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**DR. BHAU DAJI SPECIAL
VOLUME**



Dr. BHAU DAJI LAD
1822-1874

VOLUME 38

JOURNAL

1963

OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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DR. BHAU DAJI
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DR. BHAU DAJI LAD, G.G.M.C.

By Dhananjay Keer

DR. BHAU DAJI occupies a place in the first rank of Indian research scholars. He enjoys a peerless position in the circle of noted Indian physicians and surgeons who have rendered noble service to suffering humanity. Moreover, he holds a very high place in the galaxy of eminent Indian public men who strove in the third quarter of the last century to educate their fellow men, agitated for their rights, and endeavoured to arouse their self-respect and infuse in them a feeling of consciousness.

A winner of gold medals and prizes in his school days, Dr. Bhau Daji was an eminent physician and surgeon who did so much to make Western medical science popular in India. He also made great pioneering efforts to examine the effect of Indian herbal drugs and to use them in his medicines. He was so ardently devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and a scholar so ripe in his judgement that he was almost the first Indian to earn literary plaudits from eminent scholars in Europe and America, for the great services he rendered to the cause of learning and science.

Bhau Daji was born in 1822 in a poor Hindu family at Manjre, a village in Goa. The surname of this Saraswat Brahmin family was Lad. His personal name was Ramkrishna, but his father, Vithal, called him Bhau, and significantly enough, he became a 'Bhau'—a brother to all. Since Bhau called his father Daji, he came to be known as Bhau Daji. Daji Lad was a poor man. From the little farm he owned he earned a meagre income and so he served with a Saraswat family in Goa as a clerk. He knew Sanskrit well and once he had composed a Sanskrit poem. As he could not maintain his family on the small income, he moved in 1832 with his family to Bombay in order to seek his fortune at this great centre of trade and learning. Here he made his living by making and selling clay dolls, idols and statuettes. Frankly, it was difficult for him to make both ends meet. However, his little Bhau's brains came to his aid. It was found that early in his boyhood Bhau showed signs of being a prodigy. He was a brilliant chess-player. Naturally, the little champion attracted the attention of many well-known persons. The Earl of Clare, the then Governor of Bombay, was one of his great admirers. Amazed by the skill and brilliant performance of the boy at the game, the Governor took a fancy to him and advised his father to give him a good, sound education.

Bhau finished his primary education at a Marathi school under one Narayan Shastri Puranik of whom Bhau Daji spoke all his life with great reverence. After attending a free private class conducted by Govind Narayan Madgaonkar, who later became a noted teacher and author in Bombay, Bhau Daji joined the Elphinstone Institution where he soon

distinguished himself as a scholar in the high school. He entered the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1840 and carried off as easily as he swept the chess-board, almost all the prizes, and some scholarships as well. He was also awarded a gold medal. Those were the days when earnest and well-known teachers like Messrs. Orlebar, Harkness, Bell and Henderson rendered signal service in the field of education, imparting a real training to youth in the hope that it might discharge the duties of citizenship and actively participate in the Government of the country.

After completing his duties at the Elphinstone College, Bhau Daji was appointed in 1843 as assistant teacher of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in the Elphinstone Institution.

With his aspiring bent of mind and independent spirit, his love for thoroughness of work and study, and his boundless intellectual energy, Bhau Daji sought fields and pastures new. About this time Government offered a prize of Rs. 600 for the best essay on female infanticide which was practised among the Judegas of Kathiawar and Kutch. Bhau Daji won that prize; the second prize of Rs. 400 remained unawarded as nobody came near him in the competition.¹ He was highly commended for a speech he made in June 1845,² at a meeting of the Native General Library, of which he later on was President for several years. Thus Bhau Daji built up a reputation as a scholar and as a public figure.

By now, his father, who was of an ascetic turn of mind, renounced the world and became an eremite at Elephanta. So Bhau Daji had to pay annual visits to his father at the Elephanta caves.³ These visits naturally aroused his curiosity and his mind was drawn to the mystic inscriptions on the rocks of the caves. His frank, genial, and generous disposition, his studious habits, and his proficiency in teaching made him very popular with the students and staff alike and also a favourite with men of light and learning in Bombay. Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Bombay, and President of the Board of Education, who liked him immensely, took him often as his travelling companion. The pursuit of knowledge was the governing passion of his life, and therefore, he lost no opportunity to visit different places with the object of furthering his archaeological studies.

It may be mentioned here that some of the top officials of the Bombay Government had much earlier taken great interest in archaeological research. As far back as 1811, Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote to William Erskine who helped him with his oriental knowledge: 'Soon after my return to this place (Poona) from Bombay I sent a painter to Karli to copy the inscriptions on the caves; I also sent a Brahman writer

¹ *The Prabhakar*, 1 December 1844.

² *The Prabhakar*, 8 June 1845.

³ James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India*, vol. II, p. 198.

to compare the copy with the original inscription and serve as a check on the painter's fancy . . . I this day send them to you by a cooly. I hope you will do something towards deciphering them.'⁴

In 1845 a great opportunity came Bhau's way. The Grant Medical College was started in that year. Western education was opening the portals of new sciences to the rising generation. How was it received? Whenever a new branch of science was opened in India, the orthodox doubted its genuineness and truthfulness and suspected motives of proselytization to be behind it. They thought it was done with a view to converting the youth to Christianity. The founders of the Grant Medical College were anxious to secure students. In those days the touch of a foreigner was regarded as pollution; books printed with ink made of animal fat were kept in a corner; even the use of socks was considered a defilement. If such things carried defilement, what would be the degree of pollution when a dead body was dissected by a Hindu student?

But the founders of the Grant Medical College were anxious that students should join it and Bhau Daji was one of those who boldly came forward. In all twenty-nine candidates sought admission but only twelve passed the test with Bhau Daji topping the list. The college commenced its work on November 1, 1845, with twelve students on its rolls, of whom six were Parsees,⁵ three Hindus (Bhau Daji, Anant Chandroba, and Atmaram Pandurang), and three Christians. Bhau Daji was a free student. Intelligent and brilliant, Bhau Daji here too became an admired favourite of Dr. Morehead, Superintendent of the Grant Medical College.

While a student, Bhau Daji worked part-time in the college as a Library assistant. Thereafter, he served part-time as an assistant professor for a brief period. His inquiring and searching mind was at work. He was one of the students who had made valuable additions to the anatomical museum of the Medical College. While holding this position in his student days, he successfully competed for the Farish Scholarship. But in consequence of holding the part-time office he generously forewent in favour of another student the pecuniary advantages of the Scholarship, satisfying himself with the distinction which its award conferred on him.⁶ After a brilliant academic career, he graduated in April 1851. He was now a G.G.M.C. i.e. Graduate of the Grant Medical College.

The subjects taught in the college were Anatomy, Surgery, Physiology, Chemistry, Botany, Pharmacy and Materia Medica. A certificate was awarded to the successful candidates at a function held under the chair-

⁴ J. S. Cotton *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, p. 84.

⁵ Prof. A. K. Priolkar, *मंबईतील पाश्चात्य विद्येची शोभनी*, पृ. ६.

⁶ Report of the Board of Education, 1846-47.

manship of Sir Erskine Perry, President of the Board of Education. The certificate read as follows :—

'Be it known to all that We whose names are hereto attached having duly considered the Certificate of full and accurate knowledge in Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Pharmacy and Botany as well as the Certificate of diligence and good conduct in college, possessed by . . . of and duly executed by the Principal and the Professor of the college, have fully and carefully examined in Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery and Medical Jurisprudence, and have found him fit and capable to exercise these Arts and Sciences.

'We therefore admit him a Graduate of this college and grant this Certificate of his ability to practise Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery.'

The British Medical Journal *The Lancet* watched with peculiar interest the introduction into India of medical science in its European form and its rise and progress as a plant from a foreign land, adopted and recognised by the natives. About thirty years earlier the needs of the army had caused the Medical Boards of Madras and Calcutta to commence instructing natives. According to *The Lancet*⁸, Bombay surpassed both Madras and Calcutta in the perfection of its arrangements, the distinction of its professors, the accomplishments of its pupils and its general efficiency altogether. And by way of introduction it illustrated a short sketch of the distinguished career of Dr. Bhau Daji, describing the Grant Medical College as an illustration of the eminent hopefulness of the British Medical Seminaries in the East.

The Bombay Medical Board, doubtful whether the new physicians would be able to secure adequate practice, suggested to Government to create a set of sub-assistant surgeons sufficient in number to provide for all the pupils of the new college. Dr. Bhau Daji was appointed to one of these posts ; but not long afterwards he resigned his post and rose to be an eminent physician and surgeon. In the words of *The Lancet*, he 'enjoyed an amount of practice which notwithstanding the novelty of regular professional men and fees among the natives and their aversion to pay for anything intellectual, a medical man of his age in England would be proud of.'⁹

Dr. Bhau Daji was not only a brilliant and successful physician but also a brilliant surgeon. With almost uniform success he performed a number of the most difficult operations such as lithotomy, cataract and removal of tumours and also performed obstetrical operation.¹⁰

His brother, Narayan Daji, passed the medical examination of the Grant Medical College in 1852 and started independent practice. Deeply

⁷ Prof. A. K. Priolkar, मुंबईतील पाश्चात्य विद्येची शंभरी, पृ. ७.

⁸ *The Lancet*, 6 January 1855.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

influenced by the philanthropic motive of his brother, he also joined the free dispensary which Bhau Daji was running for the benefit of the poor. In those days there were no public hospitals to give proper medical help and advice to the poor. Sometimes Bhau Daji also met the financial needs of the poor patients. Thousands of suffering persons were treated for several years, humanely and gratuitously. The students of the Elphinstone Institution were also afforded medical aid freely as a mark of love he bore for the great Institution.

In the midst of his engrossing, laborious and roaring practice, Dr. Bhau Daji directed the forces of his inquiring mind to medical research. His house was full of ancient Sanskrit, Arabic and Pali MSS and also some dealing with Indian medicines. His house and compound were littered with herbs, plants and shrubs noted for medical properties. Friends from distant places sent these herbs, shrubs and plants at his instance ; and he carried on his research in Botany, examining the effects of Indian drugs. On this research he spent endlessly and at last he was almost near the achievement. He had perfected the remedy for the dreadful disease, leprosy. Soon his fame spread far and wide and patients from all corners of the country came to him for treatment and were cured. Some of the patients would be provided with accommodation. He paid personal attention to them, cleansed even the bodies of the poorest and those of the most wretched of them, and himself applied medicine with the care, love and attention of a mother. 'Doctor, save my life from this dreadful disease,' cried a patient piteously. 'I have no money to pay your fees,' he sadly added. 'Don't worry, I shall try to cure your disease. I don't expect a pie from you. It is enough that you are my countryman!' replied the Doctor soothingly. He was gentleness and mercy personified.

Having successfully tried the medicine, Dr. Bhau Daji sent this patent medicine to the leper hospital at Ratnagiri to be tried on patients there. He sent photographs of different stages of the leprosy patients to the Duke of Argyle, the then Secretary of State for India, in London. Mr. Justice Newton said that he knew from Dr. Bhau Daji what medicine he employed for leprosy. If India had been blessed with a dozen medical luminaries of Bhau Daji's mission, imagination and selfless devotion to the cause of Indian medicine, Indian drugs and Indian medical research would have made great strides and crores of rupees would have been saved every year for the nation. For Bhau Daji, unlike most of his medical contemporaries in India, preferred testing the therapeutical qualities of Indian drugs to the line of least resistance they adopted in merely trying the preparations of foreign medical pharmacies and drug houses. He used Indian drugs and examined their effects and proved their utility and efficacy.

While Dr. Bhau Daji was enjoying a roaring practice, he was also rendering signal service to the cause of education. He helped to create

and develop new social attitudes, and also gave a lead in the social and political problems. After the conquest of India, the British started the work of consolidation. Then followed reconstruction. The new order inaugurated by the government created a sense of political responsibility and there arose the necessity for the development of political institutions in India. English education and the railways, telegrams and roads, had unified the four quarters of India, and along with them grew the idea of political and national life. The idea of nationality is indispensable to political growth. The English lawyers gave to these Western educated Indians ideas of modern freedom and politics.

In Britain, a movement was set on foot to fix the eyes of Britain on the claims of British India. The leader of the movement, George Thompson, visited Calcutta in 1842 and delivered several lectures. As a result of his speeches, the Bengal Indian Society was established. At a later stage the Bengal Landholders' Society was established. This Society was amalgamated with the Bengal Indian Society under the new name of British Indian Association. This was the first Indian Society to undertake political activities. Its members were alarmed by the government's proposals, which aimed at the amelioration of the conditions of peasants, and so they rose to safeguard the interests of the landowning classes—although most of the peasants were entitled to tenancy rights.

In the wake of this political development in Bengal and the establishment of similar institutions in Madras and Poona, the Bombay leaders Jugannath Shankershett, Dr. Bhau Daji, Naoroji Furdoonji and Dadabhai Naoroji formed the Bombay Association on August 26, 1852,¹¹ with the object of ascertaining the wants of the people of India and the measures calculated to advance their welfare, and for representing these to the authorities in India or in England. The business of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association, observed an English newspaper in Bombay, was managed with great ability by Jugannath Shankarshett, and with prudence by its secretary, Dr. Bhau Daji.

As laid down in its aims and objects, the Bombay Association sent a petition, entirely¹² drafted by Dr. Bhau Daji, to the Imperial Parliament, praying for the abolition of the Board of Control and for devising a Constitution for India which should be less cumbersome, less secret, more directly responsible, and infinitely more efficient and more acceptable to the governed. It demanded a much larger share in the administration than the natives of India had so far enjoyed in the administration of the affairs of their country. It also demanded the formation of a council in India, provision for promotion rules and for elevation of Indians to the highest appointments as laid down in the Act of 1833.

¹¹ *G. D.* vol. 3 of 1852.

¹² *The Telegraph and Courier*, 4 October 1852.

The petition also declared that the education imparted at Haileybury College did not and could not qualify a young man to administer the law, Hindu and Mahomedan, civil and criminal, to a whole district, and so demanded the establishment of a University in each Presidency for the purpose of qualifying persons for practice in the various professions and rendering them eligible for Government employment. It submitted that the cost of the existing administration was unnecessarily great and should be reduced by abolishing sinecure offices and reducing the exorbitant salaries of many high-paid offices.¹³

The significant point concerning the work of this political association was that it aimed at working in collaboration with similar organisations at Calcutta and Madras.¹⁴

This new political attitude and awakening was likely to arouse the suspicion and hatred of the British rulers. So public leaders like Sir Jamshetji Jijeebhoy, Maneckji Cursetji and Mahomed Amin Rogay withdrew their support, as they were great admirers of British rule. Maneckji Cursetji denounced the petition in a pamphlet, the burden of which was, 'First creep, then walk and then run'. He cast a slur on Dr. Bhau Daji who was the sole author of the petition.

So Bhau Daji brought a libel action against him in the Supreme Court of Bombay. The libel case failed. Delivering the judgment the judge, however, observed, 'The court had no doubt that the plaintiff was all that his counsel had represented him to be, a man of distinction, and possessing a considerable power of mind and enjoying a very high professional reputation; but as there was little or no sting in the language made use of against him, there must be a verdict for the defendant on the plea of not guilty—verdict for the defendant'.

The petition, nevertheless, created a stir in England. Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Erskine Perry, John Bright and several others supported it and some English papers, both in England and India, raised a hue and cry against it. *The Lancet*¹⁵ observed that good sense, good taste and moderation of the petition elicited the universal approval of the Members of Parliament even when declining to assent to the views it expressed.

The Spectator, London, describing it as neither querulous nor rhetorical, added: 'It is remarkable for dealing with imperfections in the existing status of Anglo-Indian Government in the plain matter-of-fact style and for offering practical suggestions rather to illustrate principles than to enforce dogmatic demands. Nothing could be more sensible'. *The Leader*,¹⁶ London, said that the natives of Bombay, notwithstanding their diversities of race, were conducting a political agitation with money

¹³ *G. D.* vol. 3 of 1852.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *The Lancet*, 6 January 1855.

¹⁶ *The Leader*, 15 January 1853.

and moderation like the middle classes of Liverpool and Manchester. Like Spaniels, they were not begging, it remarked, at the feet of their masters but were actually fitting themselves to receive if not to extort a due share of self-government under British Institution.¹⁷

The Telegraph and Courier, which had first criticised the Bombay Association very severely, now praised the moderation and consistency with which it conducted its work and tendered an apology for having wronged it.¹⁸

Later Dr. Bhau Daji, it seems, resigned the Secretaryship of the Bombay Association. After the revolt of 1857, the Bombay Association became an eyesore to the Government, and consequently the enthusiasm and energy of its leaders ebbed away. However, through the influence of Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, it was revived in 1867, when Dr. Bhau Daji was one of its important members.

Dr. Bhau Daji, now acclaimed as a great Elphinstonian, was also elected in 1852 a member of the Board of Education in the Bombay Presidency, in the proceedings of which he took part vigorously from 1852 to 1856 i.e. till the abolition of the Board of Education. Commenting on his election to the Board of Education, *The Bombay Times* in a brief note remarked that the appointment of Dr. Bhau Daji was in every way proper. It further observed: 'Bhau Daji has for seven years been well known throughout our society as one of the élèves of our seminaries, whose eminence began with the commencement of his career and has continued throughout.' Citing a happy remark made much earlier by Jugannath Shankershetta that young men in pursuit of intellectual distinction and the acquirement of knowledge should be regarded as infinitely more honourable than the seekers after riches, however successful, it was pleased to observe that Government had acted on principle.

'A young man, three years from college', *The Bombay Times* added, 'is put in the place of the most respected of the Mohamedan¹⁹ community, and by the side of the most opulent and enlightened Hindu gentlemen on the Island in a Board, of which it has always been considered a high honour to be member and where he will be called upon to consult and to act along with the most distinguished European members of the public service.'

*The Bombay Times*²⁰ could not, however, help reminding the Government that Dr. Bhau Daji was well known as the secretary and as one of the most active members of the Bombay Association, the petition of which, lately sent to Parliament, had been spoken of as a series of attacks on the administration, and yet Government had shown their magnanimity by conferring honours on their assailants.

¹⁷ *The Spectator*, 8 January 1853.

¹⁸ *The Telegraph and Courier*, 14 March 1853.

¹⁹ Mr. Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba who retired.

²⁰ *The Bombay Times*, 24 December 1852.

Dr. Bhau Daji climbed up the ladder of social eminence still higher. He was made Vice-President of the Grant Medical College and was appointed, on Dr. Bruist's return to England, secretary to the Geographical Society during his absence. The duties of this important office were performed by Dr. Bhau Daji so energetically and efficiently that the society expressed its warm appreciation of his services.²¹ He also took an active part in the establishment of the University of Bombay in 1857. He was one of the Fellows mentioned in the Act of Incorporation and for a long time a Syndic in the Faculty of Arts and Medicine to his last days.

But the Society which played a very prominent part in the life of Dr. Bhau Daji was the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was elected a member of its Managing Committee, a high honour for an Indian scholar until 1859. For the great interest he took in archaeological researches and ancient Indian history, he was made its Vice-President in 1865. He occupied that position till 1873. Dr. John Wilson, who proposed his name for this office, observed that Bhau Daji in particular had indeed proved a conspicuous ornament of the Society and that he already enjoyed a European as well as an Indian reputation. Dr. Bhau Daji had, Dr. Wilson concluded, both the desire and the means of contributing much to the Society's progress.

Dr. Bhau Daji was one of the builders of modern Bombay. For its growth and development Nana Shankershett, with his kingly generosity for the welfare of the people, moved in society like a prince and Bhau Daji was to him, in this respect, a valued counsellor. It was Dr. Bhau Daji who made great efforts to raise funds for the buildings of the Victoria Garden and Albert Museum. His part in the building of these monuments was so great that the copper²² box, which was buried in the foundation of the Museum, contained the name of Dr. Bhau Daji as the Secretary on its lid along with the names of the Queen, the Viceroy, the Governor, the Honourable Mr. Jugannath Shankershett, the President of the Committee which undertook this work and Mr. G. C. Birdwood as Joint Secretary, William Tressi as the Architect, and the Sheriff, William Lowdown. Dr. Bhau Daji played a very important part in every public activity and donated freely and lavishly towards public causes.

It was Dr. Bhau Daji who encouraged the Marathi Dramatic Company conducted by Mr. Vishnudas Bhawe from Sangli. The actors stayed at Dr. Bhau Daji's house, and tickets too were sold there. Nana Shankershett with Bhau Daji made sincere efforts to organise the Marathi stage. At the request of Nana Shankershett Dr. Bhau Daji even translated the drama *Raja Gopichand* into Hindi and it was successfully staged in Bombay. It was thus in Bombay that Hindi drama was born and the

²¹ *The Lancet*, 6 January 1855.

²² G. N. Madgaonkar, *मुंबईचे वर्णन*, पृ. २९७-९८.

honour of being the first Hindi dramatist²³ goes to Dr. Bhau Daji. Inspired by the great social and cultural work done by Shakespearian Dramatic Companies which performed the plays of Shakespeare in England, he had much earlier established a dramatic company called the Elphinstone Kalidasa Society. The Elphinstone Kalidasa Society was intended to perform the play *Shakuntala*, translated into English by Dr. Monier Williams. The Society staged the English version with brilliant success.

Dr. Bhau Daji was well known as a man of great culture, refinement and taste, and took a keen interest in the social, political and moral advancement of the people. But as an antiquarian he enjoyed an international reputation. It was the mission of his life to dig out the source material of the ancient history of his motherland and to reconstruct her past. He was almost the first Indian antiquarian to think of such a great mission. For it he lived and thought of it day and night. He had travelled with Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and had covered hundreds of miles. In 1862 he travelled in North India, and during the major part of 1864 to 1866 he travelled all over India with untiring energy and unflagging zeal, in search of temples, images, caves, coins, and pillar, copper-plate, and rock inscriptions with the aid of torches. To the places he could not visit himself, he sent his agents to prepare eye copies or take rubbings of inscriptions until at last there was hardly a corner of India which was not visited by either Bhau Daji or his agents.

Dr. Bhau Daji was so earnest and restless about his antiquarian research work that in 1860 he offered through leading newspapers rewards²⁴ for the best and most reliable information on Kalidasa and Vikramaditya. It was he who first tried to determine the age of Kalidasa. In 1861, while he was thus working alone in this field of research, A. K. Forbes recommended Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to Dr. Bhau Daji. The Pandit had acquired independently a fair ability to decipher cave characters. The Pandit saw in Dr. Bhau Daji the real *guru*, guide and patron. Bhau Daji also saw in the Pandit a worthy disciple, and therefore enlisted his services. He got a tent erected in his compound and accommodated²⁵ the Pandit temporarily.

After some time Dr. Bhau Daji sent him to different places to copy the inscriptions on the Girnar rocks of the Maurya, Śaka, and Gupta dynasties. From Bombay he gave the Pandit guidance and directions for re-writing certain inscriptions. The Pandit did the job excellently. Dr. Bhau Daji paid a second visit to Ajanta and Ellora in order to study the inscriptions in the caves along with Dr. H. Carter, and in May 1863 sent Bhagwanlal with a draftsman to make correct copies of the inscriptions. On receiving these, he deciphered them and came to certain definite conclusions.

²³ P. B. Kulkarni, *Biography of Nana Shunkershett* (Marathi), p. 358.

²⁴ S. N. Karnatki, *Biography of Dr. Bhau Daji Lad* (Marathi), p. 30.

²⁵ J. U. Yajnik, *Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji*, p. 15

Dr. Bhau Daji, in consultation with Sir Bartle Frere, the then Governor of Bombay, sent Pandit Bhagwanlal and Pandit Pandurang Gopal Padhye to inspect the Jain Bhandars at Jesselmere. His travels had convinced him that if everyone of the inscriptions on rocks and copper plates were carefully examined, a flood of light could be thrown on the history and antiquity of India, beyond the expectations of the most zealous orientalisists who did not conceal their disappointment at the results of Indian historical researches.

Dr. Bhau Daji then himself started, with Mr. Cursetji Nusserwanji Cama, Mr. Ardeshir Framji Moos and a number of other friends, on a rapid tour through the South India Bengal, Upper India and the North-West Province. He took with him Mr. Edward Rehatsek,⁶⁶ wellknown for his linguistic attainments, for the purpose of making drawings of natural views and, generally, to take down notes. He had substantially helped Mr. Edward Rehatsek when he was in straitened circumstances and recommended him to Dr. Wilson who employed him as a professor.

Before the rise to fame of Dr. Bhau Daji as an antiquarian, James Prinsep had attained eminence as a prince of Indian antiquities. In 1838, this gifted amateur, who was an Assay Master in the Mint and Secretary of the Bengal Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, interpreted, for the first time, the earlier Brahmi script and was able to read the edicts of the great emperor Aśoka. General Sir Alexander Cunningham, who was described as the father of Indian archaeological studies, had done yeomen service in the field of antiquarian research. He was later appointed the first archaeological Surveyor and he worked in that capacity from 1862 to 1865. He had already done much solid work in the field. But works of these eminent worthies left many things of vital importance undecided. It was given to Bhau Daji to complete them and make his own independent contribution, illumining many dark recesses of antiquarian research, such as the Sanskrit numerals, the genealogy and chronology of the Gupta dynasty, and elucidation of the history of other dynasties for the first time.

Dr. Bhau Daji wrote several papers on Sanskrit literature, on inscriptions and on ancient history. The coins of Kṛṣṇaraja, who is commonly held to have been an early member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house, were first described by Dr. Bhau Daji from a find in Nasik District. It was he who fixed the age of Kalidasa and according to him the great poet flourished in the middle of the sixth century of the Christian Era. It was he who first brought the Jain Pattavalis to the notice of scholars and tried to settle their chronology. Great advances were made later by other scholars; but the significant way Dr. Bhau Daji's insight worked had its own charm and merits.

The value of ancient Sanskrit numerals was for a long time unknown. James Prinsep was not able to determine it. It fell to Dr. Bhau Daji

⁶⁶ A. F. MOOS, *Journal of Travels in India*, Vol. I p. 6.

to solve the riddle. A careful examination of the inscriptions in the caves of Nasik, Karle and Kanheri but especially the first, enabled him to fix the value of the symbols beyond doubt. He summed up the result of his research as follows :—

‘The symbol for 100 is, as I shall show, ॠ ; 200 are represented by the symbol for one hundred with one side spur stroke ॡ ; 300 by two side spur strokes ॢ ; the symbol for 400 has not been found. Strange to say, the symbol for 500 is not 4 placed after the symbol of 100, but the number 5 itself joined.

The symbol for *one thousand* resembles the Devanagari figure for *one* (ॠ) ; the addition of one stroke (ॡ) makes it represent *two thousand*, or double the value as in the case of hundreds ; and of two strokes (ॢ) *three thousand*, or three times the value. To represent *Four thousand* the figure 4 is joined to the symbol of one thousand ॣ ; in the same way the figure is placed after and joined to the symbol of one thousand to represent *eight thousand* (।) ”²⁷

Dr. Bhau Daji discovered the missing link in the Gupta dynasty. Some inscriptions were found containing dates ; but nobody knew to what era these dates were to be referred. Dr. Bhau Daji deciphered them and solved the knotty problem. He found that these princes used their own era. From the new translations he made of the two inscriptions on the Junagad rock, which had been previously translated by Prinsep, he found the errors into which the great Prinsep had fallen and showed that Rudra Daman was not the only son of Chashtana, as Prinsep thought, but his grandson. Dr. Bhau Daji also brought to light the names of four to five more princes of this Saka dynasty by translating an inscription on a pillar at Jasdhan in Kathiawar. He went several times to Ajanta and from the translations of the cave inscriptions there, brought to light a new dynasty of kings. It was his researches that identified Chashtana with the Tiastness of Ptolemy.

The Bhau Daji collection of manuscripts is a treasured possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He had once told a friend that about sixty thousand rupees would be required to print his MSS. and certain Sanskrit works which he had annotated and corrected. Government held him in high respect for his great scholarship. When the Duke of Edinburgh visited the Elephanta caves to see the inscriptions, he was requested to accompany him as a guide. When Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy, visited Verul to see the caves, he accompanied him as a guide at the instance of Sir Salar Jung, the Chief Minister of the Hyderabad State.

Engrossed as he was day and night in solving some problem or the other concerning the archaeological researches, Dr. Bhau Daji, the scholar, could not find time to write any exhaustive work. He wrote for

²⁷ Ramachandra Ghosha, (ed.) *The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, 257-58.

research scholars and historians; and, indeed, the articles he wrote and the papers he read, paved the way for future historians and lit the path for future research scholars. The position of Dr. Bhau Daji in the galaxy of Indian research scholars, and the estimate of his work is justly expressed by no less an Orientalist than Max Muller: 'I always look upon Dr. Bhau Daji as a man who has done excellent work in his life and though he has written little, the little he has written is worth thousands of pages written by others²⁹'. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, another eminent Oriental research scholar, was of the opinion that no one who wished to write a paper on the antiquities of the last two thousand years could do so without referring to Dr. Bhau Daji's writings.²⁹

Although Dr. Bhau Daji had resigned the Secretaryship of the Bombay Association, he showed great interest in the various political and social activities that were sponsored from time to time in Bombay. He signed a petition, which was made by landlords to oppose the Revenue Survey Bill aimed at the protection of the rights of tenants. This being a new kind of land reform, its implications might not have been clear to persons like Bhau Daji who had put their signatures to the petition. It was he who mooted the idea³⁰ of the cotton Industry in Bombay and took a keen interest in its development. For a long time he was also closely associated with the Bombay Paper Manufacturing Company which was established in September 1854. It was therefore no wonder that a public man of his eminence should hold the office of Sheriff for two successive terms in 1868 and 1869.

