sambhanaina upa *cāskābh*āthuḥ) (?)
= upa dyāṃ *cā-skā*bhathuḥ skambhanaina (!)
cfr. X, III, (5c) mahīṃ cit (!) dyām ātanant sūriyaiṇa
(d) cāskambha "*ca+iṃ sk*ambhanaina" skabhīyān

Here again we have to consider Wackernagel (I, p. XVI) as mistaken.

VI, 72 is a hymn full of *correct* perfect forms :

1 b ("cakrathuḥ"), 1 c ("vividathuḥ"), 3 d ("paprathuḥ"), 4 b ("dadathuḥ"), 4 c ("jagṛbhathuḥ"), 5 b ("rarāthai"), 5 d ("vivyathuḥ").

Hence *this kavi* could *not* possibly have perpetrated "skambhathuḥ" — *a priori* !

And this shows that the neighbouring kavi of VI, 67, 1 could not have said :

(*c*) saṃ yā raśmā+iva *ya*matuḥ yamiṣṭhā (!)
= *raśma+iva* saṃ yā "*yai*matuḥ" yamiṣṭhā

It is the *reciters-cum*-SK who have assimilated "*yam*(athuḥ)" to *yam*(iṣṭhā)" wittingly or not — especially in the *original* order *demanded* by the rhythm : "..... *yāyāi*mathuḥ *ya*miṣṭhā" ! (Why do text-critics forget so easily that the *original* Ṛgveda was an *oral-śruti* text — *not* a *lipi*-saṃhitā "as she is wrote" ? !).

IV

And with this we can consider the case of our refrain-pāda as closed.

Looking now back upon those preliminary findings, we shall be naturally surprised at the amount of liberty that the SK allowed himself in dealing with his text. His redactorial work is a real *palimpsest*, a very far-reaching *re-editing* and *re-writing* of the original Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis — respecting the *substance* of the "artha"-sense (as far as *he* understands it !), but having no great scruples about the mere "śabda"-wording. Now, if he dared to do what we have shown above, what will he *not* dare to dare ? There is little we need be surprised at in the many and manifold redactorial "tricks of the trade" that he can resort to. We all know that he will not turn a hair when inflicting on the original archaic texts *his* "modern" rules of grammar (especially saṃdhi) which the ṛṣi-kavis never even dreamt of. He also *systematically* "modernises" forms like "mahyam, tubhyam" for the *archaic* "mahya, tubhya", etc.—*thus making grammar* (*his own* !) *supreme, even at the cost of metre and rhythm* !

Based on these facts we have long been demonstrating — as we have done in the above cases — how the real Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis can be recovered from the Saṃhitā-*palimsest* by following the opposite-reverse principle —namely, that in the *original* Ṛgveda, *metre and rhythm were paramount*, and so were the *archaic forms, and also the saṃdhi* (especially the freedom from its *later* rules !). The reader may see some of the papers published by us in

"Indian Linguistics" (more are in the course of publication – as indicated above – and have been presented at the meetings of the Linguistic Society of India, and the A. I. O. C., in the last four sessions).

The normal pattern of the triṣṭubh-jagatī verse which we have propounded in all our other articles (and found confirmed by a full study of the Ṛgveda metrics, which we shall publish in due course) is faultlessly represented here (in our X, 121) by:

(1 a) hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartata+agre

(2 a) yaḥ ātmadā(ḥ) baladā(ḥ) yasya viśve

(9 a) mā naḥ hiṃsīt janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ

(9 b) ya(ḥ) vā divaṃ satyadharmā jajāna

They represent practically all the possible *rhythmical varieties* in the *pre*-yati and *post*-yati rhythms, while they are flawless in the use of the early or late *yati* (caesura) and in the exact number of syllables. They are at the same time an objective refutation of the erroneous idea that the *ṛṣi-kavis* were not fully strict in the observance of the verse-patterns. *Kavis* who produce lines like these, *could* not falter and limp in others. They *could* handle their language with ease and consummate skill. Hence, if there is any flaw in the verses, it *must* be due to the SK – who was under the thrall of *younger* grammatical rules which had *not* been binding on the ṛṣi-kavis themselves. *That is our fundamental text-critical principle*!

We shall next apply that principle to the reconstruction of this famous hymn (X, 121), out of the form that it has been given in the SK's Saṃhitā-palimsest. (Cfr. I, further up. To be continued).

STONE AGE CULTURES OF BOMBAY, A RE-APPRAISAL

By

H. D. SANKALIA

It was nearly 30 years ago (that), Lieutenant-Commander TODD had examined the exposures made while digging out earth and gravels for filling in the Back Bay at Bombay, at Worli Hill, Pali Hill, Marve off Malad, Kandivli and Borivli. He had also mentioned the occurrence of microliths on several of these hills, besides Madh, island opposite Versova and Erangal Point, small diggings at Marva had yielded pottery and microliths.

Todd published these observations in two papers,[1] which have become 'classic' in as much as the sections at Kandivli, were reported to have given a sequence of cultures right from the Early Palaeolithic through the Upper Palaeolithic upto the Mesolithic and later microlithic cultures (which were believed to be of the Neolithic or Early Historic period).

TODD followed up the above-mentioned paper by another, which was published posthumously in *Ancient* India.[2] In this he dealt mainly with the microlithic industries and their likely affinities to those in the heart of India and from Africa.

Since nowhere in India such stratified deposits of Stone Age Cultures spanning the entire Old Stone Age, the Transitional and the Microlithic Cultures had been found, TODD's work had drawn considerable attention, though not many attempts were made to check his observation. The writer, no doubt, along with Shri N. P. CHAKRAVARTI of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, had gone to Kandivli as far back as September 1941, but owing to unfavourable weather had to return. It was also felt that the area was disturbed. Later, owing to war conditions, the entire region was out of bounds to civilians.

Kandivli was once again approached by the writer and Prof. F. E. ZEUNER in February, 1949, but TODD's sections were not found. The area was then briefly visited by Prof. T. D. McCOWN and the writer in May 1958, and they felt after the inspection of a section immediately behind the Physical Culture School that it was a re-deposit. They also noticed terraces at Borivli and thought that the deposits should be correlated with these.

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[1] TODD, K. R. K., "Palaeolithic Industries of Bombay", in *JRAI.*, Vol. LXIX, pt. ii, 1939, pp. 257 and "Prehistoric Man Round Bombay", in *Proc. Prehist. Soc., East Anglia*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 35-42.

[2] T'44, K. R. K., "The Microlithic Industries of Bombay", in *Ancient India*, No. 6. 1950, pp. 1-16.

Similar views were expressed by Shri B. B. LAL, when he independently examined the area that year.

In 1958, Shri S. C. MALIK carried out a brief survey on behalf of the M. S. University of Baroda.[1] Though he confirmed the stratigraphic observations of TODD, particularly at Kandivli and published the new sections from the Dahisar river at Borivli, he found very few tools, and none of the Early Palaeolithic. Thus the doubt still remained as to whether a genuine section showing three distinct climatic and cultural phases existed at Kandivli or anywhere in the region (for this cannot be confined to Kandivli alone!) and whether tools answering to the illustrations given by TODD could be discovered again.

A much longer, detailed examination was necessary. This was attempted by the writer with Dr. G. C. MOHAPATRA[2] and Shri V. N. MISRA[3], two of his pupils, early in December 1960.

The Western Coast including Bombay consists of a series of islands, creeks, lagoons and bays, which bestow a picturesque appearance to the whole topography of the region. It is not all a flat marshy land as Calcutta on the east coast.

While the sandy beaches and the slightly inland marshes are comparatively younger, formed as they are in sub-recent times, the case of the entire coast is much older. All this again is not basaltic, formed by the lava flows during the Upper Cretacious or Lower Tertiary times. Buried forests from the Bombay harbour suggest that a period had intervened between this lava and the sub-recent times when the alluvium was formed.

It is also probable that at one time in the past the coast line was also one continuous piece of land, but was later cut up into islands and creeks, owing to surface erosion and marine transgressions. Hills thus suddenly seem to rise up from the surrounding sandy plains as at present day near Chowpatty, Worli, Bandra, Marve, Madh island, Erangal Point, and Chembur. These – Malabar Hill, Pali Hill, Worli Hill, Ashta, etc. – are indeed residuary hillocks and were at one time part of the main land.

Besides these two – the sandy or at time marshy sea beaches and hills sometimes quite bare, but often covered with green vegetation, their slopes weathering into a reddish soil, – the small intermediate stretch of land, form-

[1] MALIK, S. C., *Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts*, M. S. University Archaeology Series, No. 4, Baroda, 1959.

[2] Dr Mohapatra has had his Ph.D., on the *Stone Age Cultures of Orissa*, in 1960.

[3] Shri Misra has submitted a thesis : *Stone Age Cultures of Rajputana.*

ing the foot-hills and the plains, also contains the deposits laid down by the Western flowing streams.

These, though running for a short length and not deserving the title of rivers, are very interesting and important. For these illustrate on a small scale several of the features of the river mechanism like erosion, aggradation, re-deposit and river terraces which one witnesses in a large river. Above all, they contain some of the earliest records of man within Greater Bombay, though in the island of Bombay, they are probably now irrecoverably lost. It is therefore quite possible that what was found by Todd and others at Kandivli may well be found right upto a point below Ghod Bandar or south of Bombay on the Ratnagiri coast. For the entire coast must have undergone similar geological and climatic conditions. What is now needed is an extended search along the coast.

With this very brief back-ground about the physiographic features of the west coast, the Kandivli-Borivli area may be described in a little more detail.

As the One inch-to-one mile Survey Map shows, there is a narrow belt of alluvial land varying from a half-a-mile to one-and--a-half mile in width with occasional hillocks, for instance at Andheri (just behind the present Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's College), Ambivli Hill abuts on or lies against the slowly rising hilly area on the east. Even now it is fairly wooded, and contains three lakes – the Tulsi, Vihar and Pavai. The region immediately east of Kandivli-Borivli is comparatively very high, the highest peak probably being the Kanheri (the ancient Krishnagiri) hill.

Several small streams wind their way down to the coast to the creeks and estuaries, the most prominent among the former are the Dahisar Nadi and an unnamed Nala to the north-east respectively, of Borivli, and Kandivli.

The Dahisar, situated about a mile north-east of Borivli, now flows through the Krishnagiri Upavana (National Park) and flowing north-westwards forms the biggest river.

The Kandivli Nala (to give it a name) is formed into a single nala about a mile north-eastwards from Kandivli station, and turning sharply south-westwards meets the Malad Creek. However, before flowing as a single stream, it receives waters from at least seven streams, the northern-most being *via* Magathan, the southern almost due east of Malad.

The nalas east of Kandivli have cut through nearly two miles, almost the maximum stretch of rising ground or foothills. In the process have laid down a fairly thick deposit of pebbles, at times boulder gravels, which sometimes are intercalated by sands and clays, and capped by a thin deposit of humus.

A careful examination also revealed that there were at least two cycles of deposition and erosion. And these in turn might be related to the terrace-like formations which are distinctly visible at Kandivli and Borivli. Thus at Kandivli the part of the nala immediately north, north-east of the Padan Hill shows two interesting sections. The first is to the east of the hill which is being quarried. It appears that over 30 years ago, when this area was being quarried, huge cement blocks were made locally, possibly for filling up the Back Bay. Some of these even now lie just where they were made. For easy transport a road was made; it was perhaps a rail line as indicated by the map. To cross the nala, a small concrete bridge was made. This has now collapsed. Its foundation rested on the southern side on the pebbly blackish cemented gravel. However, on the northern side, this gravel bed is covered by clay and sandy deposits to a height of nearly 5 to 7 ft. The top, however, is disturbed and now capped by a fresh rubble on the eastern side, though on the western side, there is a brownish rubble which might be old.

A little further, about 100 yards eastwards, the nala splits into several branches. But the southern-most as well as the one immediately next to it, shows for a considerable distance the accompanying section, its thickness varying with the nature of the ground. For as the rock bench is very high, the gravel and silt deposits are thin or almost non-existent.

To the eye, it appears that this portion of the nala flows through a lower terrace, though this observation needs to be checked by actual levelling from a fixed point.

From every point of view — thickness, general appearance and details of constitution — this section appears to be identical with or comparable to the one described and illustrated photographically by Todd. However, a careful scrutiny first by three of us, then by Dr. Subbarao and Shri Malik, and then by all of us in the company of Professor Zeuner showed that the section did not reveal three different formations as described by Todd, but it was essentially one deposit. *Essentially* it consists of a rubble gravel with occasional large boulders or pebbles of basalt (formed not necessarily by fluviatile action, but by spheroidal weathering) laid in a matrix of sandy clay over the basal rock, which at places has weathered into a clayey layer. Thus we find from bottom upwards rock, clay, rubble, gravel with sandy partings at places, and the top few inches of dark clay (humus).

As mentioned above, to the eye, this gravel appears at a lower level than the first one below the collapsed bridge; secondly, it is more like a rubble, whereas the first has many more small rounded pebbles. Thirdly, this is weathered brownish-yellow and is comparatively loose, while the latter is better cemented, is stained blackish owing to manganese, while parts of stones and tools are deeply patinated. Thus the latter has all the features of an older and

original gravel deposit, while the former might be a re-deposit. If this is so, then we may explain the formation of two gravel sections as follows: During the first wet phase and the succeeding dry one, the pebble gravel with a comparatively thick silt deposit was laid. This forms the top of the terrace, as we walk over the back of the Padan Hill, and continues southwards to the higher ground, or higher reaches of the nala. Here naturally the thickness of the deposit, as found by us, is nearly 15 ft. or more.

This earlier terrace was cut during the second wet phase, and a rubble gravel consisting mostly of the older material was laid. It was followed by a drier phase when a thin deposit of silt was formed. Sometime later the present erosional phase started, when the nalas were re-opened.

That such processes have taken place in the region is clearly demonstrated in the Dahisar Valley at Borivli. Here just below the Gandhi memorial, a new pebble blackish gravel with a thin layer of dark brown silt lies in a hollow cut out from the former gravel, against the weathered brownish gravel. It has also been cut by the river, and thus two distinct terraces can be seen here. (In fact, with this formation the total number of "terraces" on the Dahisar will be at least three).

We have no exact idea as to the number[1] of tools found by TODD at Borivli and Kandivli. Though there is a long exposed section on the Dahisar, no tools were found by us except a microlithic core of carnelian and two scrapers from the top soil; nor did Malik discover any.

Kandivli has, however, yielded plenty of tools, because probably there are a large number of outcrops of chert, jasper and fine glassy basalt in the higher reaches. These are weathering *in situ* and may have supplied raw material to the Palaeolithic and Microlithic man.

However, no handaxes, cleavers and other tools of truly Abbevillio-Acheulian facies were noticed by Malik previously or by us, though we searched there for a long time. No doubt, there are pieces which superficially look like the illustrations given by TODD, of rostro-carinate, chopper etc.[2] Without being dogmatic, it may be said that the Early Palaeolithic industry is absent at Kandivli.

Our careful collection from—

(*i*) the basal gravel under the bridge,

(*ii*) the overlying silt and sand.

(*iii*) the rubble gravel and its junction with the top humus or blackish soil.

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[1] After writing this paper, I requested one of my former pupils, Professor N. ISAAC, when he was in England last year, to re-examine TODD's collection, if possible. In the appendix is given a tabulated list of tools in the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, kindly prepared by him with the permission of the authorities. I am thankful to both of them.

[2] TODD, in J. R. A. I., pp. 261-62.

contains—

(*a*) large and small cores with deep flake scars and corresponding,
(*b*) flakes with large prominent undersurface, with a diffused bulb,
(*c*) cores with occasional parallel flake scars,
(*d*) Levallois flakes removed from fully prepared cores,
(*e*) scrapers,
(*f*) points and borers, made on the above type of flakes or at times on the cores or nodules,
(*g*) Burin-like pieces.

The total number is 84. Out of this the basal cemented gravel yielded 30, "mixed deposit" 23, Middle Gravel, Nala 2, 17, and the surface 8. It may be classified as follows :—

Lower cemented gravel	.. 30 ..	3 Cores. 8 Scrapers. 1 Rostro-carinate. 3 Points or Borers. 1 Burin-facet nodule. 1 Cleaver. 12 Non-descript flakes. 1 Flake. 30.
Mixed Deposit from Nala 1	.. 23 ..	1 Core. 4 Scrapers. 1 Burin facet nodule. 6 Flakes of which 2 are good. 11 Non-descript flakes and nodules. 23.
Middle Gravel, Nala 2	.. 17	1 Core. 1 Fine flake. 1 Large flake. 1 Cleaver. 1 Scraper. 1 Burin-facet nodule. 11 Non-descript. 17.

Junction of Top clay and Gravel ..	8 ..	1 Large Core.	
		1 Point.	
		3 Burin-facet nodules.	
		3 Non-descript.	
		8.	
Surface	6 ..	1 Large Core.	
		3 Small flakes.	
		2 Non-descript.	
		6.	

Cores

No. 11, KDL. A large amorphous core showing two techniques. On one side two or three flakes have been removed by direct percussion on either side with a stone hammer, leaving deep flake scars and a jugged edge. Almost on the opposite face, there are two shallow parallel flakes scars, obviously by pressure flaking; while on the adjoining face there are a series of small shallow scars, mostly due to step-flaking. Where these two flaked surface meet, a borer point has resulted, perhaps accidently. The material is chert and is stained dark-black and brown. Found *in situ* in the lowest cemented gravel in Nala 1 on 9th October 1960.

No. 7, KDL. A small plano-convex core. One large flake and a small one have been removed from either side. Light yellow chert. Found *in situ* in the lower gravel on 8th December 1960.

No. 6, KDL. Roughly rectangular core from which 7 to 8 flakes have been removed by direct percussion method. The flaking is from the edge. Since the material is fine glassy — obsidian-like *basalt* — the scars are deep. *In situ* lower gravel, Nala 1. Found on 9th December 1960.

No. 2, KDL. Rectangular core on a thick flake. From the upper surface, a long blade-like flake has been removed. Fine mottled jasper. Found from the Middle Gravel, Nala 2, on 10th December 1960.

No. 1, KDL. A large flat-based steep-sided nodule, from which two flakes have been removed. Brownish basalt, surface.

Scrapers

No. 1, KDL. A large semi-circular scraper on a flatish piece. The under-side seems to be quite natural. From the upper a large flake has

been removed, which along with the thick straight sided back facilitates the handhold. The flat surface slopes steeply. Its margin has been partly retouched and partly battered.

Beautiful black-white appearance. Found *in situ* lower gravel on 9th December 1960.

No. 5, KDL. A small rectangular scraper-*cum*-borer on an irregular flattish piece. The margins on two sides are minutely trimmed by step-flaking to yield a scraping edge. The junction of two adjoining sides ends in a borer-point. Black-and-brownish white. *In situ* lower gravel. 9th December 1960.

No. 15, KDL. Scraper-*cum*-point on a small flatish Levallois-like flake. The upper surface have two flake scars with the margin retouched. The underside having a bulb has also been trimmed so as to give a point and a scraping edge. Brownish chert. *In situ* lower gravel. 10th December 1960.

No. 1, DSR. A side-scraper on a thick plano-convex semi-circular piece. The chord has been roughly flaked to give a scraping edge. Brownish chert. Loose from the Dahisar Nadi. 15. 15th December 1960.

No. 1, KDL. Scraper on an irregular flake. Only the edge is obliquely retouched. Brownish chert. From the mixed deposit overlying the cemented lower gravel in Nala 1. 8th December 1960.

No. 18, KDL. Scraper-*cum*-Point on a small flattish flake. Brownish chert. From the mixed deposit overlying the cemented lower gravel in Nala 1. 8th December 1960.

No. 12, KDL. Scraper on a roundish Levallois-like flake. No trace of platform, but where there is a tiny bulb, the upper surface bears some marks of trimming. Black chert. Mixed deposit. Nala 1. 8th December 1960.

No. 27, KDL. Hollow Scraper on a thick nodule. Deeply flaked along the margin on two surfaces. Brownish chert. Mixed deposit. Nala 1. 8th December 1960.

No. 6, KDL. A small blade-like flake with unfacetted platform and diffused bulb. Black chert. *In situ* lower gravel. Nala 1. 10th December 1960.

No. 13, KDL. Borer or a Point on a thick triangular piece with a thick butt. It appears that advantage was taken of a naturally pointed

nodule by slightly touching its two sides to yield an effective borer. Blackish-white chert. *In situ* lower gravel. 10th December 1960.

No. 11, KDL. Point on a thick triangular nodule with a thick butt. One side and the tip of the point retouched. Brownish chert. *In situ* lower gravel. 10th December 1960.

Cleavers (?)

No. 1, KDL. Small cleaver-like form on a nodule with a thick untrimmed butt. The junction of the two sloping surfaces forming the edge, while the sides are crudely chipped. Greenish chert. *In situ* lower gravel. 10th December 1960.

No. 16, KDL. Small cleaver with a pointed flaked butt. Sides crudely flaked. Junction of the sloping surfaces – of which the upper may be natural – forms the edge. Rolled; *in situ* upper gravel. Nala 2. 10th December 1960.

This small cleaver reminds us of a similar cleaver from the Gagapur Dam Section at Nasik[1] found in 1957.[1]

No. 14, KDL. A burin-like tool on an irregular longish piece. The chisel-like edge has one side probably vertically flaked.

No. 7, KDL. A burin-like tool on a thick nodule. The under-surface is naturally flat. The two sides on one end meet in a chisel-like broad edge. Mottled jasper. Middle Gravel. Nala 2. 10th December 1960.

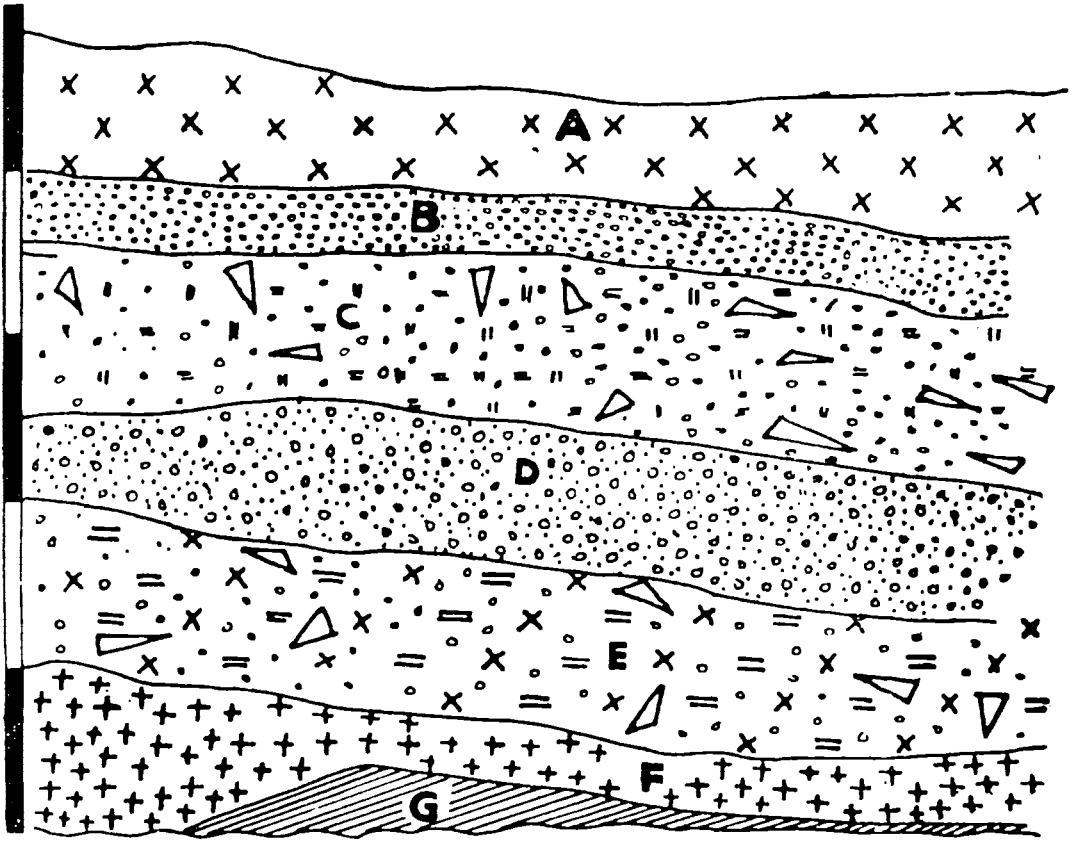
No. 5, KDL. A fine core flake, the underside of which also seems to be worked. Classy basalt. Upper gravel. Nala 2.

From the analysis of the tool collections from the different horizons as well as a description of the important types, it will be seen that the same types which occur in the lowest layer of cemented gravel in both the Nalas occur in what we have called "mixed deposit" in Nala 1 and "middle and upper gravel" in Nala 2. While the old or previous types may be found in the succeeding deposits, some new types – indicating a new industry or culture – should be there. This is either absent or we have so far not found what is called the "Upper Palaeolithic blade element". Likewise, the true Lower Palaeolithic complex of handaxes and cleavers is also missing. No doubt, there are a couple of cleaver-like pieces, one from the lowest gravel. But these are not indeed sufficient to change the nature of the industry which mainly seems to comprise scrapers, points and borers.

The burin-like pieces were also examined by Professor ZEUNER; while the typical burin-facet intentionally given to give a chisel-edge does not seem

[1] SANKALIA, H. D., *The Godavari Palaeolithic Industry*, p. 32, Fig. 22.

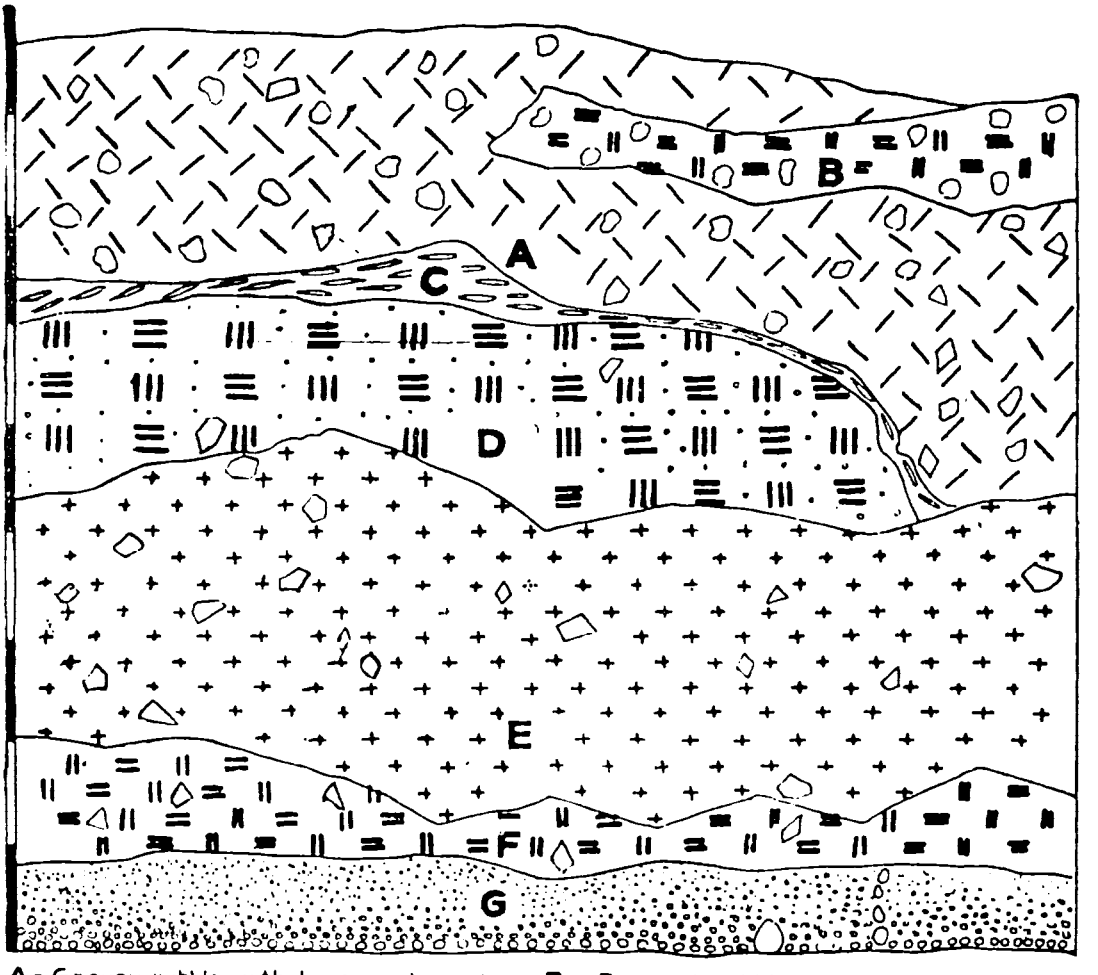
EASTERN SECTION OF NALA 2
BEHIND SCHOOL OF P.C.
AT
KANDIVLI



A – RED SILT
B – FINER GRAVEL
C – UPPER GRAVEL – BROWN ANGULAR ROCKS & GRAVEL
D – PATCH OF SANDY GRAVEL
E – BROWNISH – RED ANGULAR ROCKS & GRAVEL
F – YELLOW CLAY FROM WEATHERED ROCK
G – ROCK (DECOMPOSED)

Fig. 2.

WESTERN SECTION OF NALA 1
BEHIND SCHOOL OF P.C.
AT
KANDIVLI



A - Greysh rubble with large angular rocks
B - Brownish rubble
C - Small chips at the base of the rubble
D - Yellowish brown clay with very fine few angular rocks and occasional tools
E - Yellow clay (silt) with occasional rocks
F - Brownish fine gravel with occasional angular rocks and tools
G - Blackish coarse gravel becoming bigger at the base and going bereth it

Fig. 1.