Dr. Bhau Daji was also a leader of another political organisation—the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, established by Dadabhai Naoroji on May 22, 1869, in Bombay. Dadabhai Naoroji tried to win the support of the Indian princes to his cause; but his colleagues, like Dr. Bhau Daji and K. T. Telang, differed from him as they believed that the Indian princes were intellectually, morally, and traditionally incapable of sharing the aspirations of young India.³⁰ As a spokesman of the people, Dr. Bhau Daji defended their rights and attacked the costly and reckless administration of the then Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Arthur Crawford. Young and fearless, Pherozeshah Mehta, who was impressed by Mr. Crawford's work, defended him publicly. Mehta was highly censured for his attack on elder leaders who had scathingly attacked the Commissioner. Mehta thereafter read a paper at a meeting of the East India Association on November 29, 1871, defending Mr. Crawford.

Mehta's views were regarded as derogatory to public feeling. His speech provoked a storm, and disorder prevailed at the meeting. Mehta

²⁹ Ramchandra Ghosa, *The Literary remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, p. i.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰ S. D. Mehta, *The Cotton Mills of India 1854-1954*.

was severely criticised for his bold views by papers and public leaders alike. Pherozeshah Mehta thus fulfilled the prophecy made by Dr. Bhau Daji.³¹ In his boyhood Mehta was once seriously taken ill with fever, and he lay unconscious. The Doctor attributed his illness to the quick and restless brain of the boy and said that, if he survived the attack, he would be a great man.³²

The leaders of the Association decided to do away with Mehta's paper. A meeting was therefore held on December 18, 1871, at the Framji Cowasji Institution, on a requisition from its members at which Dr. Bhau Daji presided. At this meeting a proposition for expunging Mehta's lecture from the records was carried by a large majority. Dr. Bhau Daji wound up the proceedings by declaring that the paper was to be treated as not read and was not worth discussion. The Doctor apologised to the members for the incident and assured the members that there would be no recurrence of it in future. Pherozeshah Mehta was present at the meeting but walked out after its commencement.³³

This tremendous hold and influence Bhau Daji had on men and matters of public affairs continued to his last days. Mr. Justice Ranade bore testimony to it when he congratulated Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik on his being the President of the Bombay Municipality, saying: 'You are occupying now the position of the leadership of the Hindus which had been held by Nana Shankershett and Bhau Daji before you.'³⁴ This supreme leadership, which Bhau Daji held, evoked a fitting remark from Babu Kristodas Pal of Calcutta to the effect that Dr. Bhau Daji was the brightest of all the Bombayites.³⁵

Dr. Bhau Daji rendered yeoman services in the cause of female education. He was a member of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society which conducted girls' schools in Bombay and also two monthly magazines called Dnyan Prasarak, in Marathi and Gujarati, to promote the diffusion of knowledge among the uneducated masses. In one of its schools Dadabhai Naoroji was a teacher. As president of this Society Bhau Daji boldly stood for female education. He courageously faced apathy and misunderstanding and overcame the opposition he met with in his work, and promoted female education nobly and unflinchingly. To mark their sense of gratitude for his services to the cause of education, and their acknowledgment of his generous support to the Marathi Girls' School at Lohar Chawl for over three years, the Society permanently³⁶ endowed in 1862 the same school in his name with an endowment of Rs. 16,500. From the progress of girls' education, Sir Bartle Frere,

³¹ R. P. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji : The Grand Old Man of India*, p. 111.

³² H. P. Mody, *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta*, p. 2.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ G. R. Havaladar, *Biography of Raosaheb V. N. Mandlik*, (Marathi), Vol. I, p. 495.

³⁵ Ibid, Vol. II, p. 1083.

³⁶ Students' Literary & Scientific Society, (History), pp. 12-13.

then Governor of Bombay, felt assured that Bhau Daji and his associates had established their title to be enrolled among the real heroes and benefactors of their race.

It may be noted here that since its foundation in June 1848 four Europeans, Prof. Joseph Patton, Prof. Richard T. Reid, Prof. Henry Green and Sir Alexander Grant, presided over the S. L. and Sc. Society for the first fifteen years. Dr. Bhau Daji who was for two years 1862-63 its Vice-President, became its First Indian President⁸⁷ in 1863 and continued to hold this position till 1873.

So enthusiastic was Bhau Daji about the promotion and progress of female education that at the instance of Miss Mary Carpenter he appealed to the Government for establishing a normal school for lady teachers. When he visited Calcutta he had made a very stirring speech at the Bethune Female School in support of women's education and was sorry that in Calcutta it was more limited than in Bombay.

He actively supported all progressive social activities. It was his burning desire to go to England to arrange things there so as to bring about a social revolution in India. Impressed by the ideas of the Paramahansa Mandal he was about to join it. The Mandal was a secret body of avowed social reformers and it aimed at breaking the caste system and rooting out superstitions and social barriers. But it soon broke down when someone stole away the list of its members to the great consternation of the social reformers! So Bhau Daji could not be a member of the Paramahansa Mandal.

Bhau Daji was not cast in heroic mould, but he showed the courage of his convictions when the time came to do so. He displayed it as a witness in the Yadunath Maharaj case. He deposed⁸⁸ in court that he knew that the Maharaja was suffering from venereal disease. He defended the social reformer Curssondas Mulji, who attacked the evil social customs and had openly charged the Maharaja with immoral and licentious conduct. The case was decided in favour of the defendant Mr. Mulji, and Bhau Daji was praised to the skies for giving evidence even at great personal cost. Later, Mulji, who was unpopular, as are all social reformers in their days, was ex-communicated by orthodox Gujaratis after his return from London. Bhau Daji tried to remove the social ban on his friend Mulji, but to no purpose.

Bhau Daji was one of the leading men who attended the first widow marriage performed on July 15, 1869, under the auspices of the Institution established at Bombay to encourage widow re-marriage. He was one of the sympathisers of the cause of widows and so he appreciated the first Marathi Novel यमुनापर्यटन by the Rev. Baba Padmanji, which described to the world the woes of Hindu widows. It was a favourite

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁸⁸ *The Times of India*, 13 May 1862.

saying of the Doctor that the heart of the Buddha was filled with infinite pity. He felt that Christ was also filled with infinite pity, and he called Christianity the religion of the Prince of Peace.³⁹ This led some of his Christian contemporaries to hope that some day he would become a Christian. But their hopes were not fulfilled. The fact was that his own heart, too, was filled with infinite pity.

Although prostrated by an attack of paralysis in his last days, Dr. Bhau Daji tossed in his bed with anxiety for the safety of his colleague Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī who had been taken ill at Nepal. He frantically requested the editor of *The Times of India*, Mr. W. M. Wood, to write to Mr. Girdlestone, the British Resident at Khatmandu, to make inquiries about his health and to give him all medical facilities required. And when he received a report that he was restored to health he felt at ease. He would even send to his colleague a substantial quantity of *toor dal* by post and the post office would charge him double the cost of the *dal*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī had so much devotion for his *guru*, guide and patron that in his Will he expressed a keen desire that the bookshelf which would contain his collection, to be donated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, should bear the superscription: 'Bhagwanlal Indrajī, pupil of Dr. Bhau Daji'.⁴⁰

Dr. Bhau Daji championed the cause of the poor to his last days. When a poor tailor, Vithoba Malhari, filed a suit against Mr. Meason, the editor of the *Telegraph and Courier*, for his dues, the editor saw through his friend Mr. Baynes, the Police Superintendent, that the poor man was sentenced to three weeks' instead, by the magistrate Mr. Corfield. The poor man served his term and went to his native place. The letters written to Mr. Baynes and Mr. Corfield by Mr. Meason somehow fell into the hands of Dr. Bhau Daji. He called back the poor man and he filed a suit in the Supreme Court for damages. Dr. Bhau Daji fought the case with great vigour, spending about Rs. 10,000 and taught the authorities a lesson. The tailor was awarded damages.⁴¹

Thus Dr. Bhau Daji proved that he was a defender of the oppressed, a saviour of the sick and 'a patron of learning and of the learned who never turned their back to him feeling that he had the liberality of the Bhoja of Avanti.' He had high admiration for two Governors of Bombay who were men of progressive views. He often proudly said 'Sir Bartle Frere is like Elphinstone, my beau ideal of a British Governor'.

The one passion of Dr. Bhau Daji's life was to discover the ancient history of India and to reconstruct her past. His governing characteristic was his unstinted sympathy. All his life he had been a student, loving

³⁹ James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India*, vol. I, p. 409.

⁴⁰ J. U. Yajnik, *Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī*, p. 9.

⁴¹ G. V. Panandikar, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes about Dr. Bhau Daji Lad* (Marathi), pp. 12-13.

learning and science for their own sake. A life nobly lived, usefully spent, unselfishly gone through from boyhood to the last days! His spotless personality exerted tremendous influence over the public and the rulers. With a grave and imposing mien, simple and modest dress, with turban worn after the Bombay fashion on his erect head, and a silk shawl hanging from his shoulders and dangling over his body, Bhau Daji walked in the galaxy of men of learning, graced public gatherings and moved in social circles as the moral and scholar-leader of his day.

He was a man with a mission. In his generosity he was catholic. He helped the poor and the distressed, be they in this land or in Lancashire. It flowed spontaneously towards public work and service. In his personal habits he was as thrifty as he was plain in appearance. The generosity of his life, the philanthropy of his heart, the purity of his mind were proverbial. His great talents and his high accomplishments were crowned with his exemplary character.

His finances broke down in 1865. The Back Bay Reclamation Company, established to reclaim the land from the sea for the railway line, crashed, and several families were ruined under its debris. Dr. Bhau Daji had promised Mr. Premchand Roychand, the principal figure in this terrific tragedy, to invest his money in the company. And although people were alarmingly keeping aloof from this ruin of a man he fulfilled his word given so solemnly to his friend, and he lost heavily. His property, books and all his other effects were sold and were repurchased only through the assistance of friends.

The crisis of 1865, however, cruelly marred his career and gave him a terrific shock, from which he never recovered. A small monthly pension of Rs. 100 was paid to him by the First Sir Salarjung, the Premier of the Nizam's State,⁴² who was one of his great admirers. His brother, Dr. Narayan Daji, also tried to see that Dr. Bhau Daji lived in comfort. Many European friends and H. H. The Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar felt concerned at the inscrutable calamity that had overtaken the great philanthropist. But he remained a broken man: once a stream dries, it cannot be filled with tap water. Yet with Stoic indifference he continued his research work patiently for over eight years. The multitude of pursuits, inquiries and the financial breakdown gradually detracted his mind from the medical profession.

The last phase came in the beginning of 1873 with an attack of paralysis. During his illness he seemed altogether to forget his serious malady and his financial worries and hotly discussed moot points in research for which he had material either to prove or disprove! Medicine cures only curable diseases. Dr. Bhau Daji breathed his last⁴³ on May 31, 1874.

⁴² P. B. Kulkarni, *Mama Parmanand And His Times* (Marathi), p. 485.

⁴³ The date of his death given by Ramachandra Ghosha in the *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, p. LXIV and by J. U. Yajnik in *Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī* p. 20 is incorrect.

Men and supermen of Bombay paid their homage to the great patriot, peerless physician and surgeon, noted philanthropist and world-renowned scholar, at the Town Hall. *The Bombay Guardian* said that Bombay had lost one of her most distinguished and respected citizens. 'He was' it added, 'specially versed in the antiquities of India. He was connected with a score of literary and scientific societies in various parts of the world. He was a very generous, large-hearted and open-minded man and needed a princely income to gratify his benevolent impulses'. The *Indu Prakash* said that it was a national calamity. The *Native Opinion* cited examples of his greatness and goodness. *The Times of India* sadly observed that had Dr. Bhau Daji lived under another European Government, say France or Germany, for instance, it was highly probable that his rare acquirements and his labours in the cause of suffering humanity would have been rewarded by some honorary decorations.

The Senate of the University of Bombay expressed the deep sense it entertained of the high moral character, the great ability and unwearied perseverance which had made the name of Dr. Bhau Daji not only a household word, but one which was widely known, as that of a man of science, an antiquarian and a scholar. Mr. A. C. Gumpart said that the loss would be deeply felt in Austria and in Germany.

But there was no better tribute to Dr. Bhau Daji than the one paid by Mr. Justice West when he observed, 'His versatility of talent and devotion to intellectual pursuits are somewhat rare in every country. In India, so far as I know, Dr. Bhau Daji's life and example are almost unique'.

Dr. Bhau Daji was almost the first Indian scholar to raise the banner of scholarship and science and to win an international reputation. Balshastri Jambhekar had read some papers at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but his life was cut short. Bhau Daji was the precursor of great oriental scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, K. T. Telang, Lokmanya Tilak, Dr. S. V. Ketkar and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, just as his Bombay Association was the harbinger of the Indian National Congress. It can justly be said, therefore, that no portrait gallery of eminent Indian scholars, physicians and surgeons, or public men would be complete without the portrait of Dr. Bhau Daji Lad.

SIMILES IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

By H. D. Velankar

IN the following article I have collected all the similes in the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā in the Śaunaka recension. But the similes in those passages which are bodily reproduced here from the Ṛgveda are of course omitted as they properly belong to the Ṛgveda.

These are above 325 spread over different spheres of life. Upamānas selected from human association are 72 of which about 25 relate to closer relationship, where however the emphasis is not on its emotional side, but rather on the factual one. Among the professionals, a carpenter, a poet, a gambler, a hunter, a dancing girl and a woman basket-maker are mentioned as Upamānas. The cow and the horse among the tamed animals and a lion, a wolf and a tiger (who is almost absent in the Ṛgveda) among the wild beasts are employed pretty often. The elephant is clearer in the picture here than in the Ṛgveda. A monkey, a donkey and a deer too have found a place in the simile. The vulture and the hawk as also the eagle figure among the birds ; and the traditional love of the Cakravāka couple for each other is clearly stated here for the first time. In the Ṛgveda the Aśvinā are compared with a pair of Cakravākas (RV. 2.39.3) but nothing is said beyond this about them.

Indra as the chastiser of the Sālāvṛkas, the Asuras, the Yatis and the Dasyus, of Vṛtra and Vala in particular, as also Indrānī and Sūryā as ideal brides, figure as the upamānas from the Celestials, while of the trees and plants no special kinds are mentioned except the doubtful Talāśā and Soma which are respectively described as the best among these two. Three or four varieties of reeds and grass like Naḍa, Iṣikā, Śara and Muñja, as also the two kinds of corn viz. Śāmyāka and Khalva are employed in these similes, as the Upamānas.

Fire (Agni as the *deity* is not employed), wind, the sun and the moon, the heaven, the earth, the rivers (with *sāpa*, the floating dirt, and *fena* as their subsidiaries) and the ocean, the bow and the arrow, the chariot and the boat (only the broken one and the one which has lost its moorings) have all their due share in these similes.

A few structural peculiarities of these similes may be noted. Here *na* the prominent particle of comparison in the Ṛgveda, has practically disappeared. We have it only in 9 cases out of the 300 and odd ones, the ruling particle being *iva*. Of *yathā* we have about 60 instances where the Upamā is expressed in a sentence. *Yathā* is generally followed by *eva* as its correlative (only once by *tathā*), while in four instances *yathā* is employed only in the 2nd of the two sentences, the first containing no particle of comparison at all. Irregularity of construction, which may be called anakoluthic, is observed only in the *yathā* similes. We have about

17 cases of this type. In these the poet starts by putting the *Upamāna* in the nominative case as at first it is prominently before his mind, but ends by putting the corresponding *Upameya* in the accusative case. The nominative is used for the thing which suddenly strikes him as the more prominent one, such as the herb or the bead, the charm or the talisman employed by him for effecting cures and other desired results. Thus he says :—

- (a) 'just as animals run away from a tiger or a lion so should my Maṇi (Talisman) put the devils and diseases to flight' (4.36.6); or—
- (b) just as there is fame and lustre in the Sun and the Moon, so should my Maṇi put fame and lustre in him (10.3.18); or—
- (c) just as a black cobra expands his hood at will, so should the Sun cause the impotent patient's generative organ to expand and stiffen (6.72.1); or—
- (d) just as the śāmyāka grains fall (on the rock) and become lost, so should the Night throw away the evil-doers and reduce them to nothingness (19.50.4); or—
- (e) just as the earth holds all creatures as her child in her womb, so shall I put a child in the (barren) woman's womb or so shall a child be held by her in her womb (5.25.2).

Sometimes, however, the opposite of this may happen, without any shift of emphasis, the nominative being used for the *Upameya* and the accusative for the *Upamāna* as in :—

- (f) All devils run away from me being driven by my Mantra as the wind blows away the dust from the earth and clouds from the air (10.1.13).

In such anakoluthic similes, the common property is usually expressed by two synonymous terms, though rarely the same root is employed in two different forms. On the other hand, the common property is conveyed by the same root though in different forms, in the regularly expressed *yathā* similes. Only in four cases this is not so :—1.3.9; 6.85.3; 12.4.34 and 14.1.43.

The occasions for the employment of these similes or the spheres in which they are thought of, are many, such as (1) medication for a cure of diseases, (2) exorcizing of devils; (3) practising or averting of witchcraft where the *Kṛtyā* or the magic doll plays an important role; (4) and employment of talismans and amulets among which beads of wood or grass are prominent. Similes occasioned by a philosophical or a theological thought are comparatively rare.

A. HUMAN BEINGS AS UPAMĀNAS

1. *Father and Son*

Agni and the Phālamaṇi are requested to give protection to the person concerned as a father (*pitā*) does to his son (*putra*) at 2.13.1(1)¹; 10.6.5(2). The Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker as a son (*putra*) goes to his father (*pitā*) for protection at 5.14.10(3). Prāṇa at 11.4.10(4) is said to be staying happily with the people and Odana is requested to do so at 12.3.12(5) as a father (*pitā*) does with his sons (*putra*).

1a. *Father and Daughter*

A Kṛtyā is asked at 10.1.25(6) to find out her maker as her ultimate shelter when driven away from the patient by the power of the Mantras as a daughter (*duhitā*) does her father (*pitā*) when driven away by her husband; cf. 10.1.3 and see under husband and wife.

2. *Mother and Son*

The Vedī is requested to welcome a Kumbhī and an Ukhā when placed on it as a mother (*janitṛī*) does her son (*sūnu*) at 12.3.23(7). The hymns of the poet are said to be approaching the deity as a mother (*jātrī*) does her son (*jāta*) at 20.48.2(8).

The Maruts at 5.26.5(9), Aditi at 2.28.5(10) and Mitra at 2.28.1(11) are requested to give protection (Maruts to a Sālā and Mitra and Aditi to a patient respectively) as a mother (*mātā*) does to her son (*putra*); similarly a Śami maṇi is asked to be kind to the patient's hair as a mother (*mātā*) is to her sons (*putra*) at 6.30.3(12).

All the subsidiaries of a sacrifice are said to dwell in the remnants (*ucchiṣṭa*) as a child (*garbha*) does in the mother's (*mātā*) womb during her pregnancy at 11.7.6(13).

3. *Husband and Wife*

At 6.22.3(14) the glahā i.e. Vidyut (conjectural) is expected to be pressed by the Maruts, like a maiden (*hanyā*) by the lover and a wife (*jāyā*) by her husband (*pati*), to go forth and impel the cloud to send showers; but at 10.1.3(15) a Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker and compared with a wife (*jāyā*) driven out by her husband (*pati*) and so going back to her father for shelter. On the other hand, at 18.2.51(16) the earth is requested to cover the remains of the dead body representing the departed soul in it as a wife (*jāyā*) does her husband (*pati*) with a garment. In the same context a hemistich of the Ṛgvedic stanza which compares the earth with a mother (*mātā*) and the spirit of the dead with a child (*putra*) whom she covers with the skirt of her garment, is also reproduced 18.2.50(17). At 12.3.29(18) the rice-grains in the boiling

¹ The figures within the brackets indicate the running number of the simile.

pot are poetically described as dancing about and throwing up foam and drops of water. The boiling waters are asked to unite with them for the seasonal function as a passionate maiden (*yoṣā*) does with her husband (*pati*).

4. *Lover and Maiden*

The husband is advised to persuade his newly married bride to mount upon his bed as a youthful suitor (*marya*) does a passionate maiden (*yoṣā*) at 14.2.37(19); while at 18.4.60(20) Soma is described as uniting with the milk-streams in the vat as a youthful suitor (*marya*) does with passionate maidens (*yoṣā*). A cow who rejects her sucking calf is, at 6.70.1(21), asked to fix her mind on her calf like the mind of a lustful person (*vr̥ṣaṇyan pumān*) on a woman (*strī*). A wicked Gandharva is said to be assuming the form of a person who is dear (*priya*) to the eyes of women and then possessing her, at 4.37.11(22). At 5.5.3(23) a medicinal herb is described as resorting to a tree like a passionate girl (*vr̥ṣaṇyantī kanyalā*) to her lover.

5. *A Bride*

A *Kṛtyā* is said to be decorated by her makers with skilful hands and endowed with all different forms like a bride (*vadhū*) for her bridal procession at 10.1.1(24), while at 9.3.24(25) a toy-house is requested to be light so that it can be carried at will like the newly married bride (*vadhū*). That a newly married bride was on some occasion carried on some sort of a couch or chair is seen from the simile in 4.20.3(26), where an oṣadhi or herb is said to have mounted upon the earth as a tired bride (*śrāntā vadhū*) mounts upon a portable couch (*vahya*). Ladies reclining in such portable couches (*vahya*) are mentioned in connection with the house of a noble at RV.7.55.8. The mid-region is said to be the resting place of the plants as of those who are tired (*śrāntasadām* i.e. *vadhūnām*) at 1.32.2(27). A coy young daughter-in-law (*snuṣā*) who slips off from the presence of her father-in-law (*śvaśura*) is used as an Upamāna for devils who run away in the presence of the Vajra and Piṅga maṇi at 8.6.24(28).

6. *Miscellaneous*

(a) *Sages* : The spirit of the dead person is required to go to the heaven over the path as the *Aṅgirases* did at 18.1.61(29). Agni is requested to burn the evil spirits like *Atharvan* by his celestial lustre at 8.3.21(30). The poet seeks to destroy the worms by his spell like *Atri*, *Kaṇva* and *Jamadagni* at 2.32.3(31); while at 2.5.3(32) Indra is said to have smashed Vala like *Bhr̥gu*. Another poet claims to have conquered all armies of devils with the help of the *Srāktya Maṇi* as with that of a sage (*ṛṣi*) at 8.5.8(32A).

(b) *Professionals*: Among the professionals a fisherman (*ṣauñjīṣṭha*) holding together his net¹ (*karvara*) (for catching the fish) is used as an Upamāna for a magician holding together in bondage the heads of poisonous snakes by his charm at 10.4.19(33). The well-cooked *Odana* in the *sthālī* addressed as *vanaspati* is compared with a well-shaped wooden article (*rūpa*) prepared by a carpenter (*tvaṣṭr=takṣan*) with the help of his axe (*svadhiti*) at 12.3.33(34). At 9.2.6(35) a poet, driving away his enemies by an oblation to fire, compares himself with a poleman (*śambī*) urging his boat (*nāvam*) forward in waters. A carpenter² (*r̥bhū*) who puts together the different parts of a chariot (*rathasya aṅgāni*) is used as an Upamāna for a herb which similarly heals up the broken joints of a patient at 4.12.7(36) and for the maker of the magic doll (*kṛtyā*) who puts together the limbs of his doll to form her body, at 10.1.8(37). A poet compares himself with the castrator of bulls (*muṣ-kābarhaḥ gavām*) when he renders the evil spirit called Viṣkandha impotent by his spell at 3.9.2(38).

The insects injuring corn are asked to go away at 6.50.2(39) without eating the rice-grains like a priest (*brahmā*) who does not eat improperly prepared offering (*asamsthitam haviḥ*). A drum is asked to raise its sound as an eloquent poet (*vāgvī*) does his sacred *Mantra* at 5.20.11(40).

A gambler (*śvaghñī*) fixing up the dice (*akṣān*) on the game-board is an Upamāna for Varuṇa who fixes up the guilts of men, not missing even a single wink of the eye at 4.16.5(41). A guilty person being freed from his guilt is compared with a perspiring person (*svinna*) who becomes free from his bodily dirt (*mala*) after taking a bath at 6.115.3(42). The grinding stone is expected to beautify the unhusked corn at 12.3.21 (43) as the washerman (*malaga*) does the clothes (*vastra*). Rātri receiving a hymn of praise is compared with a king (*rājā*) at 19.49.6(44). A *Kṛtyā* is asked to go back to her maker as surely as a trespasser³ (*avakṛmīn*) who goes back to his chains (*bandha*) at 5.14.10(45). Agni is said to conquer the enemies as easily as a chariot-fighter (*rathī*) does the foot-soldiers (*patti*) at 7.62.1(46). The poet desires that his enemies should not be able to overpower him just as people who have no floats or rafts (*aplavūḥ*) are unable to cross a deep river (*gambhīram*) at 19.50.3(47). The devils harassing a pregnant woman are compared with impotent persons (*klība*) dancing and shouting for livelihood at 8.6.11(48). The great Being is said to be living in the created world as the *Vāk* lives in an eloquent speaker (*vaktari*) at 2.1.4(49). The mind of a jealous person is said to be dead like that of a dead⁴ man (*mamruṣaḥ*) at 6.18.2.(50). Rudra is

¹ The meaning is conjectural. In RV. *Karvara* means an 'act'.

² See: Sāyaṇa-R̥bhū and RV. 1.111.1.

³ Or like one who disregards his bonds, (thus disregarding the orders from your maker).

⁴ Like one who is about to die, leaving treasure to another person, or like one who intends to send some treasure to another person. Śevadhi also belongs to the simile.

requested to track from behind, a criminal who seeks to avoid him, like the hunter who leads by the foot-track of a wounded game (*viddhasya padanī*) at 11.2.13(51). Similarly a Kṛtyā is asked to find out her own maker even though he were to avoid her, as a hunter (*mṛgayu*) does a wounded animal (*viddha*) by means of its foot-tracks at 10.1.26(52). The war-drum is asked to frighten the enemies as the wild animals (*mṛgāḥ*) are frightened by the presence of man of the forest i.e. the *hunter*: at 5.21.4(53). A poet who seeks to dispel the displeasure of his comrade says to him that thereafter they should cling to each other like two friends (*sakhāyau*) 6.42.1-2(54). The Night is said to wait upon the world like a friend (*mitra*) at 19.49.2(55) and the Jaṅgiḍa maṇi is requested to guard the worshippers as watchfully as a treasurer (*dhanapāla*) does his treasures (*dhana*) at 19.35.2(56). A Kṣatriya who does not return to the Brahmin his cow through arrogance is said to displease Agni like one who snatches off the ghee-offering which is taken up in a ladle for Agni (*ājyam ālumpet*) at 12.4.34(57).

At 2.5.2(58) Indra is requested to fill his belly with Soma like a praiseworthy guest (*navyāḥ*). The poison is described as being collected in the patient's body like a band of men (*grāma*) at 4.7.5(59). Goddess Aditi is requested to protect the cooked rice offering like an active cow-boy (*gopā*) at 12.3.11(60). An imprisoned person is ordered by the poet-charmer to come out and move freely like a child (*garbhā*) coming out of its mother's womb (*yoni*) at 6.121.4(61), while at 9.3.21(62), Agni is said to have lived in a house which is to be given away as a gift, as a child (*garbhā*) lives (in its mother's womb).

7. Females

Among females we have the mention of women (*jāmayāḥ*) in general who conceal something secretly in a box ; they are used as an Upamāna for a magician who closes up the generative organ of a girl so as to prevent her from being married to any one at 1.14.4(63). The magician orders the blood-vessels to stop flowing and stay where they are like brotherless damsels (*abhrātaraḥ jāmayāḥ*) whom nobody would like to marry for fear of their being a putrikā at 1.17.1(64). The earth is requested to cover the remains of the dead person as young girls (*jāmayāḥ*) cover their sprouting bosom-tips (*kakutsala*) at 18.4.66(65). A physician at 10.4.21(66) says that he chooses his herbs, which resemble the selected brides (*urvarī*). Women (*striyāḥ*) cutting up with stone implements the shafts of reed (*naḍa*) for preparing baskets are mentioned as an Upamāna for a magician who seeks to break the testes of his enemy by means of his spell at 6.138.5(67). Two dancing girls (*parinṛtyantyaṁ*) who dance round and round following one another are mentioned at 10.7.43 (68) as the Upamāna for the two divine sisters Night and Dawn, of whom as of these, it is difficult to say which is the first and which is the second. The two Havirdhānī carts are compared with twin-children (*yame n. dual*)

at 18.3.38(69). A Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker breaking everything that comes in her way like an army full of (or a river carrying) bullock carts (*vāhīnī anasvatī*) at 10.1.15(70); but an ośadhi is said to be marching forth like a vehement army (*tvīṣimatī senā*) towards the disease at 4.19.2(71). The Sun carrying the waters upwards in the sky is compared with a woman carrying water (*udahāri*) by means of a pitcher (*kumbha*) at 10.8.14(71A). The scrofulous glands are asked to go away from the patient as slanderous reports (*vākā*) do from a lady who is devoted to her husband (*apacitā*) at 6.25.1(72).