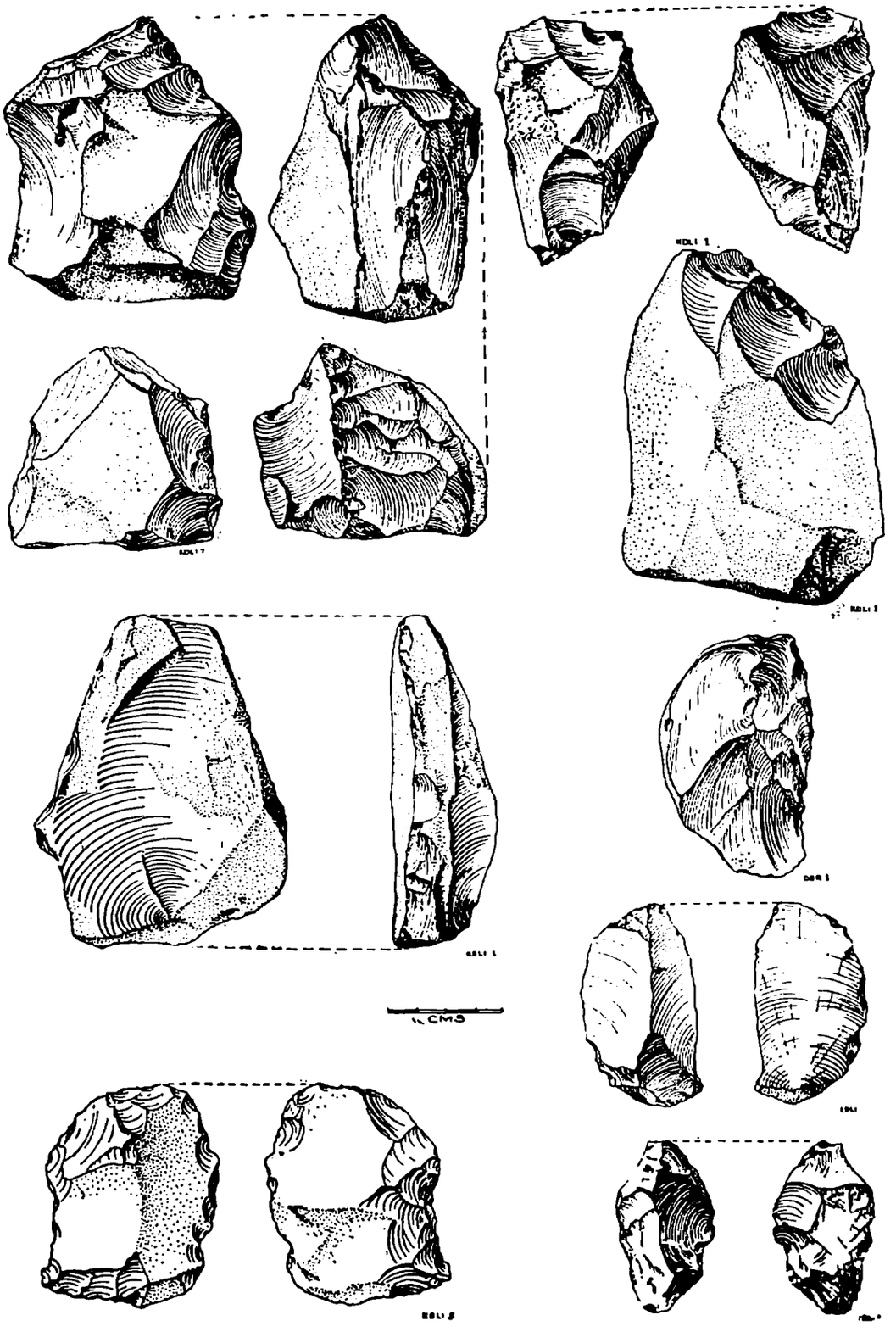


Fig. 3.

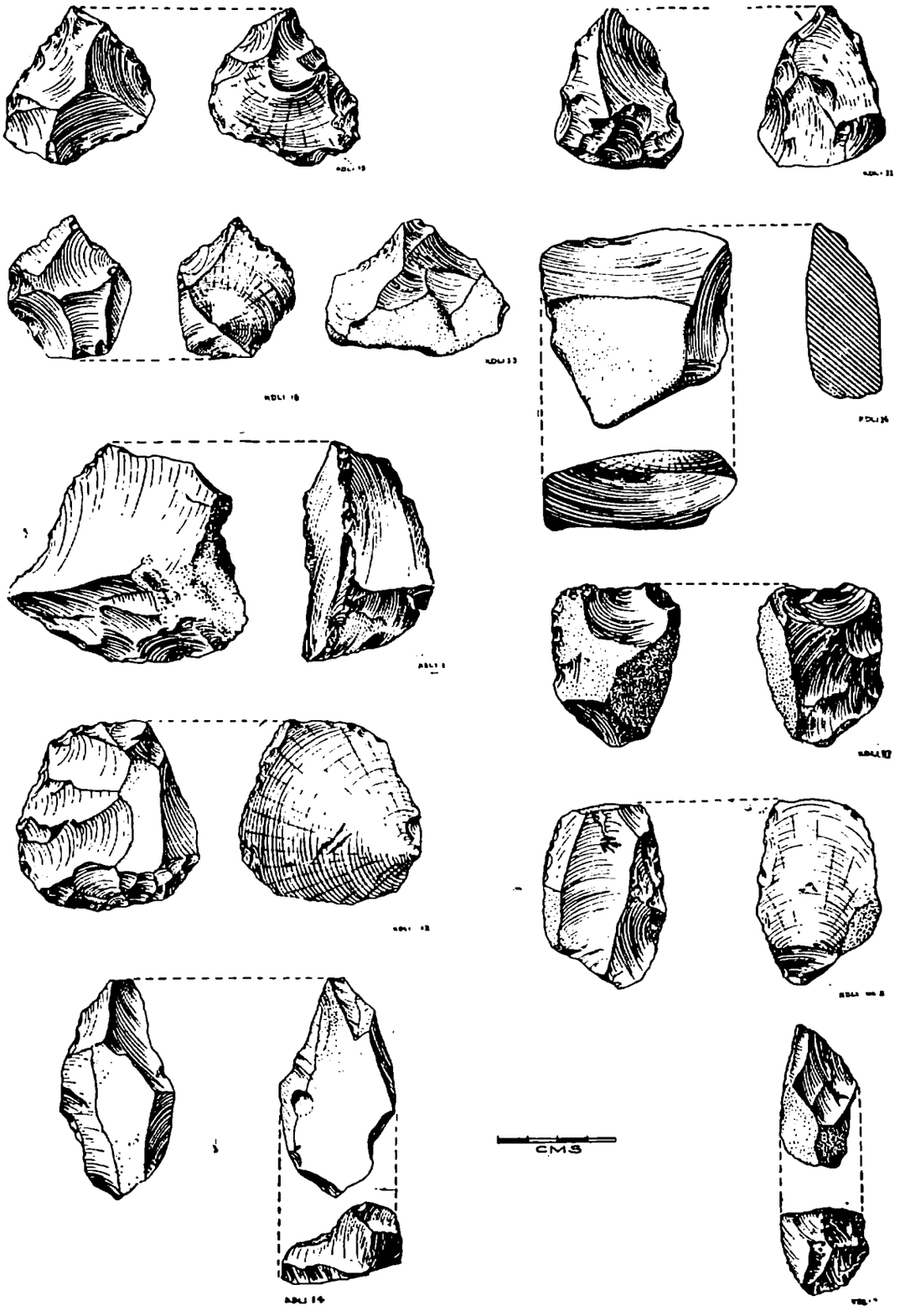
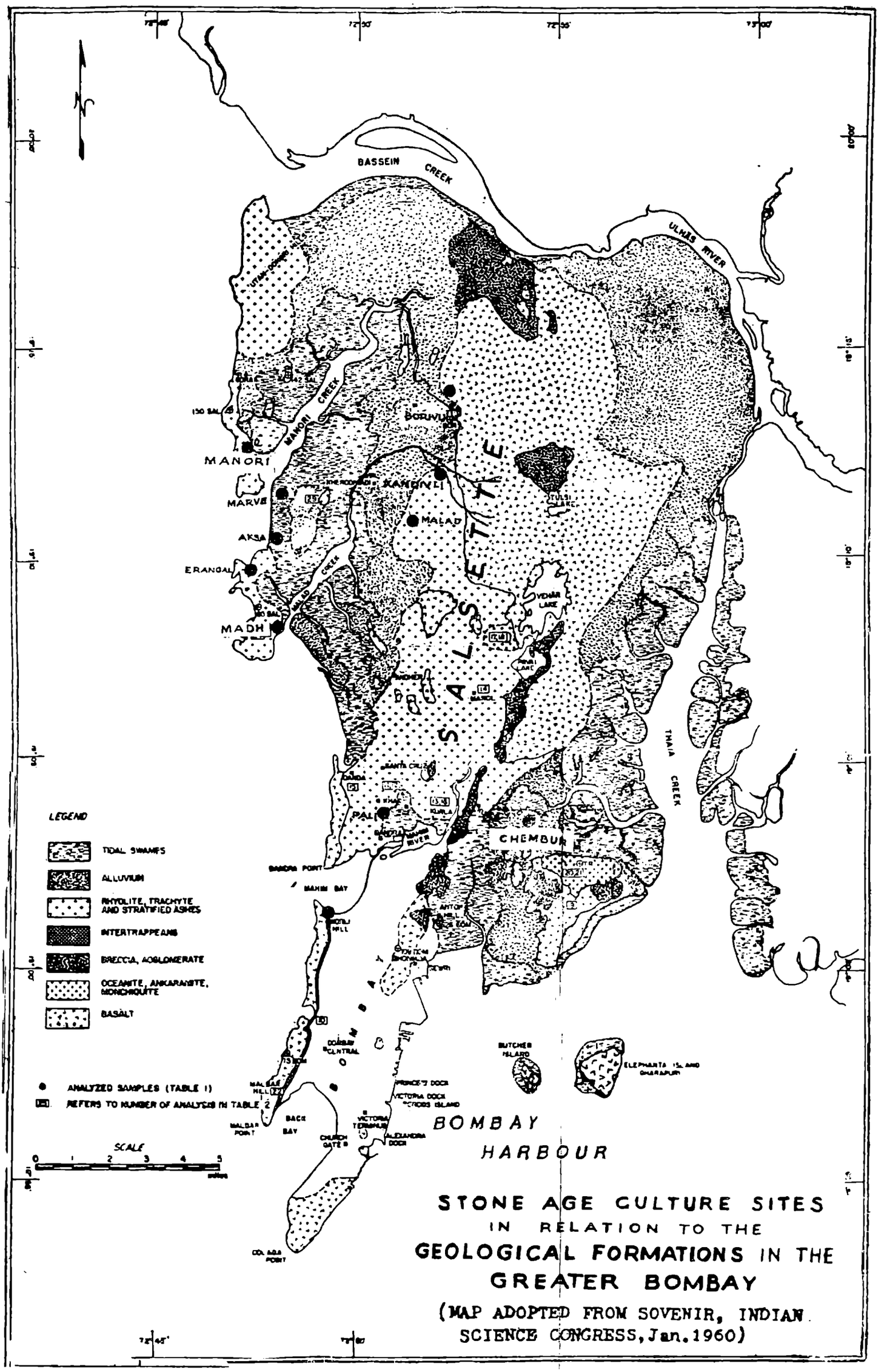


Fig. 4.



STONE AGE CULTURE SITES IN RELATION TO THE GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS IN THE GREATER BOMBAY

(MAP ADOPTED FROM SOVENIR, INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, Jan. 1960)

Fig. 6.

View of the Section in Nala 2, Kandivli.

Fig. 7.

View of the Section in Nala 1. The topmost layer is recent rubble.

Fig. 8.

View of the base of its Section in Nala 1 (side opposite that in Fig. 7), showing the eroded part of the cemented gravel layer.

to be in evidence, still it is possible that such chisel-ended pieces were naturally available in the locality owing to the peculiar nature of the rock and probably used by man, though for the latter view, we have very little proof either.

These tools may be compared with those illustrated by Todd. Our collection also includes crude handaxe-like specimens, and two small cleavers. But the rest are points, borers and scrapers. These are all made in the form and technique visible in what is now called Series II or Middle Palaeolithic (or Stone Age) tools from Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra, Orissa, Central Provinces, Central India, and Western Rajputana. In all these regions, except the last, they normally occur in a gravel deposit which overlies the earlier gravel formation, containing Early Palaeolithic tools of Abbevillio-Acheulian type. This gravel in its turn is covered by a thick layer of silt. Though we cannot and should not regard the gravel deposits of different regions as synchronous, that is, of the same age, they do seem to be homotaxial; that is, the process of formation seems to be identical. Further, as we know today, a similar or identical lithic industry existed in these gravels. These, on the Godavari at Kalegaon, are associated with the remains of *Bos namadicus* Falconer. This is a Middle Pleistocene fossil, but may have survived into the Upper or Late Pleistocene.

Such is the typological and palaeontological evidence by which we might date earliest Kandivli Stone Age tools. The climate was no doubt wet, and the region tolerably wooded so that the tools like points and borers might have been used as missiles and for the purpose of piercing animal skins, whereas the various kinds of scrapers must have served for dressing the skin and wooden sticks.

Whether this Stone Age Culture was followed by the one in which long blades and burins and gravers played a prominent part or was immediately succeeded by one in which microliths come into the picture, cannot be said for certain. For our collection of burins from the "mixed deposit" is of doubtful nature. Probably a further intensive search, which is planned, may help elucidate the problem.

APPEN

Kandivli material available at the

FINI

Strati-Graphical	Typological: Core: Steep (nosed) scraper	Core: double-sided scraper	Core: Core Scraper	Core: Chopping tools	Core: Small Rostroid	Core: Handaxe	Core: Borer	Core: Point	Flake: Handaxe	Flake: Side scraper
A Lower Clay (*i*) Lower	1	1						1		
(*ii*) Upper			1					1	1	3
B Lower Gravel (*i*) Lower ..				2	1			1	1	.. 3
(*ii*) Upper	1	1				1	1	2		2
C Sandy Middle Clay				1				1		1
D Upper Gravel								1		1
E Upper Clay								2	1	
F Top Sands			1							
Total ..	2	2	2	3	1..	1	1	9	3	10

(1) In general, the handaxes belong to Stage III. The Collection includes only one hardware.
(2) The chopping-tools are not made on pebbles. Instead they are cores retouched bifacially at
(3) The discoids are charecterized (*a*) in one case by marginal unifacial trimming and (*b*) in the
(4) The so called " roughly prismatic cores ", are, except in one case, cylindrical to prismatic in form

DIX

Institute of Archaeology, London.

SHED.							WASTE								
Flakes						Blades	Cores				Flakes			Blades	
End scraper	Duck-bill shaped	Discoidal	Borer	T-shaped tool	Burin	Roughly prismatic	Irregular shaped	Discoidal	Flakes with cortex on upper face.	.....	Faceted striking platform	Parallel sided.	.....		Total
						2	1		5						11
1	1						1		3						12
		1								2	1				12
1		2					1		2						14
	1					1	1		1	3					10
2	1		1	1		1		1	1	3		1			14
2					1									1	7
1						2								1	5
7	3	3	1	1	1	6	4	1	12	8	1	1	2		85

one end or side.
other two cases by marginal bifacial trimming.
and are not truly representative of blade production. The exception is fairly prismatic in form.

DURVINĪTA AND THE RESTORATION OF THE CHALUKYAS

By

Miss Kumud Chitalia

The evidence, furnished by the Humcha stone inscription,[1] dated A.D. 1077, belonging to the later Chālukyas of Kalyani, throws interesting light on the Gaṅga-Chalukya relations during the early period of the history of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

At the outset, it may be stated that the event to which the inscription refers, took place about 525 years before the date on which this inscription was issued. Such a late evidence has to be handled with care. Secondly, it being a Chalukyan record, the genealogical account of the Gaṅga family, which it gives is naturally of only secondary interest. It is mentioned incidentally and summarily treated with the result that the careers of the Gaṅga kings, are briefly alluded to. The inscription runs thus :

"Vasudhege Rāvaṇa-pratiman emba negatteya
Kāḍuveṭṭiyam visasana rangadoḷ pididu
tanna tanūjeya putranam pratiṭhisi
Jayasiṁha – vallabhanan anvaya rajyadoḷ
urbbiyoḷ vigurbisidan id ēn agurbbo
nijadōr-balad unnati Durvinītana !"[2]

"Having captured the Kāḍuveṭṭi, who like unto a Rāvaṇa to the earth, on the field of battle and having established his grandson, through his daughter, in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasiṁhavallabha, Durvinīta became famous in this world."

This compression has led to many a misunderstanding on the part of scholars with regard to the identity of the daughter's son of the Western Gaṅga king Durvinīta, to whom the inscription refers but does not disclose his name

He has been variously identified with Jayasiṁha,[3] the progenitor of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, with Raṇarāga,[4] his son, with Pulakeśin II,[5] great

1 *EC*, vol. VIII, Nr. 35.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Govind Pai, "Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas," *JAHRS*, vol. VII, p. 18.
4 K. S Vaidyanathan, "A Leaf from the Early Chalukya Chronology," *QJMS.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 259-69.
5 B. V. Krishnarao, "Avantisundarikatha and its Historical Value," *PIHC*, vol. V, pp. 204-11.

grandson of the latter and the greatest of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, with Vikramāditya I,[6] the son and successor of Pulakeśin II and lastly with Jayasiṁha II, the son of Viṣṇuvardhana, the brother of the great Pulakeśin, who established the Eastern branch of the Chālukya family.

The identification of this grandson of Durvinīta with Jayasiṁha,[8] the first king of the Bādāmi house of the Chalukyas is inadmissible, for the simple reason that the description of Jayasiṁha, as given in the record, goes against this supposition. The record clearly states that Durvinīta, established his own daughter's son on the 'hereditary throne of Jayasiṁhavallabha'. If Jayasiṁha was the first king of this dynasty, as mentioned in the Mahākuṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa[9] and the Aihoḷe praśasti of Pulakeśin,[10] he could not have acquired the throne by hereditary succession.

Nor can we accept the identification of the grandson of Durvinīta with Raṇarāga,[11] for as will be shown below, the known facts of the Gaṅga-Chalukya chronology make even Pulakeśin I too old to be a grandson of Durvinīta. We are told in the Bādāmi Cliff inscription[12] of Pulakeśin I that he performed a horse-sacrifice in or before A.D. 543, (ss. 465), the date of the inscription. Naturally enough, this supreme distinction could have been achieved only after years of struggle. If this struggle lasted for ten years, he could have come to the throne about A. D. 530. Supposing that he was the son of a Gaṅga mother, she must have been at least 40 years old in A. D. 530, when her supposed son Pulakeśin I, started his rule, when he was probably twenty years old. If, therefore, she herself was born in A. D. 490, in order to be 40 years of age in A. D. 530, her father Durvinīta must have been born in at least A. D. 470. This is impossible because his father Avinīta is known to have ruled from about A. D. 500 to 550 and is said to have been crowned king while still on his mother's lap.[13] Supposing that Avinīta was five years old in A. D. 500, when he ascended the throne, it would give A. D. 495, as the date of his birth. This rules out a possibility of Pulakeśin I, being the grandson of Durvinīta. Therefore, the identification of Raṇarāga, the father of Pulakeśin I, as the daughter's son of Durvinīta is out of question.

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6 N. Venkataramanayya, "Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I," *Triveni*, vol. I, pp. 112-120.
7 T. N. Subramaniam, "The Puḷḷalore Battle of Pallava Mahendravarman I," *PTOC*, vol. VII, pp. 618-619.
8 *See* fn. 3.
9 J. F. Fleet, "The Mahākuṭa Inscription of the Chālukya King Maṅgaléśa," *IA*, vol. XIX, p. 19.
10 K. Kielhorn, "Aihoḷe Inscription of Pulakeśin II – Śaka-Samvat 556," *EI*, vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
11 See fn. 4.
12 R. S. Panchamukhi, "Bādāmi Inscription of Chalikya Vallabhēśvara : Śaka 465," *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 8-9 ; Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province. For the year 1940-41, pp. 6-8.
13 *MAR*, 1916, pp. 34-35.

Equally unacceptable is the identification of Durvinīta's grandson with Pulakeśin II.[14] For, it is known for a fact that he was the son of Kīrtivarman I by a Sendraka princess.[15] Moreover, when Pulakeśin II ascended the throne in A. D. 608-9,[16] his Gaṅga contemporary was not Durvinīta, who had died eight years before, but his great grandson Bhuvikrama.[17] This argument will apply with greater force to the cases of identification of Durvinīta's grandson with Vikramāditya I[18] the son of Pulakeśin II and with Jayasiṁha,[19] the son of Viṣṇuvardhana, who both ruled in the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era.

Durvinīta probably ruled from A. D. 550 to 600. His own inscriptions being, dated in his regnal years without reference to any specific era, it is only with the help of the circumstantial evidence that we could arrive at this conclusion.

The Penukoṇḍa plates,[20] accepted as genuine, from every point of view, explicitly mention the installation of Durvinīta's great-great-grandfather Harivarman by Siṁhavarman Pallava. The Sanskrit work *Lokavibhāga*[21] enables us to fix the date of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman whose 22nd regnal year was Śaka Samvat 380 or A. D. 458. This gives A. D. 436 as his first year of kingship.

Therefore, Harivarman was anointed king during the reign of Pallava Siṁhavarman, sometime between A. D. 436 and 458. We may suppose A. D. 450 as the beginning of Harivarman's rule and give him the usual reign of 25 years, i.e. A. D. 450 to 475. His successor was Viṣṇugopa, great-grandfather of Durvinīta. Some of the Western Gaṅga copper-plates mention his name in the genealogy, while some do not, giving us an impression that if at all he ruled from the Gaṅga throne, it was only for a short period. Mādhava, the grandfather of Durvinīta is next in the line. He was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandvarman,[22] who was the son of Siṁhavarman who established Mādhava's grandfather Harivarman on the Gaṅga throne. In the absence of definite information Mādhava may be assigned a reign of 25 years, i.e., A. D. 475 to 500. This would also agree with the dates of the Pallava king Skandavarman, who must have succeeded his father Siṁhavarman after A. D. 458, which was the latter's 22nd year, according to the testimony of *Lokavibhāga*.

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14 See fn. 5.
15 Fleet, "Chiplūn Plates of Pulikeśin II," *EI*, vol. III, pp.
16 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *IA*, vol. VI, p. 74.
17 *MAR*, 1925, No. 104.
18 See fn. 6.
19 See fn. 7.
20 Lewis Rice, "Penukonda Plates of Mādhava II (III)," *El.* vol. XIV, pp. 331-336.
21 *MAR*, 1910, p ;
Ibid, 1922, p. 23.
22 See fn. 20.

Thus, in A. D. 500, Mādhava was succeeded by his posthumous son Avinīta, who is said to have been crowned king while still on his mother's lap. Inscriptions issued in his 1st, 2nd, 12th, 25th, 29th and 35th regnal years have been found.[23] Hence, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he ruled from A. D. 500 to 550. He was succeeded by his son Durvinīta, who also had a long reign, a fact which is evident from his inscriptions, dated in his 3rd, 4th, 20th, 35th and 40th years.[24]

This makes him a contemporary of the three Chalukya kings, viz., Pulakesin I[25] (A. D. 530 to 566), his son Kīrtivarman I[26] (A. D. 566-67 to A. D. 597-598) and the latter's brother Maṅgaleśa[27] (A. D. 597-98 to A. D. 608-9).

As already proved, Pulakeśin I could not be a grandson of Durvinīta. How, could Kīrtivarman I, the son of Pulakeśin I, be the grandson of the Gaṅga king? For although chronologically this is not impossible, the fact that he has been credited in the Mahākuṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa[28] with a victory over the Gaṅgas would make it improbable that he was installed on the throne with the help of his Gaṅga grand-father for that event, would make him an ungrateful grand-child and the victory which he won over the Gaṅgas would not be considered as an achievement but as an act of base ingratitude.

These considerations leave us with the only possibility of Maṅgaleśa, who was a crowned king of the early Western Chalukya line, being the grandson of Durvinīta, for, it is known for a fact that the only other Chalukya prince, viz., Pūgavarman, a son of Pulakeśin I, for whom this distinction could be claimed, was not crowned king, as his name does not appear in the official genealogy given in the Mahākuṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa[29] and the Aihole praśasti of Pulakeśin II.[30]

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[23] *EC*, vol. X, Mr. 72;
MAR, 1916, pp. 34-35.;
MAR, 1911, p. 31;
EC, vol. IX, DB. 67.;
MAR, 1924, No. 18.

[24] *EC*, vol. IX, Bn. 141;
Ibid, vol. XII, Mi. 110.;
MAR, 1916, p. 35;
Ibid., 1917, p. 30.;
EC, vol. X, DB. 68.;
MAR, 1912, pp. 65-69.;
MAR, 1924, pp. 69-72.

[25] See pages 4 and 5.

[26] Fleet, "The Mahākuṭa Inscription of the Chālukya King Maṅgalēśa," *IA*, vol. XIX, p. 19.;

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Fleet, "The Mahākuṭa Inscription of the Chālukya King Maṅgalēśa," *IA*, vol. XIX, p. 19.
The mention of a Gaṅga defeat in the inscription of Maṅgalēśa makes one suspicious about the latter being the grandson of Gaṅga Durvinīta. However, it may be noted that the Gaṅgas were defeated not by Maṅgaleśa but by his brother Kīrtivarman I and it being a significant victory Maṅgaleśa mentions it in his record.

[29] *Ibid*

[30] See fn. 10.

Besides, Durvinīta could not have been born long before A. D. 520, because in that year his father Avinīta was only 20 years old or thereabout. If then Durvinīta was born in that year he could have had a daughter of marriageable age when he was 35 years old in A. D. 555, to be married to Pulakeśin I, who was at this time ruling from Bādāmi.

We have now to ascertain the circumstances, which necessitated the Gaṅga intervention. It would appear that the last years of the rule of Kīrtivarman I were clouded. Who could be these enemies? They could not be the Pallavas of Kāñchī as supposed by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.[31] The laconic style and the summary way in which the achievments of Durvinīta are mentioned in the Humcha Inscription may have led him to this erroneous conclusion. The inscription singles out only two events in a reign of fifty years for special mention, viz., the defeat of a Pallava king and the establishment of his own daughter's son on the throne. And this scholar has without reason connected the two events, one leading to the other as cause and effect. Here it may be stated that Durvinīta had his own account to settle with the Pallavas,[32] for the latter had interferred with his accession to the Western Gaṅga throne, an event which must have therefore, occurred about A. D. 550. As we have already established, his daughter's marriage to Pulakeśin I could not have taken place earlier than A. D. 555 and Maṅgaleśa, it is now certain, came to the throne only in A. D. 597-98. Thus the two events are independent of each other, first having no connection with the second.

A survey of the political condition of Western India at the end of the sixth century suggests the possibility of a scuffle between the early Kalachuris and the early Chalukyas. Both these powers were attempting to extend their frontiers with a view to include the intervening territory. The Kalachuris under Kṛishṇarāja[33] (A. D. 550-575) and his able son Saṅkaragaṇa[34] (A.D. 575-600) were trying to extend their boundaries from the present Madhya Pradesh while the Chālukyas under Kīrtivarman I, were pushing north-west in an attempt to bring the Koṅkaṇa under their rule.

In their career of conquest, the Kalachuris dispossessed the Traikuṭakas in the West, a fact which may be inferred from the large number of Kalachuri coins known as the 'Kṛishṇarāja rupakas',[35] which have been discovered as far as the islands of Salsette and Bombay and in the districts of Nāsika and

[31] See fn. 6.
[32] *EC*, vol. IX, Bn. 141.;
Ibid., vol. XII, Mi. 110.;
Ibid, vol. IX, DB. 68.
[33] Mirashi, V. V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 38-47.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Madho Sarup Vats, "Two Grants of Prithvichandra Bhogasakti," *EI*, vol. XXV, p. 225.

Solāpura.[36] And they seem to have placed the Mauryas in charge of this territory.[37] On the other hand, Chalukyas in the course of progress towards the West-coast, defeated the Mauryas, a fact which caused the army of the Kaḷachuris to come to the support of their feudatories. In all probability, the two rival kings were Saṁkaragaṇa of the Kaḷachuris and Kīrtivarman I of the Chalukyas. The latter seems to have died during the struggle, and as the times were too troubled for the succession to pass to his son Pulakeśin, who was then a minor, his brother Maṅgaleśa was unanimously chosen as his successor. To save the situation was beyond the power of even Maṅgaleśa. He must have been so hard-pressed that he petitioned to his grandfather Durvinīta for help. Maṅgaleśa defeated Kaḷachuris with the Gaṅga help, and Saṁkaragaṇa was compelled to beat a retreat northwards, a circumstance which probably accounts for his presence in A. D. 597, i.e., after the successful attack of Maṅgaleśa and Durvinīta, at Ujjain,[38] a place which is at a safe and respectable distance from the Chalukya capital, Maṅgaleśa followed up the victory and defeated Buddha, who had succeeded Saṁkaragaṇa in about A. D. 600, prior to April, 602,[39] the date of Maṅgaleśa's inscription, which mentions this event. The Mahākuṭa pillar inscription states that Maṅgaleśa conquered a king named Buddha and took away from him all his wealth.[40] This event is also mentioned in the Nerūr Grant[41] which relates that 'Maṅgaleśa had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Saṁkaragaṇa, and who was possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure.' This victory over the Kaḷachuris was a signal event in the annals of the Chalukyas, and it is picturesquely described by Ravikīrti, the poet-composer of the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II :

"Sphuran – mayūkhair = asi-dīpikā-śataiḥ (tair =)
vyudasya mātaṅga – tamisra – sañchayam (I)
avāptavān = yō raṇaraṅga – maṅdirē
Kaṭachchuri – śrī – lalanā – parigraham (II)

Who (Maṅgaleśa) in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the fortune of the Kaṭachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright rayed lamps, (viz.), the swords (of his followers.)[42]

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36 Mirashi, V. V., *op. cit.*, p. XLVI.
37 *Ibid.*,
38 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
39 See fn. 9. From this inscription it is clear that Buddharāja succeeded Saṁkaragaṇa in or before April, A. D. 602.
40 *Ibid.*
41 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *IA*, vol. VII, p. 162.
42 See fn. 10.