B. ANIMALS

1. A cow and her calf

The members of a family suffering from discord are advised to love each other as a cow (*aghnyā*) does her new-born calf (*vatsa*) at 3.30.1(73). The gods are requested to receive odana at 12.3.37(74) and the hymns are said to approach the deity at 20.48.1(75) as cows (*vāśrū-stanasyu*; *dhenu-vatsa*) approach their calf. On the other hand, a Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker at 4.18.2(76) and the Sun is said to be approaching both the ends of the horizon (East and West) at 13.2.13(77) in the manner of a calf (*vatsa*) lovingly approaching its mothers¹ (*mātā*). Medicinal herbs are requested to yield their healing properties to the patient as the joint mother cows (*sammātarah*) yield their common milk to the calf at 8.7.27(78). At 6.49.1(79) Agni who seems to be identified with a monkey (*hapi*) is said to be eating a reed i.e. the firewood as a cow (*gauh*) eats up her own membrane (*jarāyu*—after calving?). A Piṅga maṇi is asked to kick off the devils pestering a pregnant woman like a wild wandering cow (*gauh*) kicking up an earthen pot (*sthāli*) (wherein she is sought to be milked?) at 8.6.17(80). All deities are said to be dwelling in the Brahman as cows (*gāvah*) dwell together in their stall (*goṣṭha*) at 11.8.32(81). The dispersion of evil signs is compared with that of cows (*gāh*) over a pasture (*khila*) at 7.115.4(82). A fruitful dice-game is compared with a milk-giving cow (*kṣīriṇī gau*) at 7.50.9(83) and the earth at 12.1.45(84) and Heaven and Earth at 4.22.4(85) are requested to give their yield unwaveringly like a faithful cow (*dhenu*).

2. A bull

A herb is called best among the plants like a bull (*anaḍvān*) among the moving animals (*jagatām*) at 8.5.11(86). The Prāṇa and Apāna are requested to enter the patient i.e. his body as two bulls (*anaḍvāhau*) enter their stall (*vraja*) at 3.11.5(87). The same two i.e. Prāṇa and Apāna of a rival are made to rise up from his body by the magician at 7.95.2(88) like two bulls who have wearily sat down for rest (*gāvau*

¹ *Sammātarau*-joint-mothers (Whitney) i.e. one real mother and another adoptive one who affectionately licks the calf.

brāntasadau). An *aśvattha* tree is requested to help the poet to overpower his enemies like a conquering bull (*sāśahānah ṛsabhaḥ*) at 3.6.4(89). *Brhaspati* is said to have led away from a patient his old age as they do a stud bull (*ukṣan*) by a rope at 3.11.8(90). A woman ordains by her charm, her rival to be avoided by their common lover as a barren cow (*vaśū*) is by the stud bull (*ṛsabha*) at 7.113.2(91), while at 5.20.2(92) the war-drum is described as approaching the enemies with its roar like a stud-bull (*vrṣabhaḥ*) approaching a cow in season (*vāsitā*). In the next stanza i.e. 5.20.3(93) the same drum is asked to thunder in the midst of the enemies like a stud-bull (*vrṣā*) known for his strength roaring in the midst of his herd (*yūtha*).

3. A horse

Diseases are said to run away from a patient like¹ wild horses (*mṛgā aśvāḥ*), when he is magically treated at 19.38.2(94). At 3.15.8(95), 19.55.1 and 6(96) the poet who brings oblations to *Agni* compares himself with one who gives fodder (*ghāsa*) to his faithful horse (*tiṣṭhatè aśvāya*). A lover magician claims to have become united with his woman (*bhaga*) as a thundering (challenging) horse (*aśva*) with success (*bhaga* with a double-meaning) at 2.30.5(97). The earth is said to have shaken off wicked men from herself as a horse (*aśva*) does the dust (*rajaḥ*) from his body at 12.1.57(98) and a dream is requested by the poet to shake off his enemy as easily as a wicked horse (*aśva*) who shakes off both his rider (*kāya*) and the harness (*nīnāha*) from its back at 19.57.4(99). A thunder (*kranda*) of a powerful charger (*aśva*) is employed as an *Upamāna* for the missiles of *Rudra* such as fever and cough at 11.2.22(100); but at 10.1.19(101) a witch-craft is asked to turn back against its maker as a horse turned wild (*aśva*) does towards his master. *Nirṛti* is asked to lead an enemy towards herself at 4.36.10(102) and the magician leads a *Kṛtyā* back to her maker at 5.14.6(103) like a horse (*aśva*) by his halter (*abhidhānī*). *Indra* and *Bhūtapati* occupy the homes of the devils called *Sadānūs*, as the racers (*āśu*) occupy the boundary line (*gāṣṭhā*) of the race-course at 2.14.6(104); at 6.14.3(105) the disease called *Balāsa* is asked to run away with speed like a young colt (*āśūṅgaḥ śiśukaḥ*). At 4.27.1(106) the *Maruts* are invoked for help like swift horses (*āśūn*) which are easily² controllable i.e. like tamed horses. The poet leads the herbs against the poison of serpents like mares (*arvatīḥ*) at 10.4.21(107).

4. A tiger

A *Pratisara maṇi* is said to be the best among the medicinal herbs like the tiger (*vyāghra*) among the beasts of prey (*śvapad*) at 8.5.11(108) and 19.39.4(109). A physician-magician describes himself as the tormentor of the *Piśācas* as the tiger (*vyāghra*) is of those who own cows

¹ *Mṛga* : an untamed wild animal ; here the horse.

² 4.27.1 I think *suyamān* is the common property.

(*gomatām*) at 4.36.6(110). A king seated on a tiger-skin for his ceremonial bath is called a lion and a tiger himself at 4.8.4 and 7(111). The Aṣṭṛta maṇi attacking the enemies is called a tiger (*vyāghra*) at 19.46.5(112) and the first two teeth of a child are similarly called a tiger (*vyāghra*) since they were considered inauspicious to its parents at 6.140.1(113). A king is said to have the appearance of a tiger (*vyāghrapratīka*) at 4.22.7(114). The last three are examples of Rūpaka.

5. A lion

The poet-magician at 4.36.6(115) says that on seeing him the Piśācas do not find a hiding place like a dog (*śvan*) on seeing a lion (*śimha*). The war-drum is asked to roar like a lion (*śimha*), challenging and conquering the enemies at 5.20.1 and 2(116). The enemies are described as escaping at the roar of the war-drum like that of a lion (*śimha*) at 5.21.6 (117). The disease is scared away at the presence of herbs and is said to run away as at the roar of a lion (*śimha*) at 8.7.15(118). The king taking his ceremonial bath is called a lion and one having the appearance of a lion (*śimhapratīka*) at 4.22.7(119).

6. A wolf

The war-drum is asked to frighten away the enemies as a wolf (*vrka*) does the sheep and goats (*ajāvayah*) at 5.21.5(120). The Atisara beads at 5.8.4(121) and the poet at 7.50.5(122) are expected to attack the enemy and his achievements as a wolf (*vrka*) does a sheep (*avi*). The imprecation of the charmer is said to have gone back to his home, seeking to kill the charmer as a wolf (*vrka*) goes to the home of a keeper of sheep (*avimat*) seeking to kill the sheep at 6.37.1(123). At 7.95.2(124) the vital breaths Prāṇa and Apānā, are made to go away by the poet from the body of his rival and are compared with two wolves (*vrkau*) and with two growling dogs (*kukkurau*) who help each other (*ud avantau*).

7. An elephant

A king while taking his ceremonial bath is identified with an elephant (*dvīpin*) (as with a tiger and a lion) at 4.8.7(125). The Piśācas who irritate the poet are compared with gnats (*maśaka*) teasing an elephant (*hastin*) at 4.36.9(126). The poet kicking away every evil done by the Kṛtyā is compared with an elephant (*hastin*) shaking off the dust¹ from his body at 10.1.32(127). At 6.70.2(128) a cow is asked to have her mind fixed upon her calf (which she was not willing to suckle) as an elephant (*hastin*) joins his foot with that of his female companion (*hastinī*); joining the foot with that of his female is perhaps a sign of love-making of an elephant. A Śālā i.e. house is said to be stationed firmly on the

¹ cf. under 'Horse' 12.1.57 (98).

ground like a she-elephant with strong feet (*hastinī padvatī*) at 9.3.17(129).

8. Other animals

The Soma creeper which moves to and fro on the stones while it is being crushed and Agni so moving in the woods (*Sāyana*) are compared with a ram (*meṣa*) at 6.49.2(130), moving back and forth before attacking. A Kṛtyā is ordered to go back to her maker like a roaring she-donkey (*gardabhī*) when released from her tying post at 10.1.14(131). The powerful herb is requested to join the poet's broken love-affair as a mongoos (*nakula*) that combines once more the limbs of a serpent after cutting it up at 6.139.5(132). This is a reference to the popular belief that a mongoos cuts up a snake into three parts, devours the middle one and then again combines the remaining two, thus reviving the reptile once again.

A magical wooden bead is said to be a trouble-maker for the devils called Viṣkandhas as a monkey (*kapi*) is for dogs (*śvan*) at 3.9.4(133), while Agni is himself called a monkey (*kapi*) eating up the arrow-tip (*tejana*) in the form of a fire-stick at 6.49.1(134).

A sex-disabled person is enabled to mount upon his wife as a stag (*arśa*) does on a red doe (*rohita*) with an unrelaxing (penis) at 4.4.7.(135). A Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker leaping forward like a female deer (*eṇī mṛgī*) at 5.15.11(136). A war-drum is asked to frighten the enemies as a man i.e. hunter (*puruṣa*) does the wild deer (*aranya mṛga*) at 5.21.4(137). The gods are requested to cut out a strip from the skin of the maker of a Kṛtyā like that of a deer (*riśya*) at 5.14.3(138). The diseases are said to run away helter-skelter from the Gulgulu herb like the deer (*mṛga*) and horses (*aśva*)¹ at 19.38.2(139). The poet ordains that the Kṛtyā should run back to her maker and seize him again as an arrow (*iṣu*) does a deer (*mṛga*) at 5.14.12(140). Again at 10.1.26(141) he commands her to find out the track of her maker as a hunter (*mṛgayu*) finds out that of a wounded² game. A cursing enemy is offered to Mṛtyu like a bone (*peṣtra*) to a dog (*śvan*) at 6.39.3(142). At 2.36.4(143) the poet desires that his woman-client should be most acceptable to Bhaga (god of fortune) and to her husband as a lying den (*ākharā*) is to the wild animals.

9. Birds

A bridegroom says at 14.2.44(144) that after putting on new clothes he has become released from all evil as a bird (*patatrin*) from the egg (*āṇḍāt*) when he comes out of it. The two vital breaths Prāṇa and Apāna raised by the poet from his rival's body and compelled to leave it, are compared with two vultures (*grāhṛa*) flying up to the skies at 7.95.1

¹ But see above under Horse (*aśva*) 12-10-57 (94).

² See above *viddhasya padanā* 11.2.13 (51).

(145). The bride and the bridegroom are desired to be drawn towards each other by Indra like the *Cakravāka* birds at 14.2.64(146). This bird is mentioned here in a simile of this kind for the first time even though at RV 2.39.3 *Aśvinā* are compared with two *Cakravākas*. A poet says to a woman whom he seeks, that he would strike down i.e. fix her mind on him in order that she may love him, as the eagle (*suparṇa*) strikes down his wings (*pakṣa*) on the earth i.e. earthwards, when he is about to dash forth in the sky, at 6.8.2(147). The full-grown foetus is asked to come out as the birds (*pakṣin*) fly up, at 1.11.6(148). The war-drum is requested to frighten the enemies by its roar as a hawk or falcon (*śyena*) does the other birds (*patatrin*) at 5.21.6(149). The scrofulous glands of a patient are asked to fly away from his body as an eagle (*suparṇa*) does from his nest (*vasati*) at 6.83.1(150). The Juices are said to be entering Indra as birds (*vi*) enter a tree (*vṛkṣa*) for resting in their nests at 6.2.2(151). With the help of a herb called *Ṙśniparṇī* a poet says that he would cut off the head of the evil spirit like that of a bird (*śakuni*) at 2.25.2(152). A disease is said to have flown away like a hawk (*śyena*) owing to the command of the poet at 5.30.9(153). The poet requests that the two viz. *Nirṛti* and *Mṛtyu* should destroy the ghee offering of an enemy, attacking it like two swooping hawks (*śyenau sampātinau*) at 7.70.3(154).

10. Reptiles and others

A magician ordains the penis of a patient to stiffen and extend itself at will like a black cobra (*asita*) at 6.72.1(155). Another poet-magician commands his enemies to move confounded like headless snakes (*aśirṣan ahi*) at 6.67.2(156). A Brahmin's cow forcibly taken away by a king is said to be pungent and difficult to keep like a venomous snake (*aghaviṣā prdākū*) at 5.18.3(157) and 15(158). A *Kṛtyā* is asked to go back to her maker and bite him like a viper trampled under foot (*abhiṣṭhita svajaḥ*) at 5.14.10(159). A *Svaja* is one that wraps itself round the body of another (from *svaj*, to encircle, twist round etc.). At 19.47.7(160) *Rātrī* is requested to see that robbers and wicked people as also a rope with fangs (*datvatī rajju*) i.e. a snake, go away from the poet's house. The pañcaudana aja *śitipād* is asked to climb up to the world of the pious which is concealed like a *śarabha*¹ beyond the difficult regions at 9.5.9(161). Rivals of the poet who anger him are compared with small insects on the body of a man (*alpaśayu*) at 4.36.9(162). Worms are compared with a *kṣullaka* insect at 2.32.5(163).

C. GODS

Indra's powers are sought to be put in the *yajamāna* as in *Indra* at 1.35.3(164). A poet seeks to kill his enemies as *Indra* did the *Sālāvṛkas*

¹ *Sārabha* = *Salabha* (Whitney).

at 2.27.5(165) ; another desires to slip off from the house of his beloved woman which he has stealthily entered, uninjured and unwounded like *Indra* at 4.5.7(166). A bull roaring in the midst of cows is compared with *Indra* thundering in the midst of gods at 9.4.11(167). The *Varaṇa maṇi* is asked to drive away the enemies as *Indra* did the *Asuras* at 10.3.11(168) and the *Astrta maṇi* is similarly asked to do the same as *Indra* did the *dasyus* at 19.46.2(169). The *Darbha maṇi* is asked to break the hearts of the enemies as *Indra* did *Vala* at 19.28.3(169A). The magician produces strength by what he eats with his spell and thereby holds a *Vajra* in his hands chopping off the shoulders of his enemy as *Indra* did of *Vṛtra* at 6.135.1(170). The poet seeks to check the disease of his patient by means of *Vaiśvānara Agni* as *Vṛtra* checked the rivers going everywhere at 6.85.3(171). A worshipper offers a house in the cemetery to the spirit of the recently dead person as formerly the five tribes of men (*pañca mūnava*) offered it to *Yama*, at 18.4.55(172). *Sarasvatī* is requested to stand facing the newly married couple, like *Viṣṇu* at 14.2.15(173). The poet prays that he should be famous as also lovely in the lap of *Aditi* and *Prṛthivī* like *Savitṛ* at 13.1.38(174). The charmer at 19.45.4(175) says to his patient that as a result of the ointment supplied to him he may stand firm and noble like *Savitṛ*. At 14.1.53(176) the bridegroom requests *Savitṛ* and *Bhaga* that they may favour his bride with progeny as they did *Sūryā* ; while at 14.2.32(177) the bride is asked to be possessed of progeny like *Sūryā*. The reference in both the cases may be to *RV* 10.85.38. A bride is asked to awake in the morning to greet the *Uṣas* like *Indrāñī* at 14.2.31(177A).

The discordant members of a family are exhorted by a poet to protect their newly acquired harmony as the gods (*deva*) do their *amṛta* at 3.30.7-(178), while at 10.3.25(179) the poet requests the *Varaṇa maṇi* to bestow on him fame and prosperity so as to live with him like *amṛta* among the gods (*deva*). *Kābavas* are described as moving about seeking fame with the help of the magical lore of the *Asuras* like *gods* at 3.9.4(180) and the three¹ *Kālakañja Asuras* who dwell in heaven like the *gods* are invoked by the poet for help at 6.80.2(181). A *śitipād avi*, given away as a present, is said to be never-exhausted like the *two gods* dwelling together (i.e. the *Sun* and the *Moon*) at 3.29.6(182). *Bṛhaspati* got back his wife who was carried away by *Soma* as the *gods* did a ladle (*Juhū*) (i.e. as easily as that) through the *Brahmacārin* at 5.17.5(183). The *Night* is said to have disclosed her lovely forms to the poet as the heavenly one (*divyā* i.e. *Uṣas*) does the earth at 19.49.8(184). At 2.5.3(185) *Indra* is said to have killed *Vṛtra* like the *Yatis*, while at 6.21.2(186) a medicinal herb is said to be best among medicines and resembling *Soma*, *Bhaga* and *Varuṇa*, in their march for helping a worshipper.

¹ Three: in *Taitt.* we have only two. *Taitt. Br.* 1. 1. 2. 4-6.

D. PLANTS

A herbal medicine given against poison is asked to settle down in the patient's body as firmly as a tree (*vrkṣa*) at 4.7.5(187). A Maṇi called Varāṇa is requested to destroy the enemies as whirl-wind (*vāta*) does the trees big and small (*vrkṣa-vanaspati*) at 10.3.13, 14 and 15(188). Similarly a Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker and destroy him completely as the whirl-wind (*vāta*) does the trees (*vrkṣa*) at 10.1.17(189). A poet seeks to cut up his enemy by means of his spell like a tree (*vrkṣa*) with an axe (*Kuliśa*) at 2.12.3(190). But at four other places i.e. 6.37.2(191), 7.50.1(192), 7.59.1(193) and 7.109.4(194) the poet desires to kill his enemy or rival by his spells like a tree (*vrkṣa*) with the heaven's bolt (*aśani*). At 8.6.26(195) a magical bead viz. Piṅga is asked to collect all defects like childlessness and others and put them on the enemy like a garland (*sraja*) (prepared with flowers collected) from a tree (*vrkṣa*). Elsewhere at 1.14.1(196) a magician seeks to take away the fortune and lustre from a maiden like a garland (*sraja*) (prepared with flowers collected) from a tree (*vrkṣa*). All the gods are said to reside in the great yakṣa i.e. the Brahman as the branches (*śākhā*) of a tree reside on its trunk (*śkandha*) at 10.7.38(197). The Somas are said to enter Indra as birds¹ (*vi*) enter a tree (*vrkṣa*) at 6.2.2(198). The passionate magician asks the woman of his choice to embrace him as a creeper² (*libujā*) does a tree (*vrkṣa*) at 6.8.1(199). Evil fortune is said to attack a person as the bending insect does a tree at 7.115.2(200). This bending insect (*vandanā*) is to be compared with the *kapanā* of RV 5.54.6 on the one hand and with the *vandana* poison of RV 7.50.2 on the other.

A poet at 6.15.3(201) seeks to be the best among his rivals as *Talāśū* is among the trees (*vrkṣa*) and Soma among the plants (*oṣadhī*). Sāyaṇa reads *palāśaḥ* for *Talāśū* and thinks that this *Palāśa* *vrkṣa* is meant in the whole hymn 6.15. The war-drum is asked to dance and crush the enemy's property as the press-stone (*grāvan*) does the Soma stalks (*aṁśu*) at 5.20.10(202), while at 5.29.12 and 13(203) the poet-magician ordains that the patient's limbs should grow and be robust like the stalks of Soma (*aṁśu*) (when soaked in water before crushing).

Brahmaṇaspati is requested to bend the mouths i.e. hoods of venomous snakes like a reed (*iṣīkū*) at 7.56.4(204). The enemies are desired to be broken quickly like a reed (*śara*) at 8.8.4(205). A Kṛtyā is asked to destroy the progeny of her maker like the reed growing only in the rainy season (*naḍa vārṣika*) at 4.19.1(206). A poet seeks to break the penis of his rival as women break the reed (*naḍa*) with stone for preparing a basket (*kaśīpun-kaṭa*) at 6.138.5(207), while another poet assures his bald patient that black hair will grow on his head as pro-

¹ See also under birds.

² cf. RV. 10.10.13.

fusely as the reeds (*naḍa*) at 6.137.2(208). A blade of the Muñja grass when inserted in the penis to induce the flow of urine, is asked to stand between the disease and the flow of urine as the *tejana* (i.e. bamboo tree according to Sāyaṇa) stands between the Heaven and the Earth at 1.2.4-(209).

The enemies are desired to be broken at once like the stick of Hemp (*bhaṅga*) at 8.8.3(210). Indra is requested to increase a patron's dominion at 6.54.1(211) as shower (*vṛṣṭi*) increases the grass (*trṇam*), but at 2. 30.1-(212)¹ a passionate charmer says to the woman of his choice that he would crush her mind as wind (*vāta*) does the grass (*trṇa*). A bride is sought to be removed (from her father's home) like the *urvāruka* fruit from its stem at 14.1.17(213); but at 6.14.2(214) the poet cuts off the stem of the Balāsa cough like *muṣkara* plant and like the roots² of the *urvāru* creeper. At 3.14.4-5(215) the cows are asked to develop like *śārisāka*³ and *śaka* while at 19.50.4(216) Rātri is requested to cause an enemy⁴ to fall off out of existence like the *sāmyāka* i.e. its seed. The wicked rivals are said to be unprosperous like the sprouts (*adga*) of a bamboo (*veṇu*) at 1.27.3(217). A husband ordains his wife at 1.34.4(218) to love him alone like a branch (of tree) full of sweet fruit or honey (*mādhumatī śākhā*). On the other hand Rudra is requested not to shake off over the worshippers the divine branch (*divyā śākhā*) meaning the lightning at 11.2.19(219).

Rātri is said to be auspicious like a properly chiselled out (*viṣṭa*) wooden cup (*camasa*) at 19.49.8(220). A charmer-physician breaks the urinator of his patient like the lid of wooden tank (*veśantī*) at 1.3.7(221). He makes the snake's poison ineffective (*arasam*) like the wooden block (*udapluta dāru*) floating on water at 10.4.3 and 4(222). A worshipper seeks to be free from his guilt at 6.115.2 and 3(223) as from a wooden tying post (*dṛupada*). Progeny, cattle and food are sought to be multiplying for a worshipper at 10.6.33(224), like the seed (*bīja*) on a fertile soil (*urvarā*). A magician seeks to crush all the worms in his patient's body by his Mantra like the *khalva* beans with a stone at 2.31.1(225) and 5.23.8(226).

E. MATERIAL WORLD

1. Agni (fire)

The herb *Prśniparnī* is asked to go forth burning the devils called Kaṇvas like *Agni* at 2.25.4(227). A Brāhmaṇa insulted by a Kṣatriya is said to destroy everything of the latter at 5.18.4(228), like *Agni* when

¹ See also under Suparna 6.8.2 (147).

² According to Sayana mūlam = vṛntam. Urvāru is the fruit.

³ Śārisāka : a kind of vegetable. Śaka : The same. Śārisāka : a kind of animal according to Sāyaṇa; Śaka : a fly.

⁴ प्रपतन् अपवान् = अपगतवान्.

held closely (in hand) and hence it is said that he must not be attacked like *Agni* by one who loves his body at 5.18.6(229).

A *Kṛtyā* is asked to go back to her maker like *Agni* going against the stream¹ i.e. towards high places at 5.14.13(230). The Takman makes everything yellowish, inflaming and torturing like *Agni* at 5.22.2(231); its (power) goes forth while it burns like *Agni* at 6.20.1(232). A herb is requested to pacify the jealousy of a rival like *Agni* with *water*, while he i.e. the rival goes on burning everywhere like *Agni*, and in the manner of a *Dāva Agni* with water (*udnū*) at 7.45.2(233). The diseases are said to be running away from the herbs when brought near, as from *Agni*, at 8.7.15-234). Bhava is requested to avoid the poet as *Agni* does waters at 11.2.8(235), while a Śapatha is similarly requested to avoid him as *Agni* does a lake (*hradam*) at 6.37.2(236).

2. *Sūrya*

A Baja maṇi is requested to destroy those devils which pester a pregnant woman as the *Sun* does the shadow after attacking it (at midday) at 8.6.8(237). A poet surrounds the poisonous snakes or the mind of a woman of his choice by his charm as the *Sun* does the heaven at 6.8.3(238) and heaven and earth at 6.12.1(239), while another seeks to leave behind him all mischief of his rival's *Kṛtyā* as the *Sun* does the night and the heralding rays of *Uṣas* at 10.1.32(240). Yet another one forcibly snatches off the powers of his rivals as the *Sun* does of the stars and of those who are asleep (even after sunrise) at 7.13.1 and 2(241). A *Srāktya Maṇi* is said to be overpowering the *Kṛtyās* after mounting on them as the *Sun* does the heaven at 8.5.7(242), while the *Darbha Maṇi* is asked to shine over all the four quarters like the *Sun* at 19.33.5(242A). The disease *Kāsā* is ordered to run away along the tide of the ocean, like the rays of the *Sun* at 6.105.3(243). The exhilarating juices of Soma like the *Sun*² are said to have approached Indra at 2.5.2(244). The essence of the snake-poison is asked to get up from the snake as the *Sun* and his light get up from darkness, at 5.13.3(245). A race-horse is consecrated by being asked to put in himself strength and speed as the great god i.e. the *Sun* puts his light in the heaven at 6.92.3(246). The *Varaṇa Maṇi* is requested to bestow fame on the poet, resembling that of the *Sun* and the *Moon* at 10.3.18(247). Strangely enough, a *Piśāca* is said to be moving in the mid air like the *Sun* at 4.20.7(248). The herb *Apāmārga* is said to be stationed in front of the medicinal herbs illuminating them by its ojman (cf. 4.19.8) as with a light (*jyotiḥ*) at 4.19.3(249).

3. *Heaven and Earth*

Prajāpati is requested to establish firmly fame and glory in the poet like the day (*divi-dyām*) in the heaven at 6.69.3(250). The yava corn is

¹ *Pratikūlam* used in a secondary sense.

² i.e. being brilliant like the Sun.

requested to rise as high as the heaven (*dyu*) and as exhaustless as the ocean (*samudra*) at 6.142.2(251). The poet requests Indra to protect and support him as the earth (*prthivī*) does the heaven (*dyu*) at 18.3.25-(252). Elsewhere at 5.25.2(253) and 6.17.1(254), 4(255) a woman is commanded to hold her garbha firmly as the earth (*prthivī mahī*) does hers in the form of creatures. A young bull ceremoniously released for free roaming is identified with the primordial waters (*āpaḥ*) which are masters of everyone and compared with the divine earth at 9.4.2(256). A poet at 6.18.2(257) ordains that by his spell the mind of his jealous rival shall become as dead as that of the earth (*bhūmi*).

4. Ocean and rivers

A creeper is said to have washed out all curses from the poet as waters (*āpaḥ-māla*) wash out dirt at 2.7.1(258). A Kṛtyā is asked to go back to her maker as easily as water (*udaka*) going (to low places) along its bank at 5.14.13(259). The yava corn is ordained to be exhaustless like the ocean (*samudra*) at 6.142.2(260). An offering is requested to carry away the Yātudhānas as the river (*nadī-phena*) does her foam at 1.8.1-(261), while at 3.24.3(262) all quarters and all people are requested to bring prosperity to the poet as amply and easily as rivers (*nadī-śūpa*) bring their floating dirt when it has rained heavily. The king having his ceremonial bath in waters is compared with the ocean (*samudra*) washed by the rivers (*āpaḥ*) in v.6 with their waters at 4.8.7(263). The white-footed goat is said to be exhaustless like the ocean (*samudra*) which is the great reservoir of water at 3.29.6(264). The magician says that he drinks and swallows the vital breaths of his rival, being a total drinker and swallower like the ocean (*samudra*) at 6.135.2 and 3(265). The opening of a patient's bladder is said to be released at 1.3.8(266) like that of the ocean (*samudra*) which is the store of waters. Whatever is created by Heaven and Earth under the directions of the great Brahman is said to be quite fresh (*ārdrām*) at all times like the streams or springs (*srotiyā*) at the bottom of the ocean (*samudra*) at 1.32.3(267). The newly married bride is blessed at 14.1.43(268) to have the sovereign power over her relatives as the ocean (*sindhu-nadī*) has over the rivers.

5. Wind (wind)

A passionate charmer seeks to crush the mind of his woman as wind (*vāta*) does the blade of grass (*trṇa*) on the earth, at 2.30.1(269) and ordains that her mind shall follow him alone as smoke (*dhūma*) follows the wind (*vāta*) at 6.89.2(270). The fullgrown child in the womb is asked to come out as easily as the wind (*vāta*) blows at 1.11.6(271). The Piṅga Maṇi is expected to drive away the Gandharvas, who have a share in woman, from a pregnant woman as easily as wind (*vāta-abhra*) blows away a piece of cloud at 8.6.19(272), while all guilt is said to have departed from the poet, being driven away by the Brahman, like dust from the

earth (*bhūmyā reṇu*) and cloud (*abhra*) from the mid air by wind (*vāta*) at 10.1.13(273). A racer is asked to have the speed of wind (*vāta*) at 6.92.1-(274).

6. Miscellaneous

The sound of a poet's spell is compared with the thunder of a cloud (*nabhas-tanyatu*) at 5.13.3(275). The Darbha Maṇi is requested to break the head of the enemies as it does the skin of the earth (*bhūmyāh tvac*) when it springs up at 19.28.4(276). The mind of a cow is sought to be fixed upon her calf as the dice (*akṣa*) are on the game-board (*adhidevana*) at 6.70.1(277) (cf. *śvaghñī* 41) and as the nave of a wheel on its rim (*nabhya-pradhī*) at 6.70.3(278). The members of a family are admonished to wait upon Agni in harmony with each other as the spokes of a wheel do upon the nave (*arū-nābhi*) at 3.30.6(279); Gods and men are said to be resting in Brahman as the spokes do in the nave of a wheel (*arū-nābhi*) at 10.8.34(280). All deities are said to rest on the *ucchiṣṭa*, identified with the Brahman, as the wheel of a chariot does on its nave (*cakra-nābhi*) at 11.7.4(281). The enemies are desired to float forward aimlessly like a boat cut off from its moorings (*nau-bandhana*) at 3.6.7 and 9.2.12-(282). Calamities trickle down to that kingdom where they kill a Brahman, as water does to a battered ship (*udaka-bhinnā nau*) at 5.19.8(283). Gods are requested to fasten (*pratimuñcata*) a *Kṛtyā* on her maker and an evil dream on a hateful rival, like a golden chain (*niṣka*) on the neck at 5.14.3(284) and 19.37.5(285). A poet forces the feeling of jealousy out of his rival like hot vapour¹ (*ūṣman-dṛṭi*) from a skin bag (filled with liquid and heated) at 6.18.3(286). At 7.18.1(287) a rain cloud is called a skin bag filled with water (*udnaḥ dṛṭi*) and is sought to be released for the poet. An offender suffering from dropsy with his greatly inflated belly is compared with an unsupported sheath (*abandha kośa*) hanging down loosely at 4.16.7(288). The Takman which is hard, rough and reddish (as seen from the body of the sufferer) is compared with dust (*avadhvamsa*) at 5.22.3(289). A poison is sought to be made inactive while it moves in the patient's body like rice-grains (*caru*) which are seething while they are being boiled (*yeṣan*) at 4.7.4(290). The black spot on the moon is compared with a four-winged house (*catuspākṣa chadī*) at 3.7.3(291). The *Kṛtyās* of a rival covering themselves with magical darkness are compared with persons surrounded by a net (*jālena abhikṛita*) at 10.1.30(292). A sexually weak patient is assured that his penis shall be like a string on the bow (*jyū dhanvani*) or like the bow (*dhanus*) itself (i.e. as stiff and hard) as a result of a Mantra at 4.4.6 and 7(293). A poet frees his patient from the fury of a snake's poison like the string from the bow (*jyām dhanvanaḥ*) at 5.13.6(294), while another one brings down the fury from his rival's heart (thus making it

¹ Like air from the blow-pipe- Sāyaṇa.

harmless) like a string from the bow (*jyām dhanvanah*) at 6.42.1(295). A gambler requests the dice to arm him with the edge of the Kṛta throw like a bow with the sinews (*dhanus-snāvan*) (i.e. bowstring) at 7.50.9-(296). The Ṛḍākū is requested to go about in all directions cutting (the enemy), holding her sting which resembles the *Pināka* bow at 1.27.2-(297). A male child is ordered by the poet-magician to go to the womb of a pregnant woman as an arrow goes to the quiver (*bāṇa-iṣudhi*) at 3.23.2-(298) and at 6.105.2(299) the Kāsikā disease is commanded to fly away along the plains like a sharp arrow (*bāṇa*). The urine of a patient is ordered to shoot forth like an arrow (*iṣuka-dhanvan*) from the bow at 1.3.9(299 A). A passionate charmer asks the woman of his choice to attend to his call as the tip (*śalya*) of the arrow goes to its *kulmala* (i.e. its reed-stick) at 2.30.3(300). A poet-charmer prays that the penis (of his patient) should put the semen in the womb of the woman as a feather is put in the (knob of an) arrow (*śarau-paraṇam*) at 5.25.1(301). The intoxication of a herb is asked to fly like an arrow (*śara*) at 4.7.4(302). A brahmin's cow forcibly carried away by a kṣatriya is compared with a poison-smearred arrow (*digdhā iṣu*) at 5.18.15(303). The Jaṅgiḍa Maṇi is asked to strike down ignorance as the archer (*astā*) does his arrow (*iṣu*) at 19.34.3(304). At 3.23.2(305) a male child is ordered by the poet-magician to enter into the womb of a woman as an arrow (*bāṇa*) does the quiver (*iṣudhi*).

At 5.14.5 and 13(306) a Kṛtyā is asked to roll back to her maker like an easy-moving chariot (*sukha-ratha*), while at 3.9.5(307) the evil spirits are commanded to go away like the swift-moving chariots (*āśu ratha*). Bhūmi is requested to make her worshipper shine powerfully within the sight (of Agni) as in that of gold (*hiraṇya*) at 12.1.18(308). The white-footed goat given as a gift is said to be exhaustless like the nourishing food (*irā*) at 3.29.6(309) (which it brings to the giver). But a snake's poison is commanded to be exhausted by the charmer like the nourishing food (*irā*) on a desert-land (*dhanvan*) at 5.13.1(310). A poet desires to cut off a scrofulous gland by means of his spell like a tuft of hair (*stukā*) at 7.74.2(311). Another poet claims to have encompassed the tribes of poisonous snakes as Rātrī does all moving creatures (*iagat*) excepting the swan (i.e. the Sun) at 6.12.1(312), while a house covered with a thatch of grass is described as one which gives rest to the moving creatures (*jagat*) like Rātrī at 9.3.17(313). A bride who has earlier crossed the path of another who is being led in procession is said to behave like a *raśanā* 'a rope' to this latter at 14.2.74(314). A charmer curses a maiden to remain unmarried in her father's home for a long time like a mountain with a deep bottom (*mahābudhna parvata*) at 1.14.1(315). The ten-months-old child in the womb at 1.11.6(316) and the Kāsā disease at 6.105.1(317) are both required to run forth with speed like the mind (*manas*). A race horse too is asked to come out with the speed of the mind (*manas*) at 6.92.1(318). The mind of a cow who does not give

suck to her newly born calf is required to be fixed on it by the poet-charmer, like flesh (*māmsa*) and wine (*surā*) on the game board (*adhīdevane*) at 6.70.1(319). The point of the simile is, however, not very clear.¹ The Varāṇa Maṇi is requested to give to the poet fame like the fame (*yaśas*) that exists in the Moon and the Sun at 10.3.18(320). The Takman is bestowed on the peoples of the Gāndhāras and the Mūjavats like a treasure (*śevadhī*) at 5.22.14(321) and a cow is said to belong to the Brāhmaṇas like his treasure (*śevadhī*) at 12.4.14(322). At 6.115.3(323) the poet desires to be cleansed of his sin like ghee (*ājya*) purified by a strainer. A Kṛtyā is sent back to her maker like a due (*rṇa*) debt being paid back at 19.45.1(324). An unwilling woman is asked to wander about with her mouth dried up by passion like that of one who has not drunk water (*udakam apapūṣo āsya*) at 6.139.4(325). A Darbha Maṇi is asked to torture the wicked enemies like the pot in which milk-offering is boiled (*gharma*) at 19.28.2—3(326).

¹ Does it mean that Māmsa and Surā were kept ready (*nihanyate*) for enjoyment at the gambling hall ?

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THE ARYANS, THE DOMESTICATED HORSE AND THE SPOKED CHARIOT-WHEEL

By K. D. Sethna

IN 1950 Stuart Piggott,¹ voicing a wide-spread opinion, wrote : . . . apart from cattle, the really characteristic domesticated animal of the Aryans was the horse'. In 1963 Frederick E. Zeuner, in his admirable book, *A History of Domesticated Animals*,² writes 'The people who brought the horse across the mountains to the Near and Middle East appear to have spoken Indo-Germanic languages'.

The domesticated horse, therefore, may carry us straight into important problems connected with the Aryans. Its provenance and chronology should help us answer at least two questions : (1) Where did the Aryans have their home-land ? (2) How far back in time can we trace them ?

In association with the domesticated horse there is the light chariot of war moving on two spoked wheels, and this chariot takes us to the general subject of wheeled vehicles, their invention and spread. Zeuner touches on that subject with a reference to V. Gordon Childe who has made a good deal of research in it. We shall make use of his information wherever it is relevant, and inquire on our own into the origin of what is almost as characteristic of the Aryans as the domesticated horse : the spoked chariot-wheel.

I

Historically, the horse and the two-wheeled war-chariot come into prominence, according to Zeuner,³ in about 1700 B.C., or slightly later, in all countries of the Near and Middle East. This is the most active phase of the Aryans' sweep from their homeland—a movement which, in Zeuner's words,⁴ 'started about 2000 B.C. or somewhat earlier'. But did the Near and Middle East—the part of Asia which first felt the shock of the horse-driving charioteers—know the domesticated horse for the first time in the second millennium B.C. ?

Piggott⁵ tells us : ' . . . the horse . . . is not an original inhabitant of Mesopotamia, but is given the significant Sumerian name of the "ass of the mountains" when it first appears, probably in Jamdet Nasr times. It was presumably imported from "the mountains" of Highland Persia

¹ *Prehistoric India* (Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1952, 1961), p. 266.

² (Hutchinson of London, 1963), p. 315.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

or Turkestan, which with Baluchistan formed a common geographical province within which the earliest evidence of horse-taming comes'.

Jamdet Nasr times, by the chronological tables of both Piggott⁶ and Zeuner,⁷ are c. 3000 B.C. So, if we may accept the above statement of Piggott's along with his other one that the horse is the really characteristic domesticated animal of the Aryans, we should conclude that the home-land of the Aryans covered Highland Persia, Turkestan and Baluchistan and that they tamed the horse there fairly before 3000 B.C. at whatever early date the archaeologists assign to the sites where the first evidence of the tamed horse has been found.

But Piggott himself fails to draw the same conclusion. To him⁸ 'the most reasonable hypothesis . . . is that originally put forward by Professor J. L. Myers and the late Harold Peake, and developed by Professor Childe, which sees the Indo-European languages evolving among the earliest agriculturists of the South Russian steppes and the lands eastwards to the Caspian Sea'. His vision⁹ of original Aryanism is : 'by about 2000 B.C. . . . a loose confederacy of tribes, stretching from South Russia to Turkestan, who shared certain elements of culture . . . and who spoke closely related dialects within the Indo-European framework'. Piggott thus adds South Russia to Turkestan and omits both Persia and Baluchistan. In the context of the tamed horse his total view, with its special emphasis on South Russia, is expressed in the passage :¹⁰ 'The horse appears to have been domesticated in South Russia by Middle Kuban times (between 2000 and 1500 B.C.) and representations of Przewalski's horse appear on a silver bowl from the rather earlier Maikop tomb. But the evidence from Anau and Sialk shows that an apparently domesticated horse was known in Persia and Turkestan in very early times, and it again appears in Baluchistan in Rana-ghundai I and, though rarely, in the Harappan Culture. One cannot, therefore, hold that the Aryans were the first people to domesticate the horse in India or on its western borderlands, but they were certainly among the first to introduce the idea of rapid transport made possible by its use. For their farmwork, ox-drawn four-wheeled carts seem to have been used, and horses bred solely for use with the light two-wheeled chariot for sport or warfare'.

One need not deny the presence of Aryans in South Russia at c. 2000 B.C. But to lay special emphasis on this area and include it in the central region from which issued the horse-charioted movement of Indo-Germanic (or Indo-European) speakers over various parts of Asia and Europe flies in the face of the chronological scheme which Gordon

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

Childe has worked out for the spread of wheeled vehicles. Zeuner¹¹ sums up this scheme: 'He believes that the wheeled cart and the potter's wheel are both inventions of the Uruk culture of southern Mesopotamia and that this happened before 3500 B.C. There is evidence that the wheeled cart was preceded by the sledge, and sledges have been found in the royal tombs of Ur which are at least 1000 years younger. The earliest evidence consists of script signs on late Uruk tablets (Childe, Fig. 1). Whilst it is generally agreed that the earliest wheeled carts were drawn by oxen, onager bones were found in the chariot graves of the Y Cemetery of Kish, which is of Early Dynastic I date. Onagers were buried with the sledge of Queen Shub-ad, whilst the king's grave contained two ox-waggons. These finds are Early Dynastic III. From this and other evidence it is to be inferred that in Mesopotamia the ox was replaced by the swifter onager, though not universally, early in the third millennium B.C. Childe held that this is the source of wheeled vehicles, that they reached the Indus Valley by about 2500 B.C., north Syria—2200 B.C., Crete—1900 B.C., Greece—1550 B.C., south Russia—1400 B.C., north Italy—1100 B.C., central and northern Europe—1000 B.C. and Britain—500 B.C. This sequence looks indeed convincing, though new finds are apt to modify it'.

Mark that wheeled vehicles reached South Russia in 1400 B.C. How then can South Russia send out any kind of chariots to the Near and Middle East, to Europe or to India between 2000 and 1500 B.C.? With its late reception of chariotry, no less than with its late domestication of the horse, South Russia must be ruled out. It cannot figure as a significant centre of early Aryan radiation. Even without the chariot the domesticated horse cannot have gone forth from the Aryans of South Russia in the same antiquity as from those in Turkestan. Indeed, if the horse-representations on the Maikop silver bowl are only of c. 2000 B.C. the Aryans of South Russia may themselves have been migrants from Turkestan and any other place that can be considered a seat of Aryanism.

On Piggott's own declarations, there is no reason why North Persia and North Baluchistan should not equally with Turkestan be the Aryan home-land. And, with wheeled vehicles reaching the Indus Valley by about 2500 B.C., there is also no reason why from the regions thereabouts an Aryan wave should not have passed over the Near and Middle East in the early second millennium B.C. At any rate, Piggott's evidence about the domesticated horse gives us a belt of original Aryandom from Anau to Rānā Ghundāī as well as to Sialk in the centuries preceding 3000 B.C.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 329. The work of Childe's on which Zeuner draws is listed in the Bibliography (p. 513): 1951, 'The first waggons and carts from the Tigris to the Severn', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (n.s.), 17 (3), pp. 177-194, pls. 8-9.

And, on the strength of evidence similar to that which Piggott accepts for Anau, Sialk and Rānā Ghundāi, we may extend the belt at the Anau-end. For, at Shah Tepé on the shore of the Caspian Sea in Irān's extreme north, a little to the south-west of Anau, horse-remains from very early times have been claimed. Zeuner¹² mentions the claim and, if we credit it just as Piggott credits the other three, we get a pretty clear answer to our questions about the Aryans apropos of the provenance and chronology of the domesticated horse. Does Zeuner confirm the answer we have based on Piggott? No—and Yes. His treatment of the domesticated horse is a little complicated.

First, he deals expertly with the several types of horse and mentions the two kinds of wild horse that continued into modern times: the tarpan and Przewalski's Mongolian horse.¹³ Differing in some respects, they have in common a small build and an upright mane. One of their differences is in colour: the tarpan is mouse-grey with a lighter belly and a dark stripe from the neck to the tail, while Przewalski's horse is yellow-dun with lighter body and dark legs. 'The stock which contributed most to the domesticated horse is in all probability the tarpan.'¹⁴

Next, Zeuner asks: When was the horse domesticated? Who were its domesticators and where did its domestication happen?

'From 2000 B.C. onwards the horse-drawn chariot swept across the Western world, a contraption which requires elaborate domestication and special training. The chariot itself, of course, is older. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the horse was domesticated considerably before 2000 B.C.'¹⁵

'The fact that the domesticated horse is almost exclusively of tarpan stock limits the possible area of origin to west and central Europe north of the Alps, eastern Europe and western Asia north of the mountains as far east as Russian Turkestan. That horse domestication did not originate in western or central Europe is a point on which all workers on the subject agree, partly for chronological reasons and partly because the horse was rare there, most of the country being too densely forested. This restricts the probable area to the Ukrainian and east Russian steppes, Kazakhstan and the steppes of western Asia mainly around Lake Aral and including the plains of Turkestan, Ust-Urt Plateau and Turan . . . It is probable that agriculture spread at an early date into the plains of Turkestan, as far as they receive water from the mountains, for these steppe countries had in places excellent soil . . . It must, however, be realised that the agriculturally valuable soil is patchily distributed . . . and the problem of transport must have presented itself at an early date. It is not intended to maintain that animal traction was

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 302 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

invented there, merely that it was important. The first beasts to be used would have been cattle.

'Most agricultural areas on the edge of the desert succumbed to desiccation after a millennium or two of crop-raising because, on the one hand, natural water stored in the ground was used up and, on the other, because primitive agriculture destroys the soil and thus invites the desert in.

'Under such conditions transport by means of oxen becomes something of a problem, both for lack of water and fodder. That man should have cast an eye on the horse is natural and it is thus that domestication may have begun.

'The horse gave man greater mobility than he had ever before, and it made possible a *secondary* nomadism, combined with temporary crop-raising. Once this system had been developed, it swept the Western world, except the densely forested areas where its progress was slow . . .

'The people who brought the horse across the mountains to the Near and Middle East appear to have spoken Indo-Germanic languages. Thus the original centre of the domestication of the horse might briefly be circumscribed as Turkestan. This view is, however, not based on archaeological evidence, but on biological considerations.¹⁶

Zœuner's development of biological considerations is excellent. And by circumscribing the original centre of horse-taming as Turkestān and noting the Aryan character of those who brought the animal to Mesopotamia and its neighbours, he renders the region round Anau the most likely home-land of the Aryans. Between Anau and Shah Tepé the distance, as we have already remarked, is rather negligible. So the Aryan home-land could, on geographical grounds added to biological ones, contain two of the most ancient sites where the remains of the horse have been claimed. Between Shah Tepé and Sialk the distance, though greater than between Anau and Shah Tepé, is still not much; nor is it really substantial between Rānā Ghundāī and Sialk or between Anau and Rānā Ghundāī. Besides, archaeologists—*e.g.* Piggott¹⁷—have found that pottery-styles in prehistoric times link in diverse ways Anau with Sialk, Rānā Ghundāī with Anau, Sialk with Rānā Ghundāī. An additional place in this series of linkings is Hissar which is far neither from Anau nor from Shah Tepé. So it would be nothing unnatural if we expanded the biologically inferred centre of original horse-domestication from Turkestān to North Persia as well as North Balūchistān. Then we cover all the most ancient sites claiming horse-remains. Thus biological considerations prepare perfectly the ground for archaeological evidence.

As for the antiquity to which this evidence may be referred, we shall see how the fourth millennium B.C. fixed by Piggott and others for Anau,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 65, 75, 129-130.

Sialk, Shah Tepé and Rānā Ghundāi as sites of horse-domestication is strongly suggested by certain slightly less early 'pointers' to the domesticated horse. These 'pointers' are listed by Zeuner himself, along with the earlier-dated claims.

But he subjects everything archaeological to criticism, and his general verdict runs: '... archaeological evidence early enough to shed light on the first stages of horse domestication is completely lacking...'¹⁸ Introducing a detailed account of alleged horse-remains from very ancient sites, he remarks: 'Unfortunately, not one of them bears the test of critical examination.'¹⁹

In Zeuner we confront a pair of paradoxes. First, although Turkestān is eminently the place where the horse was originally domesticated, the horse-like remains at Anau and at its neighbour Shah Tepé are not of the horse: they are of the hemione—that is, the onager, the half-ass. Secondly, the domestication was achieved considerably before 2000 B.C., and yet all the early prehistoric sites claimed for the horse have really yielded only the half-ass, the onager, the hemione.

Surely, there is something wrong here in this conflict of archaeology with biology as well as with logic. Let us then glance at the precise terms of Zeuner's criticism.²⁰

He begins with the oldest site: Anau. At all the levels Duerst (1906) found the bones of a horse-like animal of the same kind. Duerst describes their relation to the bones of other animals either of a wild or of a domesticated type. We shall concentrate on the significance of this relation at a slightly later stage of our study. Duerst, turning to direct osteological signs, admits in all honesty that exact criteria of domestication such as are present in the skeletons of cattle and sheep are absent from the bones of horses, but he feels justified by all the rest of the evidence in considering not only that here we have the true horse (*Equus caballus*) which he calls *Equus caballus pumpelli* after the name (Pumpelly) of the chief excavator, but also that from the second phase of the lowest level—Ib—this horse is a domesticated one. Zeuner, after touching on the issue of domestication, passes on to the more fundamental issue: Is the equine or equid of Anau at all a true horse? He²¹ answers: 'Admittedly the majority of archaeologists, as well as several palaeontologists, have accepted Duerst's identification. Both Hilzheimer and Antonius, however, regarded the Anau equine as a hemione. More recently, Lundholm has conclusively shown that the latter alternative is correct, using the first phalanx, a bone of which sufficient specimens for a comparison were available'.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-318.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

But is Lundholm really conclusive? Zeuner himself writes elsewhere²² in his book when dealing with the onager: 'In Turkestan we have an archaeological record from Anau, for the notorious Anau horse is a hemione, as was first established by Hilzheimer'. Well, if Hilzheimer (1935) has already established—that is, definitely demonstrated—the Anau horse to be an onager, why is so much weight attached to Lundholm's investigation much later (1949)? Evidently, Hilzheimer's establishing did not prove the case. Why should we take Lundholm's conclusive showing as anything better? The terms used for both the writers are interchangeable: the meaning they carry of finality should be equally suspect.

There is also the possibility that the bones of the onager and of the small tarpan-like horse of primitive times are both present at Anau. They would be difficult to distinguish and then we should have just the situation that Duerst would speak of a horse whereas Hilzheimer and Antonius would speak of a hemione. It would not be surprising too for the 'first phalanx' of the hemione to be discovered. But a generalisation from the 'sufficient specimens' of it would not cover the whole case. The bones other than the first phalanx could be partly of the true horse no less than of the half-ass.

This is a very concrete possibility because of what Zeuner²³ himself says about Anau's position on the edge of the plains of Turkestan, near Ashkabad at the foot of the mountains of Northern Persia: 'This position is significant, since the lowlands of north-western Asia were almost certainly populated by wild horses. It is conceivable that domestication may have begun in such an area.'

What Zeuner says here may be brought into relation with some statements of his on the onager, and made to illuminate the Anau finds. 'It is not generally known that, prior to the introduction of the domesticated horse into Mesopotamia, the half-ass or hemione was domesticated by the ancient Sumerians.'²⁴ The date of its domestication is c. 2500 B.C.²⁵, 'With the introduction of the horse into Mesopotamia, early in the second millennium B.C., the onager disappears from the list of animals in the service of man.'²⁶ Among the reasons for the rapid change-over, Zeuner²⁷ mentions the greater docility of the newcomer and its superior strength. Now, if at the time of the second phase of Anau's lowest level 'the lowlands of north-western Asia were almost certainly populated by wild horses' available for domestication, it is hardly likely that the onager should be preferred as a domesticated

²² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 371; also p. 373.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

animal, particularly where the somewhat elaborate process of traction and transport is concerned—the process which Zeuner has described as important among agriculturists like Turkestan's in 'areas on the edge of the desert'. In short, given the horse in the epoch of Anau Ib, it would undoubtedly render the onager unnecessary as a domesticated animal. At least, the onager would never exclude the horse.

So the crucial question is: Are the bones of the Anau equine a domesticated animal's? If they are, they must be not the onager's but of the small primitive horse or else, together with the onager's, they would definitely be also the horse's. Under no circumstances would the horse be absent. What has Zeuner to declare on the subject of domestication at Anau, whether of the horse or of the onager? When Duerst points out that precise criteria of domestication, as present in the skeletons of cattle and sheep, are absent from the bones of horses, Zeuner²⁸ comments: 'Thus it is in any case not certain whether the equine from Anau was domesticated'. But here Zeuner brings out only one aspect of the situation. What may not be certain may yet be extremely probable, be even a near-certainty. And that is how things are at Anau. By Zeuner's own account,²⁹ the equine bones are associated in the lowest levels with wild animals, but from Ib onwards they occur together with domesticated types. 'At the same time, equine bones become more abundant compared with those of other animals . . .' This is considered by Duerst as evidence that the equine had become tamed or domesticated. Can one logically find fault with Duerst?

Read what Zeuner himself has to say, a little later, on the signs of domestication. There are two passages.³⁰ First, the pro and con statement: 'The statistical argument that large numbers of bones on a site suggest domestication is widely accepted. In this sense, Gromova regards small numbers as evidence of wild status and hunting. Nehring, however, regards the contrary as correct, and Lundholm says that the large number of bones in Baralda Cave (a Tripolye site) indicates that the horse was hunted. This may be true in the case of a cave . . .'

What is the implication here? Cave-conditions apart, the statistical argument which is widely accepted deserves support. Of course, Zeuner follows up with the wish that 'more osteological work' would be done to ensure complete proof; but, short of osteological proof which is confessedly hard to reach, the fact of large numbers of bones on a site is a dependable standard. And it is a standard which broadly Lundholm himself is shown to accept. Zeuner, in the second passage, writes: ' . . . after a careful scrutiny of the Scandinavian material, Lundholm still considers it possible that the battle-axe people knew horse-taming and used the local wild horses for the purpose. He and Degerbol agree

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 329.

that from the Bronze Age onwards the horse is represented by so many bones that it must be regarded as domesticated.'

So when, as at Anau, the bones of a particular animal are on the increase in the midst of other *domesticated* animals' bones, the signs for this particular animal's domestication reach almost fulness.

Horse or onager, the Anau equine can for all practical purposes be taken as domesticated. And then, with the horse accepted as present in Turkestān in the Anau-epoch and with the onager admitted to be as good as unnecessary when the horse is there for traction and transport, we have a clear solution. The bones of the Anau equine must refer to the horse, whether exclusively or in association with the onager.

Nor is this all that can be urged in favour of the Anau horse. After telling us that 'in the third millennium B.C. the onager was used as a draught animal' by the Sumerians, Zeuner³¹ proffers information which almost inhibits us from associating the onager with the horse at Anau. He observes that with 'a single exception, a scene from Thebes in Egypt', 'outside Mesopotamia the onager does not appear to have been used'. Besides Mesopotamian traction, the only use Zeuner in this context mentions for the onager is: 'it may have played a part in the breeding of mules right into the Roman period'. Surely the Anau-agriculturists were no mule-breeders. And even to breed mules one requires horses to cross with either asses or onagers.

Lastly, the total equation of the Anau equine with the onager may be controverted by a *reductio ad absurdum* with the help of the recent opinion³² on the equines from the ancient Indus Valley. Lately some bones were found in Area G., Harappā, which are said to belong not to the period proper of the Harappā Culture (2500-1500 B.C.) but to the post-Harappā civilisation. The earlier find by Sewell and Guha (1931) at Mohenjo-dāro is also reported to have been from an upper level. So one does not know whether it too is part of the Indus Valley Civilisation. But from the scientific account 'it is evident that the Equid skeletal remains from Area G, Harappā, belong to the true horse, *E. caballus* Linn., and not to the onager group; they resemble the modern 'country-bred' horses of India'. The writer goes on to include among 'the skeletal remains of the true horse' those from an upper level of Mohenjo-dāro. But then what shall we make of Zeuner's pronouncement:³³ '... the few bones found at Mohenjo-Daro, which Sewell (1931) compared with the Anau horse, are likely to belong to the Indian onagers'? Dealing with the Mohenjo-dāro equine, Zeuner has turned its declared resemblance to the Anau equine into a weapon of attack. But the weapon is now seen to be a boomerang.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 369, 371.

³² *Proceedings of the First All-India Congress of Zoology* (Calcutta, 1959), part 2, Scientific Papers, pp. 1-14.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

For, if the Mohenjo-dāro equine, like that from Area G, Harappā, is *Equus caballus*, the Anau bones, in spite of the first phalanx, must be promoted and be labelled as caballine at least in part.

All in all, along various possible lines, whether with Zeuner's own help or otherwise, the case for the domesticated Anau horse—Lundholm notwithstanding—proves very sound indeed.

3

Now we may examine the rest of Zeuner's criticism of prehistoric 'horse'-remains. The Sialk find is the next oldest. It comprises two molars assigned by Vaufrey to *Equus caballus pumpelli*, and the Level II that has yielded them has been correlated with the Samara and Halaf phases of Mesopotamia, which are believed to be earlier than 3000 B.C. Zeuner³⁴ dismisses briefly the equines concerned: 'These equines, being identified with the Anau form, have now to be regarded as half-asses also'.