PALAEOLITHIC INDUSTRY OF THE BANAS, EASTERN RAJPUTANA .

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I Introduction

The first Palaeolithic finds in Rajputana go as far back as the seventies of the last century. At that early period C. A. Hackett of the Geological Survey of India, had found handaxes and cleavers in the present day districts of Bundi, Jaipur and Tonk.[1] Hackett's discoveries, however, were not followed up till seventy years later. It is only in the early fifties of this century that the search for the Stone Age relics was resumed in this region and during the last eight years much evidence has been brought to light, mostly by the members of the Archaeological Survey of India.[2] Most of these discoveries have been made in the valleys of the Chambal, the Berach and the Gambhiri. The Banas has remained practically neglected except for the discovery of a solitary palaeolith by Sankalia near Nathdwara in 1956.[3] When, therefore, in 1958 at the suggestion of my teacher Professor H. D. Sankalia I undertook a prehistoric survey of Rajputana, the Banas was included among the rivers for detailed survey.

The Banas is the biggest tributary of the Chambal and by far the most important river of Rajputana. It receives the entire drainage of the Eastern slopes of the Aravallis between Jaipur and Udaipur through a vast network of tributaries. It rises in the Aravalli hills in 25° 3′ N. and 73° 28′ E. about three miles from the fort of Kumbhalgarh and flows southward until it meets the Gogunda plateau when it turns to the east and cutting through the outlying ridges of the Aravallis bursts into the open country. Near Hamirgarh, it is crossed by the Khandwa-Ajmer line of, the Western Railway. Near Bigod, it is joined by the Berach on its southern bank and the Kothari on the northern. From here it takes a more northerly course running parallel to the Karkota range. From Tonk where it is joined by the Bandi, it turns east and after flowing for nearly forty miles in that direction suddenly takes a southerly course to join the Chambal, east of Sawai Madhopur. Near the great bend it is joined by the Morel from the north-west.

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[1] Brown, J. Coggin. (1917) *Catalogue Raissonne of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.* pp. 66-67. Pl. V, Figs. 3, 6.

[2] *Indian Archaeology – A Review.* 1953-54. p. 37; 1954-55. p. 58; 1955-56. pp. 68-69; 1956-57. pp. 5-8, 79; 1957-58. pp. 44-45, 69; 1958-59. pp. 43-46, 74.

[3] Sankalia, H. D. (1956) "Nathdwara, a Palaeolithic Site in Rajputana". *Journal of the Palaeonthological Society of India. Inaugural Number,* Vol. I, pp. 99-100, Fig. 1, and Pl. 13, Figs. 1-2.

II Geology

Eastern Rajputana has a complex geology. Its most characteristic feature is a remarkably well developed system of Archaean and pre-Cambrian rocks. The four important formations are (i) Bundelkhand, Gneiss and Banded Gneissic Complex; (ii) Aravalli system; (iii) Delhi system; and (iv) Vindhyan system. The Aravalli range itself consists mainly of the resistant Delhi quartzites. The huge amount of pebbly gravel in the bed of the river is derived mainly from the Aravalli and Delhi systems in which the river takes its rise. The country in the upper reaches of the river east of Nathdwara is marked by high hills and deep valleys but settles down to an open gneissic plain east of that town. Here the river has cut broad and shallow valleys. But in the lower reaches where it cuts through the Vindhyans, it has formed deep and narrow valleys and at places as near Bigod passes through deep gorges.

III Field Work and Sites

The Banas was explored mainly in the middle reaches between Hamirgarh and Tonk for a distance of over hundred miles. In this region nine palaeolithic sites were discovered. In fact every place that was explored yielded tools and it can be predicted safely that if a more thorough exploration of the area is undertaken, many more sites are sure to come to light. In the upper reaches exploration was confined to a fifteen mile stretch between Nathdwara and Kankroli. Only one flake was found near Nathdwara.

The exploration was completed in four field trips of the total duration of two and a half months in the winters of 1958-59, 1959-60 and 1960-61. Most of the sites were revisited two or more times for fresh collection of cultural as well as stratigraphical information. During the last field trip in March 1961, some of the sites were also visited by Prof. H. D. Sankalia and Prof. B. Subbarao and this provided me an opportunity to discuss the stratigraphical problems with these authorities in the field. Below the sites are described in brief and their position on the map is shown in figure I.

1. Nathdwara (NTD) 24° 56′ N. and 73° 52′ E.; S.I.M.,* 45 H, 1″=4 miles.

It is a small town and an important religious centre of the Vaishnavite sect of the Hindus and is situated on the left bank of the Banas. The river here debouches into the plains after flowing through the hilly country to the west. Close to the town on its southern side just below the road bridge a six feet thick deposit of highly cemented gravel is exposed on the right bank. A thick flake was found in this gravel by Prof. H. D. Sankalia, when he, Prof. Subbarao and I visited the site in March 1961. Earlier Sankalia had found a flake

* S. I. M.= Survey of India Map.

scraper here.[1] Further down the river has huge amount of pebble gravel spread in its bed. Here one triangular pebble tool similar to a handaxe was found in my first visit to the site in February, 1960, but this was unfortunately subsequently lost.

2. Hamirgarh (HMG) S. I. M., 45 K. 1″ = 4 miles, 1948.

It is a small town and a railway station on the Khandwa-Ajmer line of the Western Railway, twenty miles north of Chitorgarh. The river flows about two miles north of the town. A small number of implements were collected from the loose gravel in the river bed west of the railway bridge.

3. Sarupganj (SPG) S. I. M., 45 K, 1″ = 4 miles, 1948.

It is a village on the left bank of the river about a mile north-east of the railway bridge near Hamirgarh. The river which comes from the west suddenly takes a northerly turn past the railway bridge. On the right bank opposite the village where a cart track passes through the river bed a very fine section is exposed. It consists of a six feet thick deposit of very highly cemented gravel and a fifteen feet thick deposit of compact yellow silt. The gravel includes large pebbles of 10″ to 1 foot diameter. From this section twenty-one tools were recovered *in situ* mostly in a remarkably fresh condition. (Pl. II. Fig. 1 and Pl. IV. Fig. 4).

4. Mandpia (MDP) S. I. M., 45 K, 1″ = 4 miles, 1948.

After flowing for about four miles due north from Hamirgarh railway station, the Banas takes a sudden turn to the east. At this bend on the left bank is situated the village of Mandpia. Half a mile east from the village a section comprising four to five feet thick gravel capped by a four feet thick silt and both resting on the bed rock is exposed. A number of implements were obtained from this see gravel *in situ*. (Pl. IV, Fig. 3).

5. Bigod (BGD) S. I. M., 45 O, 1″ = 4 Miles, 1954.

It is a small town twenty-three miles east of Bhilwara on the left bank of the Banas. Near the village the river passes through a very narrow gorge. Two miles south-east of the village, it is joined by the Berach and then takes a northerly course. Between the village and its confluence with the Berach the Banas has exposed very high sections along its right bank. The sequence of deposits here is as follows ; at the bottom is a three feet thick deposit of silt with a thin layer of gravel below it. This in all probability is a modern flood terrace. Above it lies about fifteen feet of talus. The next deposit is ten feet

[1] Sankalia, *op. cit.*

thick gravel which is covered by a six feet thick layer of silt. The gravel is, in various degrees of cementation ; it is heavily eroded and huge quantities of it lie scattered above the talus. The actual relation of the gravel and the silt is not clear as the former as much rests against the latter as it underlies it. The occurrence of gravel at such heights is probably due to high rock bench here. Though this bench is not exposed in the section, it is seen not far from it. In the section, it may probably be hidden under the thick talus. Two fresh tools were obtained from the upper gravel. (Pl. I. and Pl. IV. Fig. 1).

About two furlongs down stream from the confluence a fifty feet thick cliff was observed in 1960. In this also gravel occurred at a height of twenty-five feet. Recently a deep cutting has been made through this cliff in connection with the construction of a bridge on the river and the following section has been exposed :

1. Silt .. .. .. 10 feet.
2. Fine gravel and sand with yellow weathering. 5 feet.
3. Silt . .. .. 30 feet.
4. Cemented gravel at the river level .. 5 feet. (Pl. IV. Fig. 2).

6. Jahajpur (JHP) 25° 38′ N. and 75° 19′ E. ; S. I. M., 45 O, 1″=4 miles, 1954.

It is a small town on the right bank of the river three miles away from it. The river has a broad and shallow bed here and has formed a levee along the right bank by dumping huge quantities of gravel. A few tools were picked up from this gravel.

7. Deoli (DOL) 25° 46′ N. and 75° 25′ E. ; S. I. M., 45 O, 1″ = 4 miles, 1954.

It is a town four miles away from the river on its right bank. The Banas has the width of nearly one-fourth of a mile here and considerable gravel spread in its bed. Some tools were picked up from the loose gravel on either side of a Kuccha road which leads from Deoli to the village of Sawar on the opposite bank. Along the left bank about half a mile up stream from the place where the road crosses the river, the following stratigraphy is observed.

1. Silt .. .. 15 feet.
2. Gravel .. .. 3 feet.
3. Bed rock .. .. 4 feet.

8. Banthali (BTL) S. I. M., 45 O, 1″ = 4 miles, 1954.

It is a small village on the right bank of the Banas about fifteen miles north-east of Deoli. The river here meanders to the east and exposes very steep cliff along the right bank showing four to six feet sandy gravel at the bottom and a ten to twelve feet thick silt at the top. Tools were picked up loose from the gravel about a mile upstream from the village.

9. Mahuwa (MHW) S. I. M., 45 O, 1″=4 miles, 1954.

It is a village twelve miles south of Tonk on the right bank of the Banas and adjacent to the Tonk-Deoli road. The river flows a mile to the west of the village. The bed of the river is extremely rocky and the banks low. On the left bank the river has deposited large amount of gravel in which three tools were found. Further down stream the right bank is high but composed only of silt.

10. Tonk (TNK) 26° 11′ N. and 75° E.; S. I. M., 45 O, 1″=4 miles.

It is an important town and headquarters of the district of the same name and is situated on the right bank of the river. The Banas comes from the south and then takes an eastward turn near the town. The river here has the width of a mile; the bed is sandy and small amount of gravel is seen here and there. Some tools were found loose from the gravel.

IV Stratigraphy, climate and dating.

The stratigraphical features of individual sites have been described in the preceding section. On the basis of these, it can be said that in the Banas two deposits can be seen everywhere. These are (i) gravel and (ii) silt.

(*i*) *Gravel.*—The gravel is the earliest deposit in the Banas. Wherever the deposit underlying it is visible in the section, the gravel rests immediately on the bed rock. Its thickness varies from 1 foot to 15 feet. The gravel normally occurs at the stream bottom level but at times, it is also seen to occur at considerable heights—sometimes 20 feet above the dry season water level—depending on the height of the rock bench in the section. It is very well consolidated by the carbonate of lime which is probably leached down from the overlying silt. The consolidation has been more effective where the gravel occurs at low heights as at Sarupganj (Pl. II. Fig. 1, and Pl. IV. Fig. 4) than in the sections where it occurs at considerable heights as at Bigod (Pl. I, and Pl. IV. Fig. 1 and 2). The size of the pebbles constituting the gravels varies from 2″ to 1 foot in diameter. The pebbles are thoroughly rolled and many of them have become perfectly rounded in shape.

The Palaeolithic culture of the Banas belongs to this gravel phase. It has yielded all the tool types of this culture but so far no typological evolution has been observed in the tools. Climatically it represents a period of heavy rainfall, perhaps of the pluvial type. Besides the gravel seen in the sections there are huge quantities of it spread in the river bed. The formation and transport of these pebbles must indeed have required a prolonged period of violent rainfall.

(*ii*) The gravel is invariably covered with silt which varies in thickness from 4 feet to 30 feet. The silt is of an yellowish colour and very compact due probably to the presence of lime in it. No tools were found any where in this

deposit. One of the reasons seems to be as suggested by Zeuner[1] that by the covering of the gravels underneath the silt an important source of raw material was lost to Palaeolithic man and he might have moved away from the river banks into the interior in search of other raw materials. This deposit indicates a comparatively dry climate characterised by seasonal floods which could carry enough silt in suspension to produce thick deposits over the gravels.

These deposits are seen almost ubiquitously in the Banas as also in other rivers of Eastern Rajputana and represen one cycle of sedimentation as Zeuner interprets such sections. There is, however, a probability that a period of erosion intervened between the deposition of gravel and silt. Secondly, there is the probability that the Banas as well as other rivers of Eastern Rajputana witnessed one more cycle of sedimentation subsequent to the first one. There are three important grounds for maintaining this hypothesis.

(*i*) The cliff sections at Bigod on the Banas (Pl. I. and Pl. IV. Fig. 1 and 2) and at Chitorgarh on the Berach (a tributary of the Banas) show the occurrence of gravel at a height of 20 to 25 feet from the present river level. This gravel is not so fully covered by silt as that in the section near Sarupganj. It is also, less consolidated than the gravel in the latter section; this may perhaps be due to the inadequate supply of calcium carbonate. Unless the occurrence of gravel at such heights is due only to the high rock bench which may be hidden under the thick talus lying in front of the gravel, it should be interpetated as a deposit later than the silt. A still more interesting section occurs on the Banas near Bigod about half a mile down stream from the section mentioned above. (Pl. IV. Fig. 2). In this the bottom deposit is a five feet thick gravel which is highly cemented. It is covered by a 30 feet thick silt. On top of the silt is a 5 feet thick layer of fine gravel and coarse sand which have been weathered yellow to red. This is again covered by a 10 feet layer of silt. If the weathered horizon indicates a wet climate, then it can be equated with the gravel in the first section. It will therefore suggest a second cycle of wet and dry phases.

(*ii*) S. R. Rao has reported the occurrence of two gravels in the Chambal at Bhainsrorgarh. The first of these yields a handaxe-cleaver industry and the second a flake industry of scrapers and points. Since the drainage basin of the Chambal and the Banas forms a homogenous climatic region today and did so in all probability in the past, similar climatic records should be expected in the Banas as well. Further, to the south of Bhainsrorgarh Khatri found a similar stratigraphical sequence on the Sivna (a tributary of the Chambal) at Nahargarh.[2] A few Middle Palaeolithic tools were also found by me in

[1] Zeuner, F. E. (1950) *Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat*. p. 11.
[1] *Indian Archaeology – A Review*. 1955-56. p. 5.
[2] Khatri, A. P. (1958) *The Stone Age Cultures of Malwa*. Ph.D. Thesis (Unpublished). Copies in the Deccan College and Poona University Libraries.

the Berach (a tributary of the Chambal).[6] Although the tools were found loose in the river bed, it can be said with certainty that they do not belong to gravel. I, since an extensive search in this gravel did not yield any Middle Palaeolithic tools any where. And on the basis of our knowledge of stratigraphical and cultural sequence from other areas of India, we should expect them to belong to the second gravel deposit. This would also lend some probability for the presence of a second aggradation cycle in the Banas as well.

The evidence presented above indicates a climatic trend from humid to dry in the Banas basin. The earliest period was one of heavy rain when the rivers brought from the hills huge rocks, rolled them into boulders and pebbles and deposited them as river gravel. Later the climate became gradually dry and the rivers deposited thick silts over the gravels. The climate in this period was, however, dry only in a relative sense since the deposition of floods would necessitate seasonal floods and therefore adequate rains to produce them. Perhaps one more wet phase ensued when the rivers deposited gravel against the earlier silts. This wet phase was followed by a return to dry climate which has gradually led to the establishment of the present day conditions. However for this second cycle of sedimentation more reliable evidence needs to be brought forth.

No fossils were found during the exploration of the Banas and so the only evidence for dating the Palaeolithic culture of the Banas basin is that provided by stratigraphy and typology. During the last ten years or so extensive work has been done on the Quaternary stratigraphy and associated human cultures in Central India,[1] Gujarat,[2] Deccan,[3] Malwa,[4] Orissa[5] and Kurnool[6] and in all these areas more or less similar sequence of river deposits and lithic cultures has been found. The sequence consists of two gravel and silt phases during the Pleistocene. These deposits indicate a succession of two cycles of wet and dry climate. Only in Gujarat in the valleys of the Sabarmati and the Mahi, the second gravel is missing and is instead represented by a red weathering of the silt which indicates a wet climate like its gravel counterpart in other areas.[7] The earlier gravel is constituted by large pebbles and boulders which are very well cemented and probably indicates a period of heavy rain-

[6] Misra, V. N. (1961) *The Stone Age Culture of Rajputana.* Ph.D. Thesis (Unpublished). Copies in the Deccan College and Poona University Libraries.

[1] Sankalia, A. D., Subbarao, B. and Deo, S. B. (1958) *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli.* p. 38.

[2] Zeuner, F. E. *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

[3] Sankalia, H. D., and others. (1960) *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa,* p. 528.

[4] Khatri, A. P. *op. cit.*, pp. 96-103.

[5] Mohapatra, G. C. (1960) *The Stone Age Cultures of Orissa.* Ph..D. Thesis (Unpublished).. Copies in the Deccan College and Poona University Libraries. pp. 105-117.

[6] Issac, N. (1961) *The Stone Age Cultures of Kurnool.* Ph.D. Thesis. (Unpublished) Copies in the Deccan College and Poona University Libraries. p. 134.

[7] Zeuner, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

fall of the pluvial type. The archaeological content of this deposit is represented by a mixed Abbevilleo-Acheulian culture. The second gravel is constituted by smaller pebbles and is less cemented. It has yielded a flake culture of scrapers, points and borers which is variously called Middle Palaeolithic, Middle Stone Age, or Series II. That the silts overlying both the gravels are devoid of tools can now be said with fair certainty because an extensive search in many parts of peninsular India has not yielded any tools in them, save for a few specimens in Gujarat. Both the gravels have yielded typical Middle Pleistocene fossil fauna, the earlier one in the Narmada and the Pravara and the later one in the Narmada and the Godavari. This would mean that the fauna of the second gravel is a late survival and this deposit has accordingly been ascribed to the Upper Pleistocene.[1] In the Potwar region of the Punjab where river terraces have been successfully correlated with glacial deposits in the Kashmir Himalayas, the second terrace of the Sohan yielding the handaxe-cleaver as well as the Early Sohan industry is dated in the Second Interglacial Period.

The Palaeolithic industry of the Banas as the ensuing typological description will show is an Abbevilleo-Acheulian industry with a fair inkling of pebble tools. Stratigraphically it belongs to the first gravel deposit. It may therefore be dated to the Middle Pleistocene on the twin bases of stratigraphy and typology.

V Raw material and State of Preservation of the Implements.

All but one specimen in the present collection are made of quartzite. It is generally of medium to fine-grained variety. The common colour is whitish-grey but other shades such as dark-blue and reddish and light brown also occur. Some of the specimens are made of highly micaceous quartzite. The source of the quartzite is the rocks of the Aravalli and the Delhi systems which occur near the source of the Banas whence the material is transported down by the river. The material is available in the form of highly rolled pebbles of all sizes which occur in abundance almost up to the lower reaches of the river.

The single non-quartzite specimen is made of whitish-grey limestone.

There is no evidence of patination among the implements. Some pieces specially those made of micaceous quartzite have undergone slightly weathering. Nearly all the tools obtained loose from the river bed have suffered rolling. Some of them have been so much rolled that nearly all the flake scars have been effaced. In the majority, however, although the original freshness and the sharpness of the tool has gone, all the flake scars can be easily recognised.

[1] Sankalia, *et al* (1960). p. 105.

One of the reasons of the heavy rolling – of the tools is probably the presence of the immense amount of bouldery gravel in the river bed which exercises a deep abrasive effect on the tools. However, the degree of rolling of a tool has not been adopted as one of the criteria of classification since there appears to be no relation between this feature and the technological characteristics of a tool.

The tools recovered *in situ* from the gravel layers are remarkably fresh except one or two specimens. Some are almost in a mint condition. Many of these had to be chiselled out of the gravel layers with great difficulty and bear hard encrustations of the gravel matrix over them. This indicates that (i) the tools are contemporary with the gravel deposit, and (ii) the gravel is in its original position and not a re-deposit.

VI Technique

Technologically the Banas industry does not exhibit very advanced features. Majority of the tools have been made by Stone hammer technique. In this, two varieties may be distinguished.

(i) Heavy stone hammer technique, and

(ii) Light stone hammer technique.

The former was employed for manufacturing many of the flakes and a few crude handaxes. Flakes are generally big measuring 10 to 15 centimeters in their longer dimension, and crude. They invariably have an unprepared striking platform and a wide angle between the striking platform and the main flake surface. The bulb of percussion is generally quite prominent but some times quite week or almost missing. The cores in the collection also exhibit corresponding features but the negative bulb of percussion in them is often very deep. It is possible that flakes from some of these were knocked off by the block-on-block or anvil technique.[1]

A few of the large pebble handaxes displaying large and deep scars were also made by the stone hammer technique.

[1] The expression block-on-block or anvil technique is here used in the meaning given to it by Leakey and Oakley (Leakey, L. S. B., 1953 : Adam's Ancestors ; pp. 40-41 ; Oakley, K. P., 1956 ; Man the Tool Maker, pp. 24-25). These authors contrast the block-on-block or anvil technique with the stone hammer technique. In the former the block of stone to be shaped into a tool or to be used as a core for producing flakes is hit against a stationary anvil whereas in the latter the block is held in the hand or against the knee or on a slab and hit by a stone hammer. The flakes removed by the anvil technique are unusually thick and crude and considering its primitivness it is extremely doubtful as Leakey belives, that this technique was ever widely used by the stone age man. The clarification of this distinction was thought necessary because by some pre-historians in India and Africa, the expression block-on-block or anvil technique is used either as a synonym for stone hammer technique or (when it is used in the sense given to it by Leakey and Oakley) as the technique which was actually used for making most of the handaxes.

The light stone hammer technique would have been employed in the production of pebble tools, most of the handaxes, and cleavers. These are characterised by shallow and small flake scars except the cleavers in which the flake scars though shallow are large.

Finally a small number of well made handaxes show soft flake scars removed by what Leakey calls cylinder hammer technique. Thus two or three primary flaking techniques can be recognised.

1. Heavy stone hammer,
2. Light stone hammer,
3. Cylinder hammer, and possibly
4. Block-on-block or anvil.

One small core shows slight evidence of preparation but it is not a very convincing example of Levallois technique.

There is not much secondary flaking on the implements. Some handaxes exhibit step flaking along the lateral margins and a crude edge retouch can be seen on the flake scrapers. Both of these could have been executed by the cylinder hammer technique.

VII Tool Types

A total number of ninety-seven tools were obtained from the ten sites discovered on the Banas. Of these twenty-seven were recovered *in situ* from the cemented gravel layers. Besides, at Bigod, six implements were found in a gully cutting in the gravel deposit where it occurs on the level of the present land surface. The unusual height of this gravel bed is certainly due to the high rock bench here. There is little possibility of these tools having been derived from any other source except the gravel bed in question, and they may also be regarded as being in their original position. The collection is divided into following types :—

(*a*) Choppers and scrapers,
(*b*) Handaxes,
(*c*) Cleavers,
(*d*) Flakes,
(*e*) Cores.

(*a*) *Choppers and scrapers.*—Choppers and scrapers have been classified into two broad groups : (*i*) Made on pebble ; and (*ii*) Made on flake.

(*i*) *Made on pebble.*—Choppers and scrapers made on pebble are often designated as pebble tools. They have a cutting or scraping edge along one side or end of the pebble leaving the most of the pebble unflaked. The working edge is often steep and the unflaked portion provides for a suitable

handhold. The pebble tools of this type are the type tools of the Kafuan and Oldowan cultures of East Africa, the Sohanian in north-west India and Pakistan, the Anathyanian in Burma, the Choukoutienian in north China, and the Patjitanian in Java. There are significant distinctions of size and technique among the pebble tools. In Africa not much thought has been given to these distinctions and these tools are often referred to as choppers. In south-east Asia, however, Movius has distinguished several tool types under this general category.[1] Of these three are relevant for our present purposes here. These three tool types are chopper, scraper, and chopping tool.

A chopper, according to Movius, is a unifacial tool with a round, semi-oval or straight cutting edge on the side or end of a pebble. Occasionally choppers may be made on flakes as well and also worked bifacially.

A scraper differs from a chopper only in size. A small chopper is a scraper.

A chopping tool on the other hand is essentially a bifacial tool worked by alternate flaking from two faces producing a sinuous, wavy or broad W shaped cutting edge.

The distinction between chopper and chopping tool is of form and technique and that between chopper and scraper one of size. It does not signify any distinction in function which according to Movius for a period as remote as Pleistocene, is mainly a matter of speculation.[2]

An alternative terminology for pebble tools has been proposed by Dharni Sen.[3] He says that the distinction of gross size between chopper and scraper is not a sufficient criterion. Instead he suggests that what Movius calls chopper and scraper should both be designated by a single term, viz. scraper and the term chopper should be used for Movius's chopping tool. Further a distinction should be maintained between a pebble scraper and a flake scraper.

It appears to me that scraper and chopper are essentially functional terms and their use in a purely formal and technological sense will create confusion. The criterion of size which Movius has introduced to distinguish between

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1 Movius, Hallam, L. Jr. (*a*) 1944 : "Early Man and Pleistocene Stratigraphy in Southern and Eastern Asia". *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol., XIX., Harvard. p. 41.

(*b*) 1949 : "The Lower Palaeolithic Cultures of Southern and Eastern Asia". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol., XXXVIII., Pt. 4. pp. 349-50.

(c) 1957 : "Pebble Tool Terminology in India and Pakistan". *Man In India*. Vol., XXXVII. No. 2, pp. 149-56.

2 (1944) : *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

3 Sen, D. (a) 1954 : "Lower Palaeolithic Culture Complex and Chronology in India". *Presidential Address, Indian Science Congress, Archaeology and Anthropology Section*..

(*b*) 1957 : "The Soanian and the Pebble Tool Terminology in India". *Man In India*, Vol., XXXVII, No. 2, pp. 157-59.

chopper and scraper is quite useful; the significance of size in determining the mode of use and function of a tool is quite obvious. Further since the distinction between chopper and chopping tool is only that of unifacial and bifacial flaking, it hardly requires terminological recognition. Both can be described as chopper with the prefix 'unifacial' and 'bifacial'.

In the present study, therefore, only two terms, namely chopper and scraper, are retained and they are used in a functional sense. It is admitted that for a remote period such as Pleistocene, it is difficult to determine the exact function of an artifact, but it is not an impossible task. In fact most of the artifact terms in Palaeolithic archaeology are functional terms only. The small tools which can be used effectively by applying pressure against them by hand are here regarded as scrapers and all scrapers which are large enough to be used for cleaving are treated as choppers. The technological distinction is expressed by prefixing these terms with 'unifacial' and 'bifacial'. Sen's distinction between flake scraper and pebble scraper is also retained.

Pebble tools from the Banas are divided into three groups (*i*) Unifacial, (*ii*) Bifacial, and (*iii*) Trifacial.

(*i*) *Unifacial pebble tools.*—These are further sub-divided into two sub-groups; (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) These tools have their working edge along one side or end of a pebble made by flaking in one direction and on one face only. The pebbles utilized for the purpose have a flat base which except in one case is always natural. Upper face is well rounded. The working edge is made by removing flakes from the flat face upwards. It is markedly steep, sometimes at right angle to the base of the tool but generally between 90° and 110°. Flake scars though small, and shallow are crude. In one case flaking from the flat base has left a number of stepped scars. Working edge is either straight or slightly convex but never concave. The side or end opposite the working edge is rounded and can be firmly grasped in the hand. Excepting the working edge the entire surface of both faces is left unflaked. The size of the specimens varies from 8·5 centimeters by 5·5 centimeters to 15·5 centimeters by 14·5 centimeters. The bigger specimens are thick and massive and the smaller ones are light and thin. There are twelve pieces in this group.

HMG 5 (15·5×13·6×9·2)[1] Pl. VI. Fig. 5.

A chopper on a large, thick, flat-based pebble of micaceous quartzite; slightly rolled. It has a very steep and convex edge worked from the bottom upwards.

BGD 5 (8·7×5·6×4·0) Pl. II. Fig. 2 and Pl. IX. Fig. 5.

[1] The measurements of this as well as all other tools described and illustrated in this paper are given in centimeters.

A scraper on a small, flat-based pebble of micaceous quartzite; slightly rolled. Working edge less steep than in HMG 5, described above. Flaking from base upward has left a number of stepped scars.

BGD 6 (12·3×9·4×5·8) Pl. VI. Fig. 4.

A medium-sized chopper/scraper on a pebble of micaceous quartzite; rolled. Flat base due probably to a natural fracture; working edge very steep and continues along half of the periphery.

(*b*) there is only one specimen in this sub-group. It differs from specimens in sub-group (*a*) in two respects: (i) it is made on a thinner and flatter pebble; and (ii) flaking is not very steep and besides the working edge the entire upper face is also worked.

DOL 3 (12·3×9·9×4·3) Pl. VI. Fig. 2.

A chopper/scraper on a thin pebble of greyish quartzite; slightly rolled. Flaked along the left margin as well as on the dorsal face. Working edge made by the intersection of a sloping pebble surface with two flakes scars on the dorsal surface. Back thick and unflaked.

(*ii*) *Bifacial pebble tools.*—These are sub-divided into three sub-groups; (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*).

(*a*) In these tools also the flaking is confined only to the working edge and the rest of the tools remains unflaked. The working edge is, however, made by the intersection of flake scars detached from two-face and in two directions along one end or side of a pebble. The pebbles utilized for making them are not flat-based but rounded so that the resultant working edge is central – equidistant from both the faces-unlike in the unifacial specimens where it is nearer to the flatter face. The working edge is either straight or slightly wavy but not markedly sinuous as would result when the placement of scars from the two faces is alternate. There is no difference in size from the specimens in the unifacial group.

BGD 7 (8·5×9·1×5·2) Pl. V. Fig. 3.

A scraper on a round pebble of dark brown quartzite; found *in situ* and almost fresh. Working edge convex. Almost identical with an Oldowan pebble tool from Uganda.[1]

MDP 7 (13·3×8·6×6·7) Pl. V. Fig. 1.

A chopper/scraper on an elongated pebble of pinkish quartzite; fresh. Found *in situ* and fine gravel matrix still adheres to the tool. Lower face has only one scar; upper face marked by a number of stepped scars detached

[1] This specimen comes from the N horizon of the 100 foot terrace of the river Kagera near Nsongezi in Uganda and was part of a small collection of palaeoliths and mirroliths recently received by the Archaeology Museum of Deccan College, Poona from M. Posnansky of Uganda.,

at a high angle. It bears a great similarity to a specimen of the Early Sohanian illustrated by De Terra and Paterson.[1]

(*b*) In general shape these tools are similar to the specimens in sub-group (*b*) of the unifacial tools. Here, it is not only the working edge that is flaked but also both the faces of the main body of the tool. Only the butt end is left unworked. This type finally leads to the fully flaked specimens such as BTL 8 illustrated in Pl. VII. Fig. 1. Being thinner these specimens are better suited for scraping rather than for chopping.

MDP 3 (10·9×8·6×4·7) Pl. V. Fig. 4.

A scraper on an elongated pebble of micaceous quartzite; slightly rolled. Found *in situ*. Working edge is along the elongate side. Besides the working edge, the dorsal face is fully flaked. Ventral surface retains pebble cortex along the back.

(*c*) A slight variation of the bifacial flaking produces a tool in which the working edge instead of being straight or convex is pointed. There does not, however, seem any difference in function between these tools and those considered above. The three specimens in this category are rather small and could be better used for scraping.

JIIP 12 (9·4×8·3×3·7) Pl. V. Fig. 2.

A scraper on a thin, small oval pebble of grey quartzite; much rolled. Pointed edge made by detaching a small number of flakes from both faces.

(*iii*) Trifacial pebble tools.—These are of elongated shape, have a flat base and a thick upper surface. The dorsal face is worked steeply along the sides to a point leaving a ridge in the centre. One of the two specimens in this category is roughly like a rostrocarinate.

BGD 3 (15·0×9·0×10·7) Pl. III. Fig. 2 and Pl. VI. Fig. 7.

A pointed chopper on a very thick, flat-based pebble of grey quartzite; slightly rolled. Upper face worked steeply along the side by removing large but thin flakes; it has a zigzag median ridge. Section across the centre triangular.

(*ii*) *Flake choppers and scrapers.*—Of the twenty flakes in the collection seven are secondarily worked to produce a cutting or scraping edge. Two of these are hollow-scrapers, one an end-scraper and the remaining four side-scrapers. Of these only two may be called choppers. One specimen is on an oval flake which is worked on both sides and has the appearance of an ovate.

[1] De Terra, H. and Paterson, T. T. (1939), *Studies on the Age in India and Associated Human Cultures.* Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 1.

Another specimen also worked on two sides has a rounded tip along one end and may be regarded as a precursor of the more refined scraper-points and scraper-borers of the Middle Palaeolithic. The general characteristics of the flake utilized for these specimens are the same as theose of the flakes considered under the latter heading.

BTL 8 (13·2×8·6×4·6) Pl. VII. Fig. 1.

A chopper/scraper made from an elongated pebble of micaceous quartzite; unrolled. Lower face, originally a flake surface has been reworked by detaching a number of thin flakes. Upper face has rather deep scars. A long sinuous edge along one side made by bifacial flaking. Fully worked leaving very little cortex.

BTL 12 (10·8×8·5×3·3) Pl. VII. Fig. 2.

A side-scraper on a flake of fine-grained dark-brown quartzite; rolled. It has working edges along two sides which are inversely retouched to a rounded point. It may be a forerunner of the specialized scraper-borers of the Middle Palaeolithic.

DOL 5 (11·5×10·1×4·2) Pl. VII. Fig. 3.

A hollow-scraper along the end of a thick side flake of brownish quartzite; fresh. Bulb of percussion and striking platform are along the left corner of the working edge. Upper face marked by two large flakes scars; working edge slightly retouched along one corner.

(*b*) *Handaxes.*—On the basis of technique, these may be divided into two groups; (*i*) Incompletely flaked or pebble handaxes; and (*ii*) Fully-flaked handaxes.

(*i*) *Pebble handaxes.*—Under this heading are considered those specimens which, though possessing generally the characteristics of a handaxe, still retain a large part of the pebble cortex on them. They have a roughly triangular or pear-shaped outline and a working edge along two sides that ends in a tip. The reason why they have been here designated as pebble handaxes is not that they are made on pebbles — which is true for all the other tools of this industry — but that (*i*) they retain large areas of pebble cortex over them, and (*ii*) their evolution can be directly traced from the peble tools considered above. In other words they are transitional between the pebble tools and the fully flaked handaxes. They can be further divided into two sub-groups: (*i*) Unifacial and (*ii*) Bifacial.

(*a*) *Unifacial.*—In the text books of prehistory handaxe is generally defined as a bifacial tool and on that basis often called a biface. That definition is certainly valid for most of the handaxes. However, often there are very typical specimens which, though worked only on one face, not only fully

simulate the shape of a handaxe but can effectively perform its function as well. Such specimens usually occur on flakes and have been described as unifacial handaxes from several areas in India.[1] If such an appelation is valid for flake specimens, it may be applied for pebble specimens as well.

There are only four pieces of this type. One of them has an elongated oval shape and the remaining three are pointed with rounded butts. All are nearly fully worked on the upper face but lower face retains pebble cortex all over. The pointed specimens have a working edge along both the margins and the oval one has it all round the way. It is true that this edge will be much more effective, if worked from two faces but the specimens could have been and probably were used as handaxes. Flake scars are not very deep and large but small and shallow. Two of the specimens which have a symmetrical outline are heavily rolled while the other two though comparatively crude, are fresh.

MDP 1. (12·2×8·8×5·8) Pl. VI. Fig. 6.

A round butted, pointed handaxe of greyish quartzite; slightly rolled and encrushed with clay and lime. Upper face is fully worked. It has acquired a greenish black stain because of its prolonged stay in water. Butt and lower face left unworked.

(*b*) *Bifacial.*—This group comprises thirteen specimens. In two of them lateral margins are worked by flaking from two faces but the rest of the tool is left unworked. They may not be strictly speaking called bifacial. Others are however, worked on both faces. There is very little variety of shape among them. The specimens have a roughly rounded butt which consists of the original pebble surface and the sides taper off to a narrow tip. Some pieces are made by bold flaking producing large and deep scars; others though exhibiting shallow scars are nevertheless crude. Another feature of these handaxes is their unusual thickness since little attempt was made to reduce it. Many of the specimens are so thoroughly rolled that the number of scar beds on them can not be exactly determined.

BTL 1 (17·4×13·6×9·8) Pl. VI. Fig. 1.

A large, thick handaxe of grey quartzite; slightly rolled. It is unusually broad and thick. Sides are worked by alternate flaking from two faces. The result is a sinuous edge along both lateral margins. The rear half of the tool is unflaked. It is a fine example of a tool transitional between chopper and fully-flaked handaxe. Also similar to what Movius calls proto-handaxe.[1]

[1] Khatri, A. P., *op. cit.*
Mohapatra, G. C. *op. cit.*
[1] Movius, Hallam, L. Jr. (1949), *op. cit.*, Fig. 7, No. 4.

DOL 8 (11·5×7·1×3·2) Pl. IX. Fig. 3.

A small, thin pebble handaxe on a pebble of a dark-grey fine-grained quartzite; very slightly rolled. On the upper face only the front half is worked; it is marked by flat scars produced by detaching flakes from the tip inwards. The dorsal face is almost fully flaked; butt left unworked from both faces. The tip is tongue-shaped.

(*ii*) *Fully flaked handaxes.*—These may also be divided into two groups; (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) In the first group are handaxes which though flaked fully or very nearly so, have not attained a symmetrical shape. Areas of pronounced thickness remain here and there and the lateral margins do not have a symmetrical outline. Some of the flaking is decidedly of the cylinder hammer variety, and a little more work could have given a good finish to the tools.

SPG 10 (13·0×7·9×4·6) Pl. VIII. Fig. 2.

A thick, lense shaped handaxe on grey quartzite; found *in sit* and quite fresh. Lower face was originally a flake surface, and is fully worked except along the lower half of the right side by cylinder hammer technique; there is much step flaking on this face. Upper face has a median ridge to which flakes from all sides converge. Original pebble cortex has been left along the butt and near the tip. Cross section near the tip roughly triangular.

(*b*) This group comprised very carefully worked pieces. They all have a symmetrical shape. Though some of them still retain considerable thickness, they have been worked exhaustively on both faces. Some of the flake scars are large but not deep and they do not spoil the overall appearance of the tool. There is extensive step flaking on many pieces to make the edges sharp and reduce the thickness. Lateral margins when seen in profile are either straight or slightly wavy and one specimen shows a S twist. Only two or three specimens are made on flakes; the rest are all on cores. There is wide variation in size. The biggest specimen is 17 centimeters in its longer dimension whereas the smallest is only 8 centimeters. The average length is however, about 12 centimeters. The tiny specimen from Tonk (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3) is very small and thin and may even be called a point. Cross section is generally irregular but in some specimens it is symmetrically biconvex, and reaches a lenticular form. The thirteen pieces may be divided into following shapes.

(*i*) *Almond shape.*—

TNK 5 (17·9×10·3×5·7) Pl. XI. Fig. 2.

A large, thick, almond-shaped handaxe of dark-brown quartzite; very slightly rolled. It is fully worked on both faces by the removal of large but thin flakes. Extensive step flaking along the margins. Lower face thickly encrusted with fine gravel and coarse sand. It has a thick butt and a biconvex cross section. Lateral margins slightly wavy in profile.

BTL 4 (12·2×7·5×3·0) Pl. X Fig. 1.

A small, thin, almond-shaped handaxe on greenish black quartzite; slightly rolled. Lateral margins as well as butt worked by detaching small and thin flakes from both faces. The centre of the tool is flat and unworked on both faces. Edges slightly wavy and section symmetrically biconvex.

TNK 4 (8·0×6·0×2·7) Pl. VIII Fig. 3.

A thin, tiny, almond-shaped handaxe of brownish quartzite; slightly rolled and patinated. Fully flaked over the two faces by the cylinder hammer technique. It is probably made on a flake but no trace of its flake origin now remains; section lenticular.

(*ii*) *Pear-shaped.*—

BGD 12 (12·3×6·7×3·9) Pl. IX Fig. 1.

A round butted, pear-shaped handaxe of grey quartzite; much rolled. Upper face has a straight median ridge; right side of the ridge is steeply flaked. To the left of the ridge is probably an area of original cortex. Lower face also worked by the removal of thin flakes. Right margin has a straight edge but the left has a S twist.

(*iii*) *Ovate.*—

JHP 4 (9·1×5·9×2·6) Pl. IX Fig. 4.

A small ovate on a flake of rose-coloured quartzite; almost fresh. Fully flaked on both faces by cylinder hammer technique. Edges slightly bruised due probably to use.

SPG 1 (11·6×8·5×3·6) Pl. IX Fig. 2.

A round-butted, small handaxe of white grey quartzite; completely fresh. It was found *in situ* and is thinly encrusted with lime and sand. It is marked by beautiful, even sized, shallow round scars along the butt on the upper face. A small flat area in the centre retains original cortical patch. The lower face which was originally a flake surface is worked along the margins by soft flaking. It has a sharp edge along the butt. The front half suffered two large fractures—one on either side in antiquity. Originally the specimen must have been a very fine ovate. Section planoconvex.

(*c*) *Cleavers.*—There are seven specimens in the present collection. All are made on pebbles and though they have been extensively flaked, part of the original pebble cortex still remains on them. Nearly in all the specimens

the cleaver edge is made by the intersection of the main flake scar with a large flake scar from the upper face. Additional flaking has been done on specimens to reduce the thickness and to make the lateral margins sharp. The butt portion is generally left unworked. This might have been purposely done so that the smooth and rounded butt could be used for a handhold. The section across the breadth of the specimens is either biconvex or plano – convex except in one case where it is a parallelogram. The maximum breadth of the tool is along the cleaver edge. Technologically the tools do not display the signs of an advanced industry. The size of the tools, however, is smaller than would be expected in a primitive industry such as this. The biggest specimen is 12·5 centimetres long and the smallest one is only 8·5 centimetres. On the basis of the shape of the butt and the cleaver edge following three types may be recognized.

(*i*) *U shaped butt and straight edge ≈ Axe type.*–

SPG 9 (11·0×8·8×4·2) Pl. VII Fig. 4.

A roughly rectangular cleaver of brownish quartzite; it was found *in situ* and is quite fresh. It has a straight and sharp cutting edge made by the intersection of the main flake surface with a large sloping flake scar on the upper face. Upper face has two more scars along the left margin; the rest of it is original pebble cortex. Lower face has a large side flake scar along the right margin and some step flaking along the left. Section roughly biconvex.

(*ii*) *Round butt and oblique edge – Guillotine type.*–

TNK 3 (13·2×7·2×3·2) Pl. X Fig. 2.

A round-butted, oblique-edged cleaver made on a whitish-grey quartzite pebble; slightly rolled. On account of the peculiar nature of the raw material the flake surfaces are so rough that it is difficult to determine the exact number and nature of the flake scars. Both faces are fully worked; only the round, ball-shaped butt is left unworked. The obliquity of the cleaver edge is so pronounced that the longer lateral margin has developed a rounded tip. The implement may be regarded a cleaver-*cum*-handaxe.

(*iii*) *Pointed butt and oblique edge – guillotine type.*–

BGD 3 (10·7×7·0×2·6) Pl. X Fig. 3.

A tiny cleaver of brownish quartzite; completely unrolled and unpatinated. Found *in situ*. It has an oblique edge and a borer-like tip along the longer margin. Worked over both faces by detaching thin but large flakes. Butt left unworked; section triangular.

(*d*) *Flakes.*—The number of flakes in the present collection excluding those considered earlier as scrapers and choppers is thirteen. They form a homogenous group in size and technique. With one exception all the the flakes measure between 10 and 15 centimetres. Their technological features have been described earlier. (See Technique, pp. 15-16). Many of them have been worked on the upper face subsequent to their removal from the core; still they remain quite thick.

All the specimens are end flakes. In one of them the bulb of percussion is not exactly opposite the tip but situated obliquely to it. In some pieces lateral margins are battered though it is difficult to say whether battering is due to use or natural agencies.

On the basis of their general shape and the working edge the flakes may be divided into two groups :

(*i*) *Broad and pointed flakes.*—These have their working edge along the lateral margins.

JHP 9 (11·0×10·9×3·7) Pl. X Fig. 4.

A big, oval flake of bluish quartzite; partly rolled. It has a natural striking platform, a large but diffused bulb of percussion and a flake angle of 100°. Two big flakes have been removed from the upper face. Edges battered either due to use or natural damage.

(*ii*) *Long, rectangular flakes.*—These pieces have a straight transverse edge opposite the bulb and striking platform similar to that of a cleaver. They can not, however, be regarded as cleavers since their edge is fortuitous rather than deliberately made.

MDP 10 (13·7×10·7×4·6) Pl. VIII Fig. 1.

A large rectangular end flake of brown quartzite; slightly rolled. It has a small, unprepared striking platform, a large diffused bulb of percussion and a flake angle of 107°. Upper face has one large scar along the left side; rest of it retains original pebble cortex. It has cleaver-like transverse edge made by the intersection of the main flake surface with the sloping pebble surface.

(*e*) *Cores.*—There are eight simple pebble cores and one small flake core in the present collection. The former are made from huge pebbles measuring as much as 20 centimetres in one dimension, and 10 centimetres in thickness. The scar beds left on them by the detachment of flakes are also large, measuring as much as 15 centimetres in their longer dimension and have very

deep, negative bulbs of percussion. There is no evidence of the preparation of the core prior to the detachment of the flake from it. Only one or two flakes have been detached from these huge pebble cores. In the specimens from which more than one flake has been taken off, the earlier flake scar was utilized as a striking platform for detaching the next flake. The probable technique for their manufacture has already been pointed out.

The one flake core in the collection is a thin and small specimen. Though it shows some evidence of preparation along the sides, it is not a very convincing example of Levalloisian technique.

SPG 5 (20·5×14·3×10·2) Pl. III Fig. 1, and Pl. XI Fig. 1.

A huge pebble core of grey quartzite; it was very hard embedded in gravel and could be removed with much difficulty. Part of its gravel matrix is still adhering to it. In all only three flakes have been removed from it, two from one face and one from the other. Of these two have left large scars with very deep negative bulbs and the third one has left a small and nearly flat scar.

SPG 18 (8·3×8·2×2·5) Pl. VI Fig. 3.

A small, squarish flake core of whitish-grey limestone; fresh. On one face there are three tiny flake scars along the sides and one large scar in the centre. The opposite face is a main flake surface.

VIII Conclusion.

It will be seen from the description of the various aspects of the Banas palaeolithic industry that it exhibits technologically primitive features. The emphasis in general is on core tools rather than on flake ones. Out of sixty-five tools (excluding flakes and cores) only sixteen or 25 per cent have been made on flakes and the remaining on cores. Now it is a commonplace that in any advanced Palaeolithic industry the proportion of flake tools to core tools is considerably large. Flakes themselves are large and crude and there is little evidence of the Levallois or prepared core technique. Pebble tools are crudely made; no specimen has the fine zigzag edge that results by alternate flaking from two faces. Handaxes are generally thick, asymmetrical and incompletely flaked; majority of them are of the Abbevillean type and some can be ascribed to an Early to Middle Acheulian stage. Cleavers are also made by a simple technique; only one specimen has a roughly parallelogrammatic cross section but it is not made by the classic side below technique. There is very little secondary flaking on the tools and primary flaking is also incompletely done leaving large unflaked areas of the original pebble cortex. In general, it can be said that not much attention was paid to giving a beautiful shape to the tool.

Part of the explanation for the crudeness of the implements from the Banas may lie in the readily available and plentiful supply of raw material which led to the tools being easily fashioned for the job in hand and just as easily being discarded. Such an explanation has been suggested by M. Posnansky for a similar phenomenon at Nsongezi on the Kagera river in Uganda.[1]

Table I.

IX. Inventory of Tool Types.

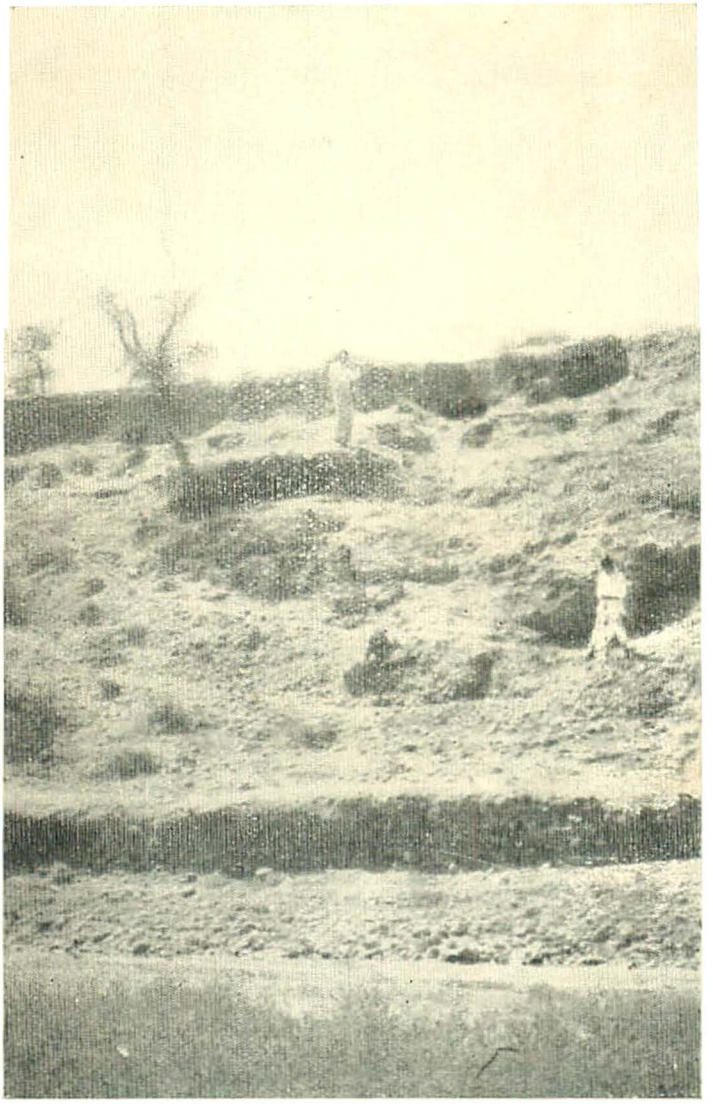
Sites. / Artefact Types.	NTD	HMG	SPG	MDP	BGD	JHP	DOL	BTL	TNK	MHW	TOTA
Choppers and scrappers (i) On pebble Unifacial		2		2	4		2	1	2		13
Bifacial		2	2	2	1	2		1		1	11
Trifacial					1		1				2
(ii) On flakes ..			1	1		1	1	3			7
Handaxes .. (i) Pebble handaxes ..		3	3	3	3		1	2		2	17
(ii) Fully flaked handaxes		1	5		2	4	1	3	2		18
Cleavers			2		2	1	1		1		7
Cores (1) Pebble cores ..		2	4	1	1						6
(ii) Flake cores ..			1								1
Flakes	1		3	1		4	2	2			13
	1	10	21	10	14	12	9	12	5	3	97

[1] Wishop, W. W. and Posnansky, M. (1960) "Pleistocene Environments and Early Man in Uganda", *The Uganda Journal*, vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 55.

X. Acknowledgements

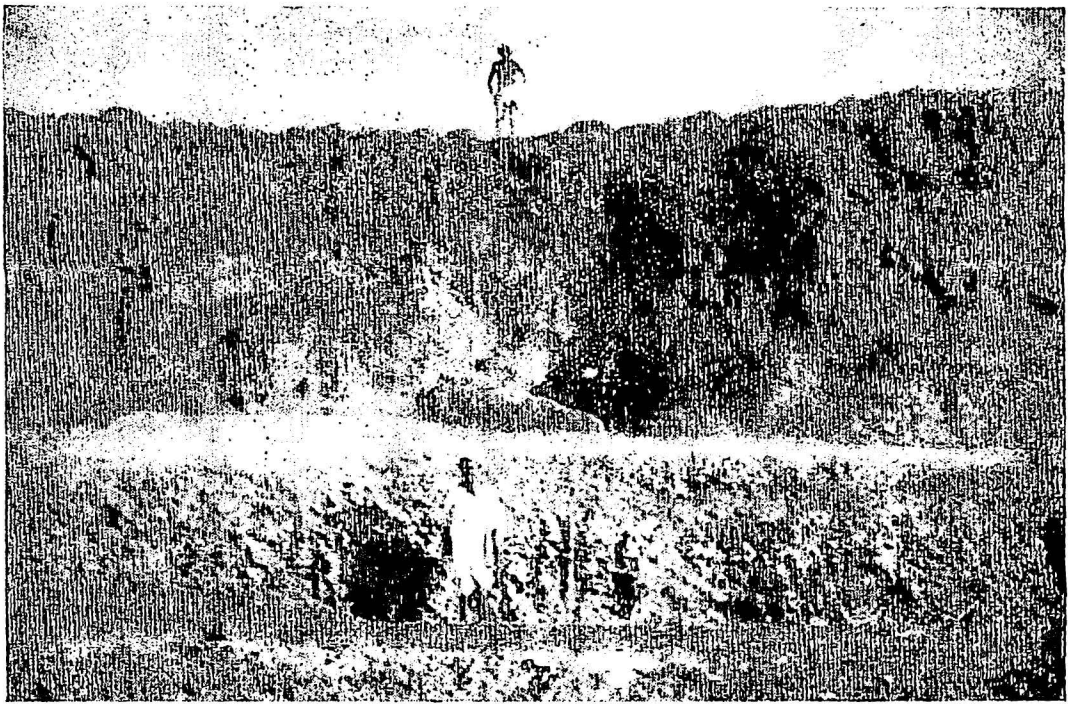
I can not specify in words my gratitude to my teacher Professor H. D. Sankalia, for his generous guidance in the preparation of this paper. The drawings of implements and sections have been made by Mr. Y. S. Rasar, and R. B. Sapre, respectively, draughtsmen in the Department of Proto – and Ancient Indian History, Deccan College, Poona. The map has been prepared by Mr. Ishwari Prasad Srivastava, student of M.A. (Part I) in the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University. To all of them I express my warm thanks.

PLATE I

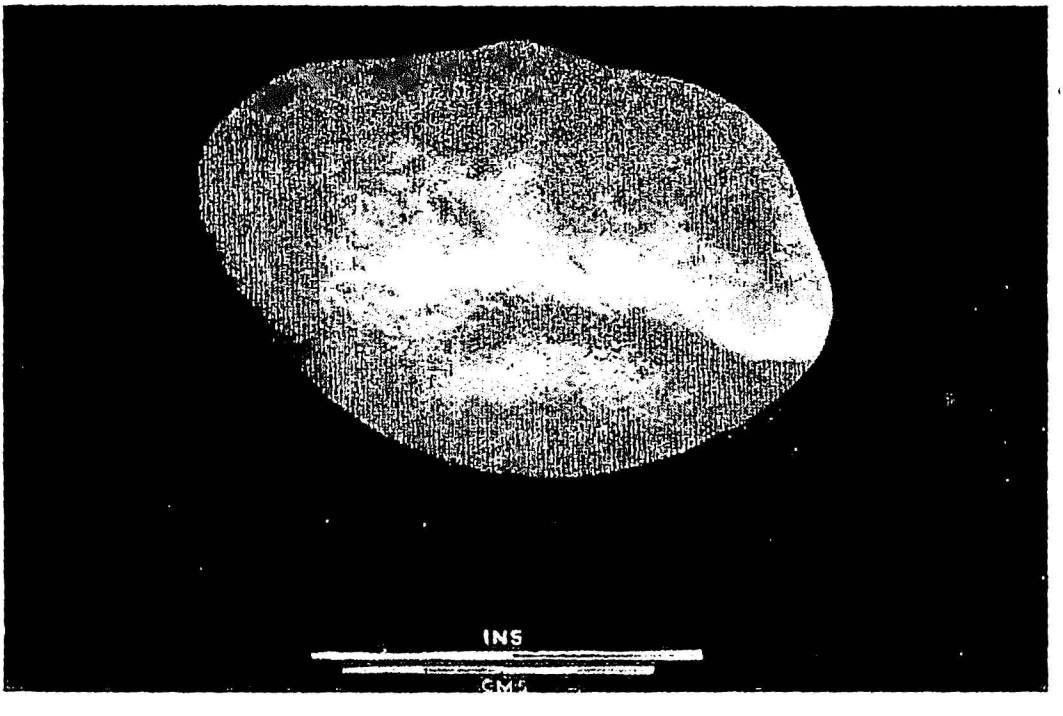


High level gravels along the right bank of the [illegible]
Banas near Bigod.