What applies to Anau from Mohenjo-dāro applies even more to Sialk. The molars from its Level II have nothing to do with any first phalanx: consequently, by being assigned to the Anau species of 'horse', they must be altogether of the true horse.

Even if we did not bring Mohenjo-dāro in, it is amazing how merely from the agreement of Vaufrey's reading of the Sialk molars with Duerst's of the Anau bones the half-ass can be dogmatically asserted for Sialk when there is no first phalanx, as at Anau, to suggest its presence. And why should there be dogmatism here while over Mohenjo-dāro's equines Zeuner is more guarded and, because of their Anau-affinity, speaks just of their being 'likely to belong to Indian onagers'? The conclusion for Sialk strikes us as too hasty and facile—based on insufficient premises. Vaufrey's view may well be correct—especially as Sialk lies fairly near Shah Tepé which is the third oldest site of horse-claim and which is almost equally distant from Sialk and Anau. Neither geography nor palaeontology forbids this view.

Now for Shah Tepé. The single fragment of a long spongy bone which is all that Amschler (1940) had taken for a domesticated horse's from the lowest and oldest level is found by Lundholm on investigation to be a portion of a human femur. Lundholm may be right. But what about the next level? It has yielded eleven bones which seem to be of a horse. Zeuner's first remark³⁵ is: 'The investigator again assigns the remains to *E. c. pumpelli*, the Anau "horse". This alone might be regarded as sufficient to assign the Shah Tepé form to the half-asses . . .' We may turn round and retort on the basis of what we have already shown: 'This alone might be regarded as sufficient to give a caballine

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

status to the Shah Tepé form.' Zeuner's further observation³⁶ runs: 'Level II is recent enough for horse to be present in any case, nevertheless the material could well belong to a hemione form. The jaw contains only teeth that have been ground down to the roots, and the pelvis is assigned to a horse because of its size only. It must be stated, therefore, that there is no evidence for the true horse at Shah Tepé.'

To the remark—'Level II is recent enough for horse to be present in any case'—let us add an introductory phrase of Zeuner's: 'Shah Tepé on the shore of the Caspian Sea, *i.e.* north of the mountains, where wild horses are likely to have occurred'. And then let us ask: 'If the size of the pelvis favours a horse, why think of a hemione form?' Even an earlier dating than the 2500-1500 B.C. which Zeuner, after Arne the excavator, gives to Level II would not help to suit the size of the pelvis to a half-ass rather than a horse. And, granted the fact that at the place wild horses are likely to have occurred, the half-ass would be put all the more out of court in spite of the date being earlier. To imitate Zeuner: 'It must be stated, therefore, that all the available evidence is for the true horse at Shah Tepé.'

In our survey of the ancient Middle East the next stage of our analysis is perhaps the most important—apart from the all-round direct implication of the Mohenjo-dāro horse—for the correct approach to the equine bones we have mentioned. Zeuner³⁷ writes that at Susa in ancient Elam, between Levels I and II, which means the beginning of the third millennium B.C., an engraving on a bone depicts in a diagrammatic fashion a rider on an equine. Zeuner passes judgment on it: '... one must admit that Amschler (1935, 1936) is right in pointing to the short ears and untasselled tail as suggesting a horse and not an onager. On the other hand, Hančar stresses that the engraving is only 33 mm. high and that the specific identity of the animal cannot be established'. What exactly does Hančar mean? Obviously he cannot mean that the animal may not be an equine at all. One can never mix up any other type with an equine. So he can only mean that we fail to distinguish whether the equine here is a horse or an onager or else a full ass. About the onager, Zeuner³⁸ writes elsewhere: 'its ears are longer than those of the horse but shorter than those of the ass'. As the engraved animal is said to have short ears, we may keep the full ass out of the discussion. The difficulty which Hančar appears to suggest is that, although the ears are short, the engraving's mere height of 33 mm. prevents us from deciding whether they are shorter than an ass's or shorter than an onager's, whether they belong to an onager or to a horse. But surely there is a proportion between an animal's head and its ears as well as between its head and the rest of its body. To distinguish in general the proportion

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

which is a horse's from that which is an onager's, we do not have to depend on how high the engraving is. It is purely a matter of internal relations. Hancar is raising an irrelevant issue and obscuring the fundamental question. From what Zeuner admits, the internal relations seem definitely to indicate a horse. And if any doubt could still linger, there is the impression of an untasselled tail to settle it. Not the slightest reason exists to deny *Equus caballus* here—and the act of riding proves *Equus caballus* to have been domesticated at Susa at almost 3000 B.C.

In view of this, the other Elamitic illustration which Zeuner mentions immediately after should not be as enigmatic as he suggests. It is 'a small bone plate showing nineteen heads of equids with varying profiles, which Amschler regards as representing various types of horses. Antonius, however, is satisfied that these were onagers'. If the tamed horse was a newcomer in Elam at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. and that too as a rarity, it is likely to have been an object of curious regard and to have been looked upon in all its available variety. However, we need not pronounce final judgment. And even if these heads are of onagers they can never affect our interpretation of the Susa engraving or support in any way Zeuner's scepticism about it.

Equally mistaken is his hesitation over the earliest evidence for domesticated horse-like animals in Mesopotamia: the Khafaje vase. He writes of the vase: 'It comes from a place about fifteen kilometres east of Baghdad and belongs to the Jamdat Nasr period, approximately 3000 B.C. Unfortunately the painting is extremely sketchy. The mane is shown upright, which speaks for the onager or ass rather than domestic horse, unless these supposed horses had retained the "wild" type of mane. One might, therefore, discard the Khafaje vase as an early representation of the onager, which was domesticated at Ur, were there not a horse-like tail. It is shown on all three beasts drawing the cart. It is indeed lacking the tuft at the end of the tail (the sign of the onager), and this fact is quoted specifically (e.g. by Hermes, 1936) as demonstrating that the animals are horses. But the tails are shown by a single stroke of the brush, so that details cannot be expected anyway. The specific nature of the Khafaje animals thus remains uncertain'.³⁹

Here is a piece of faulty reasoning. When several strokes of the brush go to make up the rest of the animal, the single stroke of the tail implies no necessity to avoid details. It is there because details were not required to identify the animal in this part of its body. Let us ask: 'Whose tail can be drawn by a single stroke—a horse's or an onager's?' An onager's, having a tuft, must be drawn by more than a single stroke. In an attempt to give a general suggestion, one can draw only a horse's tail in this way. In fact, in a representation⁴⁰ of a chariot, from Cyprus

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁴⁰ Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 275, Fig. 13, bottom, right hand.

round about the fourteenth century B.C., the two equines whom everybody accepts as horses have their tails drawn by single strokes with perhaps a slightly varying pressure of the brush at different points. This technique seems not uncommon for horses, because it suits their tails. Consequently, if the Khafaje animals are equines, as they admittedly are, then they can be nothing except horses.

The upright mane should not stand in the way of this conclusion. Long domestication of the horse-species would lead to a soft mane, but if a wild horse is caught and domesticated it would not acquire a soft mane just by virtue of domestication. The Khafaje vase is old enough for an early stage in the history of domestication, when wild horses newly caught would be tamed and set to use. Even if their progeny were employed, the wild type of mane might continue for some generations. We must bear in mind that the early domesticated horses were very near the tarpan or Przewalski's horse, both of whom had upright manes unlike the modern steed's. Besides, a domesticated onager does not necessarily show a more upright mane. There is a picture in Zeuner (p. 372, Fig. 14: 6), the War Panel of the Standard of Ur (c. 2500 B.C.), which sets forth onagers drawing chariots. If we look at the first register we shall find the mane of an onager no more upright than that of an Egyptian chariot-drawing horse whose picture from the Tomb of Chaemhet of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1550 B.C.) is reproduced also by Zeuner (p. 321, Fig. 12: 13). Even wild onagers do not always disclose a more upright mane. The scene from the palace of Ashurbanipal (686-626 B.C.) at Nineveh (p. 370, Fig. 14: 4), representing their capture with lassos, has their manes even less upright than that Egyptian horse's.

And here we may mark one of the omissions in Zeuner's account. When referring to Susa, he comments only on the bone-engraving of a rider on an equine. But there is another engraving on a bone from Susa. R. Ghirshman⁴¹ gives a reproduction of it with the title: 'Przewalski horse carved in bone'. The animal carved may be a tarpan for all we know or a cross, but its mane is just the sort which inclines Zeuner to 'discard the Khafaje vase as an early representation of an onager'. If the engraving comes from the same period as the equine with rider, the horse is likely to be a domesticated one.

To the same category as Zeuner's Khafaje and Susa animals belong the other Mesopotamian equines reported by him. He⁴² writes: 'Langdon (1924-34) mentions that on a tablet found about seventeen miles north of Kish the ideogram of the horse appears. The animal is described as living on the mountains. This tablet is dated by Langdon at prior to 3500 B.C., which is certainly too early. The horse is further

⁴¹ *Iran* (Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 35, fig. 8

⁴² Zeuner, *op. cit.*, p. 317

mentioned in a Babylonian liturgy of the third millennium (Langdon, 1913). This and other evidence is accepted by Hermes as proving that the horse was known in Mesopotamia at that time. It cannot, however, have played an important part in the economy of the people'. Over and above the last slightly grudging sentence, Zeuner⁴³ has an introductory summing-up of the information drawn from Langdon: he finds it equally ambiguous as the Khafaje vase, though he grants that Mesopotamia's acquaintance with northerly countries renders it likely for the Mesopotamians to have heard of the horse and perhaps even occasionally seen it brought in. Our assessment of Zeuner's facts here is exactly the opposite because we go by what Childe and Piggott say about the ideogram-horse: they provide us with the really significant knowledge in this connection.

Childe⁴⁴ writes: 'It (the horse) is... mentioned in the Jamdet Nasr tablets by the same ideogram 'ass of the mountains', that was employed in classical Babylonian cuneiform'. Now, classical Babylonian cuneiform has the clear indication that the true horse is meant; so the ideogram seventeen miles north of Kish and as old as at least 3000 B.C., if Langdon's estimate of 3500 is exaggerative, must be about the same animal. The relevant statement by Piggott we have already quoted. His point is that the Mesopotamian 'ass of the mountains', whose horse-character cannot be disputed but which is no native of Mesopotamia, must have hailed from the hilly tracts of Persia and from Turkestān. This point about provenance can hardly be evaded and, if it has to be accepted, Shah Tepé and Sialk and Anau force themselves into the picture before 3000 B.C. and the conclusion of Lundholm, discrediting the claims on their behalf, become exceedingly doubtful.

Thus we return inevitably to the suggestion that at Anau, if the horse alone is not there, it is co-present with the onager and that at Sialk the two molars do not, on the available premises, permit their attribution to the hemione instead of to *equus caballus* and that the pelvis and ten other equine bones at Shah Tepé are the horse's. Thus also, from Mesopotamia's acquaintance with the horse in c. 3000 B.C., we are able to give some sort of precise form to Zeuner's own acknowledgment that the first domesticated horse must be considerably earlier than 2000 B.C.: we can safely put it high up in the fourth millennium B.C.

4

To round off our survey we must hark back to a particular feature in the passage from Piggott bearing on Mesopotamia's first contact with the horse. He has referred to a common geographical province of earliest

⁴³ *Ibid.*

New Light on the Most Ancient East (London, 1934), p. 161.

horse-taming, constituted by Highland Persia, Turkestan and Baluchistan. Baluchistan, to him, means Rānā Ghundāi I, to which he refers apropos of the domesticated horse of South Russia in about 2000 B.C. Another of his references⁴⁵ runs: 'The animal bones were very interesting, comprising the humped ox (*Bos indicus*), domestic sheep (*Ovis vignei*), the ass (*Equus asinus*), and most surprising and important, four teeth of the domesticated horse (*Equus caballus*). Nomadic horse-riding herds-men using the site as a camping-ground are suggested by the finds in RG I; an infant's skeleton was also found at this level'.

H. Peake and H. J. Fleure⁴⁶ have attempted to focus the significance of the equine relics of RG I: '... four animal teeth found here have been identified as belonging to the domesticated horse. From the probable dating of later phases at RG this first settlement can hardly be dated later than the earliest part of the third millennium B.C. and is possibly older still, so that these teeth may be the earliest known trace of the domestic horse'.

How much 'older still' could RG I possibly be is deducible from the materials of Kili Gul Mohammad, not far from Rānā Ghundāi, which have come to light since Piggott wrote. And it is meaningful that here also equine remains were found scattered through all levels and were labelled by Walter A. Fairservis Jr., on the strength of a figurine, as those of the true horse.⁴⁷ By the way, they mark another *lacuna* in Zeuner's book which overlooks Fairservis's work. Sir Mortimer Wheeler⁴⁸ informs us that Carbon-14 tests date KGM to 3500-3100 B.C. Hence Baluchistan in general is nearly on a par with the other oldest sites of horse-claim. And a comparison of RG I with KGM extends the former to at least a part of the same period. D. H. Gordon⁴⁹, speaking of hand-made painted ware with crude geometric designs on an unslipped surface in the second phase of KGM, adds: 'This painted ware equates with similar pottery in the Zhob at Rana Ghundai in the earliest level'. Also, since much of the pottery of RG I is unpainted and hand-made,⁵⁰ like much of the KGM II ware, RG I may synchronise even with the earliest point of KGM II, perhaps 3300 B.C. or earlier. Further, a greater primitiveness of general living is indicated here by the fact that while the KGM I folk were themselves a settlement living in mud-brick houses,⁵¹ none of the 14-feet deposits of RG I disclosed structural remains, though there were frequent layers of ash representing hearths set up by a semi-nomadic people living in impermanent huts or tents.⁵² Finally,

⁴⁵ Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴⁶ *Times and Places* (Oxford, 1956), p. 228.

⁴⁷ Letter from Sankalia, dated 1.11.1962.

⁴⁸ *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 10.

⁴⁹ *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1958), p. 27.

⁵⁰ Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵¹ Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁵² Piggott, *loc. cit.*,

there is the dating of RG III and II to go by. The third phase of the former—RG IIIc—is itself prior to the start of the Harappā Culture⁶³ in 2500 B.C. And, according to Piggott,⁶⁴ by commonsense calculation the Balūchistān evidence would show that 'RG II must have a fair degree of priority over the Harappā Culture, and its date would therefore be well back in the fourth millennium B.C., perhaps contemporary with Jamdet Nasr'. As Jamdet Nasr is dated to c. 3000 B.C., with an extension beyond it, RG I may easily be carried further than even the lowest level of Shah Tepé which Zeuner,⁶⁵ after Arne, dates to 3000-2500 B.C.

Zeuner's own indication of the antiquity of RG I may be derived from his remark on RG's pottery decorated with humped bulls, which, in Piggott's survey,⁶⁶ comes from the second level. Zeuner⁶⁷ writes: 'At Rana Ghudai in northern Baluchistan, a chalcolithic site, humped bulls are depicted on pottery which can be correlated with Sialk III or Hissar I, and thus with the Al Ubaid period of Mesopotamia, pushing them well back into the fourth millennium B.C.' RG I, therefore, can easily equate with KGM's earliest point—3500 B.C.—if not even predate it.

Yes, Balūchistān's claim, through RG I as well as KGM, for a very early domestic horse is impressive. No doubt, some students of pre-history are reported⁶⁸ to have challenged this claim like all the other ones. But one thing is worth remembering: Lundholm who in 1949 tried to discredit several claims is not quoted by Zeuner or by anybody else against Rānā Ghundāi which Ross excavated in 1946. Robert H. Dyson,⁶⁹ who, like Zeuner, sets much store by Lundholm's estimates, lists all the horse-claims, including that for RG I, and then observes: 'Most of these equids are identified as asses or onagers, the taxonomy used being inconsistent. Lundholm (1949), reviewing those remains identified as true horse, *Equus caballus* Linn., at Anau, Sialk, and Shah Tepé, shows conclusively that they belong to the onager group and not to the true horse'. What is to be marked here is not only Lundholm's omission of the equine of RG I but also Dyson's own use of the word 'most' rather than 'all' when he refers to the identification of the excavated equids as asses or onagers.

Thus RG I seems to enjoy a privileged position. And if the arguments against the horse-nature of the equines connected with the Middle East are, by our computation, pretty weak, the 'horse' of RG I must be considered indisputable.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶⁸ Sankalia's letter dated 1.11.1962.

⁶⁹ 'Archaeology and the Domestication of Animals in the Old World', *American Anthropology* (Chicago), vol. 55, No. 5, part I, pp. 666-667.

However, Zeuner⁶⁰ strikes here also a critical note. 'The earliest horse remains so far reported [from India and Pakistān] come from Rana Ghundai in northern Baluchistan (Ross, 1946). In Level I (Piggott's terminology (1950)), the date of which is regarded as earlier than 3000 B.C., four teeth of the 'domestic horse' have been found together with ass. This identification cannot be accepted as reliable unless it is carefully checked. The ass, being an African animal, cannot be right in this early period. The remains attributed to this species more probably belong to the hemione, which survives in north-west India to the present day. The four teeth are not sufficient to make a definite pronouncement. They may well belong to hemiones, too, and to recognize them as domesticated is, on the experience gained everywhere else, impossible. It appears, therefore, as if only hemiones existed at Rana Ghundai, and that they were hunted.'

Two points may be pressed against Zeuner. Although it is possible for the hemione's bones to be mistaken for either the ass's or the horse's, the mistake is likely to be very rare at one and the same site. In the period when all the three might be domesticated, there is no precedent for it provided in Zeuner's book. Even in the pre-domestication period, the hemione at one and the same site has never been erroneously considered as both the ass and the horse. And at Rānā Ghundāi we have an additional fact which differentiates the case of substituting the hemione for the ass from that of substituting the hemione for the horse. The time of RG I is too early, as Zeuner tells us, for an African animal like the ass to be in Balūchistān. So we are on fairly firm ground in 'hemionising' the ass at this site. But the horse is not impossible or improbable here at earlier than 3000 B.C. And so the teeth which were originally found not to go structurally with the 'ass'—finds would appear very much to be of *equus caballus*, however primitive.

Zeuner himself strikes us as being none too confident about their 'hemionisation'. For, in his general summary,⁶¹ he not only brings himself to notice what he still dubs 'debatable pictorial representations', 'including the rider from Susa and the Khafaje cart (giving it the benefit of the doubt), indicating that horse domestication was known' between 3000 and 2500 B.C. He also remarks: 'The bones from Rana Ghundai I are dated even earlier, but domestication cannot be proved.' This means that the RG teeth may be of a horse, even though an undomesticated one. However, even the reservation here is indirectly offset by Zeuner's very next sentence: 'It is possible, and for theoretical reasons probable, that the original domestication of the horse had taken place by this time, and probably in areas north of the Persian mountains, i.e. mainly in Turkestan'.

⁶⁰ Zeuner, *op. cit.*, p. 332:

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

So we come full circle. Anau and, with it, Sialk and Shah Tepé once more swim into our ken, although the emphasis falls explicitly on Susa and Khafaje and most on Rānā Ghundāi. And well may this be so ; for, Piggott⁶² indicates that the evidence of RG I does not lack continuation. He says about a find at a site in the Zhob valley related to RG : 'one clay figurine from Periano Ghundai seems to represent a horse, and is interesting in connection with the find of horses' teeth in RG I at the type site'. This figurine he assigns to the RG III phase which begins some centuries before 2500 B.C.

There is also the figurine from Kili Gul Mohammad, adjudged by Fairservis to be of a horse. And both the figurines remind us of Zeuner's phrase :⁶³ 'clay figurines usually represent domestic types'.

Thus we reach, *via* Zeuner and in spite of all the hurdles he sets up, the same picture as Piggott's statements traced for us. The domesticated horse, the sign *par excellence* of the Aryan, is not only a characteristic of the earliest cultures of North Balūchistān but also a characteristic almost as early there as anywhere else in the Asiatic world which is its original home. The natural conclusion should be that the Aryan was present in the population of North Balūchistān at Rānā Ghundāi and Kili Gul Mohammad in the same prehistoric period practically as at Anau in Turkestān and at the North-Persian Sialk as well as Shah Tepé.

Only one more question faces us : Does the belt of original horse-taming Aryanism, running through these five sites, extend from RG and KGM into the Indus region where Indian tradition places the Vedic Aryans not as invaders in the post-Harappā epoch but as remote ancients who had no memory of arriving there from outside ?

5

The Indus Valley, as we have seen, had the true horse a little after *c.* 1500 B.C. It is thought to belong not to the Indus Civilisation, the Harappā Culture, which ended then and whose beginning was in *c.* 2500 B.C. But, even if the *Equus caballus* from an upper level of Mohenjo-dāro and from Area G at Harappā is really of some other civilisation we should not jump to the conclusion that it was brought from outside India or that the Harappā Culture was unacquainted with the true horse.

A. D. Pusalker⁶⁴ speaks of the model of an animal, found in an early stratum of Mohenjo-dāro, which E. J. H. Mackay took as the representation of a horse. Childe⁶⁵ tells us that at the same site 'model saddles occur' : they point to knowledge and use of the horse. Piggott⁶⁶ writes

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁶⁴ In *The Vedic Age* (London, 1952), p. 194.

⁶⁵ *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London, 1934), p. 210.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

of a Harappān site in Sind : 'what looks like a little clay model of a pack-saddle has been found at Jhukar in Sind, probably of the Harappā period.' And in the same context he opines that in trade during this period 'pack-horses may well have been used'.

Again, at Lothal, which is a site of the same civilisation in Saurāshtra and whose commencement is by Carbon-14 tests as early as c. 2000 B.C., Sankalia⁶⁷ marks in its early phase a terracotta figurine of an equine with a thick short unmistakably horselike tail and the whole head very much like that of *Equus caballus*. In a footnote (96) Sankalia reports that Zeuner suggested to him the onager and that later Zeuner and B. Subbarao specially went to see the onagers in their natural habitat nearby, the Rann of Cutch. Zeuner, in his book,⁶⁸ records what he saw, but there is no reference to the Lothal figurine just as there is none to the figurines of Rānā Ghundāi and Kili Gul Mohammad. We may presume that Sankalia's own impression stands uncontroverted.

So the Harappā Culture, not only in the Indus Valley but also elsewhere in India, appears to have used the horse. And, as there is some uncertainty whether the equine bones of an upper Mohenjo-dāro level come from the Indus Valley Civilisation itself or not, we may justifiably refer them to this civilisation in the light of all the signs mentioned above. Further, the horse from Area G, Harappā, may not have been an import into the Indus Valley of an animal foreign to it but a continuation of its fauna.

Even without the signs above-mentioned we should be able to postulate the horse for the Harappā Culture. For, we have many proofs of this culture's contacts with Balūchistān which is its next-door neighbour. According to Piggott,⁶⁹ 'bitumen, alabaster, and probably steatite seem likely to have been obtained from Baluchistan . . .' Wheeler,⁷⁰ dealing in general with the more than sixty sites that have produced significant elements of the Harappā Culture, refers to those immediately westward of the Indus Valley, *i.e.* in Balūchistān : 'To the west, the hills include innumerable cognate village-cultures (earlier, contemporary and later) which on occasion descend also to the plains . . .' Wheeler⁷¹ mentions too the Harappān outpost of 'Sutkāgen-dor, near the coast of the Arabian Sea, 300 miles west of Karachi.' All over Balūchistān and beyond it to Makrān the Indus Valley Civilisation travelled in one way or another. Piggott⁷² declares : 'There is good evidence that trade exchanges did take place, and goods and even people found their

⁶⁷ *Indian Archaeology Today* (Bombay, 1962), p. 61 and fn. 95 ; for the Carbon-14 tests, letter dated 21.3.1963.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp., 372-373.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁷⁰ *The Indus Civilization*, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

way from the Balūchistān hills to the Indus plain'. With Rānā Ghundāi itself Piggott⁷³ traces the Harappā Culture's relationship. Among the types of Harappā pottery, 'one is particularly noteworthy, which consists of a platter on a raised foot, usually referred to as an "offering-stand"'. The appearance of sherds of this type of vessel on a site marks the presence of the Harappā civilization as surely as "Samian" potter betokens Roman occupation in Europe. These offering-stands derive from the pedestalled bowls known, for instance, in the Zhob Valley in the Rana Ghundai II phase . . . 'The decorated pottery of the Harappā Culture gives one an immediate clue to its likely origins, for it is a black-on-red ware, the designs being painted on a deep red, lustrous slip. This strongly suggests that its connexions lie with the North Baluchistan wares, such as those of the Rana Ghundai III phase at Periano Ghundai and other sites'. Even in the matter of the characteristic 'stamp-seals' of the Harappā Culture which point to antecedents outside of Balūchistān, the only two specimens found in the latter country belong to areas of RG culture. One is from Dabar Kot, south of Loralai, whose upper layers formed actually a Harappā occupation. The other is probably from Periano Ghundāi.

With all this relationship with Baluchistān as a whole and with RG in particular, we may certainly expect horse-knowledge and horse-use to be spread over the Indus-region even before 2500 B.C. And what clinches our expectation is that we can go still further than close neighbourly interchange between RG and the Harappā Culture. We have evidence that the culture of RG was actually established in the Indus-region precedent to the typical Indus Valley Civilisation.

Piggott⁷⁴ writes: ' . . . the small amount of material available from the recent (1946) excavations at Harappā shows that the first town on that site overlies a settlement of people using pottery which appears to belong to the North Baluchistan group, in that phase of development seen in the IIIc phase at Rana Ghundai'. Gordon,⁷⁵ who designates the RG and related pottery as Loralai ware, writes that from —32 feet at Mohenjo-dāro, which gives almost the earliest period of the city, sherds of polychrome ware were recovered, having a series of ovals with a vertical line down the centre of each, a motif so far found only in the bichrome Loralai III ware at Sur Jungal. So we have in the Indus-region before and during 2500 B.C. a culture which knew the domesticated horse.

The Aryans, typified by this animal, must have been in remote antiquity in the Indus-region. May we not take them to be those whose high-priests composed the R̥gvedic hymns which indicate that region as the early centre of Aryan civilisation? Even the scholars who date the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193; 193; 128, 185.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 59

Ṛigveda to c. 1500 B.C. admit that it contains no hint of being the composition of immigrants at that time or at any other. And by external means its age, as Pusalker⁷⁶ reminds us, 'is not known with even an approximate degree of certainty.' Consequently, we are free to make it precede the Harappā Culture in North-west India.

This does not mean that the Harappā Culture was a wholly Aryan product. It could be a part derivative and a part deviation—a development of Ṛigvedism on the one hand and on the other an assimilation of Balūch and Sumero-Irānian as well as perhaps Central-Asian elements—a manifold composite natural in the region concerned if Ṛigvedism proper had moved to the Kuru-Pañchala area east of the land of the seven rivers, *Sapta-Sindhu*, after leaving its mark in this land and even further west in the midst of influences from Irān through Balūchistān and from Mesopotamia through Irān and from Turkeṣtān through the Afghān territory.

To make Aryanism the background and semi-basis of the Harappā Culture does not also call for an eminent presence of the supposed Aryan races in this culture's population. Aryanism is essentially a cultural entity and not a racial one. And even racially it must not be traced to an entirely 'Nordic' stock. S. K. Chatterji,⁷⁷ gives us the information: 'The Aryan speakers . . . are believed to have represented a cultural union of two distinct racial stocks, the tall, blonde, long-headed, straight-nosed Nordics, and the comparatively short and dark and short-headed Alpines . . .' Now, Wheeler⁷⁸ has written about the few skulls from the Indus Valley Civilisation thoroughly analysed and described: 'three were defined as Proto-Australoid, six as Mediterranean, one as the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock, and four probably as Alpine'. Hence we cannot rule out even a racial Aryan constituent of this civilisation. Indeed, Pusalker⁷⁹ states: 'As to the existence of the Aryans in the Indus Valley at so early a period as the age of the Indus culture, it is held by some, on the evidence of skeletal material, that the Aryans formed part of the diverse population of these days'.

Even if the recent anthropological survey of all the Harappā skeletons were to diminish the Alpine percentage to almost nothing, the background and semi-basis of the Indus culture in Aryanism would not be disproved. The movement of the Vedic Aryans towards Kurukshetra away from the Punjāb after their early cultural efflorescence would explain their racial exiguity in the Indus-region from c. 2500 to c. 1500 B.C. After the end of the Harappā Culture there may have been a reflux

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁷⁷ In *Interrelations of Cultures* (Unesco, Paris, 1953), p. 170.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Cf. Datta, *Rigvedic Culture of the Prehistoric Indus*. Foreword, p. XXV; N. M. Chaudhuri, 'The Pamirian Alpines in the Indus Valley in Chalcolithic Times', *Calcutta Review*, June, 1945.

to the old seat. Perhaps the end, to a considerable extent, was due to such a reflux—a reflux which may have overflowed the Indus-region and its neighbourhoods and constituted the *Maryani* Aryans who ruled the Mitanni people on the Upper Euphrates and one of whose kings—Matuazza, son of Dusratta—invoked in c. 1380 in his treaty with the Hittites the Vedic gods as witness: Mitrā-Varuṇā, Indra, Nāsatyā.

Such an overflow need not rule out a westward movement of Aryan tribes from Turkeṣtān, North Irān and even South Russia in more or less the same period. It may itself have set off that movement, or that movement may have set it off. And a part of that movement may have been a new influx of Aryans from Turkeṣtān and Irān into Afghānistān, Balūchistān and the Indus-region and further inland.