PLATE II

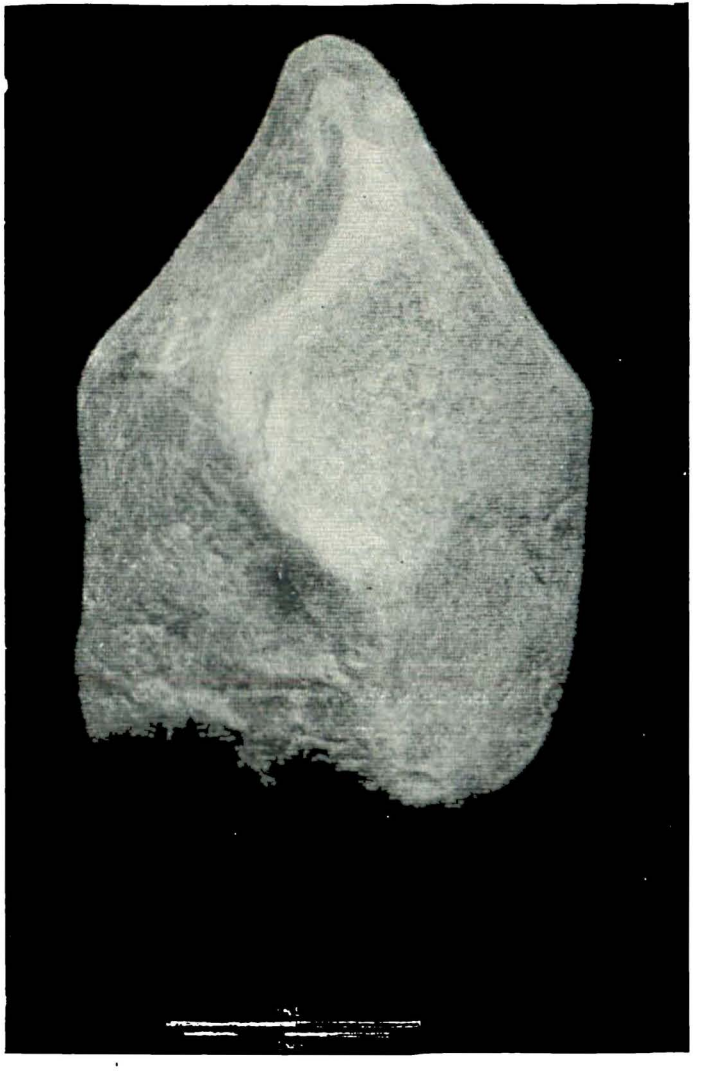


1. Large pebble core.



2. Trifacial pebble tool.

1. Large pebble core.



2. Trifacial pebble tool.

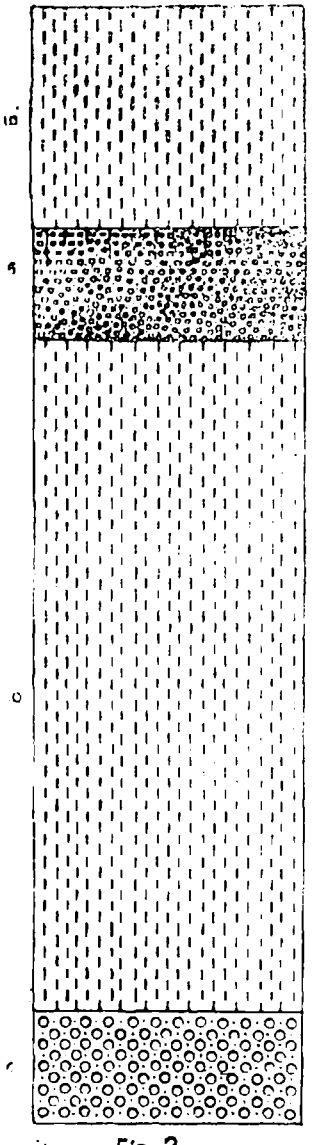


Fig. 2

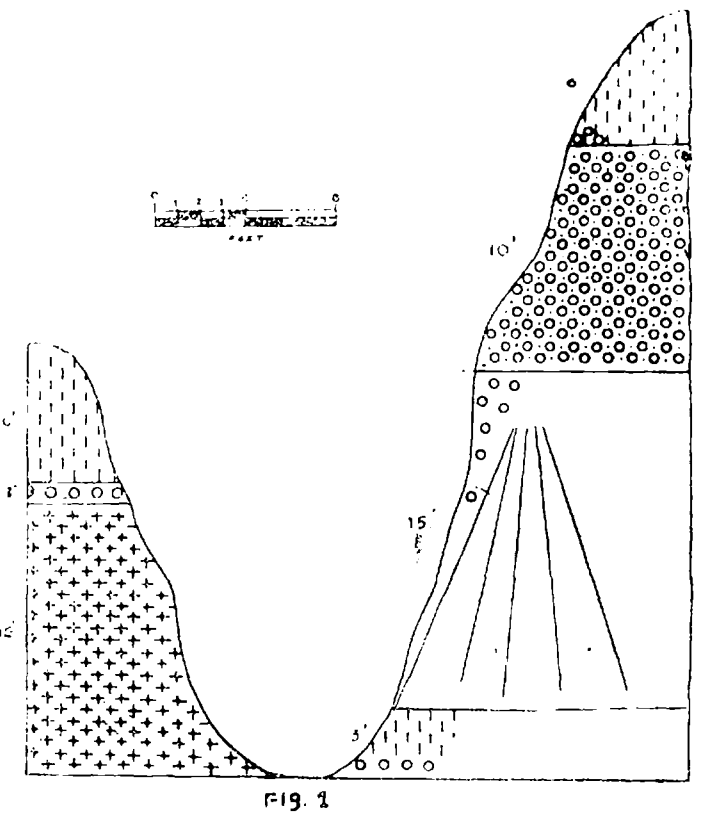
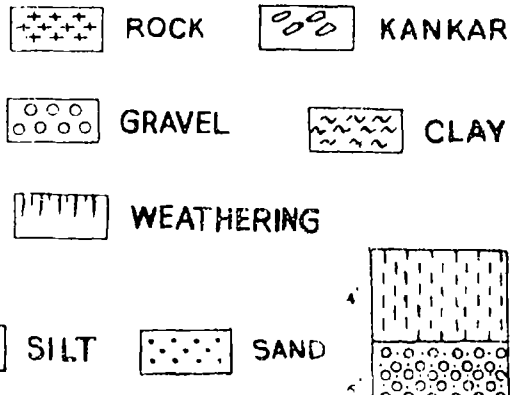


Fig. 1



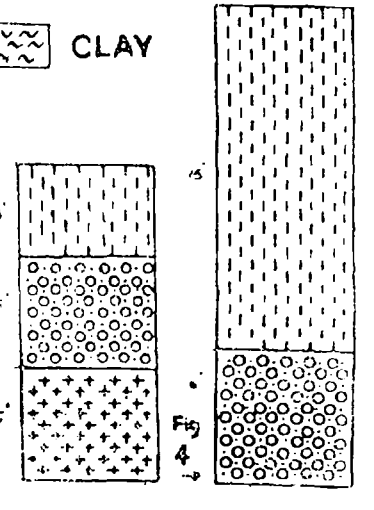
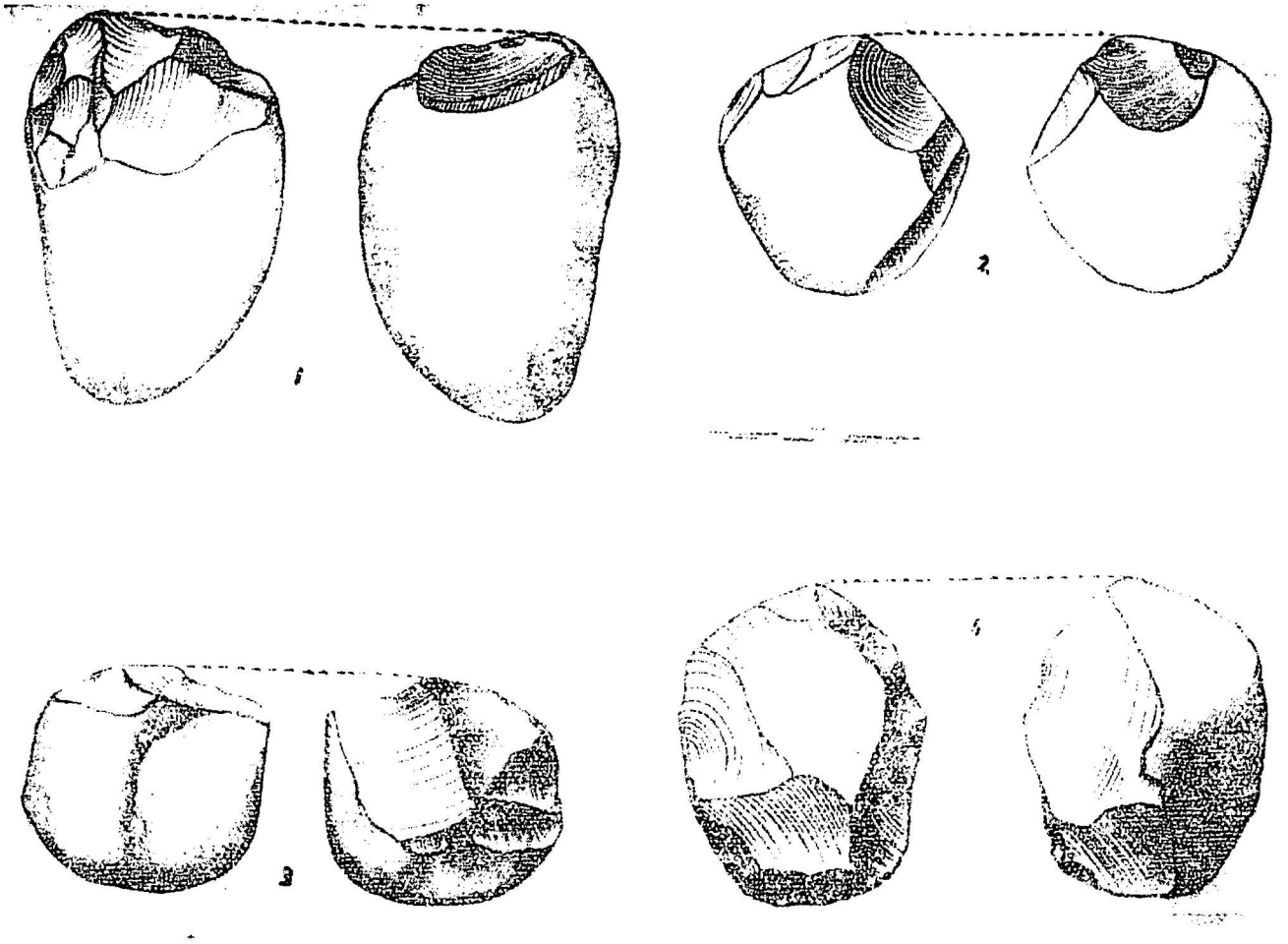


Fig 3

Fig 4

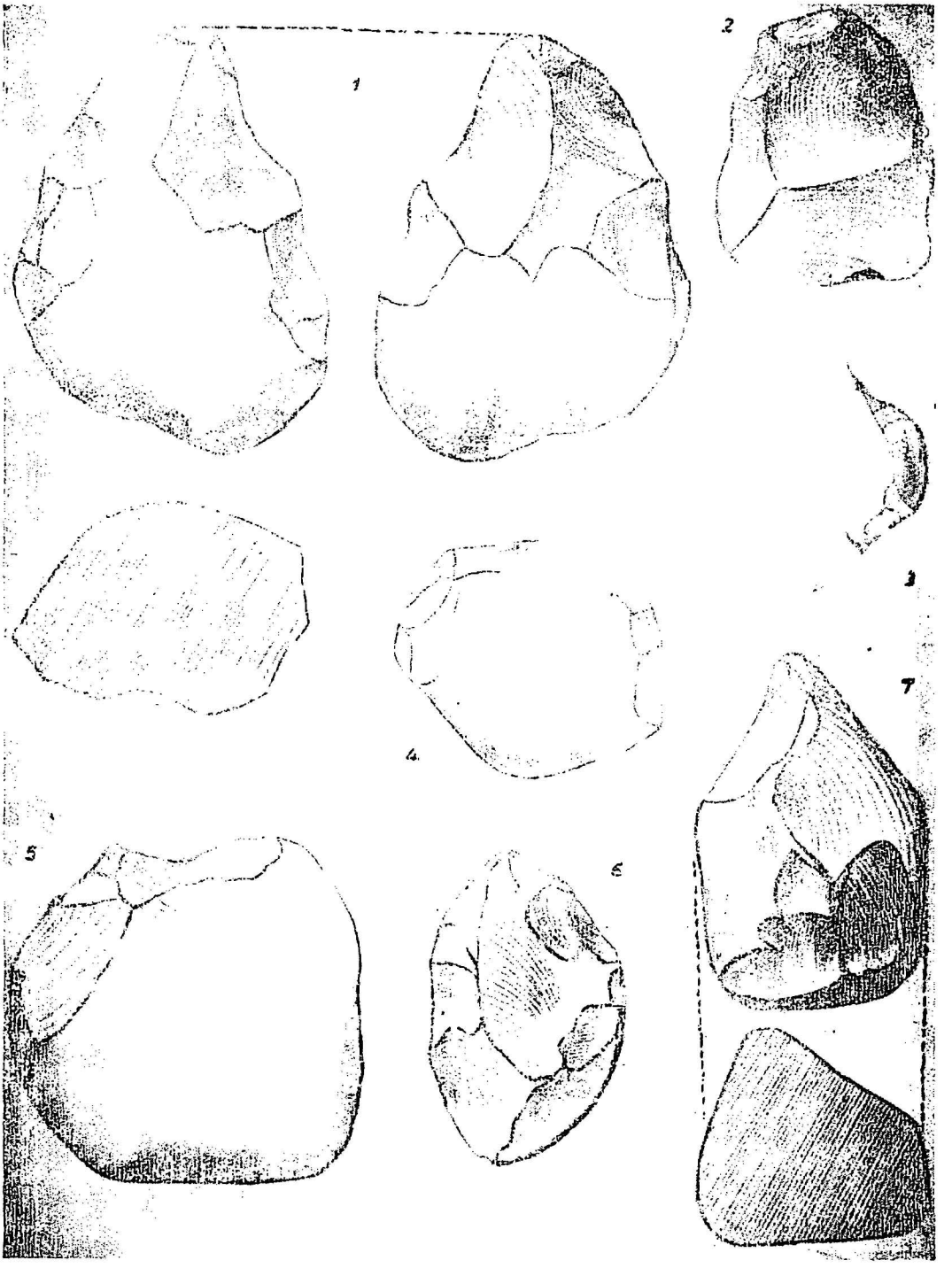
Fig. 1. Right and left banks of the Banas half a mile east of Bigod.
Fig. 2. Left bank of the Banas one mile east-north of Bigod.
Fig. 3. Left bank of the Banas half a mile east of Mandpia.
Fig. 4. Right bank of the Banas opposite Sarupganj.

PLATE V



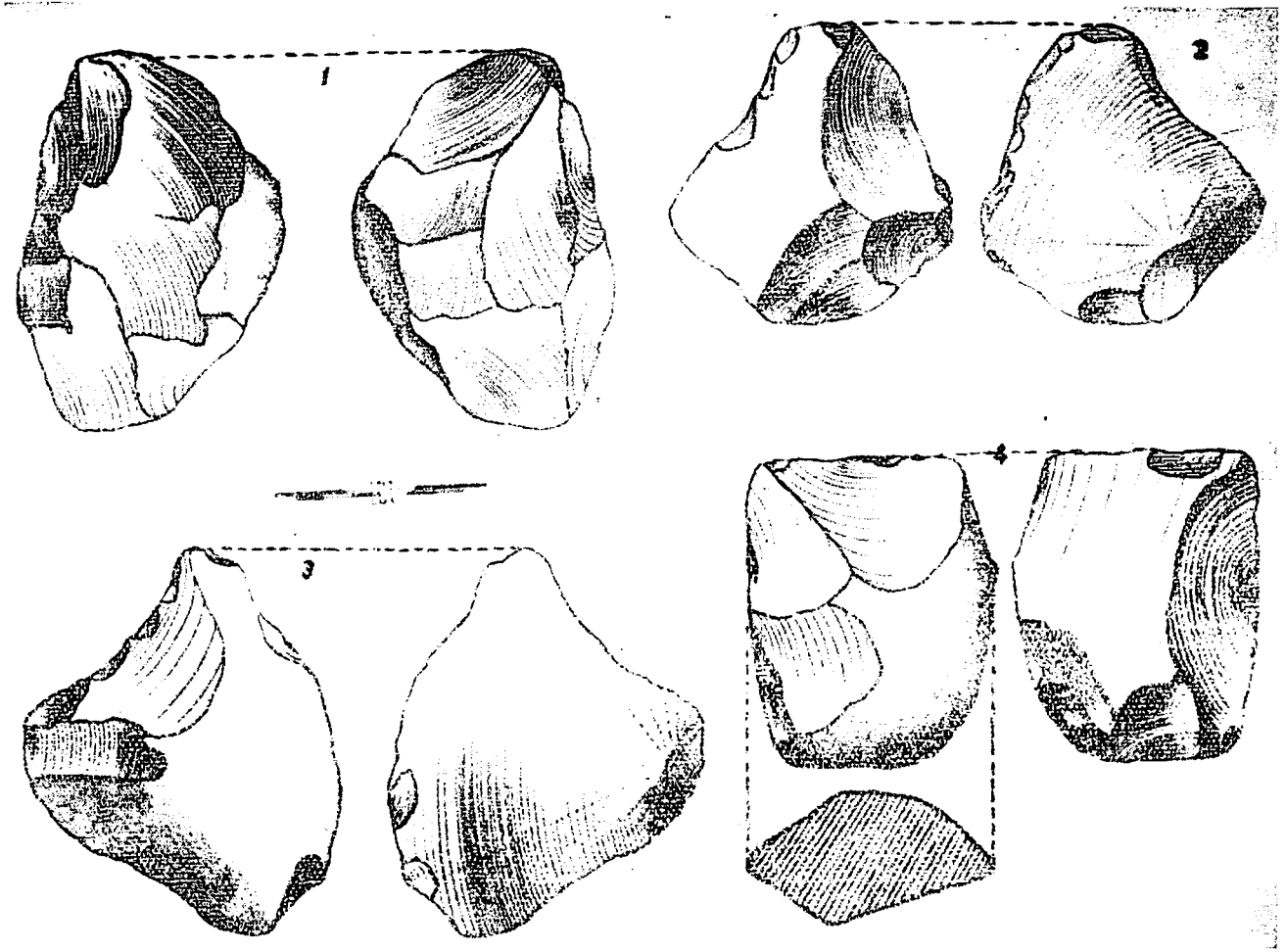
1-4. Bifacial pebble choppers.

PLATE VI



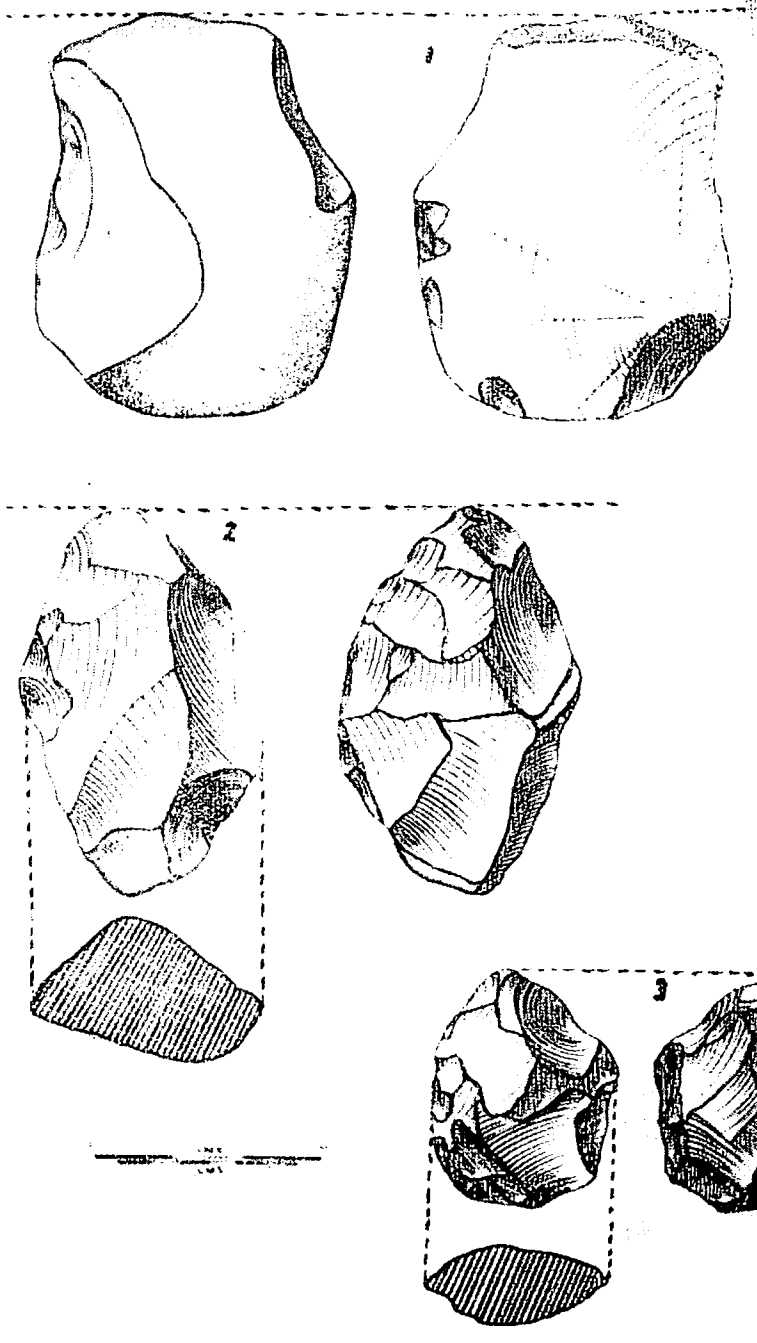
1. Bifacial pebble handaxe. 2, 4-5. Unifacial pebble choppers. 3. Flake core. 6. Unifacial pebble handaxe. 7. Trifacial pebble tool.

PLATE VII



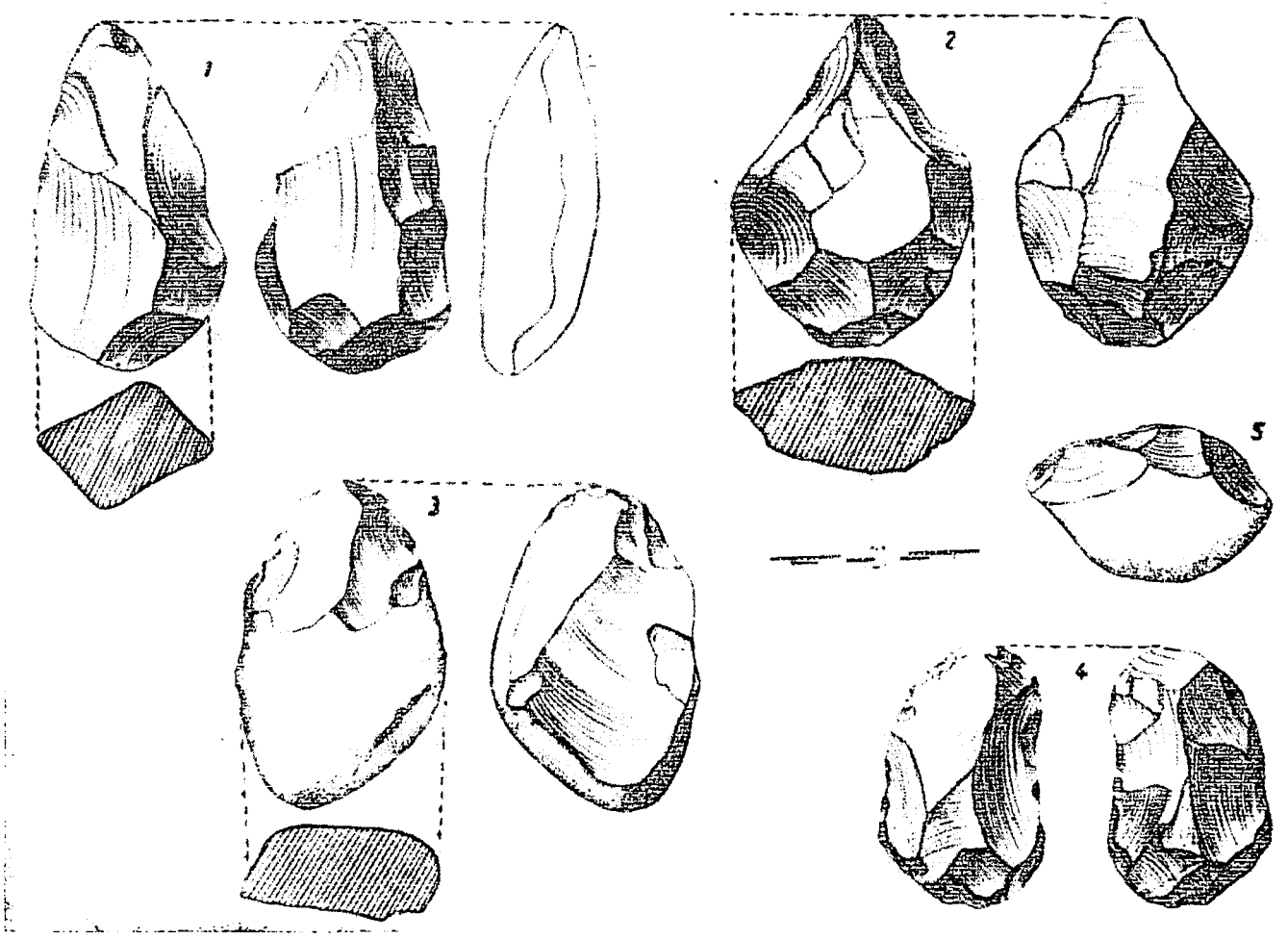
1. Bifacial flake chopper-scraper. 2. Flake side scraper. 3. Flake hollow scraper. 4. U shaped cleaver.

PLATE VIII



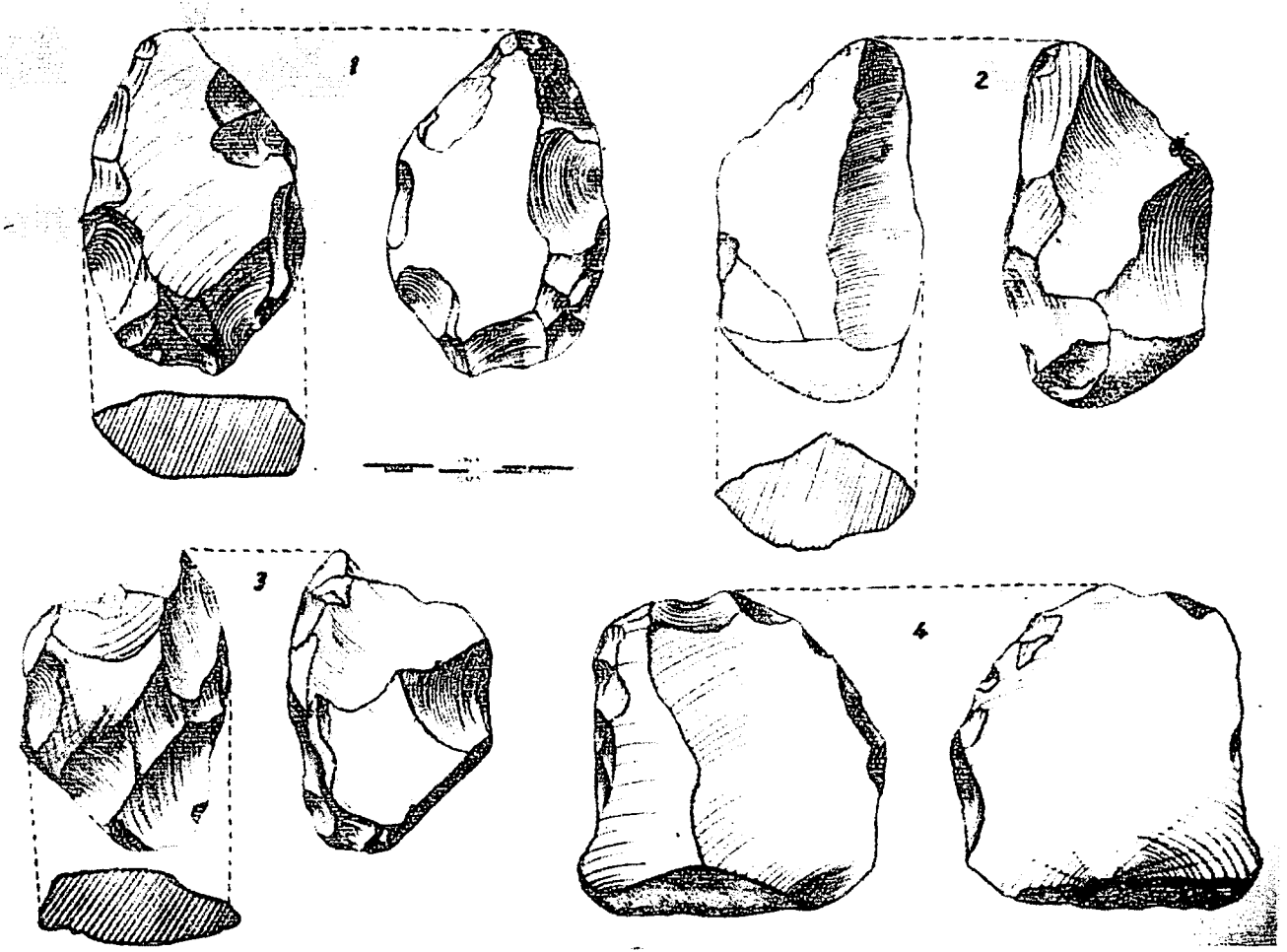
1. Large rectangular flake. 2. Double pointed handaxe. 3. Small almond shape handaxe.

PLATE IX



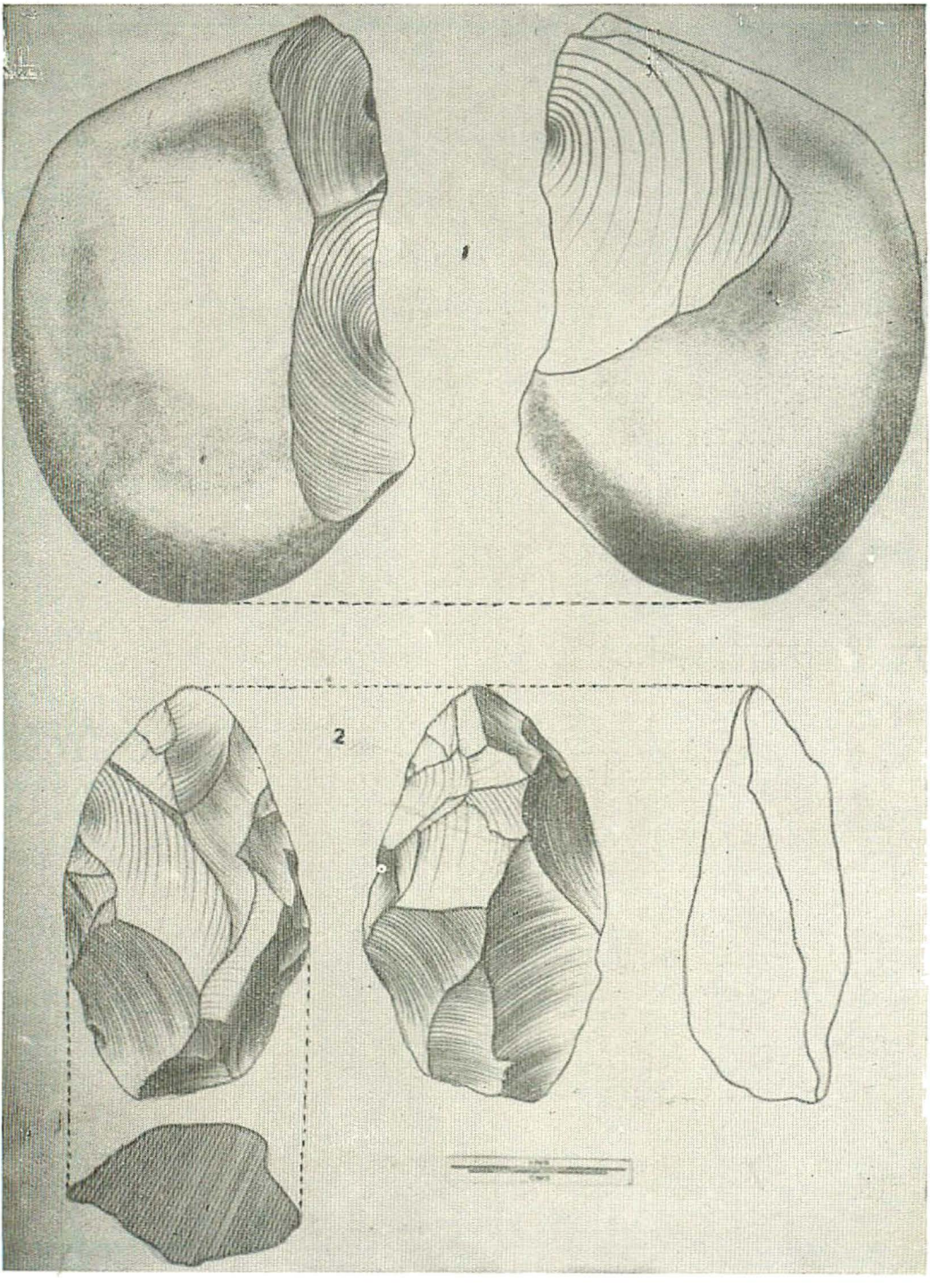
1. Pear shape handaxe. 2. Ovate (Sides broken). 3. Bifacial pebble handaxe. 4. Ovate. 5. Unifacial pebble scraper.

PLATE X



1. Almond shape handaxe. 2-3. Oblique edged cleavers. 4. Broad flake.

PLATE XI



1. Large pebble core. 2. Thick almond shape handaxe.

FELICITATION TO MM. Dr. P. V. KANE
AND
AWARD OF MEDALS.

1. On the 16th of July 1960, a function was held to felicitate Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane on his attaining the age of 80 years and on his appointment as the National Professor of Indology. Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Maharashtra, presided on the occasion. The function was very well attended by distinguished ladies and gentlemen. A cultural programme of dance was arranged and selected portions of Bhavabhuti's Sanskrit drama, viz., Uttararāmacarita, were also staged.

MM. Dr. P. V. Kane was born at Parsuram Village in the Ratnagiri District, on the 7th May, 1880, in a family of Vaidika Brāhmanas. After a brilliant career as a student, at both the school and the college, where he always carried away almost all the prizes and medals in Sanskrit from the Previous Examination to the M.A., Dr. Kane accepted the teaching profession and worked as a teacher for seven years (1904-1911) but left it ultimately for various reasons, which need not be gone into.

He has written a number of articles and books on Indological subjects; but his *magnum opus* is the 'History of Dharmaśāstra' which started in 1930 with the 1st volume and is still enthusiastically being carried on, on Volume V at the age of 81. For such a gigantic work in Indology, Dr. Kane as has been honoured with the coveted title 'Mahāmahopādhyāya' in 1942 and further honoured by the President of India in 1959 by conferring on him the National Professorship of Indology.

Dr. Kane had joined the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society now known as 'The Asiatic Society of Bombay' in 1913 as an ordinary member and from 1915 as a Life Member and has been kind enough to guide the Society through many vicissitudes by offering his services as a Vice-President on the Managing Committee from 1929 to 1952. In recognition of his research work, the Society honoured Dr. Kane with Honorary Fellowship in 1924. Dr. Kane has also been highly respected by Orientalists all over the world and as a result of this, he was elected President of the All India Oriental Conference in 1946 and of the Indian History Congress in 1953. A fund has been created in the Society in the year 1946, on receipt of a donation from Dr. B. C. Law, Calcutta, who expressed his desire that the Society should make an award of a Gold Medal in the name of Dr. Kane to suitable candidates carrying out research work in Indology.

Dr. Kane has made it a practice of coming to the Library practically every day for continuing his research work and is thus a source of inspiration to the younger scholars coming to the Library.

2. On this occasion, the following medals of the Society were announced. They were intended to be presented personally to the respective Scholars, but

this was not possible as none of three was able to be present owing to unavoidable difficulties :—

(*i*) The Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for 1956 – to Dr. Verrier Elwin.

(*ii*) The Kane Gold Medal for 1956 – to Dr. Louis Renou, Paris.

(*iii*) The Society's Silver Medal for 1956 – to Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.

(i) The Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was founded in 1907 in commemoration of Sir James Campbell, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service and well known as the editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. The medal is awarded, every three years, to a Scholar in recognition of meritorious service to the cause of Oriental Research by way of learned publications calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely, the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Science or Literature.

The Management of the Asiatic Society of Bombay accepted the unanimous recommendations of the Selection Committee, consisting of eminent scholars with MM. Dr. P. V. Kane as Chairman that Dr. Verrier Elwin should be awarded the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for the year 1956.

Dr. Elwin needs no introduction to the members of the Society and the learned public. He is the celebrated author of no fewer than 19 voluminous tomes on tribal life in the contemporary India in all its most intimate and arresting details.

Dr. Elwin was initiated to what has turned out to be his life mission by Mahatma Gandhi, because it was from his ashram at Sevagram and with his blessings that he stepped into the tribal territory as far back as in 1932. He soon learnt to love these guileless people with their gay freedom of spirit and simplicity of heart, which he does not wish them to barter for anything in the world. Dr. Elwin believes that there is much that is of abiding value and therefore worth preserving in the tribal way of life and that normal ideas of progress would not be beneficial to them. He has made important converts to his views among the men that count, and it is under the influence of his ideas that our Prime Minister has recently laid down the five fundamental principles that should guide the administration policy of the tribal areas.

(ii) The MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal was founded by Dr. B. C. Law, himself a distinguished Indologist, in token of his personal admiration for Dr. Kane's monumental scholarship. The Gold Medal is awarded at intervals of not less than three years to a scholar for outstanding contribution to the study of Vedic, Dharmaśāstra or Alañkāra literature.

The management of the Asiatic Society of Bombay accepted the unanimous recommendation of the selection Committee consisting distinguished scholars with MM. Dr. P. V. Kane as Chairman that Professor Louis Renou be awarded the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for the year 1956.

Dr. Renou is the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Paris, and occupies a distinguished place among Indologists of repute. He is among the very few scholars who, in our time, have had the courage to concentrate their efforts on two subjects of exceptional difficulty, the Rgveda and the grammar of Pāṇini; and no account of the results achieved in these studies during the last 30 years, can afford to neglect his valuable contributions.

For the use of the general public, Professor Renou has published a Sanskrit anthology which not only contains extracts from famous works but adds useful information about points of Sanskrit literature that are not so well-known. Professor Renou followed up the anthology with two other works for the general reader; *Les Literature de 1' Inde*, an apercu of literatures of India, Vedic classical, Pālī and Prākṛit as well as Dravida; and *Historie de la langue Sanskrit*, which traces the history of the Sanskrit language as used in literature and epigraphy down to the end of the Hindu period.

The Society's Silver Medal founded in 1922, is awarded at intervals of not less than three years to a member of the Society in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental Research.

The Selection Committee with MM. Dr. P. V. Kane as Chairman unanimously recommended and we accepted the name of Dr. A. D. Pusalkar for the award of the Medal for the year 1956.

Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, the recipient of the Society's Silver Medal for the year 1956, hails from the Ratnagiri District. After a brilliant career in College and post-graduate studies, which won him a number of medals and prizes, Dr. Pusalkar received his doctorate in 1941, under the guidance of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. He is recognised as a post-graduate teacher by the Bombay University for Ph.D. in Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture. He was responsible as an Assistant editor, for editing the five volumes of 'History of Culture of Indian People', and was among the first Editors of 'The Cultural Heritage of India'. He was elected President of the History Section of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Annamalainagar in the year 1956. He has witten several reviews and articles in Oriental Journals of repute. He has also a large number of books to his credit out of which special mention should be made of 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India' and 'Bhasa: A Study.'

3. The Managing Committee, on the unanimous recommendations of the Medals Committees decided to award the three medals for 1959 to the following Scholars :—

(*i*) The Campbell Memorial Gold Medal to—Dr. S. K. Belvalkar,

(*ii*) The Kane Gold Medal to—Prof. Durga Mohan Bhattacharya,

(*iii*) The Society's Silver Medal to—Dr. V. G. Dighe.

Arrangements are being made for the formal award of these medals on a suitable occasion.

GUJARATI LOAN-WORDS IN JÑANEŚVARI

By

G. M. Patil, Bombay

Linguistic Ontogeny and Phylogeny are the two important aspects of the Diochronic Linguistics. The changes in the grammatical system, which forms a part of the phylogeny, include the lexical change, which in its own way, draws the attention of the general reader when he comes across certain lexical items, not current in his own standard language, are found in the older form of the same language and appear to have been borrowed from a sister-dialect. Gujarati and Marathi, the two New Indo-Aryan languages, are so contiguous and similar to each other that the cases of dialect-borrowing from the one to the other are quite possible in the modern times, when the contacts between the two language-groups are very close. The present paper aims at the discussion of the types of borrowing which can be traced at an early period when the contacts cannot be expected to be so close as in the modern times. *Jñāneśvarī* is the oldest Marathi metrical composition by the well-known Marathi saint Jñāneśvara and is the foremost exposition in Marathi on Bhagavad-Gita. The accepted date of the composition of the work is about the last decade of the thirteen century A. D. (शके बारा शत बारोत्तरें । तैं टीका केली ज्ञानेश्वरें ॥ ज्ञाने. XVIII. 1792). In this work we find a few lexical items, to trace the source of which and to discuss their presence in the elder literature, is being attempted here. Some of these words, which appear to be loan-words, are definitely dialectal borrowings, there being a common core for them, in the sense that, they have been handed down from a parent language. But in the case of some other words where such a common source is not definitely traceable, the student of Linguistics may be led to infer language-borrowing. The present study is an humble beginning to indicate the possible way of the explanation of the loans in these Sister Dialects; a detailed and more exhaustive investigation in the problem is still awaited.

In the first instance, we take the case of the dialectal borrowing from Gujarati into Marathi. There exists a common core, i.e., the parent language, Sanskrit, from which both the languages have been derived through the Middle Indo-Aryan, in such cases; but the important fact to be noted, is the absence of these lexical items in the current standard Marathi. The words noted below find a place in the text of *Jñāneśvarī*, but they seem to have become obsolete in the later Marathi, and are out of use in the colloquial or literary form of the language, though used in the Gujarati language. They can be claimed as

Marathi words, only on the ground that they have been included in the standard Marathi Lexical works. A few instances are given below :—

(A) Jn. Marathi.	Gujarati.	Sanskrit.	
आपजे	आपजे आपवुं	ऽआप्	" to obtain, get."
आरोगिलीऽ	ऽआरोगवुं (to eat, to take food.)	आरोग्य	" good health."
उपणितां	ऽउपणवुं (to cleanse with a winnowing basket.)	ऽउत्पू	" to cleanse, to purify."
पालवें (cf. पालवी)	पालव (sprout, end of the garment.)	पल्लव	" leaf, sprout."
खाजें	खाजा (A sweet preparation.)	खाद्य	" eatable."
विहाया	विइवुं	ऽभी	" to be afraid."
भीतरी	भीतर	अभ्यन्तर	" interior."
भाणें	भाणुं	भाजन	" a plate with lunch."
मेळें	मेळे (of own accord, together with.)	ऽमिल्	" to meet, to unite."
मोकलिलें	मोकलवुं (to send, dispatch.)	ऽमुच्.	" to release, to let go."
वाल्ही (वालें)	व्हाली, वाह्‌ली	वल्लभ	" dear, favourite."
शाक	शाक	शाक	" vegetable."
सोइलिया	सुवुं	स्वप्	" to sleep."
हाट	हाट	हट्ट	" a market, a fair."
फावलें	ऽफावयुं	ऽप्राप्	" to get, to obta'n."

The second variety of borrowing can be indicated in the instances where the common core is traceable for the words in both the languages with a semantic identity, but the present form of the words has been phonetically changed in modern Marathi, the form from *Jñāneśvarī* agreeing more with the present Gujarati form. Five such words have been traced so far.

(B) Jn. Marathi.	Gujarathi.	Sans it.	Mod. Mar.
चांचू	चांच (beak.)	चञ्चु	चोंच
डाळी	डाळ (branch)	दल	डहाळी
पहुआ (पव्हया)	पहुवा (beaten separated rice.)	पृथुक	पोहा
पांजरा	पांजरा (cage.)	पञ्जर	पिंजरा
फेण	फिण (foam.)	फेन	फेंस

The third type is that of language-borrowing, where the words do not seem to have a common core, but they are current in Gujarati and though not in use now, are found in *Jñāneśvarī*. It is perhaps, difficul to explain this situation, as the two essential motives for language-borrowing, viz., (i) the prestige, either political or otherwise, and (ii) the need-feeling; both appear

to be absent in such cases. The words noted below are not common in Standard Marathi.

(C) Jn. Marathi.	Gujarati.		
1. ओगरिली	ओगरवुं	ओगराळो	"to serve the food." "laddle."
2. घारी	घारी		"a sweet preparation."
3. पाडा	पाडो		"a buffalo, a calf."
4. फरसाळें	फरसाण		"a mixture of different tastes."
5. बोहणी	बोहणी		"the first sale of the day."
6. भातुकें (cf. भातुकली)	भाथु		"a breakfast, eatables given to children, etc."
7. रससोय	रसोई		"cooked food."
8. लाणी	लाणी		"presents distributed at the end of festivals, celebrations, etc.; the end."
9. वडे (–माजिवडे)	–वडे		"by, with, etc."
10. सधर	सधर		"strong, firm, rich, etc."

The presence of few more words like[**] कुहा, पोखणें, वारी, वळंघोनिया , etc., also indicates the influence, the Gujarati Language wielded on the Marathi Language, in the times of *Jñāneśvarī*. The intimate borrowing is mostly a mutual concern, and then the flow is both ways. Both the languages seem to donate and both appear to borrow. Instances of such type can be multiplied from both languages, viz., Gujarati and Marathi. For instance, Gujarati has been the donor of words like लुगडें, कोथळा, पांघरुण, कपडा and others to Marathi; while Marathi claims to be a creditor in lending words like अंघोळ, वखेडो, थंडुंगार, रंगोळी, छेवट and many others to Gujarati. These words of daily use can be imagined to have been the result of the close contacts and the motive of need-feeling to a certain extent. But how could this have been possible at a period about seven hundred years back, is a problem to be explained. Could it be that Cakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect in Mahārāshṭra, and a Sāmavedi Brāhmaṇa from Saurāshṭra, was accompanied by his followers when he immigrated in the South; and together with the spread of the sect and the religious teaching, these Gujarati-speaking teachers gave currency to a few words which soon became assimilated in certain people. Later, the words referred to above and some others became common with the majority of Marathi speakers. In course of time, these loan-words

[**] कुहा –XII. 549; 678.
पोखणें –I. 90; II. 306; V. 2; XIII. 147; XVI. 66; XVIII. 808.
वारी –XIII. 655.
वळंघोनिया –XIII. 714.

seem to have become obsolete as they could not hold ground as also the sect in this rocky land of Mahārāshṭra. The date of Cakradhara and of the Mahānubhāva literature is accepted to be about the last quarter of the Twelth Century A. D., i.e., about a century before Jñāneśvara.

It can also be said with some confidence that a number of Gujarati words were already current in the Marathi language even prior to this date of *Jñāneśvarī*. The evidence is furnished by Rājamatiprabodha, a work of the latter half of the Eleventh Century, by an author named Yashashchandra. In the Marathi speech of a Mahārāshṭrika, who describes the feminine beauty, the following words are found, which have more of a Gujarati form than the Marathi. मुहं, छोटी, मोटी, उंडी, etc. (cf. Marathi Bhāshā – Udgama āṇi Vikāsa. K. P. Kulkarni; Ed. 1957, pp. 164).

The foregoing discussion indicates the conclusion that the Marathi language of the period of the Yādavas was influenced by, at least it had come in close contact with, Gujarati also, along with Kanarese and Telugu, the Dravidian Languages of the South.

References are from – *Jñāneśvarī* – Nirnayasagar Edn. 1930.

(A) 1–II. 139, XIII. 831.
2–IX. 230, 386; XI. 427; XIII. 423.
3–II. 130; IX. 333; XVIII. 614.
4–VIII. 16; XV. 157.
5–XI. 29.
6–IX. 140; XII. 88; XIII. 505.
7–VI. 217; VII. 134; VIII. 184; XVIII. 678.
8–VIII. 143; XVIII. 150, 785.
9–XIII. 84, 465, 479, 769, 1033.
10–XI. 63; VI. 381; XIII. 805; XVIII. 1051.
11–III. 247; XV. 94.
12–VI, 282; XVI. 22, 23.
13–XIII. 575.
14–IX. 496; XVIII. 797.
15–VI. 4, 8, 23, 99, 189; IX. 49; XI. 96.

(B) I. 68; IX. 234; XIII. 326, 401; XIV. 208; XVI. 109.
2–XV. 265.
3–IX. 394.
4–VI. 233; VII. 154; XIII. 412, 599.
5–IX. 66, 67, 154.

(C) 1–IV. 107; IX. 9, 393.
2–XVII. 159.
3–VIII. 8; XI. 109.
4–XVIII. 245.
5–XVIII. 784.
6–III. 248; VI. 352; X. 18.
7–II. 242; IV. 161; VIII. 100; IX. 470; XVIII. 475, 1454.
8–II. 254; IX. 9, 348; XIII. 390, 637, 644; XV. 38; XVIII. 1092.
9–XIII. 326; along with माजि VI. 343; XI. 163, 403; XII. 42; XIII. 896; XVIII. 961.
10–I. 80; II. 276.

A NOTE ON SOME TERMS IN ANCIENT LAND-GRANTS

By

LALLANJI GOPAL, *University of Allahabad*

The ancient land grants are often associated with certain privileges in the form of income from dues and exemptions. The terms referring to these have naturally an important bearing on the socio-economic conditions of those times. The present article aims at discussing some of the terms about which the brilliant work of Dr. Ghoshal does not reach any finality.

1. *Udraṅga and Uparikara.*—The plates generally mention the grant as accompanied with the income of Udraṅga and Uparikara (Sodraṅga and Soparikara). These terms have baffled the ingenuity of the scholars to explain them. The Smṛtis and lexicons do not throw any light on the nature of these dues and etymology offers no help in understanding them. So all attempts must remain tentative and provisional. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal[1] suggested for udraṅga the meaning of revenue imposed upon the permanent tenants, and for uparikara that of a similar impost levied on the temporary tenants. The meaning attached to Uparikara[2] has been rightly controverted by Dr. A. S. Altekar[3] on the ground that there is neither any reason to suppose that the State imposed any extra or special taxation on temporary tenants nor any justification for a distinction in the State records between taxes paid by permanent tenants and temporary cultivators. Etymologically the term would better signify an extra cess or a tax on land which was paid over and above the normal tax. The contrast in the terms udraṅga and uparikara would support the interpretation of udraṅga as the normal revenue of the king. Thus the earlier suggestion of Bühler[4] followed by Fleet[5] would seem to be nearer to truth. To me it appears that the terms sodraṅga and soparikara are identical with the expression sakḷiptopakḷiptaḥ dues on land. The suggestion receives support from the fact that nowhere do these expressions appear together. The expression sakḷiptopakḷiptaḥ occurs in the plates of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, whereas the records of other dynasties like the Uccakalpas, the Parivrājakas, the Kaṭacuris and the Maitrakas use the terms sodraṅga and soparikara. In this connection the evidence supplied by the Haidarabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, is[6] very illuminating. While enumerating the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, this record uses the expression sakḷiptaḥ soparikaraḥ. Evidently it would appear that according to the author of the record the term sakḷiptaḥ is the same as sodraṅgaḥ, while sopakḷiptaḥ is identical with soparikaraḥ. This kḷipta occurs

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1 Hindu Revenue System, p. 210 f.
2 Cf., Fleet – Gupta Inscriptions, p. 98 n.
3 Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 216.
4 I. A. XII, p. 189, n. 3.
5 Gupta Inscriptions, p. 97, n. 6.
6 I. A. VI, p. 73.

in the Arthaśāstra[7] in the sense of a fixed tax; so naturally upakḷiptaḥ would mean the extra cess on cultivators over and above the fixed revenue of the State. A similar interpretation was advanced by Dr. A. S. Altekar[8] when he equated the term sabhāgabhogakaraḥ occurring in the Samangad Plates of Dantidurga[9] and the Kapadwanj Plates of Kṛṣṇa[10] II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty with the expression sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ. These expressions thus suggest that a donee of a pious endowment was entitled to all those fixed and unfixed dues which the State drew from cultivators.

2. *Sabhūtavātapratyāya.*—Another source of income is expressed by the term sabhūtavātapratyāya, occurring in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris and the Maitrakas. This term is an enigma to scholars and in spite of learned labours no satisfactory solution has been found out. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal[11] admits that the precise meaning of the term is uncertain; he only literally translates the expression as indicating a revenue derived from the elements and the wind. Dr. Altekar[12] offers the suggestion that it means a tax on what has been imported or produced in the village and so equates it with śulka mentioned in some other inscriptions. A comparision of the Khoh Plates of Jayanātha[13] and Sarvanātha[14] would seem to support this theory. For the expression *samucita-śulka-bhāga-bhogakarahiraṇyādipratyāyopanayaṁ* of the record of Jayanātha the inscription of Sarvanātha has *samucitabhāga-bhogakarahiraṇyāvātā yādipratyāyānupaneśyatha.* Thus it would seem that *śulka* and *āvātāya* of the two inscriptions are identical. Now it is most likely that *āvātāya* is another form of the more common *bhūtāvātapratyāya.* But this theory of Dr. Altekar has to be accepted only as a working thesis. Whatever may have been the case with later periods, the inscriptions before roughly 700 A. D., do not contain the expressive phrases *sambhṛtopāttapratyāya* or *bhūtopāttapratyāya* and the only form which occurs in them is *bhūtāvāta-pratyāya* which has been regarded as more enigmatical even by Dr. Altekar on the interpretation of the term proposed by him.

3. *Sadaśāparādha.*—A copper plate grant of the Maitrakas of valabhi[15] is the earliest record to mention another source of income for a donee by the term *sadaśāparādhaḥ* (with the ten offences). Dr. Ghoshal[16] is of the opinion that the term refers to the right of a donee to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences

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[7] II. 6.
[8] Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 214f.
[9] I. A. XI, p. 111.
[10] E. I. I, p. 52.
[11] Hindu Revenue System, pp. 215, 217.
[12] Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 228 ff.
[13] Gupta Inscriptions, p. 27.
[14] *Ibid.*, 31.
[15] E. I. IV. 8. It also appears in the Deo Baranarak inscription of the Later Gupta King Jivitagupta II—Gupta Inscriptions, 46.
[16] Hindu Revenue System, p. 219 f.

by the villagers. But a closer scrutiny vindicates the view of Fleet[17] and Jolly[18] that the expression gives the donee a right to the proceeds of fines for commission of ten offences by the villagers.[19] The contention of Dr. Ghoshal that the grant of rights of jurisdiction was never contemplated in the case of holders of religious grants does not seem to be well founded, for income from taxes in the shape of receipts from fines does find mention in the records of the Candellas of Jejākabhukti,[20] the Kalacuris of Cedi[21] and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[22] Moreover, there is nothing in the records to suggest that this expression refers to an immunity to be enjoyed by the donee. The context in which the expression occurs in the records[23] shows that it was one of the different sources of revenue which the king remitted in favour of a donee. The form of the word also supports such a view. If it had been an immunity, the expression to convey the sense would have been something like *adaśāparādhadaṇḍaḥ*. Moreover, the fact of this privilege being granted even to institutions like temples[24] and not merely to individuals suggests that the term refers perhaps to a source of revenue granted to the donee and not to an immunity from certain offences.

4. *Cauravarjjaṁ*.—Another interesting term is *coravarjjaṁ* used in the inscriptions of the Parivrājakas and Uccakalpas.[25] Other equivalents of this expression are *cauravarjjaṁ*,[26] *coradaṇḍavarjjaṁ*,[27] and *coradrohakavarjjaṁ*.[28] Dr. Ghoshal[28a] took these to mean the immunity of the donee from the tax imposed upon the villagers for village police. But the original explanation of the term offered by Fleet, "with the exception of the right to fines imposed on thieves"[29] seems to be more probable. The context in which the term occurs[30] shows that it was not an immunity granted to the donee but was rather a limitation to the many privileges conferred upon him. The term immediately follows the expression *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ* and suggests that the donor while granting the donee an exemption from the entrance of the regular and irregular troops of the king wanted to make it clear that though he could

17 Gupta Inscriptions, p. 189 n.
18 Hindu Law and Custom, p. 123.
19 Cf., B. Prasad — State in Ancient India, p. 306.
20 daṇḍādāya — I. A. XVI. p. 201.
21 daṇḍādāyakarotpatti — E. I. II. 23.
22 daṇḍādāya — I. A. XIX. p. 165.
23 Cf., Gupta Inscriptions, 39 — Mahīlābalīnāmagrāmaḥ sodrangaḥ soparikaraḥ sotpadyamānavisṭikaḥ sabhūtavātapratyāyaḥ sadaśāparādhaḥ sabhogabhāgaḥ sadhānyahiraṇyādeyaḥ sarvvarājakīyānām ahastaprakṣepaṇīyaḥ pūrvvapradattadevadāyabrahmadāyavarjjam.
24 Gupta Inscriptions, 46.
25 *Ibid.*, 21, 26.
26 *Ibid.*, 23; E. I. XXI. 20.
27 Gupta Inscriptions, 27.
28 E. I. VIII. 28; Gupta Inscriptions, 25.
28a Hindu Revenue System, p. 211.
29 Gupta Inscriptions, p. 98, f. n. 3.
30 Sodrangaḥ soparikaraḥ acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ coravarjjaṁ — Khoh plates of Hastin (Gupta Inscriptions, 21) and Betul plates of Saṁkṣobha E. I. VIII. 28).

not thus be harassed by the officials, he was not exempted from the fines imposed on thieves. It is significant that whereas adjectives have been used to indicate the privileges, in this case, we have an indeclinable form. Further, in some inscriptions[31] the privileges are stated in earlier lines and it is towards the closing part of the record proper (where it is stated that the village was granted as an *agrāhāra* by an order on the copper plate) that we have the expression *coravarjjaṁ* which seems to point out the limitation to such a grant. Moreover, had this been an immunity from tax for police, it would have been described, as is the case with terms signifying other immunities in the plates, by some such words as *acoradaṇḍaḥ* or *acoradrohakaḥ*. The peculiar use of the word varjja probably indicates an exception to the exemption enjoyed by brahmadeya lands. In the Arthaśāstra[32] we find villages liable to fine in the case of any merchandise being lost or stolen; most likely the expression in question means that in case of theft or robbery, the donees were not granted an exemption from their responsibility and like other villagers were liable to fine.

5. *Alonakhādaka.*—The term appearing in the Mayidavolu Plate of Śivaskandavarman and the Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman describes an immunity. The Hirahadagalli Plates mention it as *aloṇagulacchobhaṁ*. The Vākāṭaka records render it more elaborate by using the expression *alavaṇaklinvakreṇikhānakaḥ*. It thus seems to refer to the practice of boring certain trees for salt, liquor and sugar. Dr. Ghoshal[33] has explained it as the immunity from fines for the purchase and digging of salt. But there is nothing in the expression to suggest an immunity from any fine. The term occurs in the midst of expressions signifying immunity from exactions and demands of the king on the land, e.g., *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśya, acārāsanacarmmāṅgāra, apārampara and sarvvaviṣṭiparihāra.* It is likely that in ordinary course the king had certain demands over the preparation of salt, sugar, etc, which have been denied in the case of Brahmadeya lands.

[31] Tāmraśāsanenāgrahārotisṛṣṭaḥ cauravarjjaṁ – Majhgawan plate of Hastin (Gupta Inscriptions, 23) and Navagrama grant of Hastin (E. I. XXI. 20).

[32] III. 10.

[33] Hindu Revenue System, pp. 194-5.

SHIVAJI AND THE PORTUGUESE

By

George Moraes.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, delineating the great qualities of the Maratha people in the second quarter of the seventh century, had noted specially their warlike character: 'The inhabitants of Maharashtra are proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning.'[1] The Marathas were thereafter largely absorbed by the various dynasties that ruled over the Deccan, such as the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Chālukyas of Kalyani. But towards the end of the twelfth century, with the decline of the Chālukyas, the Marathas rose to sovereign power under the Yādavas, disputing the supremacy of the Deccan with the Hoysaḷas of Karnatak. In the fourteenth century, when the Deccan was overrun by a fresher and more vigorous race,[2] the Marathas had, like the rest, to bow before the storm. But when the first fury of the conquest had worn out, the Bahmani Muslims recognised their martial qualities and freely enlisted them in their service. The Marathas manned the administration and supplied the military personnel and rose to positions of responsibility and honour in the various kingdoms into which the Bahmani Empire eventually split up. At the battle of Talikota, at which the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar was dealt a crushing blow, there was a large element of Marathas in the armies that the Muslim kings marched into the field. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the keen eye of a statesman, Albuquerque had observed this accession of strength supplied to the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan by the Marathas: 'The Muslim forces cannot be formidable, if they are not swelled by the Hindus who join them being their subjects. If only a Portuguese captain could be found, who would give them a liberal scale of pay, a hundred thousand infantry could be assembled with their numbers.'[3]

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[1] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, (London, 1905), vol. II, p. 239.