No doubt, this picture complicates things a good deal in place of the more plain popular account of an Aryan exodus from outside India to various parts of the Middle and Near East and Europe, with one stream pouring into India in c. 1500 B.C. But historical truth has nothing to do with simplicity as such. And even the current view is not really as simple as the popular version. It posits two waves of Aryan exodus, one starting round about 2000 B.C. and the other round about 1000 B.C., the latter no less than the former bringing Aryans into India. The function of history is to cover all the available facts and not bother whether the result is simple or complex. Were the fact of the Aryans' characteristic domesticated animal to demand a complication of things, we should not shirk to answer the call.

Only one question here is historically legitimate: If the Aryans were already there in the Indus-region no less than in its neighbourhoods before the Harappā Culture, have we any decisive signs of them other than the domesticated horse?

The question brings in a host of issues that lie outside the range of our paper. One answer, however, may be made in the form of a counter-question: Have we any decisive signs of the Aryan invasion of India in c. 1500 B.C., which is reported in all our history-books? Wheeler,⁸⁰ referring to it as an archaeologist, says: 'It is best to admit that no proto-Aryan material has yet been identified in India'. Pusalker,⁸¹ looking at the claims of proto-Aryanism staked out for various potteries, sums up: 'There is no . . . positive or conclusive evidence to connect the Vedic Aryans with the excavated cultures subsequent to those of the Indus Valley . . . So far archaeological excavation has yielded nothing of the nature of sacrificial implements or other ritual paraphernalia that can definitely be called Aryan and associated with the Vedic Aryans . . .' Do we then require to make much of any lack of decisive Vedic-Aryan traces in still remoter antiquity?

⁸⁰ *Early India and Pakistan* (Bombay, 1959), p. 126.

⁸¹ In *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Calcutta, 1958), vol. I, p. xlvii.

After all, the one point which is always attended to whenever there is talk of the Aryans is whether the evidence includes the domesticated horse. If the evidence excludes it, the Aryans are excluded. It is not perhaps impossible that the domesticated horse may have existed without the Aryans. But the converse is never true, so far as historical knowledge goes. And from the extremely intimate, recurrent and universal association of the Aryans with this animal we may practically assume for the earliest period: No Aryans, no domesticated horse. And, if that is so, the Aryan home-land was a broad territory taking in not only Turkeṣtān, parts of Persia and all North Balūchistān but also North-western India in the fourth millennium B.C.

Stress may be laid especially on North-Western India because there we may expect the earliest development of horse-chariotry. Balūchistān is too hilly for it. The Indus-region is ideal for it. And, as we learn from Childe that next to Mesopotamia of c. 3500 B.C. the oldest known area of wheeled vehicles is the Indus Valley from the beginning of the Harappā Culture in 2500 B.C., we may logically conjecture a passage of the art of chariotry from Mesopotamia to the Indus-region, in hitherto unknown ways, through the period 3500-2500 B.C. to make its presence felt, together with that of horses, in the hymns of the Ṛigveda.

Our logical conjecture gets a very suggestive support from Harappān stamp seals. About the writing on them, Fairservis Jr.⁸² remarks: 'It appears to be hieroglyphic or ideographic in form. Human, animal and floral figurines are recognizable, multiple dashes probably represent numbers, while such objects as wheels, bows and arrows, and trees very likely represent themselves'. Now, if we look at the wheels in the illustrations⁸³ provided by Fairservis we find them with six spokes. No doubt, the clay-models of cars and chariots recovered have solid wheels. But the stamp seals' testimony is also undeniable. Those models, therefore, are not a full index of vehicular detail. Their wheels are solid not because Harappā never made spokes but because spoked wheels were rarer or simply because solid ones were easier to model.

Spoked wheels, however, are a puzzle in the context of vehicles in the ancient world of 2500 B.C. Except for one debated representation of a chariot on a Tell Halaf painted pot of extreme antiquity, there is no evidence in early Mesopotamia, the inventor of wheeled vehicles, that spoked wheels existed.⁸⁴ Although two-wheeled vehicles originated in Sumer, the wheels not only in Early Dynastic times but also in the times of the Royal Tombs of Ur (c. 2500 B.C.) were solid.⁸⁵ Only in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. did Asia Minor know the use of spoked

⁸² 'The Ancient East', *Natural History* (New York), November 1958, p. 507.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁸⁴ Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

wheels and the horse-drawn chariot moving upon them.⁸⁶ 'Such chariots', says Piggott,⁸⁷ 'also make their first appearance in the Aegean countries, significantly associated with Indo-European speakers, soon after this time . . .' How, then, shall we explain the spoked wheels of the Harappā Culture nearly six centuries before they appeared anywhere else in the world ?

They imply a notable development of metal tools. And a couple of pointers to this development have been found. A. L. Basham⁸⁸ writes : 'In one respect the Harappa people were technically in advance of their contemporaries—they had devised a saw with undulating teeth, which allowed the dust to escape freely from the cut, and much simplified the carpenter's task. From this we may assume that they had particular skill in carpentry'. Then there is the twisted copper or bronze drill discovered by S. R. Rao at Lothal. Sankalia⁸⁹ records the find and comments : 'Its occurrence at so early a date is of great moment in the history of civilization'.

The general impression of mediocrity, created by much of the existing work, especially in metal, of the Harappā Culture, must be due to self-imposed limitations, a conservatism of mind. As Piggott⁹⁰ says : 'The dead hand of conservatism in design, rather than in technique, lies heavy on all the Harappā products. Complex technical processes were known, well understood, and admirably organized for production, but the output suffered from standardization and an almost puritanical utilitarianism'. The Harappāns' metallurgy was advanced enough to turn out complex works whenever they wanted them.

But how did it reach such a stage ? As spoked wheels are not known anywhere outside India at that period, we have to search for some clue to their background in India itself. There is no archaeological clue. The sole possible clue is literary : the Ṛigveda. And, if according to the horse-evidence part of the Aryan home-land lay in the Indus-region as well as North Balūchistān in the pre-Harappān age, the Ṛigvedic mention of horse-chariots could indicate an explanatory background, provided those chariots moved on spoked wheels. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith,⁹¹ describing the Ṛigvedic chariot, state : 'The wheel consisted of a rim (*Pavi*), a felly (*Pradhi*), spokes (*Ara*) and a nave (*Nabhya*).' There are many references to spokes.⁹² 'Sometimes', say Macdonell and Keith,⁹³ 'a solid wheel was used'. This fact links the Ṛigveda to

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *The Wonder that was India* (New York, 1954), p. 21.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 200.

⁹¹ *A Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (Delhi, 1958), vol. II, p. 201.

⁹² Ṛigveda, I.32, 15 ; 141, 9 ; V. 13, 6 ; 58, 5 ; VIII.20, 14 ; 77, 3 ; X. 78, 4.

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

the clay-models of the Indus Valley Civilisation, while the spokes account for the wheels on the stamp seals.

The development between 3500 and 2500 B.C. of the craft of chariot-making, which these seals demand but which is underivable from the land of chariot-invention, Mesopotamia, is no longer a mystery. We can legitimately see it reflected in the most ancient mass of Indo-Aryan literature.

6

Now we have a practically complete picture of original Aryandom including not only the characteristic animal, the horse, but also the characteristic chariot drawn by that animal.

The most significant centre of this Aryandom was the Indus-region from about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., with perhaps an extension into the third. From there it carried on some cultural exchanges with lesser seats of Aryanism in Balūchistān, Irān and Turkestān, before it moved further east and the Indus Valley was left to the growth of the half Vedic and half non-Vedic Harappā Culture.

Judging from the evidence of Ṛigvedic Aryandom's outpost in Balūchistān, we may say that as provinces of horse-taming the seats of Aryanism in Turkestān and Irān are little older than the Indus-region. But the degree of cultural progress displayed by Ṛigvedic Aryandom tends to give this region equally ancient antecedents. Part of that progress lies in the manufacture of the spoked wheels of the horse-chariot. And perhaps from the horses themselves of the Ṛigveda we may draw a hint of their domestication going beyond the archaeological age denoted by Rānā Ghundāi or Kili Gul Mohammad, the age we have allotted also to the Ṛigvedic Aryans of the Indus-region. Zeuner⁹⁴ writes: 'Ridge-way (1905) derived from the *Rigveda* descriptions of these early Aryan horses which suggest that they were chestnut-coloured on the head and back, and dun below. The chestnut colour is not primitive, whilst the lighter belly may be so regarded. Nothing can therefore be said about their provenance'. Even if their provenance be uncertain, the non-primitive chestnut colour may afford us a glimpse of long domestication and progressive breeding in the period before c. 3500 B.C., so that the antiquity of the horse-taming Aryans of the Indus-region and of Balūchistān may be considered as great as that of their kinsmen in Turkestān and Irān.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 332-333.



AN INSCRIPTION AT PALASDEV OF ŚAKA 1079

By D. D. Kosambi

I. THE INSCRIPTION. The village of Paḷasdev on the south bank of the Bhīmā river lies two miles by cart-track to the north of the 72nd mile-stone of the road from Poona to Sholapur. The houses of the village within their ancient circumvallation are situated in the angle made by the river and a tributary brook from the south. To the west, across the brook, is a considerable walled precinct containing two adjacent temples, well constructed of stone in the 12th century Yādava style. One of these is of Mahādeva; the Paḷasdev or Paḷasnāth proper and the senior cult of the locality; the other, almost touching it, is for Viṣṇu. The same walled enclosure contains a dilapidated *dharmasālā* for pilgrims and several rustic cults of uncertain date, plus fragments of older construction. The only known inscription here is in the temple to Viṣṇu in this enclosure. It was noticed by the late V. K. Rājvāde, who had a plaster cast made. The efforts to trace his complete reading, if he gave one, have not been successful nor is the cast to be found. The pieces of plaster still sticking to the graven letters make it unlikely that the said plaster cast was of much use. A report of the Bhārat Itihās Saṃśodhak Maṇḍal of Poona shows, however, that the name of the donor and the śaka year had been deciphered. As the epigraph is interesting for entirely different reasons, the text as read directly on the site and corrected from rubbings is given below. The script is good 12th century *devanāgarī*; the body of the letters is one centimeter in height; the two lines of the inscription are 49 cm in length. The language is Marāṭhī, compatible with the date given.

TEXT : (line 1) | Śrī Caṅgadeva daṃḍanākem Viṣṇu-gṛha kelem | Śvara saṃvacharim nīhajalem | prāsādī ghasayala avajñā tehāce putra bhāyā | ghanṭā (line 2) titthatī soneyā sāhasru eku 1000 prāsāditra akaravātottare bhūmi 100 dāūpa-sāū ghā dinā | śaku 1079 maṅgala mahasī |

TRANSLATION : By śrī Caṅgadeva (the) army captain was made (this) House of Viṣṇu. (The work) came to fruition in the year (named) *śvara*. Whoever should deface or (otherwise) insult (this) temple, his sons are his brothers. A bell, . . . a thousand 1,000 pieces of gold and 100 (measures) of land free of taxes and dues have been given to (this) temple. Śaka (year) 1079; great blessings (upon all).

2. COMMENTARY. The punctuation of the original has been followed in translation. The captain's title should be *daṅḍa-nāyaka*, but the shortening of *nāyaka* to *nāka* is still a feature of Marāṭhī names, especially for the lower castes such as Mahār, e.g. Śidnāk. Eventually, the title became hereditary, separated from actual command of army or police

units, apparently developing into *danṇāyaka* and later the surname Daṇḍāita. As no king's name is mentioned, one can only conjecture that Caṅgadeva held his remunerative post under the Yādavas. The year is March 20, 1157 to March 10, 1158 according to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's invaluable *Indian Ephemeris* (vol. 3, Madras 1922); the name of the year, *Īśvara*, tallies with the nomenclature according to the southern sixty-year cycle.

The precise nature of the gifts is not too clear. It is difficult to believe that the bell (written *ghantā* for *ghaṇṭā*) was worth a thousand pieces of gold. This assigns a qualificatory sense to what has been read as *titthatī*, the middle ligature being rather doubtful. Probably, a fund was established for bell and bell-service. The gift of land is clear and a standard procedure. That the unit of measure, limits of the gift, and the immunities implied by *a-kara-vātollare* have not been specified in detail implies that the main purpose of the inscription was not to record the gift of land. Nothing is known of the temple having enjoyed any such gift, which should have been—and probably was—exactly recorded in a charter engraved upon a copper plate. It would have been rescinded in any case by the Bāhmani kings. The concluding words are current vernacular for *mangala mahāśrī*, a normal benediction for such work at that period.

What sets this particular record apart from the usual temple grants is the third sentence. This is a curse not generally known upon anyone who might defile the shrine. The words *tehāce putra bhāiyā* = 'his sons are his brothers', mean simply: 'he has violated his own mother'. This is a peculiarly rustic obscenity, equivalent to the modern *mādar-coda* or the Chinese peasant's *mā-di-ke-pi*, but much stronger in the context. The only possible reason for this peculiar execration is obviously the proximity of the Viṣṇu temple to one of Mahādeva, the senior cult of the real Paḷasnāth. There is no corresponding inscription on the Śiva temple, which is built in virtually identical style, slightly larger and perhaps a bit more ornate. That the Viṣṇu temple needed such protection means that damage was to be feared. There are several other undamaged cults in the temple enclosure, including one of Hanumān, some funerary monuments to feudal cavaliers, a *satī* or two and a comparatively rare representation of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (sometimes taken to be the *nava-graha*) not in active worship. This should have found place in the Viṣṇu temple, say as a lintel. The only visible damage to the Viṣṇu shrine is that the brick-work spire has collapsed through natural causes to a heap of rubble on the flat stone roof. This has had no ill effect upon anything actually in the flat-roofed temple and shows only that the economic power to keep more than one building of the whole complex in good repair has been lacking after the days of the Peshwas. The sole plausible conclusion from all this is that Viṣṇu was a rival and deliberate intruder, when his temple was constructed almost touching that of Śiva. Otherwise the 'House of Viṣṇu' could easily

have had a separate enclosure, or have been built on the other side of the stream like the many other beautiful though now decaying shrines of the Yādava period in Paḷasdev village.

The importance of the Paḷasdev inscription, short as it is, derives primarily for its being a surprisingly early, dated, palaeographic testimonium for the *smārta-vaiṣṇava* controversy which split the upper layers of Hindu society in the later feudal period.

3. THE BHĪMĀ-MĀHĀTMYA. The only known supplementary written evidence with which the archaeological find might be collated seems to be a feeble, but not uninteresting document, the *Bhīmā-māhātmya*. The inhabitants of Paḷasdev referred me to this, but the sole copy available was a MS. in the Bhāṇḍārkar O.R. Institute's (Government of Mahārāṣṭra) collection, no. 172 of 1884-87. This is labelled *śrī-Padma-purāṇāntargatam Bhīmā-māhātmyam*; a codex of recent calligraphy, obviously written by several different people and put together, with renumbered folios, to provide a unitary document. The published *Padma-purāṇa* does not have any such section. The purpose of the collection was to label and exalt places of pilgrimage (*tīrthas*) on the Bhīmā river. The names of the places are easily identified with actual locations on the river: *aśvanadyūḥ saṃgamaḥ* in the 30th *adhyāya* is the junction of the Bhīmā and the Ghoḍ rivers; the Śiva-tīrtha of the 26th is at Peḍgāo. The Siddha-tīrtha of chapter 29 is Siddhatek, today the one really famous place of pilgrimage on this river. The order of description is down-river, from the origin at Bhīmā-śaṃkar.

Paḷasdev comes as Palāśa-deva or Palaśa-deva, in the 31st *adhyāya*, folios 88a-89b. The story is that the gods and the demons fought on the banks of the Bhīmā, the gods winning by favour of Palaśanātha. So, the *linga* phallus was set up as a cult. Then king Nahuṣa turned up, made 99 great *yajña* fire-sacrifices and became Indra. Wishing in lust to possess the wife of the real Indra, he hitched the sages to his chariot, kicked them to move faster and was cursed by Agastya to become a snake. So far, this is the standard Purāṇa story, transposed to the banks of the local river. The interesting detail is added in stanzas 30-31 of this *adhyāya*: that the king, become a snake, occasionally emerged from his hole and was seen by exceptionally fortunate men at Palaśadeva.

The local people point out the place of Nahuṣa's *yajña*, now in ploughed fields to the south of the village houses, on the same side of the brook. The proof that a *yajña* was performed at the spot is—according to the peasantry—the occasional bits of old-time pottery that the plough turns up. The Nahuṣa snake was last seen about three generations ago by the headman of the village on the threshold of the temple. That he has not appeared since is taken to indicate his release from the curse. As for Palaśnāth-Mahādeva proper, the peasants' story is entirely different from the pseudo-puranic report. One of the villagers saw that his cow

regularly released her milk below a *palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*) tree, dug there and found the natural stone which he then set up as a *linga* of Śiva. Such aniconic baetyls are common enough, as is the standard method of their revelation in a dream or by some petty miracle like the one related here. The guardian cobra of the locality also follows a standard pattern, though never elsewhere related to Nahuṣa. The moral is that collation of local finds with the Purāṇas, which ought to have been a standard procedure for investigation, will not give anything of value to the historian. Though written to order, such Purāṇas rarely condescend to look at, let alone describe reality of any sort.

Finds of pottery at other *yajña* sites (*e.g.* Bāman-thal beyond Indāpūr) in the valley come to the 12th century A.D. A few older loci known as Gavaḷī ruins have cruder and older but as yet undated ceramics. Paḷasdev, whose last major shrine is dated A.D. 1157 must belong to the older settlements, with continuity from prehistory. Just outside the village and opposite the Paḷasnāth temple is a microlithic factory site, near the cult of Saṭavāi, rustic goddess of childbirth. The Kāḷubāi stone a little further south belonged to some shattered megalith, as proved by the graven oval line. The engraving also marks a few other stones re-used for embankments and construction, as may be seen on the village wall on the riverside and by the Rāma temple. Across the Poona-Sholapur road, but still in Paḷasdev village limits, is another excellent microlith site on the eroded banks of the stream. Also of archaeological interest is the Paṭhāṇ Burj, a stone tower about 12 feet high, built without mortar. The lower courses are of unshaped boulders, the upper of roughly dressed smaller rocks. A cult has been set up on the eastern face, but not at the top which is inaccessible without a ladder eight feet high, at which level steps begin on the north face. The structure is solid and isolated, in the form of a watch-tower; it is much older than the Muslim period in this territory. The original Paḷasdev village (nearly three miles by road from the present site) was by this tower, according to local tradition; but the bare, eroded ground shows only some crude microliths, so that the early settlement must have preceded the use of stone for houses. All these sites should be investigated by excavation, along with the plateau known as Ḍhagobācā Māl, also a microlith site with a curious, domed, medieval one-room structure which is neither shrine nor tomb and certainly not a residential building though flanked by ruins that may have been houses. Special attention may be called to the underground passage which is now collapsed and sealed off but which once enabled the Paḷasdev villagers to go under the brook to the Mahādeva and Viṣṇu temples even during the rains; they now use a boat for the monsoon season.

4. A PREVIOUS READING: Dr. M. G. Dikshit (*Marāṭhī Samśodhana Patrikā* vol. 9, pt. 1, 1961 October, pp. 13-14) has given a photograph of a rubbing and his own reading of the Paḷasdev inscription, along with

some discussion of previous efforts. He reads the date as *śaka* 1078 which is definitely wrong, as the digit 9 is clear while the name *Īśvara* for the year tallies only with 1079, not 1078 *śaka*. Our principal differences occur in sentences 3-4 of the inscription, which he reads as follows : *prāsūdi basavaṇa ūvajhā tehāce putra bhāiyā bambhā niṣpatti soneyā sāhasru eku 1000 prāsūdiā akaravūtottare bhumi 100 dāu pasāu bāhilā*.

It will be seen that the principal difference lies in his taking as *ba* what I read as *gha* and which is close to the modern Marāṭhī *dya* (ligature) in form. So far as I know, *ba* at this period is generally written as *va* ; Dikshit's reading *bāhilā* at the end of sentence 4 would reverse the procedure for no apparent reason. In addition, the *ghā* of this last word is quite clearly crossed through, perhaps for erasure. The word *basavaṇa* seems justified at first as 'establishment of the image', but that leaves the sentence without any verbs at all ; the *ṇa* may be admitted, though it seems to be a slip for *la*, which differs only by a short vertical connecting stroke to the top line. The *ya* is clear, and cannot be read *va*. The initial *ba* is therefore still more doubtful. The worst is the word *bambhā* which supposedly begins the fourth sentence in Dikshit's reading. The *bhā* is decidedly not admissible, as is seen from comparison with the preceding word *bhāiyā*. Dikshit takes *bambhā* as *brahmā* and with the *niṣpatti* as some sort of fund for the priest's maintenance. In *niṣpatti*, the final *ti* is not reduplicated ; the initial *ni* may be admissible, but the middle ligature is highly doubtful. The meaning would, incidentally be rather obscene if *bambhā* were taken: 'for the begetting of brahmins'. The supposed word *ūvajhā* is definitely misread, for the first letter is precisely the *a* which occurs in *akara-*, and by no means comparable to the two *u* that come in *dāu-pasāu*. The *jhā*, of course, may also be contested, but the point now becomes trifling. We might note in passing the arbitrary reading *valika* for *vaṇika* in another inscription listed on p. 6 of the same paper.

Let me stress again the most extraordinary proximity of the 12th century Viṣṇu shrine to an older temple of Śiva, the original brahmin deity of the spot when the primitive cult was taken over.

ANTIQUITY OF MODERN DWARKA
OR
DWARKA IN LITERATURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By H. D. Sankalia

THE location and antiquity of Dwarka¹ have been discussed by scholars now for nearly a century. Pargiter was perhaps the first to refer to this problem, though incidentally, in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.² Then, as usual, other Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* (*MHB*) were ransacked and three places in Saurashtra were sought to be identified with the city of Dvārakā, which the Yādavas under the leadership of Kṛṣṇa are believed to have founded, when they fled from Mathura. The three places are :

- (1) Modern Dwarka, in ancient Okhāmaṇḍala or the present district of Jamnagar.
- (2) Junagadh, or ancient Girinagara.
- (3) Mūla-Dwarka, a small place—an island—about 22 miles from Prabhas Patan, on the south-west coast of Saurashtra, in the present district of or alternatively some place on this coast, up to Porbandar.³

Since the literary evidence has been cited sometimes exhaustively as late as 1945, it is not proposed to go over it once again, but the salient points are here discussed.

The claims of the present Dwarka were rather dismissed in a cavalier fashion by Altekar,⁴ when he concluded that there were no references to it in inscriptions or literature before 1000 A.D. and that it had not suffered at all from Muslim vandalism, though he accepted the tradition about the ancient sea-sunk city of Dvārakā and said that it should be at least as old as 3rd century B.C. Bhattasali⁵ and Durgashankar Shastri⁶ (in Gujarati) and after them Karmarkar⁷ (in Marathi) discussed the relevance of the epic and Puranic references, and pointed out that the *MHB* references were of two types. Those in the Ādi and Sabhā Parvas referred to a Dvārakā near the hill Raivataka, and no reference at all

¹ As spelt in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, Kathiawar, p. 587. The correct transliteration would be 'Dvārakā'.

² Translated with notes in *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1904), p. 289, n.

³ Burgess, *Antiquities of Kaccha and Kathiawad*, (1876), p. 13.

⁴ 'Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat', published in *IA*, vol. 54 (1925), p. 25, as a supplement.

⁵ *IHQ* vol. X, pp. 541-50; also *JUB*, vol. III.

⁶ *Ātīhāsik Samśhodhan*, Gujarat Sahitya Parishad, Parishad Series No. 1. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (1941), pp. 59-64.

⁷ *Navbhārat*, February 1961.

was made to the city being near the sea, or its later drowning by the natural calamity. It was in the Musala Parva for the first time that Dvārakā's foundation in or near the sea and the later tragedy was first alluded to.

The same view seems to have been held by the Purānas : the *Vāyu* and the *Viṣṇu* agreeing with the Ādi and Sabhā, and the *Bhāgavata*, *Harivamśa*, and others following the Musala.

These and some other scholars, therefore, thought that the Ādi referred to an earlier and truer tradition existing prior to the 2nd century B.C., whereas the Musala and other Purānas had in view a much later tradition.

According to this stratification in the Puranic tradition, they identified the Dvārakā near the Raivatika hill with Junagadh or the ancient Girinagara. The question of Dvārakā in the later references was not discussed.

Soon after, Law brought together the references in early Buddhist and Jaina literature but made no attempt to identify or locate it.

Pusalkar reviewing the entire evidence pointed out that though the *MHB* and the Puranic evidence was divergent, still the identification of Dvārakā with Girinagara was not free from difficulties. In the first place, it was against the persistent tradition of Dvārakā being near the sea, and drowned by it, and that the area near the present Junagadh could never be this place because it is some 60 or so miles away from the sea.

To this we may add the fact that it has so far not yielded anything older than third century B.C. But while we say this it must not be forgotten that there must be some reason—either geographical, political, or commercial (that is strategical) or traditional why Aśoka thought of transcribing his edicts near Girnar. It is not impossible that the place was old and therefore he chose it as his capital in Saurashtra. If this is so, then the region around Junagadh deserves a careful search. Some prehistoric mounds might be lurking in the jungles around the hills. Of course, the existence of a prehistoric site at Junagadh would not necessarily prove the location of Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā there.

So the claims of ancient Girinagara for being regarded as the site of Dvārakā remain unproved.

Mūla-Dwarka⁸ is in the same boat. No hills are nearby, nor do we know of any prehistoric mounds there, though here the case is not so bad. For about 2 miles from modern Prabhas or Somnath, there are extensive deposits of a Chalcolithic culture along the banks of the Hiranya river. This site would be the Ādya Prabhāsa of the *Skanda Purāna*.⁹ And so the remains of Yādava's Dvārakā might not be far off, it might be argued. At the moment nothing can be said for this view,

⁸ *BG*, vol. VIII, p. 552. It is on a small mound. Nearby is the port of Kodinar. Shastri, Hathibhai, *Proceedings, Oriental Congress*, vol. VII, pp. 1171-72.

⁹ According to the information kindly supplied by Shri M. A. Dhaky.

for we are totally in the dark. The same is true of any likely site on the south-west of Saurashtra.

We then come to the remaining alternative, viz. Dwarka in Okhamandal. Its case has been very well argued by Pusalkar.¹⁰ He showed that as far as the description of the location of Dvārakā in the Musala Parva of the *MHB*, the *Bhāgavata* and particularly the *Harivamśa* go, as well as the existence of temples of other gods is concerned, and the occurrence of certain shells marked with a lotus on them and referred to in the *MHB* is concerned, the present Dwarka fitted the position admirably. He also pointed out, after Pargiter, some 60 years before him, that the so-called Raivataka hill near which Dvārakā was situated might be the Barda hills, and not Girnar. These are about miles 55 south-east of Dwarka.

Only one point Pusalkar could not satisfactorily answer, and that was the likely priority of references in the Ādi and Sabhā Parvas over the later ones, and the complete absence of references to Dwarka in inscriptions, particularly of Gujarat-Saurashtra.

Both these objections can be very well met. First, Pusalkar seems to have missed the significance of the reference to Dvārakā in the *Ghata Jātaka*, first cited by Law.¹¹ This *Jātaka*¹² gives an interesting history of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and his nine brothers, who are said to have conquered a number of states and ultimately settled at Dvārakā, on one side of which was a hill, and on the other the sea.

Now the Jātakas are believed to contain very ancient traditions, and their composition in their present form is not later than the 3rd century B.C. So here is an independent source, other than the epic and Puranic, which tells us that Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā was on the sea. On the strength of this Buddhist tradition it is possible to argue that Musala Parva in the *MHB* and other Purānas are handing down this tradition, which need not be necessarily late.

Again, an inscription of A.D. 574 belonging to one Gārulaka Simhāditya,¹³ found nearly a 100 years ago at Palitana in Saurashtra, tells us that his father Varāhadāsa (II) was like Śrī Kṛṣṇa of unquenchable valour and had conquered the lord of Dvārakā. And it has been shown by me elsewhere¹⁴ that Varāhadāsa must have ruled somewhere near Bhatia which is only 25 miles from Dwarka.

More than any other evidence—epic, Puranic, Buddhist or Jaina which cannot be exactly dated—this one epigraphical allusion informs us that at least some centuries before the sixth century there existed the

¹⁰ Pusalkar, A.D., 'Dvārakā', *B. C. Law Volume*, I (Calcutta 1945), pp. 218-24.

¹¹ Law, Bimala Churn, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, (London, 1941), pp. 85, 102, 132, 167, 215, 239.

¹² *The Jātaka* ed. by V. Fausböll (London, 1887), vol. IV, pp. 82-85.

n *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, 100th No. to be published in 1963-64.