[2] The Muslims who under Hasan Gangu Bahman Shah founded the Bahmani kingdom.

[3] Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (edicã da Academia das sciencias, Lisboa, 1884), Carta VIII, 22-12-1510, pp. 28-29. It may be noted that when in the course of his conquest of Karnatak while he was in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur, Shahaji delivered the coup de grace to Vijayanagar under its last Emperor Śrirangarāja (Cf. D. B. Diskalkar, 'Shahaji's relations with Vijayanagar,' *Vijayanagara Six Centenary Volume*, Ed. D. P. Karmarkar, Dharwar, Vijayanagar six centenary Association, 1936, pp. 119-28), he was merely following in the footsteps of his ancestors.

Like the rest of his caste, Shivaji's father, Shahaji, began his career in the military service of one of the Muslim States of the Deccan, rising from the position of a small assignee under the Sultan of Ahmednagar to that of king-maker in that kingdom. After the extinction of Ahmednagar, however, in consequence of his defeat by Shahjahan, the Mughal Emperor, Shahaji entered Bijapur service. He carved out for himself a vast fief on the Mysore plateau and became one of the leading Hindu generals of Adil Shah. Shivaji, on whom he had bestowed his fiefs in the Poona District, would have in all probability followed in his father's footsteps. But the insecurity of service in the decadent Bahmani States, on account of the constant threat to their independence held out by the Mughals, and their own internal corruption, made him resolve to establish an independent state. Nor were the times unpropitious for such an attempt. Bijapur had entered upon a rapid course of decline owing to the prolonged illness of Muhammad Adil Shah, the succession of minor princes and the rule of selfish agents. Shivaji profited by the decline of Bijapur to annex the imperfectly subdued territories of the State adjoining his holdings in the Poona District. He followed this up by conquering some of the neighbouring forts and the annexation of Javli, which more than doubled the revenue and extent of his original inheritance. In the second half of the year 1657, the withdrawal of Aurangzeb from the viceroyalty of the Deccan and the confusion that followed the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan removed the only check on Shivaji's ambition, and he launched upon a fresh career of conquest.[4]

It was his seizure of the rich towns of Kalyan and Bhiundi that brought Shivaji into contact with the Portuguese. 'The rebellous captain Shivaji,' wrote the Portuguese Governors, Francisco de Melo e Castro and Antonio de Souza Coutinho, in a letter to the Crown on the 15th of May 1658, describing the new political situation arising from the meteoric rise of Shivaji, 'has caused so much disturbance in the northern territories that eighty soldiers were forced to pass the winter at Chaul',[5] and again, 'that he (Shivaji) has taken over the lands of Bassein and Chaul, and has grown very powerful, and forces us to be careful, as he has built a navy at Bhiundi, Kalyan and Panvel, ports in the district of Kalyan.' The Portuguese had indeed awakened too late to a sense of danger from the newly founded Maratha State. For as early as 1650, Shivaji had extended his influence as far as the northern border of the Goa territory by taking under his protection Lakham Savant, the Desai[6] of Kudal, a feudatory of Bijapur, who had transferred his allegiance to Shivaji.[7]

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[4] Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times* (Calcutta, 1948), pp. 16-45.

[5] Panduranga S. S. Pissurlencar, 'Portuguese Maratas – Shivaji' (Reprinted from the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Goa, 1926), p. 4.

[6] Cosme da Guarda compares Desais to the Italian Princes when they paid tribute to the Emperor.

[7] Balkrishna, *Shivaji the Great* (Bombay, 1932), vol. I, p. 89.

And though the Portuguese tried to restrain his power by laying embargo on his ships going out of his ports, Shivaji gathered enough strength to be able by 1661, to drive a wedge between the Portuguese territories in the north and south Konkan.[8]

Lakham Savant however soon tired of his allegiance to Shivaji, who had compelled him in 1659 to cede half of his revenues and bind himself to support an army of 3,000 foot, and reconciled himself to the King of Bijapur, his former overlord.[9] He successfully defended Kudal against the army which Shivaji had dispatched in 1660. As the Dutch Commander Adrian Roothas wrote, commenting on this victory: 'In the kingdom of Bijapur, the position has become somewhat more favourable. The rebel Suwasie who had brought his troops close to the capital and about four hours' distance from Vingurla, was driven off by the Desai of Cudal and defeated in a bloody fight by the King's troops, joined by the King of Golconda who had come to his assistance. Peace has again been restored in the disturbed province.'[10]

Lakham Savant could not always count upon the help of Bijapur and Golconda, with whose assistance he had for the time being staved off the evil day. He, therefore, opened negotiations with the Portuguese, his next-door neighbours, begging of them for shelter in the territory of Goa in case he was attacked by the Marathas.

The Portuguese Governor would have helped Lakham Savant against his enemies. But he objected to the aggrandisement of the Savant at the expense of the Desais of Pernem and Bicholim. In a protest to the Bijapur Governor of the Konkan on the 27th January 1661, against the aggressive activities of the Desai of Kudal, Antonio de Melo e Castro, the Governor of Goa, demanded that he should visit him with condign punishment, as the Desais had been faithful to the King of Bijapur. But no attention was paid to the protest of the Portuguese Governor; and when in 1663, Lakham Savant again drove the Desais out of their territories, the Portuguese Governor offered them whatever help he could, while he actually sheltered the Desai of Pernem in the district of Bardes.[11] Naturally enough, when Shivaji invaded Kudal in force on the 23rd of May 1663,[12] and Lakham Savant, fleeing before the invading host, was compelled to seek refuge in the forests of the Western Ghats with 600 of his followers,[13] the Portuguese were mightily pleased with the invasion

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8 Pissurlencar, *loc. cit.*

9 Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, pp. 586-87.

10 *English Records on Shivaji* (Poona, 1931), p. 20.

11 *Livro dos Reis Visinhos*, No. 2, fls. 8 & 15. Cited by Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, pp. 106-07.

12 *DG*, 1663, p. 543, Tr. in *JBHS*, vol. III, p. 97.

13 *DG*, 545, *JBHS*, vol. III, p. 100.

of Kudal, and the Governor dispatched his agent Ramaji Sinai Kottari to Shivaji to congratulate him on his victory over the Savant.[14]

The Portuguese had special reasons at this time to woo Shivaji's friendship. In the first place, Bijapur had never been on good terms with them, and was seeking every opportunity to despoil the Portuguese possessions. As the Governor wrote to the Portuguese Crown : ' The Adil Shah has good correspondence with us today. But we cannot be assured of his friendship because every time he has an occasion he will use it against us ..... He is a very bad neighbour to us and has entered our territories of Bardes and Salsette many times, though not with any success'. The Governor was glad to report that against the Sultan had risen a Hindu vassal of his ' called Shivaji Raze, a man of valour and industry ' whom he was trying to use as a counterpoise against Bijapur.[15] But decadent Bijapur was not to be dreaded so much as the Mughals, who were bent on conquering the Portuguese Province of the North and who under the pretence of making war on Shivaji were also devastating the territory under the Portuguese. Accordingly, when Shivaji wrote to the Governor that he would maintain friendly relations with him and requested that the Portuguese captains should not assist the Mughal troops with foodstuffs and provender,[16] he gladly complied with Shivaji's demand, observing in his instructions to his captains : 'It would be expedient to prevent with all dissimulation that any kind of provision should go to the camp of the Mughals in order that for want of it he would leave the neighbourhood, and thus Shivaji would have a chance of being able to accomplish his intentions of injuring the enemy, who, as he is very powerful would be better far away and not such a close neighbour'.[17] When Shivaji emerged victorious from his struggle with Shaista Khan, whom Aurangzeb, now the Mughal Emperor, had specially charged with the duty of bringing Shivaji to book, the Governor congratulated Shivaji on his victory and availed himself of the opportunity to open negotiations with him for a secret alliance. ' I am sending to the North a person of such authority and experience,' wrote the Governor to Shivaji on 27th April 1663, ' who could discuss with you all that has to be done, and it is convenient for both that this should be carried out in the greatest secrecy, because keeping it a secret would be conducive to success, which you so well deserve both on account of your good qualities and valour and also because of the friendship you bear to the Portuguese'.[18] It is not possible to say if Aurangzeb got wind of these negotiations, for in September of that year, the Mughal troops, under Ludi

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[14] *Archivo Portuguese Oriental* (Ed. A. B. de Bragança-Pereira, 1939, abbreviation : *APO*), vol. III, pt. 1, p. xiv, 4th June 1663.

[15] *APO*, p. xv.

[16] *HHRC*, vol. IX, p. 110.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *APO*, p. xiii.

Khan, carried fire and sword through the Portuguese Province of the North, (i.e., Chaul, Selsette and Bassein), so much so that the Governor had to rush a squadron consisting of ten vessels from Goa under captain Luiz de Miranda. With the arrival of reinforements, however, the Mughals retired from Bassein and wrote to the Portuguese Government asking for pease to be settled between the parties.[19]

In the meanwhile, Bijapur was trying to recover the Konkan from Shivaji, egged on no doubt by the homeless Desai of Kudal. Trimbac Kalo, the Subedar of Ponda, part of the Konkan still held by Bijapur, was instructed to unite the forces of all the Desais of the locality—Lakham Savant, Keshav Naik, Keshav Prabhu, Raulu Sinai, and Sanadarane (Chanda Rano of Sanquelim), in an effort to retrieve South Konkan from Shivaji's possession.[20] To meet this danger, Shivaji came down to Kudal with an army of 10,000 foot and five to six thousand horse. Bijapur also sent her general Khavas Khan to reinforce the Subedar of Ponda. According to the information received by the English Factors at Surat, Shivaji was 'intercepted in his journey down to his fleet by a party of this king's army (i.e., Bijapur army), and fought, where between them six thousand men were slaine, himself (i.e., Shivaji) worsted and forced to fly to a castle, where his army (Bijapur army) following in pursuite hath very strictly girt him in that he cannot stir'.[21] But it was not long before Shivaji again assumed the offensive. He met Baji Ghorpade who was coming down the Ghats to reinforce Khavas Khan with 1500 horse, and slew him in a surprise attack and was about to fall on the demoralised troops of Khavas Khan as well, but the latter saved himself by fleeing across the Ghats to Bijapur. Giving an account of this war, the Viceroy observed on the 7th of January 1665: 'When a captain of his (of Adil Shah) by name Khavas Khan was in our neighbourhood with two thousand cavalry and a numerous infantry, there entered these lands, Shivaji Raze who easily defeated him and made him ascend the Ghats and leave Konkan; and not satisfied with this he crossed the mountains which are very steep, and penetrated into the interior of the kingdom to a short distance of the capital, with the object of making the King understand how his own captains are dealt with by Shivaji.'[22] He then turned towards Lakham Savant and reduced him to such straits that he had to leave Kudal and seek refuge in the Portuguese territory. But the Portuguese would not have him there. 'And when he (Lakham Savant) had nowhere to go,' as the Sabhasad Bhakar puts it, 'he sent a fish-eating Brahman, Pitambar Shenvi, by name, as envoy to Kudal for opening negotiations with the Raze'. With a safe conduct from Shivaji, Lakham came to meet him. An interview took place, and the Savant put himself unreservedly under the protection of Shivaji, accepting him as his liege-lord.

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19 *APO*, pp. xvi.
20 Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
21 *English Records on Shivaji*, p. 91.
22 *APO*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

Shivaji pardoned the rebel, and confirmed him in the *Deshmukhi* of Kudal, but on condition that he should not muster any force or build any castle, but be content with an assignment of six thousand *huns* on the revenue of Savantwadi.[23] A peace was also concluded with Bijapur, the latter ceding to Shivaji all the lands as far as Ponda (at present included in Goa).[24]

In the course of this struggle, both Shivaji and Khavas Khan had approached the Portuguese Government for help. The Governor, however, did not want to be involved in the war by lending his support to either of the parties and tried to please both by conceding some trifling advantage to each without of course letting the one know what he was doing for the other. But Shivaji who was also playing his own game soon found an opportunity to play upon the jealousies of the rival European powers. Hearing that hostilities had broken out between Holland and Portugal, he broached an alliance with the Dutch for dispossessing the Portuguese of Goa.

The Portuguese thereupon strengthened their forts and set watches all over the low lands of Bardes and Salsette. Other precautions were also taken, and the Portuguese Government after expelling four hundred suspected persons had it announced by a beat of drums that neither Muslims nor Hindus should carry arms in the Portuguese territory.[25]

Aurangzeb was all this while watching with apprehension the growing power of Shivaji and sent to the Deccan one of his ablest generals, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, with the object of crushing Shivaji once and for all. Shivaji had been attacking the imperial territory and had lately led a plundering incursion into the city of Surat. By his marvellously skilful diplomacy, Jai Singh succeeded in preparing a strangle-hold for Shivaji by winning over to the imperial cause all the neighbouring States which had reason to complain against Shivaji. Bijapur was induced to renounce the treaty which she had but recently signed with the Marathas and recover the lands in the Konkan which she had ceded in consideration thereof. The Rajas of Ramnagar and Jawhar, the Siddis of Janjira and the Nayak of Bednur were all united in one common resistance to the aggressor, and pressure was brought to bear upon the foreign powers, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English to render naval assistance against the Marathas.

It would appear that on this occasion Jai Singh had complained to the Viceroy about the presence of the Portuguese in the Maratha armies. In his reply, the Viceroy flatly denied having ever given any help or shown any favour to Shivaji, arguing that from the circumstance that there were certain Portuguese in the Maratha service it could not be presumed that they were

[23] *Sabhasad Bhakar* in S. N. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, vol. I, p. 95.
[24] Balkrishna, *op cit.*, p. 538.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 545; *English Records on Shivaji*, p. 91.

there with his consent, because there were a number of Portuguese in the Mughal dominions as well, having betaken themselves thither without his permission — 'some for the crimes which they committed, others because they had forgotten their duty to the State' — and that he was powerless to punish them. As Dr. Sen has pointed out, Shivaji who had organised his magazine or *Darukhana* on the lines of the Portuguese *Casa da polvora* may have employed some Portuguese deserters as gunners, as the Portuguese were at this time specially noted throughout India for their skill in artillery.[26] Accordingly, the Viceroy concluded, it was only because the request had come from Jai Singh that he was sending orders to the North 'not to show any favour to Shivaji in our territories, nor to admit his his people.'[27]

Having thus isolated Shivaji, Jai Singh laid siege to Purandar, in which fort the families of the Maratha officers had taken refuge. In two weeks he wrested the fortified hill of Vajragarh (Rudramal) which commanded the main entrance to Purandar, and forced his way along the ridge connecting the two forts, while he sent a flying column to devastate the villages around. Shivaji realized that he would soon be tracked down by his antagonists and sought to avert a dire fate by making timely submission to the imperialists. He visited Jai Singh in person, and made with him the treaty of Purandar on the 22nd of June 1666, by which he ceded to the Emperor twenty-three forts (with lands yielding 4,00,000 huns) and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor, promising to serve in his army with a contingent of 5,000 horse.[28]

In the meanwhile, with the encouragement of the Mughal commander, Bijapur had sent Muhammad Ikhlas Khan, brother of Khavas Khan, to recover her territories in South Konkan from Shivaji. But Shivaji, after he had made up with Jai Singh, descended into the Konkan, some time in November and defeated Ikhlas Khan. The Havaldar of Ponda, fearing that Shivaji would attack Ponda, wrote on this occasion to the Portuguese Viceroy to help him with men and ammunition. The Viceroy regretted that he could not assist him with men, as all available men had been dispatched with the fleet; but he offered to send him gun-powder in a matter of three days, if he sent him salt petre for the purpose.[29] When ultimately Ponda was besieged by Shivaji in February-March 1665, the Viceroy ordered all the Desais to go to its support. As he wrote to Adil Shah: 'During your war with Shivaji, I invited your subjects to repair to our territory, and gave them shelter; while I encouraged those who, out of fright, had withdrawn to our parts to join the army which you had sent, and in this way averted the fall of Ponda.'[30] Shivaji who always played a cool and waiting game seems to have for once lost his bearings, and instead of doing all they could to persuade the Portuguese to remain

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26 S. N. Sen, *Portuguese Records on Shivaji*, p. 9 (1925).
27 *APO*, p. xxxi.
28 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-23, 258.
29 *APO*, p. xlii, dated 28-11-1665.
30 *APO*, p. xliii, dated 9-10-1666.

neutral, the Marathas actually irritated them by their aggression on the high seas, seizing on one occasion all the rice which the Portuguese were bringing from Kanara, and on another by maltreating certain Portuguese families proceeding to the city.[31] The result was that Shivaji could not make any headway against Bijapur in the Konkan; and Rustuma Zama, who had displaced Muhammad Ikhlas Khan as the commander of Bijapur troops, soon recovered the whole of South Konkan as far as Rajapur, which was granted to him as jagir by the Sultan.[32]

Hoping to be reinstated in the favour of the Emperor and thereby to improve his fortunes, Shivaji now undertook the hazardous enterprise of a visit to Agra. Disappointed in his hopes, and kept a close prisoner, Shivaji contrived to escape from captivity, and reached his kingdom after a long and perilous journey in September 1666, and forthwith launched a campaign for the recovery of his territories in South Konkan. 'After Shivaji had freed himself from the Mughal,' wrote the new Viceroy, Conde de S. Vicente, who had succeeded Antonio de Mello de Castro in the viceroyalty on the 17th of October 1666, 'escaping in a load of fruits, and lying closed for thirty-six hours in a basket, the very day that he arrived in his territories he dispatched his troops to Vadi and they took valuable plunder. The Adil Shah mustered against him an army of 40,000 horse and a numerous infantry, which descending from the Ghats, gave me much to think about in Goa, because it lay hardly at six leagues' distance. Shivaji sent to the General of Adil Shah a great treasure and he returned laden with it, destroying and laying waste the country of his King. Scarcely had the army withdrawn when Shivaji with lightning speed overran the whole of the Konkan and levied from it three times the amount he had given to the General. He reduced many Desais and is today our near neighbour in Ponda.'[33]

Shivaji did not want the Portuguese to make common cause with Bijapur; and while he made war with the latter, he treated the Portuguese with the utmost consideration. The Viceroy was so taken in that he readily believed that Shivaji 'treated the Portuguese with love'. And in a fit of unbounded admiration for the King of the Marathas, he wrote to the King of Portugal describing him as an equal of Caesar and Alexander in subtlety and military prudence.[34]

In the course of Shivaji's war with Bijapur, some of the Desais from the South Konkan had taken refuge in Portuguese villages of Panelim, Colva and Candolim. These Dessais often sallied forth into the lands from which they had been dispossessed and attacked the local Maratha officials. Having

[31] *APO*, p. xxvii, 16-4-1665.
[32] Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
[33] *APO*, pp. xliv-xlv.
[34] *ibid.*

received a complaint from Trimbak Ramadev, Shivaji's Subedar, in Pernem, the Viceroy took steps against these predatory activities of the refugees and wrote reassuring the Subedar against their recurrence: 'In a letter received from the Subedar of Shivaji Raja, I am informed that Keshava Naik has made some incursions from Bardes, where he resides, into the jurisdiction of Shivaji Raja and took prisoner the Havaldar of Pernem. As there exists friendship between this State and the said Raja I at once ordered that Keshava Naik should be written to that he should not lead such incursions from the territory of Bardes and disturb the lands of Pernem nor any others of your jurisdiction. And I have ordered him to send the Havaldar to me at once to restore him to the Subedar.'[35]

But notwithstanding the assurance given by the Viceroy, Shivaji invaded Bardes on the night of 19th November 1667, with an army consisting of 5,000 foot and a thousand horse on the pretext that the Portuguese had instigated Lakham Savant and his nephew Narob Savant to lead an incursion into Vingurla on the 15th of September, and having caused molestation to the Dutch factories there.[36] Despite the precautions taken by the Viceroy,[37] the Marathas, in the course of three days sacked various villages of Bardes and took prisoner 1,600 natives, principally women and girls.[38] He also had three Christian priests executed together with some Christians.[39]

But this was primarily a punitive expedition undertaken to punish the Desais. And as Shivaji did not want to break with the Portuguese permanently, he opened with them negotiations for peace. On the invitation of the Viceroy to send a properly authorised person to discuss the terms, Shivaji deputed as his envoy Saco Pant. After the terms were adjusted and sealed with the 'Royal seal of the arms of the Portuguese King', the Viceroy despatched on the 5th December, 1667, Fr. Goncalo Martins as his ambassador in the company of Saco Pant in order that he may bring back the peace

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[35] *APO*, p. L.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. xlvii. Letter of Viceroy to Dutch Factory, 28th November 1667.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. ciii.

[38] This is according to a Dutch source. Cf. Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

[39] *Ibid.*, *In English Records on Shivaji*, p. 119, Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 507-508, the version is as follows: 'Sevagee, deeply resenting this rigour, invaded the precincts of Bardes, not far from Goa, and there cut off the heads of four padres that refused to turne Moretto's (Marathas—Hindus) of his own persuation, they having councelled the destruction of all that were not opinionated as themselves; which so terrified the Viceroy that he was forced to revoke his fierce and severe edict. He (Shivaji) burnt and destroyed all the country, and carried away 150 lack of pagodaes.' [E. F. India 1665-67, p. 286—Letter D. Goa, 30 November, 1667].' The Portuguese religious policy, albeit intolerant, was not carried to the extent of 'destruction of all that were not opinionated as themselves' in the sense of killing all those that refused to turn Christians. This considered opinion of Dr. P. S. Pissurlencar has been cited by Sir Jadunath in his latest edition of *Shivaji* (1961), pp. 354-55. Shivaji may have been enraged by the Portuguese intolerance and in particular the law relating to Hindu orphans. But there were no forced conversions.

terms signed by Shivaji.[40] It was stated in the preamble of the draft treaty that Shivaji Raja had written to the Viceroy many times asking to be excused for the incursions made without his knowledge by his troops into the lands of Bardes against the Desais and had avowed his intention always to preserve and continue the peace with the Portuguese State. The Viceroy therefore proposed that Shivaji should set free all the prisoners, men, women and children he took from Bardes and the Portuguese on their part should strictly forbid Lakham Savant and other Desais who had taken refuge in the Goa territory to carry on hostilities of any kind in the Maratha territory and that there should be free movement of goods and cattle between the two States.[41] Shivaji confirmed these conditions and restored the captives;[42] and the Viceroy issued a notification to the Desais that, if they carried on any hostilities in the territories of Shivaji, they would not be permitted to return to Goa and that if they did, they would be punished as transgressors of the law and disturbers of the peace and friendship existing between the two States.[43] The Viceroy also issued instructions to his captains that they should not cause any offence, vexation or molestation whatsoever to the port of Vengurla or to its territories or the merchants thereof, but that on the contrary, they should befriend them.[44]

Notwithstanding this treaty, Shivaji made an attempt to carry Goa by stratagem in October 1668. He smuggled into Goa four to five hundred of his men in small parties at different times and in various disguises so that when sufficiently strong they could seize one of the passes and admit Shivaji's troops which would be lying in wait before the Portuguese could prepare themselves for defence. Happily for the Portuguese, the sudden influx of Hindus in Goa roused the suspicion of the authorities who on interrogating them found them to be the soldiers of Shivaji. The Viceroy sent for the Maratha ambassador and with his own hand gave him two or three cuffs in the ear and turned him out of the Goa territory along with the other Maratha prisoners. Shivaji thereupon raised an army of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse and threatened to invade Goa in person. The Portuguese prepared themselves for the attack. They reinforced their troops, they built new forts and repaired old ones. And Shivaji who had reached Vengurla turned back on seeing the Portuguese well prepared to give him a hot reception.[45] Giving an account of the political situation, the Interim Governors, who had succeeded Conde de S. Vicente on his death on 6th November 1668, wrote to the Crown : 'King Adil Shah who is the nearest neighbour of this State is not capable of governing even a limited Tanadari (district) much less the kingdom of Bijapur. His captains are absolute and do what they want, and for

[40] *APO*, pp. lviii-lix. Letter to Shivaji.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. lix.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. lxii.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *English Records on Shivaji*, pp. 125, 128; Karwar to Surat, 12th November and 16th December.

this reason the Mughal has taken from him some cities and has made him his tributary. He is not at all obeyed by his captains, one of whom has persistently defied his efforts to reduce him to subjection. This is Shivaji who made himself master of nearly all the territories of the Konkan. He collects taxes and imposes whatever terms he wills with the result that the residents, suffering great vexations, retire from his territories. He is a bad neighbour to this city and cannot be trusted in what he promises. Whenever he shows himself as a friend, more caution is necessary in protecting the territories from his assaults, rape, ambuscades and the like.'[46] In consequence when Shivaji attacked the fortress of Danda and the Siddis asked for help from the Portuguese, the interim Governors were glad to succour them with men, powder and munitions,[47] and helped to frustrate the designs of Shivaji to possess himself of the fort.

Shivaji who wanted to reduce Danda at all costs now sent an envoy to Goa in the person of Vithal Pandit with proposals for a definitive treaty. His main object however was to secure an undertaking from the Portuguese that they would refrain from giving help of any kind to the Siddis and would not assist the Mughals with whom also he was at war, and in order that they may agree to the proposals he insinuated that he had but recently rejected the offer of an alliance from the Arabs, the deadliest enemies of the Portuguese nation in the whole of the East. The Portuguese who had understood Shivaji's mind by now rejected the first proposal outright, while in answer to the second, they offered to give him the same facilities as were enjoyed by the Mughals, as there were old treaties binding the two states in this respect. The Interim Governors then formulated certain counter-proposals for the acceptance of Shivaji. He was required to re-pay to Malopa Chatim and Santapa Gaunso three thousand pagodas[48] he had taken from them 'under cover of friendship and faith' when they were residing in his territory; not to cause any obstruction to the traffic in oxen and merchandise from the Balagate to the island of Goa and to the Portuguese territories in general; to restore forthwith all the ships detained by him in his ports without compelling the owners to make payments on any account; to undertake not to build any fort or fortified house of stone or lime in his territories bordering on the Portuguese frontiers. The Interim Governors on their part undertook to return all the Maratha ships seized by the Portuguese navy. As regards the Siddi whom the Portuguese were bound to support with arms, being their feudatory, an obligation which they would not be able to carry out without prejudice to the new alliance with the Marathas, they undertook to use their good offices to bring about peace between him and the Marathas.[49]

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[46] *APO*, p. lxv. Letter, dated 8th January 1670.
[47] *Papeis Diversos*, cited in Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[48] A pagoda is worth three and half rupees.
[49] *APO*, pp. LXIX-LXXI.

Despite these negotiations however, Shivaji's fleet took a Portuguese vessel in November 1670 off Daman, and the Portuguese avenged themselves by seizing twelve of his ships and leading them to Bassein.[50] Shivaji also made an unsuccessful attempt to invade the Portuguese territory of Goa.[51] In 1672 with the conquest of the territories of the Raja of Ramnagar on the confines of Daman, Shivaji insisted that the inhabitants of the Portuguese district should pay him the *chauto* which they had all along paid to the Raja, when he was in possession of his territories.[52] This was an ancient tribute which the inhabitants of this region had been paying to the chief for the protection they enjoyed at his hands in being permitted to follow their avocations undisturbed. The Portuguese, when a part of this region passed into their hands, allowed this custom to continue, on the only condition that the Raja should protect the country from brigands.[53]

The Portuguese, while they did not challenge the right of Shivaji to the chauto, found various pretexts for postponing payment, even depositing the amount of the contribution in the state treasury with a view to hand it over to whomsoever that would finally emerge successful from the war that was still raging. When in 1677 Shivaji dispatched Pitambar Senvi[54] to Goa to demand the payment of the chauto, Dom Pedro de Almeida, the Viceroy, replied on the 1st January 1678, that he had sent for information from the Captains of the North on the terms and conditions of the payment, and that in case Shivaji was declared the sole possessor of the territories, he would make over to him the entire amount of the tribute.[55]

A few months earlier the Raja of Ramnagar had demanded payment of the chauto, and also requested permission to leave his family in the city of Daman. The Captain referred the request to the authorities in Goa, and the Archbishop Primate, one of the two Provisional Governors in the absence of the Viceroy in Mozambique, replied after due consideration of the issues involved that in harbouring the family of the chief, the Portuguese would be furnishing Shivaji with a just cause to invade their dominions.

The Captain was therefore instructed to tell the Raja with due courtesy that his request could not be granted. But so far as his demand of the chauto was concerned, the Archbishop thought that a part of what was due to him

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[50] *Factory Records, Surat,* vol. IV, Bombay to Surat, 17th, 21st and 28th November and 17th December 1670, cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[51] *APO,* pp. LXXIII-LXXIV.

[52] Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas,* vol. I, fasc. I, p. 67.

[53] Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia,* decada VII, pt. II, pp. 40-52. The term *chauto* signifies 'a quarter' It varied, however, in practice, and corresponded to much less. It is said that the idea of Chauth which the Marathas levied from territories outside their Swarajya was derived from this contribution.

[54] The same person whom Lakham Savant had sent to Shivaji and who thereafter entered the latter's service.

[55] Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

could be paid, 'because making this payment we shall not be suspected, while the King in the hope that we shall help him with the balance will forget that we did not make ourselves responsible for his family,' when he was in difficulties. The Raja was also to be told that the Government could not do anything that would bring about a rupture in the peaceful relations between Shivaji and the Portuguese without the express orders of the Crown in that behalf.[56]

Pitambar Shenvi, having waited for the reply of the Viceroy to Shivaji's demand of the chauto for over six months, now reminded the Portuguese Government of its promise to investigate into the question. Whereupon Antonio Paes do Sandes, the other Provisional Governor, requested the Maratha agent (on 12th July 1678) to write to Shivaji to accredit his representative to Goa with full powers so that after consulting the Captain of Daman and examining the terms and stipulations binding the inhabitants to the payment of the contribution, the matter could be referred to the decision of competent judges and they could abide by their verdict.[57]

Shivaji was apparently agreeable to the proposal, and sent Jivaji Shenvi as his ambassador to Goa, replacing him later with Ganesh Shetti. And the Portuguese replied to the courtesy by accrediting Raghunath Kottari to the Maratha Court.[58] A little later, however, the Marathas captured some ships belonging to merchants in Goa. These ships flew the Portuguese flag, and had taken refuge in the river of Sankeshwar in the Maratha territory, as they were being closely pursued by the Arabs. In a letter of 20th March 1670 to Shivaji, Antonio Paes do Sande protested against this hostile proceeding, and demanded that the ships be restored to their legitimate owners. Shivaji refused to comply and prepared himself for war. The Portuguese also prepared to give battle.[59] But Shivaji died in the meanwhile leaving this question and that of the chauto still undecided.

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[56] Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71.
[57] Pissurlencar, *Portuguese Maratas, Shivaji*, pp. 44-45.
[58] *Ibid*, pp. 47-48.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

REVIEWS

YOGA-MIMAMSA. EDITED BY SHRI SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA, *Volume VI No. 1 for June 1956, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, District Poona.*

Swami Kuvatlayananda is known not only throughout India, but throughout the whole world for his scientific study of the ancient Yoga system of India. He conducted a Journal called 'Yogamimamsa' for many years. Five volumes of the Journal appeared and owing to several difficulties the Journal ceased to appear after 1934. After twenty-two years the Swamiji has again launched upon the project of issuing a Journal devoted solely to Yoga studies. All lovers of our ancient culture and our system of Yoga and its scientific study will, it is hoped, welcome with pleasure the appearance of the Journal and render to the Swamiji all monetary and other help. The present issue of volume VI contains 90 pages, besides a few photographs of some apparatus for experiments of the five *āsanas* (Yogic postures), of the Kaivalyadhama at Lonavla, of the Yogic Health centres at Bombay and Rajkot and of a few distinguished persons such as His Holiness Paramahamsa Madhavdasji Maharaj, of Prof. Manikrao of Baroda, Shrimant Pratapshet of Amalner, Sir C. V. Mehta, H. H. the Maharaja Ranasaheb of Porbunder, Shri Morarji Bhai Desai and the late Balasaheb Kher. The present issue consists of four sections, the first on experiments of a particular type of Prāṇāyāma, the second section gives the results of philosophic—literary research in Yoga and particularly, on Prāṇāyāma, the third section deals with physiological bearings of two yogic practices and the last is devoted to the details about the Kaivalyadhama institutions and their activities.

During the long interval when the Journal did not appear Swamiji published two volumes of popular Yoga, viz., one on 'Āsanas' and the other on 'Prāṇāyāma'. The Swamiji's fame as an accurate and scientific student of Yoga, has spread far and wide and several students from the West visit him for study. One of them Dr. K. T. Behanan from the Yale University stayed at Lonavala for a year and published a very scientific work styled 'Yoga, a scientific appraisal' (Macmillan & Co., New York, 1937). It is for all Indians interested in the proper study, preservation and propagation of our ancient literature and heritage bequeathed to us by selfless sages to help Swamiji wholeheartedly in his self-imposed task.

P. V. KANE.

(G.C.P.) L-A Y 3238—13 (1,532—8-62)

THE THAKURS OF SAHYADRI, BY L. N. CHAPEKAR, *1960, Oxford University Press, pp. 227, Rs. 22·50.*

The monograph represents an intensive sociological study of a small and a very backward community called Thakurs, inhabiting a tableland covering about thirty square miles in Thana District near Bombay. The community lives in small hamlets and mostly in isolation from other communities. The author conducted a survey of these people between 1940-45. He visited their habitations more than once, contacted many of their men and women, lived with Thakur families in their homes and thus gathered first hand information about various aspects of their ways of life and thought.

The results of his long, purposeful and sympathetic observation are embodied in the elaborate accounts given in the book of the social and family life of the community, of the ceremonies observed by them on occasions of birth, marriage and death, of the arts practised by them and the amusements indulged in by them and their normal economic conditions. Ideas entertained by the community about the physical world as also their outlook on the supernatural, that is their deep faith in sorcery and many kinds of superstition, are described at length and make interesting reading. For example, Thakurs believe that plants, like human beings, have emotions of joy and sorrow and that the life of a plant is in its roots. They describe the human body as 'the tree with its branches below and the trunk above.' The author has reproduced a song which explains human anatomy in the form of questions and answers. Animals, according to the community's belief, have an affectionate nature. They have also an explanation about the waxing and waning of the moon and such ideas about Venus and Mars.

The author made an analytical study of several family budgets and has quoted many figures about an average Thakur family's income as well as property. They rarely go beyond two digits and are sometimes lower than Rs. 30 or 40. It all reveals a very dismal picture of abject poverty and indigence. Most of the people seem to be hovering on the borderline of sheer starvation. Such intense poverty, coupled with terrible and centuries old ignorance and wretched superstitions create conditions of life which are extremely sordid and demoralizing. It is true that fifteen years have passed since the author conducted his survey. They have been, from every point of view, very crucial years. The impact of the revolutionary ideas let loose by World War II, the achievement of independence by the country and the massive planned effort that is now being made by the nation for progress in every direction, are bound to have had their repurcussions on the Thakur, as on other communities. They must have distinctly moved forward a little.

In a country like India which has a large number of hill tribes and other backward communities, studies like those conducted by Shri Chapekar have great value. They disclose the immensity as well as the difficulty of the problem of reclaiming substantial sections of society towards the minimum norms of modern civilization and assimilating them in the main stream of national life which is expected to flow with even greater vigour and luster in the time to come. It may be romantic to speak of the unsullied simplicity of mind and manner of such people, of their unsophisticated 'culture' which ought not to be polluted by the artificialities and vices of modernity. Such distant, emotional indulgences are, however, at complete variance with the hard and dark reality of sheer squalor, incorrigible ignorance and mental stagnation which have a tendency to dehumanize man. Fortunately, our Constitution has imposed a special obligation on the country to take effective measures to enable the backward communities to march ahead with speed and steps are being taken in that direction.

M. R. PALANDE.

ISLAMIC LAW, BY Prof. J. N. D. ANDERSON; *published by Stevens & Sons Limited, London; Price: Rs. 20.*

Islamic Law consists of a series of five lectures delivered by Prof. J. N. D. Anderson of the University of London at the School of Law of New York University in the year 1958. The book has been divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the concept of Islamic Law in the context of Western theories of law; the second treats of the Islamic Law and Modern life; the third gives the details of the laws of marriage and divorce; the fourth throws light on the importance of the laws of inheritance, and the last chapter surveys the modern legal trends in Islamic Law with the most recent developments in a number of Islamic countries.

Islamic Law is a remarkable study by Prof. Anderson who has examined Islamic Law not as a static system of purely academic interest but as a living social phenomenon, developing rapidly with the passage of time and adapting itself to the urges of time, without affecting the fundamentals and the spirit of Islam — a complete way of life; — a religion, a code of ethics and a legal system all in one. Prof. Anderson who is more concerned with the practical side of Islamic Law has presented his lectures from the point of view of a scholar conversant with the science of jurisprudence, and the comparative study of law.

Prof. Anderson acknowledges that the Islamic system of law has vitality, resourcefulness and flexibility and as such it is possible to introduce changes in the system of Islamic law while still preserving its spirit intact.

The book under review constitutes a concrete step towards better understanding and more friendly relations with the Islamic countries. The presentation and get-up of the book are excellent.

N. S. GOREKAR.

THE ART OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA, BY VERRIER ELWIN, *published by North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong, 1959*, 15 colour plates; 153 illustrations; 211 pps.

Dr. Verrier Elwin is a well-known authority on Indian anthropology whose observations, while scientific, are couched in a language understandable to the ordinary unprofessional reader. The attractive production of the book, with its wealth of superb photographs, mainly taken by the author, goes a long way in winning appreciation for a fine artistic tradition and sympathy for the book's thesis. This is, that the art of the frontier peoples, rich in complex weaving and in wood carving, can, with proper guidance and sympathetic understanding on the part of Government, survive the disruptive changes brought about by contact with the modern civilization around it.

The problems of nurturing tribal art are many. One is the close relation of art to other social and cultural factors; for example, the cult of headhunting is on the wane among the tribes on the Burma border, the woodcarving which played its part in honouring the bravest of the tribe, also loses its vigour. A second reason is that textiles are woven by the women of the house for actual wear or ritual use, and are not normally for sale. A more devastating obstacle to the art of the frontier peoples is their own sense of inferiority in the onrush of bazaar products.

Yet the vigour which is such a constant feature of the tribal art augurs well for its preservation, and the textiles of the Mishmi are rich, complex, beautifully executed and — most encouragingly — continuing to evolve in new designs.

The book is a model of good production standards. Without giving the impression of wanton extravagance photographs and text, which is simple yet scholarly, are well integrated.

M. C.

THE DIPAVAMSA : Edited by Dr. B. C. Law, with introduction, Text, Translation. The Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. VII, July 1957 to April 1958. No. 1-4 ; with "Foreword" by Suparmadu, Editor of the Journal, Pages 266. Published in February 1959. Price Rs. 10.

The Dīpavamsa constitutes one of the Chronicles of the Island of Ceylon being a historical poem of the 4th century, A. D. This work with its sister Chronicle the *Mahāvamsa* forms the main sources of knowledge of the Island of Ceylon in all its aspects. They are separated by one Century (*Dipavamsa* 4 Century and the Mathavamsa of 5 Century). The Dipavamsa was edited and published by Oldenberg (1879). It has never been a popular chronicle. The Mahavamsa which is a "perfect work of Art covers a large area." The Dipavamsa, in spite of its restricted scope, represents the "first unaided struggle" to create an Epic out of already existing material. "It puts together certain well-known tradition handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its direction is in places unintelligible and its narrative is dull and repetitious. "Though it is composed in verse, curiously enough the verses are here and there intervened by Prose Passage." In spite of these strictures of a Western Scholar, the Dipavamsa, will ever be an important Pali Chronicle of Ceylon. What are shown as the defects constitute its excellences. We must pursue this point further. Before the Dipavamsa, there was in Ceylon the voluminous Chronicle which was a part of the AK. It was a kind of encyclopaedia of all history of Ceylon comprising legends and traditions and a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. Out of this nucleus, the first finished product though crude and incomplete, was ushered into existence by the Dipavamsa. Its main theme is the conquest Lanka, both political and cultural. This, it was tried to cover in twenty-two chapters. The author narrates the Chronicle "Handed down from generation to generation, highly praised, described in various ways, *like many flowers joined* together" (PBO). Its object is "to give birth to joy and delight, full of faith, pleasant and that which consists of various forms" (P. 129). One century later, the author of the Mahavamsa, Mahanama, lays the same claim in a different form. There are chapters common to both the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa ; the similarity in forms, contents and other common features have led many scholars to believe that the Mahavamsa has drawn upon the Dipavamsa and further added much of its own. It is now settled that the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa are in the main, nothing but *two versions* of the same substance, both being based upon the historical introductions to the great commentary of the Mahavihara (Anuradhapura). We, therefore, conclude that instead of discussing the question as to who borrowed from whom the above assumption is sound. Out of chaos came the first light of the Dipavamsa, which though it could not be popular for obvious reasons has retained its premier position, of being the first created Epic and "closely resembling the ancient Indian Akhyana poetry in form" (P. 6). As for fixing the date of the Dipavamsa, we follow Oldenberg in fixing the earlier time limit before 302 A. D.

After this preliminary ground, we turn to the edition before us. It stands to the credit of this outstanding scholar of international repute that he should have reviewed this neglected "Vamsa" after Oldenberg, who published it in 1879. With painstaking accuracy he has fixed the text, given a readable translation, an introduction, a masterly summing up of the points of Scholarship evinced by Western Scholars, and a general Index. We hope that this work should find a place in the Post-graduate studies of our University not so much for enjoying the beauty as to discover new points of Scholarship and thus rehabilitate the long neglected Dipavamsa with its limited scope and verify the following claim of the author :—

Udaggacitta Sumana pahattha tuṭṭhamanasa,

Niddosam *bhadravalanam* Sakkaccam Sompaticchatha.

N. K. B.

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE ṚGVEDA : A Frest Interpretation ; by Dr. S. S. Bhawe, M.A., Ph.D., of the M. S. University of Baroda and published by Oriental Institute, Baroda. Part I (Rv. IX. 1-15), 1957. Part II (Ṛgveda IX. 16-50), 1960. Price Rs. 4 and 5·50, respectively.

A translation of the Ṛgveda is always a very difficult and often a thankless task. Yet constant and untiring efforts have to be made in this regard for arriving at the meaning intended by the poets themselves who composed these hymns. They have to be tackled from different sides and various points of view and as scholars in different fields continue to make their respective contributions towards this goal, an ever new attempt has to be made with the help of these towards *a more probably correct* translation of the hymns. It is however, an undisputed fact that the best and the most correct method of interpreting them is to explain them primarily with the help of the Ṛgveda itself. An occasional help may be had from Comparative Philology and Mythology, without neglecting even the assistance obtained from the post-ṛgvedic Vedic literature in determining the meaning of a word or an expression.

In a fresh attempt at such a translation, it is always safe to select a sizable portion of these hymns, either relating to one particular deity or those that form an homogeneous group. For it can be presumed that the authors of these hymns had certain definite ideas about a deity or a particular topic, and expressions to convey them, which could not have very much changed in spite of the long period over which the composition of these had demonstrably spread. So that a thorough study of the hymns of this type affords considerable help in their interpretation, since an idea imperfectly expressed at one place is sure

to find its supplementation at another. It thus establishes for the author a closer acquaintance with the Ṛgvedic language and idiom, thought and ideas, though in a restricted sphere, which may then be expanded by similar studies of other deities or groups of hymns.

Dr. S. S. Bhawe has selected the Soma Hymns in Maṇḍala IX for this purpose. He is undoubtedly most fitted for this task owing to his sound knowledge of the Sanskrit language and comparative philology as also his good grounding in the modern methods of interpretation. His acquaintance with the French and German languages enables him to utilise the important researches of such giants as Oldenberg and Geldner, Bergaigne and Renou. He has followed the sound method of supporting his translation with copious, sometimes too copious, notes where he discusses the correctness or otherwise of some of the existing renderings. His study of the Pāṇinian rules of the Vedic language, particularly in respect of accent, stands him in good stead and helps him in accepting or rejecting an otherwise plausible rendering, his contention being that Pāṇini is generally enough for the proper understanding of a Vedic form, though sometimes philological considerations may be used for the purpose. On the whole Dr. Bhawe's annotated translation marks a definite advance in our understanding of these often obscure and baffling hymns to Soma in Maṇḍala IX. So far, two parts, respectively, containing hymns 1-15 and 16-50 are out. We eagerly await Dr. Bhawe's guidance and elucidation in respect of the still more difficult hymns in the remaining part of the Maṇḍala.

A word about the Ṛkpadālocana. It certainly shows the Pandit's mastery of the Pāṇinian system; yet at the same time his suggested interpretations of words like *oṇyoḥ* in v. 1, *avyaye* in v. 6, *pavitre* in v. 7 and *avyo vāraṁ* in v. 8 clearly show the danger to which Ṛgvedic interpretation may be exposed in the hands of experts in Classical Sanskrit.

H. D. VELANKAR.

THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA : Critical Edition. Prepared by Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M.A., LL.B., and published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vol. I, Bālakāṇḍa :—Fascicule 1, Sargas 1-10; 1958. Fascicule 2, Sargas 11-49; 1959.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda, undertook the publication of a critical edition of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa in 1954 on the lines of the Poona edition of the Mahābhārata. So far two fascicules containing Sargas 1-49 of the first book, i.e., Bālakāṇḍa, are published.

The great epic poem exists in two main recensions, the Northern and the Southern, each having different versions as generally represented by the script in which the manuscript is written. Thus we have manuscripts written in the Śāradā, Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengālī and the Devanāgarī scripts in the North and the Telugu, Grantha and the Malayalam in the South. A large number of manuscripts written in these scripts are collected from the different parts of India; but only 37 manuscripts are selected for the purpose of the critical edition of the Bālakāṇḍa as the most useful ones for the purpose of collation. The list of these will be found in the introduction to fascicule 1, where the mutual relationship of the different versions of the Poem is briefly indicated. More detailed information about the mutual relationship of the manuscripts themselves and the concordance of the principal printed editions of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki will be given in the last fascicule of the Bālakāṇḍa.

The work of editing the Poem is being carried out by a band of workers who have received proper training in the work under the guidance of Professor G. H. Bhatt. The best traditions of Text-editing left by Dr. Sukhtankar in his monumental edition of the Mahābhārata have been scrupulously followed and variants from the manuscripts collated for this edition are carefully recorded in the footnotes under each stanza, passages not adopted in the Critical Text, but found in the versions being marked with a star. The work is progressing with sufficient speed; the remaining Sargas of the Bālakāṇḍa and the remaining Kāṇḍas are expected to follow in due order.

H. D. VELANKAR.

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY: Vol. I. By Mm. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal, Nagpur, 1960. Price Rs. 15.

Dr. Mirashi's name is very well-known among scholars who work in the field of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History, specially with reference to epigraphic records. The volume under review contains 26 articles in all, divided into three sections in accordance with the nature of the subject matter. The first section contains six articles, 2 on Kālidāsa, 3 on Bhavabhūti and 1 on Rājaśekhara. All the six deal with some controvertial problems about these great Sanskrit poets. Dr. Mirashi handles these with his characteristic thoroughness and force and adduces sound arguments which are calculated to bring conviction to the readers. The five articles in the second section deal with similar problems in connection with some Prākrit poets and works, among them the curious Chappanaya poets and their common poem called Setu. The third section contains 15 articles dealing with tough problems connected with ancient Indian history between the third and the seventh century A. D.

All these important articles were originally written for research Journals and publications; they were published on different dates during the last thirty years. Students and scholars, studying or writing on the subjects dealt with in them repeatedly needed them for reference, but were not able to get them easily. They will therefore, feel grateful to Dr. Mirashi for bringing out a handy edition containing all of them in one volume. In the Appendix to the edition a list of Dr. Mirashi's research works and articles, is given; it is hoped that similar volumes containing other articles scattered over different journals and magazines will soon be brought out by the author.

H. D. VELANKAR.

(*i*) *Etude sur les sources et la composition du Rāmāyaṇa de Tulsi-dās* — Par Charlotte Vaudeville, Docteur ès Lettres.

(*ii*) Le Lac Spirituel — Traduction francaise de l' Ayodhyākāṇḍa du Rāmāyaṇa de Tulsi-Dās avec introduction et notes — par Charlotte Vaudeville. Librairie d' Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 11, rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris — VIe, 1955.

Miss Vaudeville, by the publication of her Doctoral Thesis: 'A Study on the Sources and the Composition of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsi-Dās,' has at once attained a very prominent position among the Hindi scholars of the first rank. This thesis, submitted for the Degree of Docteur ès Letters of the University of Paris, consists of two parts, namely, the study on sources and the translation of the Ayodhyākānda. Unfortunately, the work done by her is in French, a language not known to many in this country, and the Hindis who are so fond of translations, have not yet thought of publishing its translation in Hindi, perhaps because it would give a rude shock to the orthodoxy!

Miss Vaudeville is a very young but devoted and accomplished scholar and she has not only mastered old Hindi very well but she has also studied Sanskrit and English, the deep knowledge of which is the *sine qua non* of any research project, on almost any Indian topic, for a foreign scholar. There is a great tradition of Sanskrit learning in France not only in Paris, as it is generally believed, but at Strasbourg and Lyon also. With a preliminary study at home, Miss Vaudeville has widely travelled in India for the sake of her material and contacted prominent Hindi scholars and spared no efforts as a result of which her study has attained a very high standard. Her critical scholarship is to be seen on every page of the book.

A cursory glance at the major part of her thesis, which is the "Sources," will show that she has carried on her enquiry regarding the sources by a comparative study of all the Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsi-Dās with those of other works on the Rāma story available in Sanskrit. Though she has the French public before her mind's eye, for whose edification she has added profuse notes so necessary to understand the Indian atmosphere, the manners and customs, etc., it is no less enlightening a reading even for those who are in the know of things.

The method followed by her of giving at first the summary of the legends in each Kāṇḍa and then pointing out the resemblances or the differences of Tulsi's Rāmāyaṇa with the other stories, leaves no room for doubt. Everything is clear and convincing, so far as it goes. Her work is therefore worthy of being studied minutely by every Indian scholar interested in the work of Tulsi-Dās, as well as the Rāmāyaṇa works in general.

In the maze of numerous publications in Hindi on Tulsi-Dās, a critical bibliography was a desideratum. In Miss Vaudeville's bibliography we have references to select works in Hindi, English and French. It is also clear from this that she has not depended only on English translations but wherever necessary, she has consulted the Sanskrit originals also.

In the Introduction to her major work "Etudes sur les Sources", she cursorily deals with the problems of Tulsi-carita and shows how meagre are the materials available for the authentic biography of the poet. Her penetrating review of the orthodox views of the Indian scholars shows her independent judgment and the need of critical investigation of all the material and of writing an authentic biography of Tulsi-Dās based on reliable material and shorn of all hyperbolical expressions which the Hindus are wont to indulge in.

Coming to the Rāmacaritamānasa itself, she lucidly explains the metrical arrangement and about the actual composition of the work she has to remark how disproportionate are the verses which comprised the seven Kāṇḍas, the first two, Bāla and Ayodhyā, claiming about 6,800 verses out of the total of over 10,000. She has not omitted to give a critical estimate of the available MSS. of the work (the earliest being that of 1604 A.D., consisting only of the Bālakāṇḍa but very valuable because it has been copied during the lifetime of Tulsi-Dās), printed editions and the commentaries thereon and deplores the fact that even to this day there does not exist a critical edition based on comparison of important manuscripts. About the commentaries her opinion is that they are generally bad with the exception of that of Syām Sundar Dās which is certainly better.

Among the translations, she mentions one in Sanskrit shown to have been resuscitated from oblivion by a group of Pandits which they claimed to have been the original of the Hindi Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsi-Dās!! She gives credit to Sir George Grierson as the pioneer of Tulsi studies, applying critical methods to works of the great Hindi poet. His researches in this field are the basis of his work: "*Mediaeval Vernacular* Literature of Hindustan," which has been largely drawn upon by Hindi writers.

The question of the sources of the Rāmacaritamānasa and its dependence on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa had been treated at length by the celebrated Italian scholar Tessitori. His effort was to establish that Tulsi-Dās very closely followed the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa for which he prepared a long list of comparable passages of reminiscences. The numerous divergences between Vālmīki's story and that of Tulsi-Dās were attributed to the default of memory and confusion on the part of the Hindi poet. Grierson has already pointed out the weaknesses in Tessitori's thesis. The Indian scholars have not bothered themselves about this interesting subject of the indebtedness of Tulsi-Dās to other works prior to him. R. N. Tripathi and Śivanandan Sahāi have given some quotations, without references, showing the borrowings and the latter has devoted a chapter to the comparison of the Rāmacaritamānasa with the Vālmīki and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa. Though his attempt is interesting, his analysis is superficial and he has not profited himself by the work of Tessitori. R. N. Tripathi believes that Tulsi-Dās has the substance of his story from the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and Dr. M. P. Gupta goes further and says that the Rāmāyaṇa referred to by Tulsi-Dās in his introduction is the Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇa and not the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Under these circumstances, Miss Vaudeville undertook a detailed review of the Adhyātma as well as the Vālmīkian Rāmāyaṇa in its various recensions with a view to ascertaining the extent as well as the nature of the borrowings of Tulsi-Dās.

So far as the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is concerned, it seems that the Hindi poet has borrowed from it the framework of his narrative. The Bālakāṇḍa for instance, of the Rāmacaritamānasa contains a dialogue of Śiva and Pārvatī, which forms the Introduction of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and in a portion of the work, Śiva is the principal speaker narrating to Pārvatī, especially in the last five Kāṇḍas. But on the whole, the framework is artificial enough and it does not fit in with the poem which is neither a Purāṇa nor a Tantra.

Most of the non-Vālmīkian episodes in the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa have found place in the Rāmacaritamānasa but have changed their faces in the process and they are dressed up with a new significance. This metamorphosis is interesting as it reveals the mentality and the genius of Tulsi-Dās. The influence of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is seen throughout, in more or less proportion, in the

lyrical and didactic portions of the Rāmacaritamānasa. Besides this, there are other sources also which the poet has utilised in one part of the poem or the other, the most prominent of which are :

(*1*) The Śiva-Purāṇa (one of the Upa-Purāṇas) — From this Tulsi seems to have borrowed the Śaivite stories narrated in the Bālakāṇḍa with suitable changes for fitting them in his Rāma Cult.

(*2*) A lot of material has been borrowed from the Rāmānic dramas, especially the Hanuman Nāṭaka or the Mahānāṭaka and the Prasanna-Rāghava of Jayadeva.

(*3*) Among the sectarian versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, Tulsi-Dās has utilised the Yogavāsiṣṭha, the Adbhuta and the Bhuśuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇas. Of these, the Yogavāsiṣṭha was very much in vogue in the Middle Ages (in Marathi also we have several versions by different poets and in different periods), the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa alleged to have been the eighth Kāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, so far concealed from men, treats of Rāma Bhakti in which the Śākta elements have been mixed up, Sītā enjoying all the tributes of Devī and a source of many Śaivite legends. The Bhuśuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa, the unique manuscript of which, they say, lies with a Mahanta who does not allow anybody to utilise it. The story of the Kāka Bhuśuṇḍī (or Bhuśuṇḍa), though not mentioned by Vālmīki, is referred to in the Yogavāsiṣṭha and several later works in Modern Indian language, such as the Hindi Bhaktamāl of Nābhāji and the Marāthi Bhāgavata Puraṇa of Ekanātha, as well as in some of the kāṇḍas of the Rāmacaritamānasa itself especially in the VII Kaṇḍa.

(*4*) There is considerable influence of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa on the Rāmacaritamānasa, more than what is generally admitted. It is in fact one of the principal sources of the Rāmacaritamānasa which is imbued with the spirit itself of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

On these general lines Miss Vaudeville has examined the work of Tulsi-Dās in detail, pointing out the probable sources utilised by the poet. She does not pretend to be exhaustive, her chief aim being to contribute to the better understanding of the work, its origin, its nature, its objectives and the speciality of its composition. The comparison of the Rāmacaritamānasa and its sources brings into relief the genius of the poet, his originality as an author, as a thinker and a mystic. Moreover, it also shows how and where Tulsi-Dās has been influenced, now by one thing, now by another, and these variations bring out notable differences in the tone, the bearing of the story and sometimes also the vocabulary and the choice of expressions. The co-incidences throw light on the manner of the author's composition. They clearly show that the poem was not written at a stretch but in several stages. The more one studies the poem, the more becomes evident the heterogeniety in spite of the skill shown

by the author in giving to the reader the impression of unity. The problem of the sources is thus inseparable from the problem of the composition of the Rāmacaritamānas.

The study of the sources leads to the more debatable question of the personal position of Tulsi-Dās with regard to the theological and the philosophical matter. Miss Vaudeville is emphatic on the point of not classing Tulsi in any of the traditional schools, such as Dvaita, Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, etc., since he has maintained, in different parts of his Rāmāyaṇa, several theories which are logically inconsistent. The problem of the philosophical interpretation of the Rāmacaritamānasa is an insoluable problem, if we do not take into consideration the sources of the work. For instance, the speeches of different personalities included in his work but which are virtually taken from the Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa, do not necessarily represent the author's opinion. It is admitted that it is difficult to point out what is his conscious borrowing and what is only incidental. It is impossible to base the philosophical interpretation on passages taken in isolation and without reference to the sources. Most of the Indian critics have done that and have naturally come to the diametrically opposite conclusions. It must also be admitted that during the period of the composition of this poem which extended over several years, the author himself has undergone some evolution in his ideas and it can be pointed out that the oldest portion, composed at Ayodhyā, shows some peculiarities of depth and form which are no longer seen in the later portion of the work completed at Benares.

Whatever the contradictions in the Rāmacaritamānasa, there is a definite attempt on the part of the author to reconcile them. Placed at the intersection of the two semi-heterodox currents, the Rāmānandī and the Bhāgavata, Tulsi-Dās has succeeded in unifying them in respectable orthodoxy of the Brahmanic mythology and the Vedantic pantheism, without betraying his personal faith in Rāma as the Unique God. The syncretism, natural to the Hindu spirit, is the special characteristic of the genius of Tulsi-Dās and in combination with his literary genius, the main reason of the prodigious success of his Rāmāyaṇa, he has influenced the entire mass of the Hindus.

This is in short the review of the work, in a nut-shell, by Miss Vaudeville given here almost in her words. To the detailed examination of the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsi-Dās, she has devoted over 327 closely printed pages. It is impossible to give here the critical estimate of all the controversial issues raised by her in this elaborate attempt. Suffice it to say that her thesis is worthy of being carefully studied by every genuine lover of Hindi to whom it serves both as a model and an example of critical scholarship.

The second volume is the translation into French of the most popular and the best Kāṇḍa of the Rāmacaritamānasa, the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. Miss Vaudeville

has spared no pains in giving the translation in a scientific spirit and is replete with footnotes so necessary for the French public. What is important is that she has discussed many important readings also in the course of her translation.

We strongly recommend that this unique work be translated either into English or Hindi or into both for the benefit of the Indian specialist as well as the general public interested in this study

R. G. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

1. Dharmarakṣṇam – A Sanskrit Drama ;
2. Oriental Journal, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2 ;
3. The Mahābhārata (BORI. ed.) Āśramavāsika and others, Vol. 19, Fascicule 33 ;
4. Mahābhārata, (BORI. ed.) Āśvamedhika, Pt. I, Fascicule 32-A ;
5. The Rāmāyaṇa (English rendering of Jacobi's Das Rāmāyaṇa) ;
6. Catalogue of Palm-Leaf of Mss. in the Śāntināṭha Jain, Bhāndāra, Cambay, Part 1 ;
7. Pāda Index of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Vol. I.

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