¹⁴ *EI*, vol. XI, p. 18, ll.11-12

tradition that Kṛṣṇa had founded Dvārakā and this was situated on the sea, on the site of modern Dwarka. Whatever might be said in favour of other sites, considering all the literary evidence, we can say with greater confidence than Pusalkar that the present Dwarka was regarded as the site of Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā at least from the beginning of the Christian era, if not some centuries before it. But this antiquity should be proved archaeologically and Pusalkar had the foresight to suggest it, though earlier Bhattasali had bemoaned the fact that nothing had been done by the archaeologists (he meant the Archaeological Survey of India) to prove the antiquity of traditional sites like Hastināpur, Dvārakā and Ayodhyā.

Unfortunately nothing was done to follow up this very intelligent suggestion of Dr. Pusalkar for nearly twenty years and more. A few years ago one Professor Abhyankar from Nasik tried the aerial survey, and claimed that he had noticed the remains of the buried city. I always wondered how one could be so sure without actually handling the remains !! These, if at all there, could be of several periods, as we later found. The question was again brought to me when I visited Dwarka in October 1962. Here I met Dr. Jayantilal Thaker, who put before me the evidence that he had gathered from his observations of the ruined houses, dug-up roads and drains. This evidence consisted of silver Gupta coins, Red Polished ware and some other pottery of unknown fabric and age. However, the writer was convinced that if the Red Polished ware as well as the silver coins of the Guptas had been really found at this place, then the site must go back at least to 2nd century A.D. Accordingly an excavation was conducted here jointly with the Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.

Before the results of our excavation are described it is necessary to see in some detail what the *Harivamśa* has to say about Dvārakā, and then compare this description with the topography of modern Dwarka. For this will facilitate the final identification.

With regard to the foundation of Dvārakā, some Purāṇas describe it in very general terms, but the *Harivamśa*, which is in a sense an epilogue to the more famous epic, the *Mahābhārata*, gives it in greater details.

The *Harivamśa* definitely states that the site selected for Dvārakā was in Kuśasthālī (the latter is also called at places a *nagarī* (town or city ?) ; that it was situated on the sea, and the land was full of coconut and other trees, and animals like cows, buffaloes, elephants; pigs and deer. Further the hill of Raivataka was not very far off. Giving some idea of the land surface it is said to be copper-red in colour, and covered with thorny bush and stones. Twice we are told that the land available for the future city was insufficient, and therefore, some land had to be reclaimed from the sea (literally, the sea retreated on Kṛṣṇa's request).

This done, the celestial architect Viśvakarmā built a city in no time, laid out roads, parks, palaces and houses. Special provision was also

made for an assembly hall, temples or palaces for Kṛṣṇa himself and his family and the gods Agni, Varuṇa and Indra. A fort wall with ditches was also constructed round the principal buildings. The former was provided with four or more gates, hence the city was called "Dvāravatī".

Though it would appear that this Dvāravatī was a brand new city, there are statements which imply that a small city or village of this name was already existing before the Yādavas, under Kṛṣṇa, chose it for their second home. Of course, such statements which look anachronistic or confusing are bound to occur in a work which purports to narrate a past event in future tone.

However, the *Bhāgavata* (another Purāṇa) seems to be more clear on this point. It says that Revata, son of Ānarta, had built Kuśasthālī in the sea. Though thus the name of Dvāraka does not appear, one can be sure that there was an earlier habitation here known as Kusa śthālī (literally a place having *kuśa* grass).

Leaving aside for a moment the question that there are two places which claim to be the site of ancient Dvārakā, let us now turn to modern Dwarka. The latter is situated on the western coast of Saurashtra just where the land juts out more prominently into the sea than anywhere else on the peninsula. Physiographically and even culturally, it is different from the rest of Saurashtra. An area of over 300 sq. miles known as Okhāmaṇḍala is practically an island and has been formed by sedimentary rocks full of marine fossils. For the most part, it is flat, almost like a table top (and thus an ideal ground for motor driving or even racing), with occasional low hillocks made of fine clay or limestone. To the north-east of Dwarka these form an undulating semi-circle. The low-lying areas are marshy and difficult to traverse during or soon after the rains.

The vegetation is scant. Scrubby acacia and thorny cactus (*thur*) seem to be native and supply fuel to the people even now. But where there is good land, and sweet water available, as around Variava, a few miles north of Dwarka, luxuriant trees and orchards can be developed. This land is said once to be full of herds of deer (possibly this is implied by the place-name 'Kurangī', now a railway station), wild pigs and cattle. Now only the latter two remain, the former having been almost exterminated.

Vaghers are believed to be the aboriginal people, though, looking to their physiognomy, tall with straight nose, clear cut features, and darkish, these seem to have come from Sind, and emigrated from Central Asia in prehistoric times. Other people in smaller numbers are Rabaris, Charans, Brahmins—the Guggalis and Abotis—Lohanas and Baniyas. Thus there is abundant evidence everywhere that the land was once under the sea, and various groups of people have at one time or another come from outside. An imaginative writer could well say that it was reclaimed from the sea. This too in a natural way, by simply the sea retreating (and not by filling up as was done at Bombay).

Secondly, copper-red rock and the resulting sands and clay can be easily seen at numerous places in and around Dwarka.

But the one reason which seems to have drawn early settlers here was a harbour, which like Bombay, does not lie on the open sea on the west, but in a creek formed by the so-called Gomati river on the east. It is now silted up, but until a few years ago, large ships could come in at high tide. And H. H. the late Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda had built a dock along the Gomati and a ghat (landing place) on the opposite side with huge stone pillars to facilitate tying in of the ships.

Then here where the Gomati meets the sea were built on the ancient rock surface the temples of Indra, Varuṇa, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and a little on the interior the famous temple of Kṛṣṇa, as lord of Dvārakā "Dvārakā-dhīśa". This is nearly 180 ft. high from the ground level and can be seen from miles around. This as well as the other temples, as they stand today, are admittedly of a later date, but it is very likely that they stand on the ruins of ancient temples, probably of identical deities. This time should not be later than the 7th century, as indicated by the architectural style of the temples, and the associated pottery which we recovered from our excavations at Suvarna Tirtha and Pindara. The existence of these places of pilgrimage and particularly of Śaṅkhoddhāra or what is now called Bet Dwarka, gives a vivid and specific clue for its identification, viz. the occurrence of shells with lotus (*padma*) engraved on them. Now these occur only here and nowhere else.

Two topographical features of the present Dwarka admirably fit in with those given in the *Harivamśa* and the *Bhāgavata*, whatever the claims of other places like Mūla Dwarka to be regarded as the ancient Dvāravatī of Kṛṣṇa. Here is a flat, rocky land, which was formerly under the sea, and has copper-red sand and clay and is full of thorny bushes. Kuśa grass also grew once in abundance. But above all it was a natural harbour which though out of use now, was probably the main attraction to new comers, whether arriving here as refugees, invaders or traders. And that is what the name 'Dvārakā' or 'Dvāravatī' means, 'a gateway, or one having gates'—to the west or to the land within. And probably because it was a port, or a prominent place on the coast, that the author of the *Periplus*, a Greek work of the first century A.D., mentions the island as Barake in the Gulf of Kutch.

Dwarka has thus all the natural advantages to be chosen as a safe refuge place by a people in peril, whether they be Yādavas or anybody else. But how should one determine this period of the earliest colonization at Dwarka, and the vicissitudes through which it had passed? The present city can be divided into two or three parts. The oldest is clustered around the temple of Kṛṣṇa called "Dvārakādhiśa". The latter dominates the scene, being a prominent landmark for miles around, situated as it is on the highest part of the city and also because the temple's *śikhara* (tower) is unusually tall, being built of several stories.

Round this 'ancient city' is a fort. Outside are situated other temples, a few right on the sea-shore, and the modern houses, school, library, the railway station and the A.C.C. factory within a radius of two miles to the north-east, and the light-house on the west.

The oldest Dwarka then lies within an area of less than a square mile. That it is situated on a rising ground should be obvious, even to a casual visitor. But is this a natural eminence—a rock or artificial mound made of debris of several earlier habitations? An archaeologist, however experienced, could never say anything. For there is not an inch of open ground which he could examine.

To his rescue came Dr. Jayantilal Thaker, a resident of Dwarka. During his long stay here and a careful and intelligent study of the topography of the area, as well as observation of the foundation of houses and laying of roads and digging of wells, he had noted remains of earlier buried houses and that indestructible indicator of past cultures and civilizations—pottery—besides, of course, a few coins, bangles, bones, shells and sand. What an archaeologist does or has to do before undertaking an excavation Dr. Thaker had done. He had collected evidence, which is normally available, prior to an excavation, from explorations and topographical study and ancient traditions and legends.

From this Dr. Thaker had come to the conclusion that the most ancient Dwarka of Krishna's time lay under or adjacent to the temple of Dvārakādhiśā. This was later submerged in the sea. Centuries later other Dwarkas rose up over this sand-covered city. A very legitimate inference which can only be checked by a careful digging, removal of layer after layer, of all the later buildings and reaching the virgin rock-bed over which might lie the remains of the earliest habitation, covered no doubt by a layer of sand. From Dr. Thaker's calculation (which we later checked by noting the contours with the present sea level) we had to penetrate an accumulation of nearly 35 to 40 feet to reach our objective.

Normally, this should not be difficult to attempt in an open area. Here it was different. The area was heavily congested. A house had to be acquired, then demolished and then a trench, indeed a large pit or *sondage*, cut through, a most difficult and unromantic operation when it is realized that there are houses around built with dry masonry and rarely plastered with cement or lime. Thus we had not only to safeguard our safety and that of our diggers, but of the houses and their habitants including two cows which were tethered in the passage between the houses.

Since there was no other way to prove the antiquity of Dwarka, this hazardous excavation was undertaken, jointly with the Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State. Its Director and Assistant Director, Dr. D. L. Sharma and Shri J. M. Nanavati, were most co-operative and helped us in various ways. They not only acquired the house, but helped us in demolishing it and later their Conservation Assistant Shri

Anjaria assisted in the conservation of the surrounding houses. Dr. Thaker was of inestimable help all the time. Later when the problem of structural engineering such as the sinking of a wooden cabin into the sand to protect the sides from collapsing arose, the advice of Shri Manibhai Thaker and Shri Pandya, Retired Deputy Engineer, saw us through a most anxious time. Shri Ladva, the Mamlatdar of the town, also assisted in times of need. To all these friends, my colleagues and myself are grateful.

Though the over-all planning and execution of the project was done by the writer, much of the actual work was carried out by his two lieutenants, Dr. Z. D. Ansari and Dr. M. S. Mate. They were ably assisted by Shri P. R. Kulkarni and later on by two of our pupils, Shri N. M. John and Miss Katy Frenchman.

The house we demolished is situated immediately to the north-west of the main temple, being separated from it by a small lane. The actual digging area at our disposal was 8×6 metres (about 25 ft.×20 ft). This was fully dug out upto a depth of 12 ft., but when sand was struck, only half the area, about 10 ft.×10 ft. was chosen for deep digging, as a measure of safety. The latter from a depth of about 20 ft. was further restricted to an area of 6 ft.×6 ft. as a series of wooden shorings had to be erected into this narrow space to prevent the sandy walls from collapsing. To us accustomed to an open air digging, this was a novel experience. For not only was it extremely uncomfortable to work into the narrow pit, but there was the constant fear of the sides caving in, if for some reason the upright planks and the cross beams gave way under the weight of the sand and the overlying stone structures. This fear was not misplaced, because in the closing stage, when the third shoring was being inserted at a depth of 24 ft., one of the sides developed a huge crack just where the sand layer began. This necessitated the immediate closure of the work. It could be later resumed with the strengthening of the shorings, but not without considerable misgivings in our mind.

Within the narrow space, we could reach a depth of 38 ft., that is almost the surface of the rock and the sea today.

This deep vertical excavation revealed the remains of six habitations or Six Dwarkas. The characteristic features of each as indicated by our limited evidence were as follows :

The foundation of the First Dwarka might be placed at a period, just *before or around* the beginning of the Christian era, but not much earlier. Though no idea of the houses etc. at this time can be had, there is no doubt that the habitants knew the use of wood, iron and a fine pottery. Among the last we notice several fabrics : very coarse, fine and painted, all mostly having a reddish surface. The one with a fine red slip or coating has a deep black core made of well levigated clay and fairly well-baked. Though no full shapes were available, one can visualize such shapes as small and large globular vessels with narrow or wide

necks, having thick rim-band on the outside, which was deeply cut, thus showing a fine overhang with sharp edges. Then there were bowls and storage jars with thick sides. In addition to the beautiful red slipped and painted narrow-necked vessels, there were vessels with extremely thin sides. Since only fragments of this are found, no idea of their shapes can be formed.

A large proportion of the potsherds is rolled, that is, they show the effect of water action, having been tossed about in the sea and lying buried in the sand for 2,000 years. This proportion goes on increasing as we touch deeper and deeper levels. Two curious facts, however, deserve notice. Some sherds have escaped this damage completely, even though recovered from a depth of 31 ft. The other is that a few sherds from the same level still preserve the soot on the inner side after all this time! At the moment, we are unable to account for this marked difference in the pottery from identical levels, for no pits or other disturbances are noticeable in the sandy medium in which we were digging and secondly, no strata, if any, were available for inspection.

The 'First Dwarka' lies buried under nearly 20 ft. of sand, obviously because of the encroachment of the sea. But there is archaeological evidence from our excavations at Suvarna Tirtha, about three miles to the north and Pindara, about 15 miles due east, of Dwarka, that this was a local phenomena confined to a small area of not more than a mile or so in circumference. For at these latter sites the inhabitants using identical pottery continued to live. This by the way can be gleaned from a careful study of the *Harivamsa* and other accounts as well.

Whether the sea continued to heap on sand for years together or whether the phenomenon was sudden and of short duration, cannot be easily determined. No less than 20 ft. of sand has been deposited and if the physical condition of a large number of potsherds found practically throughout this thick deposit is any guide, then we might infer that the process went on for sometime, and that is why a large proportion of the potsherds is 'rolled'.

Whatever it is, when the sandbar of about 20 ft. in height had accumulated, attempts seem to have been made to settle on it. For remains of two fragmentary walls made of local sandstone were found in our pit. These rested right on a bedding of reddish sandy foundation, a practice which is current even today.

The evidence of 'Second Dwarka' might appear flimsy. However, the pottery associated with this phase indicates a momentous change. Along with the potsherds of the earlier phase, we now notice fragments of the Roman or Mediterranean amphorae and another characteristic pottery which because of its uniform red core and lustrous smooth surface is called the Red Polished Ware (RPW).

Not only the fabric but the shapes are extremely specialized and include some bowls and sprinklers—a vessel having a small vertical

neck with a narrow opening, and a spout, similarly made but on the side. While the amphorae were definitely imported with the wine (and women, the latter having been irretrievably lost), the Red Polished Ware was an excellent copy of the famous Arretine and other wares of the Roman Empire. Saurashtra has so far produced the largest quantity and the best type of Red Polished Ware. And it had also been shown by the late Dr. Subbarao of the Baroda University that specialized kilns for manufacturing such extremely well-baked pottery with Manglore tile-like texture, still continued to survive in Saurashtra.

Even this 'Second Dwarka' was covered by the sea, burying it under nearly 6 ft. of sand. Thus when the next inhabitants came, the area around the present temple had grown into a small mound, some 24 ft. higher than the surrounding plain.

Before turning to the next phase, a reference should be made to 'a lingering tradition' (recorded in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, Kathiawar, 1884, p. 588). According to this legend, 'the old town of Dwarka was swallowed up by the ocean' during the reign of one Sukkur Belim, a Syrian adventurer. This again, according to the tradition, had taken place after the country had been reconquered by the Kalas, a local people in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Since the country was under the possession of the Chāvaḍas in the sixth century, the rule of Sukkur Belim would fall between the 2nd and the 6th centuries. It is at this time that the Old Dwarka was submerged in the sea, according to the local tradition, and a fine confirmation of it has been found in the excavation.

The 'Third Dwarka' had to be built on a sandy mound. Hence the foundation of houses had to be secured by a stone filling, over which a regular platform of stones was laid. Besides this constructional feature, it was interesting to find in the debris and walls of this period, mouldings and finials of temples with small spires (*śikharas*) in the neighbourhood. A small rectangular shrine of stone with a tapering roof, surmounted by a finial lies most inharmoniously and unsymmetrically in the *mandapa* (main hall) of present temple today. Architecturally it seems to be the earliest shrine at Dwarka, and along with similar shrines on the western seaboard of Saurashtra, should be placed in the 5th-7th century A.D. Thus the beginning of our 'Third Dwarka' should be placed in this period. Dwarka as a religious place connected with Viṣṇu's various incarnations, and particularly Śrī Kṛṣṇa, seems to have gained in prominence at this time, due no doubt to the great popularizing of the Purāṇas, under the Guptas.

From the 8th-9th century Dwarka's progress was continuous, though it is said to have suffered seriously at the hands of the iconoclasts. A beautiful temple of the 12th-13th century stands disfigured on the shore. Similar destruction and damage must have been caused to the main temple, adjoining our site. But of this no evidence came forth from

our dig. We only found houses built over the foundation of the earlier ones, and this no less than four to five times. Inhabitants of the houses after the 13th century introduced new cultural features—a drab coarse red and black pottery, but beautiful glass bangles, some polychrome. One large piece having a diameter of nearly three inches should belong to a hefty woman. As shown by me elsewhere and now being proved every year, the art of making such polychrome glass bangles as also glazed and celadon ware, was brought into India by Iranian Muslims in the 15th century. The occurrence of the glazed and celadon ware should be attributed to the same source, though it must be emphasized that certain glazed pottery might have an earlier existence as at Rangmahal in Rajasthan.

The occupants of the immediately succeeding period used fine and delicate articles of ivory, of which we recovered a few. They also possessed elaborately made terracotta toys. Just before the existing house was constructed some fifty years ago, a shop selling large conch-shells stood there, for in one place we unearthed no less than fifteen carefully kept conch-shells.

Within the space available, we had reached our objective, and showed that the site of present Dwarka is at least 2,000 years old, its early inhabitants bearing some relationship with those in distant Rajasthan. For some of the pottery fabrics and shapes are identical with those unearthed by the Swedish expedition in Bikaner. But what the sociological background of this Dwarka was, and whether any still earlier remains exist which can be ascribed to the epic *Kṛṣṇa*, we cannot say, unless a much bigger excavation is made possible.

From our observation of the various places in and around Dwarka as also from the evidence of excavation one can definitely say that this is the *Dvārakā* mentioned in the *Musala Parva* of the *MHB*, the *Dvārakā-mahātmya* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, other Puranas and the *Ghatajātaka*. In particular, one can say that the *Dvārakā* described in such a great detail as a sacred *tīrtha* by the *Harivamśa*¹⁶ probably came into existence after the second submergence in the sea of two earlier *Dvārakās*, because it gives very minute description of so many temples, and this could have been possible only by a writer who had probably visited *Dvārakā* and seen the temples. But the writer was quite sure that *Dvārakā* which he was describing was twice submerged into the sea and therefore the earlier *Dvārakā* he thought, belonged to Śrī *Kṛṣṇa*. Of course, of this we have no positive evidence excepting the fact that it is possible to say that the earliest *Dvārakā* was found at least in the 1st-2nd century B.C.—A.D. and of this we can say much more when in future there is a chance to excavate it on a much larger scale.

¹⁶ This was also the view of Durgashankar Shastri. But he placed the *Harivamśa* in the 1st-2nd century A.D., whereas we would place it in the 7th century.

THE PUNJAB
(1758 to 1763)
FROM THE TAHMASNAMA ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED

By P. Setu Madhava Rao

INTRODUCTORY

TAHAMASKHAN MISKIN, the author of Tahmas Nama, an autobiography written in Persian in 1782 A.D., had a strange and eventful career. He was born in about 1738 A.D., in a village in Turkey. During the wars between the Turks and the Persians he was captured in 1745 A.D. by the soldiers of Nadirshah. His captor Kharonji Beg, an Uzbek captain brought him up. The boy remembered neither his name nor his parentage. His captors called him Zakir.

While Kharonji Beg was in Gilan, a province in North Persia, Nadir Shah was murdered (9th June 1747). Civil war immediately broke out in Persia. Kharonji Beg and other Uzbek chiefs hurried to Tabriz where a scion of the Safavi dynasty had seized power. He was removed by the Uzbeks after hard fighting, but not before Kharonji Beg, who had been forced to enter his service, had been done to death. The boy Zakir narrowly escaped death.

Soon after, a contingent of Uzbeks migrated to India taking the boy with them. They arrived in Multan by the end of 1747 A.D. At Multan they heard that Muinulmulk, son of the late Mughal Vazir Qamaruddin, and Governor of Lahore was recruiting fresh troops. The Uzbeks moved to Lahore where they entered the service of Muinulmulk. The boy Zakir was presented to the Governor Muinulmulk who named him Taimur (1748 A.D.).

Taimur was brought up as a household slave of Muinulmulk. The latter paid attention to the training of the boy. In 1752 as a result of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion, the Punjab was lost to the Mughal Empire (March 1752). Muinulmulk continued to serve the Afghans as the Governor of Lahore. Muinulmulk was an energetic administrator. Unfortunately he died shortly after (3rd November 1753), leaving a son of three years old behind him. The boy too followed his father to the grave soon after.

Muinulmulk's widow, Mughlani Begam ruled for some time as regent. But a woman's rule could not last long. Her Turkish chiefs seized power. Mughlani Begam invited Ahmad Shah Abdali. Hardly had she been restored than she was removed by her son-in-law Gaziuddin, the Vazir of the Mughal Emperor Alamgir Second. Ahmad Shah Abdali swiftly moved in. He captured Delhi in 1757 and committed

great atrocities. On his departure, the Punjab was placed under his son Taimurshah. Mughlani Begam was disappointed in her hopes of becoming the Governor of Lahore.

The Afghan rule in the Punjab was of a short duration. Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of Jullundhar Doab, invited the Marathas who drove the Afghans out of the Punjab (April 1758).

While in the service of the Afghans, Taimur had been named Tahmas Khan. His nom de plume was Miskin. It is by this name, Tahmas Miskin that he is known to history.

Tahmas followed the Mughlani Begam to Batala and Jammu. He was present in Delhi (January 1760) when Dattaji, the Maratha General died fighting against the Afghans. He was however at Jammu when the battle of Panipat took place.

Sometime in 1762, Tahmaskhan left the service of Mughlani Begam. For a time he served under Zain Khan, the Afghan Governor of Sirhind. But shortly after, he arrived in Delhi and entered the services of Zabita Khan, the son of Najib Khan.

On the arrival of Shah Alam in Delhi in 1772, Tahmaskhan Miskin was attached to Najaf Khan, the Chief Minister of Shah Alam. He rose high in the service of Najaf Khan, receiving the title of Muhkamud-dowlah, Iteqadjung Tahmas Beg Khan Bahadur.

Tahmaskhan Miskin has brought his autobiography to a close with the death of Najaf Khan in 1782. We hear of him again in 1792 A.D. when he was sent by Shah Alam on a mission to King Taimurshah of Afghanistan (Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab by Hari Ram Gupta, page 255).

Tahmaskhan seems to have died in 1217 Hejira (about 1802 A.D.) according to a chronogram composed by his son, the celebrated Urdu poet Sadaat yar Khan Rangin.

Through the efforts of Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Bombay, a photostat copy of the Tahmasnama, in the Jadunath Sarkar Collections was made available to me.

The work runs into three hundred and fifty five pages. I have translated the pages from one hundred and eighty two to two hundred and fifty. The period covered is from April 1758 to April 1763. It covers the period of Maratha-Afghan and Afghan-Sikh conflicts.

The narrative of Tahmaskhan is full of absorbing interest. It throws a flood of light on the troubles through which the Punjab was passing at this time. The personality of Mughlani Begam, the intrigues of her officers, the Afghan aggression, the interference of the Mughal Court, the uprisings of the Sikhs and the advance of the Marathas have all been noticed by Tahmaskhan. He was hardly seventeen in 1755. But he was a shrewd observer of men and events. His narrative is plain and simple. It is free from the flowery style adopted by many of the contemporary Persian writers.

I have slightly abridged the narrative, leaving out the moralising of Tahmaskhan and the couplets he uses frequently. But nothing of substance and importance has been left out.

It was Tahmaskhan's practice to work everyday. When he would be writing he would consider his each day's writing as a separate chapter. He would often end his chapter with remark. 'O Miskin, now that the time for prayer has arrived, stop writing for today.'

I have not followed the chapter headings as given by Tahmaskhan, I have treated the entire narrative as a flowing one. I have given a few headings to indicate important events. For the sake of convenience I have used the word Tahmaskhan in place of Miskin, as Miskin was the pen name of Tahmas Khan. I have also inserted the dates of the Christian Era to make the narrative intelligible to the reader. Tahmaskhan hardly gives any dates in the narrative. They have to be found out from a reference to the events recorded.

Scholars like Jadunath Sarkar, and Hari Ram Gupta have made use of this work. Extracts from the Tahmasnama are to be found in English translations, in the works of Shri Gupta. I have usefully consulted them while translating the Tahmasnama.

Mughlani Begam at Batala—April 1758—Sept. 1758

When the Mughal army reached Batala, Adina Beg Khan sanctioned a monthly allowance of Rupees two thousand for the Begam. He also sanctioned a daily allowance of Rupees fifty of her kitchen expenditure. He also fixed a building fit for noblemen, for her residence. The Begam had, while at Lahore, sent her jewels to Adina Beg Khan to be pawned for payment of Adina Beg Khan's dues. These jewels were now returned by him to the Begam.

The Begam sent her daughter and other attendants of her female establishment to the residence selected for her. She however remained in Adina Beg's camp. In lieu of jewels (aigrette, tiara and Kalgi) which she had to take from me when payments of Dilaram's (agent of Adina Beg Khan) had to be made, the Begam gave me four hundred Rupees to get those ornaments prepared afresh. Accordingly I got the jewels prepared. I wore them on the day of the Id. (8 June 1758). He gave to each of us a horse. He had heard of our devotion to the Begam. He therefore paid us good salaries from his treasures punctually. The Begam's prosperity began to grow. She began to pass her days happily.

Begam's designs on Tahmaskhan

One day unfortunately an unbecoming event, the mention of which is beyond propriety and wisdom took place. The Begam got very angry with me. She imprisoned me. She even wanted to kill me. But as I was destined to live a little longer and enjoy the affairs of the world, God protected me. The truth of her senseless treatment of me, came

to be widely known in the camp. Even Adina Beg Khan sent word to her to say "This improper conduct of yourself and senseless rage is against all sense of propriety and is not in keeping with your dignity. It is not proper that you should lose your devoted servants and well-wishers in this way." After fifteen days, the Begam's anger subsided. She grew kind to me and wanted to entrust to me the management of affairs as previously. I told her that it was impossible for me to carry on as before. My adopted son Faizulla Beg, was looking after her affairs during the period of her displeasure towards me. The Begam pressed me to resume my work. But I refused. Finding no other alternative she asked Faizulla Beg to look after her affairs.

Adina Beg Khan's Death

As fate would have it, it was at this time that Adina Beg Khan fell ill of a serious disease. After a few days, he died (15 September 1758).

At this happening, the Begam became very much distressed. She said "We must go to Jammu now. I do not see any place as safe as Jammu". She considered this course to be the only proper one and started for Jammu.

After a few days, she reached Jammu. The Rajah of Jammu, on hearing of her arrival, advanced three Kos to receive her. On seeing her, he got down from his horse and paid his respects to her. The Begam took away the aigrette, tiara and plume which I had with me and bestowed it upon him. She then entered Jammu with great pomp.

Mughlani Begam at Jammu

At Jammu there was a house in the vicinity of the residence of Uddhao, the minister. It was not suitable for a dwelling of noblemen. But as there was no alternative the Begam occupied the house. The minister ordered Mukrama the Kotwal to construct a house suitable for the Begam, soon. He got a house put up. It was not at all suitable. The Begam had, however, to bestow a robe of honour on the Kotwal.

The Rajah used to come to the Begam every four days. He used to pay respects to her according to procedure. After a few days he said to her "I am your subject. If you could accept an allowance of Rupees one thousand per month from me I would consider it a great honour for me. The Begam did not agree to this. I and others said to her "We should not reject what is offered." The Begam was of a proud nature. She, who had given away lakhs of Rupees would not stoop to receiving what was in reality a monthly salary. She said that it was insulting to her sense of self-respect.

Many men from Lahore, officials, distinguished citizens, and merchants used to come to Jammu. They used to call on her. She used to bestow on them, generous as she was by nature, robes of honour and shawls according to their dignity. In a short time she must have distributed

one hundred and fifty shawls. This continued for a year and half. The expenditure continued to be high. There was no income of a single pie from anywhere. Scarcity of money began to cause distress. The Begam pawned her jewels and realised Rupees thirty thousand from them. She carried on as best as she could. No money was left with her. Every-day the scarcity of money was felt. At last starvation stared in the face.

The Begam had given me four hundred Rupees in return for the aigrette and other jewels she had taken from me for bestowing them on the Rajah of Jammu. Besides, she had given to each of the servants a precious pearl. She had also given, when at Lahore, a nosering to my wife. I could not see her distress. I collected all these jewels and presented them to the Begam. I said "All these are gifts from your Highness These may be pawned so that expenditure could be met." The Begam refused to accept them. I however handed them to the superintendent of the Kitchen. I said to him "Pawn them for five hundred Rupees and meet the expenses to some extent." The expenses were met but only for a short time. The Begam maintained an establishment of two hundred persons, including attendants, troopers and horsemen.

The Governorship of Kashmir

When the Begam first arrived in Jammu rumour went abroad that she had a design to take over Kashmir. Sukhjiwan had been appointed by Ahmadshah as the Governor of Kashmir. He had, for some time, been harbouring rebellious designs against Ahmad Shah. He was utilising the entire revenue of the province for himself.

When he heard that the Begam had a design on Kashmir, he became anxious. He sent an agent to the Begam with the following message: "A man of authority and confidence will soon follow with presents and a sum for the expenses of your establishment."

The agent found out that there was absolutely no idea of the Begam having an eye on Kashmir. He wrote in confidence to Sukhjiwan asking him not to send the money and presents as promised by Sukhjiwan to the Begam.

After four days, however, an agent of some distinguished persons of Kashmir, Hasan Manda by name arrived at Jammu. He met the Begam. He presented one Ashrafi to her. He brought a message from his chiefs which was as follows: "If you come to Kashmir we will expel Sukhjiwan from Kashmir and seat you in the office of Governorship. We have a force of twelve thousand infantry. We are ready to fight. But we cannot put in exertion for want of a leader. Since you have the orders previously passed by Ahmadshah, conferring on you the Governorship of Kashmir, we can achieve our aims on the basis of those orders. We will put in every effort to do so."

On this I said to the Begam: "We should assist Hasan Manda. We should seize this opportunity."

The Begam replied: "Sukhjiwan's message was received four days earlier. He has promised to send cash amounts. It would be unreasonable to give this up."

I said: "Sukhjiwan is not to be trusted."

For four months the Begam waited for the amount from Sukhjiwan. Nothing was forthcoming. The falsehood of Sukhjiwan became apparent.

Hasan Manda was, in the meanwhile pressing the Begam to undertake the expedition. Six months passed away in this correspondence. At last Hasan Manda proposed as follows: "If you are not able to undertake this expedition yourself, you should send an agent of yourself with the letter of appointment which Ahmad Shah has given to you. The agent should be accompanied by a cavalry of five hundred. With God's grace and your fortune, we will get Kashmir for you. All arrangements have been made and people are perfectly agreeable to what we propose to do."

The Begam appointed Aqil Beg Khan, the brother of Gazi Beg Khan (who had been her Bakhshi—that is paymaster at Lahore) as her agent. He refused, saying, "My brother Gazi Beg Khan is employed in Kashmir. It would not be proper for me to go to Kashmir." The Begam then appointed Abu Turab Khan. Hasan Manda said, "Abu Turab Khan is a Kashmiri. The people of Kashmir are not likely to obey him." My name was then proposed. Hasan Manda approved of my appointment. The Begam summoned me and offered the post to me. I accepted it.

My companions, ten to twelve in number, were very much upset at my acceptance. They said: "We are being sent to that hilly region only to be killed."

I told them "During the last six months we have not received even a single Rupee from the Begam's establishment. We had to sell whatever we had to maintain ourselves. We should now, rely on God, and leave this place. If we can get Kashmir, well and good. If not, the expenses will be borne by Hasan Manda who is an important dignitary and landholder of Kashmir."

My companions, then expressed their willingness for this scheme. I then said to the Begam "How are you going to send me on this expedition." The Begam said "Do whatever you consider best."

I then said "Hasan Manda says that for the present we may take with us a cavalry of four hundred. We (including my companions) are twenty horsemen. If you assist me with two thousand Rupees, I will raise a further sum of three to four thousand rupees, on the amount advanced by you. I will then make all necessary arrangement, I will raise a body of three to four hundred horse and will within fifteen or twenty days go to Hasan Manda."

The Begam agreed to my suggestions. But no money was forthcoming. At last she took out costly rugs, carpets and other material. She raised a loan of Rupees two thousand on this material. On an auspicious day

our tents and standards were fixed outside the city. I entered the tents. The Vakil Hasan Manda offered his congratulations and presented two Ashrafis.

The Strange doings of the Begam

Next day, when the news of recruitment spread, horsemen, footsoldiers, clerks and others arrived in the camp. We began to write down the descriptive rolls of the recruits. The work consumed the whole day. In fact, it went on till midnight. My companions left for their quarters. Only Darah Beg remained with me.

All of a sudden, the Begam appeared in the tent dressed in male attire with a turban and a cloak. I recognised her immediately. I paid my respects and said "What is the reason for arriving here at such an hour and in such attire."

The Begam said "There is a Mulla who has discovered a buried treasure of thirty thousand Rupees. From the Rupees two thousand which I raised yesterday for payment of troops, I have paid him five hundred Rupees for Sindur, perfume and other articles. I have also given five hundred Rupees for a horse to be sacrificed on the spot. I have also advanced one thousand Rupees to the Mulla for distribution among the servants. The treasure will come into our possession to-night. The spade workers and torch bearers are ready outside." The Begam then turned to Faizulla Beg who had been appointed Khanesaman in my place and said "Go to the spot and see if the horse has been slaughtered and treasure discovered." Faizullah Beg hurried to the spot.

I said to the Begam "Your Highness ; How strange that you should waste two thousand Rupees in this way. Could there be anyone who would bury a treasure in this hilly region. All these doings of the Mulla appear strange to me."

In the meanwhile Faizullah Beg returned. He said that there was nobody at the place indicated. The Begam did not believe him. She sent Darah Beg along with him. She said "Go and make enquiries. If there is nobody at the place, go to the Mulla's house and find out what has happened." Darah Beg went and made enquiries. The neighbours said that the Mulla had taken the house on rent. He was there for ten days but had cleared out of the house with his family that very night. They did not know where he had gone.

On hearing this news, the Begam was wild with rage and grief. She returned to her house, and soundly abused the attendants who had encouraged her in the scheme and had handled the affair. She even gave a severe beating to them. But what was the use of all this. The arrow, once it has left the bow will not come back.

The whole day was spent in grief at this. On the third day I sent word to the Begam that I would like to have the two thousand Rupees meant for raising troops. The Begam replied "You had said that you

would raise a sum of four thousand Rupees in addition to the two thousand Rupees which I was to give. Those two thousand Rupees are not to be had. You better raise four thousand Rupees as promised and carry on the work."

I replied "The two thousand Rupees which you were to advance would have served to instil confidence among people. They would, then, have advanced money. In the absence of my advance from you there is nothing that I can do."

At this, the Begam flew into rage and said: "I know nothing. You are perfectly free to do whatever you want to do. If you want, you can go away." On hearing these words, my companions collected their luggage and left for their houses. I stayed in the camp. I had four horses with me. Thieves stole one horse. My companions took away other horses. I had only one horse left with me. I had a few troopers with me. They, too, left disappointed as they were, in a few days. I stayed in the camp with only two attendants. Darah Beg stayed with me. My other companions would come to me everyday. They would insist that I should leave the camp and go away to my home. I refused saying "Until the Begam recalls me, I am not going to leave this camp."

I spent forty days in the camp. My companions said "We are dying of hunger and starvation. You join us. We will recover every pie of our salary from the Begam and then leave in search of jobs."

I said "We are all household servants of this family. It would be against all consideration to demand salaries from her at this time. It would be against our sense of obedience."

But my colleagues would not agree.

On the fourth day, two of my companions Afrasiab Beg and Baroz Beg, came to me and said "If you come with us well and good, otherwise we are proceeding to the Begam today. We are going to kill her." Having said this, they departed. I sent Darah Beg to persuade them to return. I was afraid that they might do something disgraceful.

The Begam attacked

Afrasiab Beg and Baroz Beg went to the Begam. They seized her and threw her to the ground. They wanted to kill her. At that time the Begam used her wits and hit upon a stratagem. She said "Your demands of arrears are proper. I have considerable jewellery with me. If you let me go, I will pay every pie of the pay demanded by you."

On hearing these words, they released the Begam. In the meanwhile Taqi Beg and Muqim Beg were coming from the Bazar. They heard the commotion and ran inside. The Begam seized this opportunity. She ran to the terrace and cried out loudly. "These treacherous fellows have come to kill me. Is there any one who will seize them and free me from danger." On hearing her words a few servants joined by some outsiders came running. The four persons concerned got frightened

and came out. The Begam said, "It appears that Tahmaskhan is at the bottom of this conspiracy. He has remained in his tent. He has instigated these persons." The Begam ordered her attendant to fetch me. I went to the Begam. I noticed that a number of persons had gathered there. As soon as the Begam saw me she started abusing me saying "It is you who have instigated this mischief."

I said "Your Highness may not believe but Almighty God is my witness. I tried to prevent them from committing such acts. I told them that we had been brought up by your Highness's family. But these foolish persons have without my knowledge, been responsible for this deed. I am helpless."

In the meanwhile the Kotwal (Police Chief) of Jammu arrived. He was a mischievous person. He said to the Begam "I will take these people outside and set matters right."

He then took us outside and said to us "The Begam is a bad woman. The Rajah is also dissatisfied with her. I will decide your case before evening." He then went to the Begam and said to her "I will settle with all these persons by tomorrow." He then returned to his house. He then sent a person demanding a pearl necklace from me and offering to set matters right. I informed him that I was in great financial difficulties. How could I procure a pearl necklace ?

Next day in the afternoon he called me and Afrasiab to his house. As soon as we entered his house, about fifty persons fell upon us. They bound us with ropes and threw us in a dark well. Muqim Beg and Hussen Beg were also summoned by him and similarly treated. The Kotwal repeated his demand for the pearl necklace saying that unless the necklace was forthcoming I would be drowned. He then went to the Begam and said "Do not let these people go. Do not show any kindness to them. They are mischievous people." I was tied securely. I could not move at all. The arms of my companions were free. God was kind to me. The Begam's attendants came to the place. They took us out and released us. The Begam rebuked the Kotwal for illtreating her men.

On being released I went to the Begam and protested my innocence. She said "The four persons who insulted me should be sent with their families out of Jammu immediately." They considered themselves fortunate that they had been released. They went towards Sialkot which was twenty kos away. Muqim Beg and Taqi Beg were kept by the Begam under detention. Afrasiab Khan and Baroz went towards the camp of Khwajah Mirza Khan. Nothing is known about their whereabouts.

Khwajah Mirza Khan at Lahore

At that time Khwajah Mirza Khan was administering Lahore. The Qizalbash troops of Ahmad Shah Abdali had been entertained in service by Khwajah Mirza Khan. Their chiefs, now conspired with the Maratha chiefs posted at Lahore. The names of these Qizalbash Chiefs

were Mirza Ahmad Khan and Saleh Khan. Mirza Ahmadkhan became the Governor of Lahore, while Saleh Khan became the Governor of Multan. They used their wiles with the Marathas. They paid them some money and promised some more. They imprisoned Khwajah Mirza Khan. They then sent troops in Lahore and arrested Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of Khwajah Mirza Khan.

Muhammad Sayeed Khan Qakchak.

Nawab Gaziuddin Khan (the Vazir of the Mughal emperor) had during the time when Taimurshah was at Lahore, sent Muhammad Sayeed Khan Qakchak on an embassy to Ahmadshah Abdali at Qandahar. After a long time he returned from Qandahar and arrived at Jammu. As Muhammad Sayeed Khan was one of the trusted officers of the late Muinulmulk, I went to him and said "Muhammad Sayeed Khan Bahadur, we are under obligation to the late Muinulmulk. His wife, the Mughlani Begam is at present under great financial distress. Her condition has become desperate. It would be in keeping with our sense of devotion to that family that Mughlani Begam's daughter should be separated from her and taken to her sister (Gaziuddin's wife) at Delhi. Gaziuddin will be pleased with this step and we will have done some return for the obligations of the late Muinulmulk."

Muhammad Sayeed Khan agreed. He praised me for my sense of devotion. I then went to the Begam and told her in persuasive words that since Muhammad Sayeed Khan was agreeable, it would be advisable to send her daughter with other dependants to Delhi with him, while the Begam could continue to stay in Jammu as best as she could. The Begam agreed. When Muhammad Sayeed Khan arrived to see her she expressed her willingness and made him responsible for all arrangements. It was also decided that I and my companions should also go to Delhi. But the Begam had no money. Muhammad Sayeed Khan took responsibility to meet all the expenses of the Begam's daughter's journey to Delhi.

A strange incident

It will be recalled that Muhabbat, a Khwajahsara of the Begam, had run away to Delhi. One of the maid servants of the Begam was in love with him. Her name was not on the list of persons who were to accompany us to Delhi. She suddenly disappeared from the house. When the Begam heard this news, she got wild with rage. She beat her servants so severely that one maidservant died. The Begam thought that I was responsible for the disappearance of the maidservant. She spoke severely to me.

As her daughter's travel arrangements required three hundred Rupees, the Begam had no alternatives. She entrusted me with all arrangements to the best of my ability.

I then went to Khwajah Sayeed Khan. He had but lately fled from the prison of Ahmad Khan. When I told him of my needs, he gladly gave me the amount. I took it to the Begam. She said, "You have accomplished this work for me ; otherwise in the case of the maidservant, I would never have let you go. Promise on oath, to send the maidservant, if you find her on the way, to me."

I gave the promise, I then hired ten to fifteen carriages and taking the Begam's daughter and her maidservants I left for Delhi. I travelled for one month. At last I reached Delhi (September 1759).

On the way, my companions told me that the maidservant might be in the entourage. A search should be made. I told them that Muhammad Sayeed Khan might take it ill. He had been meeting all our expenses. It would not be proper to make an enquiry. My companions remained silent. But they said among themselves "Tahmaskhan is himself taking the maidservant to Muhabbat, the Khwajahsara."

Tahmaskhan at Delhi—Sept. 1759

With the escort provided by Muhammad Sayeed Khan, we reached Delhi. The Begam's daughter was taken to the palace of Gaziuddin. The Khawajahsaras, why, even Umda Begam (Mughlani Begam's elder daughter and Gaziuddin's wife) spoke to Gaziuddin, asking him to take us in his employment. He refused. We were very sad and anxious. For a few days we went about in search of employment. But it was of no use.

Meanwhile, news spread in the establishment of the Vazir (Gaziuddin) that the maidservant, who had disappeared from the Begam's residence at Jammu had appeared in the house of Muhabbat, the Khwajahsara at Delhi. My colleagues said "We had asked Tahmaskhan to make enquiries on the way. He had refused." I was put to great shame at the talks people were having about me. I had no answer to give.

My colleagues went to Muhabbat, the Khwajahsara. He had a contingent of four hundred troops with him. He was in affluent circumstances. He said to them, "If you agree to entering services, I will pay Tahmaskhan one Rupee and each of you half a Rupee per day." They came to me with the proposal. I refused, I said "I will never accept service under him. The maidservant who disappeared from Jammu, is in his house. If I seek service under him I will be disgraced. What reply shall I give to the Begam."

It so happened that at this time rumour spread that Ahmad Shah Abdali was coming. On hearing this news Gaziuddin Khan, the Vazir, sent his family to Bharatpur in the territory of Surajmal Jat. The family in their journey first halted at Faridabad, about twelve Kos from Delhi. From that place Umda Begam sent an order to me to go to her along with two other persons and enter her service. I went to her and pleaded that all my colleagues be taken in her service. She agreed.

All of my colleagues were employed on a salary of Rupees thirty each per month, while I was paid fifty per month. We accompanied Umda Begam to Bharatpur. We stayed there for a month. I was entrusted with the distribution of the pay of the whole establishment. After some time Umda Begam sent some articles to Gaziuddin at Delhi through Nauroz, the Khwajahsara. We five horsemen were appointed to escort him. We reached Delhi safely. Next day the Khwajahsara handed over the articles to Gaziuddin. The following day we asked for leave to depart.

Nawab Gaziuddin Khan said "Stay for three or four days. I have some necessary work with Tahmaskhan."

On hearing these words of the Nawab, I got frightened. On a previous occasion, at Sirhind, Gaziuddin had, on the words of the Khala Begam (Gaziuddin's aunt) said that he would put me to death. He must have remembered that occasion. One day he called me. I paid my respects from a distance and returned hurriedly.

Gaziuddin's doings

When Ahmadshah Abdali first came to Delhi, Gaziuddin had sent the two sons of the emperor Alamgir Second, out of Delhi, for the purpose of organizing troops. When Ahmad Shah Abdali devastated India and returned to Quandahar, Gaziuddin recalled the two princes to the fort and put them under surveillance. The third prince Ali Gohar, who was the eldest son of the Emperor, was also called by Gaziuddin to the fort. Ali Gohar had developed the ambition for power. He refused to go to the fort. Gaziuddin then used sweet words of deceit and persuaded Ali Gohar to occupy the palace of Ali Mardan Khan. He promised that Ali Gohar could remain in perfect security. After two or three days, Gaziuddin sent troops to surround the palace of Ali Mardan Khan (19 May 1758). His aim was to secure the person of Ali Gohar through all possible means. Prince Ali Gohar, prepared to defend himself. Fighting raged between the two parties for two or three days. The palace was blocked. As Gaziuddin's troops were numerous, Prince Ali Gohar broke the wall of the palace and, fighting bravely, escaped with a few of his companions. At that time the Maratha Chief Vitthal Rao (Vitthal Shivdev Vinchurkar) was camping near the palace of Muhammad Khan Bangash. Ali Gohar allied himself with Vitthal Rao. Gaziuddin's troops were helpless against Vitthalrao's army. They returned. After a few days Vitthalrao accompanied the prince towards the east. Prince Ali Gohar underwent great hardships and had to witness many struggles in that region.

Emperor Alamgir Second murdered—29th November 1759

(While I was at Bharatpur) one night we were awakened by a messenger from Gaziuddin. We were asked to go to Delhi and join Ambarkhan,

the Khwajahsara, who was the chief of a contingent of troops. We immediately mounted our horses and left for Delhi. We arrived there early in the morning. We presented ourselves before Ambarkhan in the afternoon. He then rode towards the sands of the river below Kotla Firuzshah. When I saw the formation of the troops I asked the soldiers. They said "The emperor has gone to see a Darvesh (holy man). The troops are here to provide a guard of honour on his return."

After one Ghadi had passed a messenger came running. He whispered something in the ears of the Khwajahsara. On this he left for the fort. We reached the fort earlier. The custodian of the fort, Bag Khan obstructed our entry into the fort. In the meanwhile, Ambar Khan came up. Bag Khan who had been appointed custodian by Gaziuddin, now opened the gates. We got down from our horses and entered the fort on foot. We then went to the Divane Khas. Ambar Khan made us stand near Divane Khas while he went inside the palace accompanied by a few Khwajahsaras. People near about me were whispering amongst themselves. I could not understand what the matter was.

After an hour they said to me "The Emperor Alamgir had gone out to see a Darvesh. As the fates had ordained, he fell from the terrace of the building and lost his life. The prince Shahjahan has become the emperor." At that moment kettle drums and other instruments began to play in the fort.

I then saw that Shahjahan was brought out and placed on the throne. In the Diwane Am people from all directions came and made obeisance to him according to the court etiquette.

We stayed there till midnight. The Khwajahsaras brought boxes full of jewels and handed them over to their people. I returned to my quarters.

Next day (30th November 1759), Gaziuddin, drunk with power and not caring for good or evil, murdered the Vazir Nizamuddowlah, the younger brother of the late Muinulmulk. Gaziuddin, although related to Nizamuddowlah (his maternal uncle) felt that the latter might claim the primeministership.

Next day we paid our respects to Gaziuddin. After two days, we left Delhi and in a few days we reached Bharatpur. Umda Begam kept us in her service for a month. She then discharged us from service. My colleagues said, "The Begam has to pay us our salaries of two months. We should ask her." I told them that it would not be proper to do so as we had been brought up by that family (of Umda Begam).

We then left Bharatpur and arrived at Delhi.

Abdali-Maratha conflict

When we arrived at Delhi, the air was thick with rumours of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali. A Maratha chief who was posted at Lahore had been badly defeated by the armies of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The remnant of the Maratha army had come away.

Other Maratha Chiefs, Jankoji and others had, with two lac troops, invested Najibkhan Rohila at Shukratal. On hearing of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali they raised the siege of Shukratal (8 December 1759) and accompanied by Gaziuddin, crossed the Jamuna at Barari Ghat and came to Delhi.

Dattaji Shinde Killed (9th January 1760)

Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the river Jamuna (22nd December 1759) and arrived at Saharanpur. He called Najibkhan from Shukratal to his side. He took Najibkhan with him and arrived at Loni. The river Jammu was between the Marathas and Abdali. The armies got ready to fight. They discharged rockets, and gunfire from across the river. The army of Abdali, under his orders entered the river and engaging the enemy, proceeded to cross the river.

Dattaji Patel, the chief of the Marathas, who was a brave man, rode and charged at them (Abdali's army). God's will! At the very first encounter he was killed by a bullet, which hit him on the brow. Jankoji from the rear charged on horseback. He received swordcuts and retreated. The Marathas and Gaziuddin were defeated. They retreated. The victory of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who appeared as a second Halaku (the Mongol tyrant) to the people, became obvious.

Sack of Delhi by the Afghans

The next day (10th January 1760) the army of Abdali entered Delhi through the city gates early in the morning. As the day advanced the troops started pillaging and plundering the city.

At this time, I, accompanied by five horsemen from among my colleagues started towards the camp of Ahmad Shah Abdali. None obstructed us. But we came across one thousand troops of Abdali who had been posted as watch and ward guards. When they saw us they took away our arms and horses. They wanted to kill us. But a few among them said "Let us take these men with us into the city. They may be able to point out the houses of the wealthy to us." The same moment these people put us on horseback and brought us into the city. They started asking me about the houses of wealthy persons. I told them that I did not know any wealthy persons in the city. Since I saw that unless I pointed out some houses, there was no possibility of my gaining freedom I pointed out a big building to them. The soldiers, immediately broke open the doors of that building and entered it. I took this opportunity to jump from the terrace of the building into the lane which was on the other side and thus made good my escape. I wandered about till the evening. Then I returned to my house. In the locality near my house, there was a big building. Abdali's troopers were guarding that building. That very night I removed my women to that building.

Next day, the devastation and plunder of the city were carried on

with greater intensity. The soldiers of Abdali gathered in greater numbers in my locality. They said amongst themselves in the Turkish language "We should sack this locality as well."

On hearing these words I immediately left for the camp of Abdali, accompanied by my colleague Muquim Beg. We walked on foot. The distance to Abdali's camp at Luni was seven kos. I suffered much from sore foot on the way. May God never make a horseman walk on foot. I reached the camp and went to the quarters fixed for Mughlani Begam. The Begam's servants saluted me and said "The Begam has just today gone into the city."

I was reassured by this news. I spent the night in the camp. Next day I took a few servants of the Vazir with me. They knew me well. I then rode into the city and went to the Begam. As soon as she saw me she flew into a rage and started abusing me. She said "You had said that you had not spirited away the maidservant at Jammu. You had promised on oath that, were you to find the girl in your entourage on the way you would send her to me. Your colleagues told you that the girl was in your entourage. But with this knowledge, you prevented them from making any enquiries. You were taking her to Muhabbat the Khwajahsara. This is what your colleagues told you and what the whole city has been saying. The girl is in the house of Muhabbat."

I folded my hands and said "I have been in your service and have performed various duties. I have never spoken a lie. You have often praised me for my work. And now you are rebuking me. Is it possible that I could carry a girl to a Khwajahsara. My colleagues have, out of spite carried tales against me."

On hearing my words the Begam said angrily "You remove yourself from here. Do not show your face. Otherwise I will get you killed." Sadly I came out. I remained seated in a room. I was so much in grief that I had no appetite for food for three days.

The Begam had in the meanwhile called to her house, our womenfolk, many relatives of hers and the families of many noblemen in Delhi. She secured one elephant from the Khwajahsara who was in the town. She also secured tents, carpets and other necessary materials from the house of her mother-in-law, Sholapuri Begam. She loaded them on the elephant and a few camels. She asked my colleagues to take them and deposit them in the Begam's camp in the quarters allotted to the Vazir in the army of Abdali. This was to be done quietly. But she was not satisfied with my colleagues. As God was kind and the stars favourable to me, the Begam called me after two days and said "What shall I do. Without you my affairs do not succeed well. That is why I have called you. I want you to take my tents and fix them in the camp of Abdali." On her asking me how I proposed to do so, I told her of my plan. She was very pleased. I accordingly went to the

camp of Abdali who had moved to the tank of Nawab Quamaruddin Khan, and fixed her tents.

The troops of Abdali and Najib Khan joined hands and committed terrible atrocities on the people of Delhi. They killed innumerable persons. Like the tree bereft of leaves and fruits in the winter, they thoroughly plundered the people and left them nothing. Thousands of men and women in all the localities became completely destitute. For fear of their lives they could not return to their houses. Many persons were carried away by the troops. The city had been completely devastated. The shops remained closed. Although drums were beaten everyday that order had been restored, nothing came out of it. The soldiers of Abdali still swarmed through the streets.

Abdali now saw that he was powerless to control his army. He appointed Yakub Ali Khan, an Afghan resident of Shahjahanpur and of the tribe of Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir, as the Governor of Delhi. He was instructed to inflict heavy punishments on Rohilas and other soldiers found indulging in loot and oppressions. Yakub Khan was a good man. He took the troops of Shah Wali Khan with him and entered the city. Through his officers he established order in the city. Life returned to the people again. They returned to their houses. Yakub Khan himself rode into each locality and gave assurances to the people. Every soldier of Abdali's army was expelled from the city. Strong guards were posted, so that no soldier could re-enter the city.

Abdali pursues the Marathas

Next day, Mughlani Begam moved into the camp of Abdali. I had fixed tents for her and made all other necessary arrangements for her. She was much pleased. I then said to her. "The attendants here are not of much use. It would be better to select a few from my companions for the work here."

The Begam said "I will not have any of them. They are mean and mischievous. They have taken great part in the lootings and plunderings in the city." I said "Still, two or three persons would be required". She then said "For your sake I will pardon two of them. You select those who will obey you."

I called Darah Beg and Ali Quli Beg. The Abdali's army then marched and in a few days we arrived near Jaipur.

In that region was Malharrao who had an army of sixty thousand with him. He taunted Jankoji and others who had fled away saying "I will go and fight Ahmadshah Abdali. If necessary I will march fifty to sixty Kos every day and meet him in battle." Malhar Rao then marched away. Within four days he had reached Delhi (24 February 1760). On hearing this news Ahmad Shah Abdali started in pursuit of Malharrao. He reached Delhi in two or three days. There he learnt that one day previous to this the Marathas had crossed the

Jamuna and marching fourteen Kos, were camping at Secunderabad (28 February 1760).

Ahmad Shah Abdali immediately despatched an army of fifteen thousand well equipped Afghan and Mughal troops under Sardar Jahan Khan to cross the river and pursue the Marathas.

After traversing fifteen kos, these troops came across the Marathas. The Marathas were ten thousand in number. They defeated the Marathas (Fourth March 1760). Some of them who had good horses fled to the place where Malhar Rao was camping. He immediately mounted his horse and riding day and night for forty kos fled to the South.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, marching by stages reached Koil (Aligarh). As the rainy season was near, the army cantoned at Koil. Owing to the oppressions of the army, the town of Koil was completely ruined.

Two Kos from the town was the fort known as Sabit Gad. Since a few years it was in the possession of Surajmal Jat. Abdali's army attacked the fort and in a few days captured it (9 April 1760).

Affairs of the Mughlani Begam

The Begam was at Jammu when Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived in India. The Begam went to his camp and met him. When Ahmed Shah saw that the Begam had become destitute, he took pity on her. He said "I have come to know how Jahan Khan grossly illtreated you at Lahore for a small matter." He then gave her in Jagir, Sialkot, in lieu of thirty thousand Rupees which he had fixed as her allowance.

The Begam then accompanied the Shah on his march to Delhi. Three to four months elapsed. Abdali was at Koil. The Begam had appointed Koka (Abu Turab Khan) as her agent at Sialkot. Letters were being received continuously from Koka, that the Governor of Chahar Mahal was not handing over charge of the district of Sialkot to him. And yet, Wazir Shah Wali Khan had issued the orders and the Begam had also written.

But this was of no use. I had borrowed four hundred Rupees from the Mughal Qizalbash to carry on the expenses of the Begam's establishment. The payment of the loan was now due.

I said to the Begam "The daily expenses of the establishment are four Rupees per day. No one knows when the Jagir will come into your possession. Besides, the debts incurred here have to be paid. Under these circumstances how long will it be possible for me to carry on." The Begam said "I will agree to whatever you propose to do" I said "If you appoint me to the Jagir I will go to Sialkot and exert myself in the administration. I will stake my life on the work."

The Begam kept quiet for a few days. In the end she gave me leave to depart.

Tahmaskhan at Sialkot

Mughlani Begam had long conversations with the Afghan Wazir Shah Wali Khan with regard to her Jagirs. The Wazir said "You always requested Ahmad Shah to confer on you the Governorship of Lahore, Kashmir and Multan. And now you are not able to take charge of the small Jagir of Sialkot, which has been given to you. How can you manage big provinces."

The Begam said "I have a number of efficient people at Jammu."

The Wazir said "Then write to them to go and take charge of your Jagir at Sialkot."

The Begam returned to her quarters and reported the conversation to me. I said "It is a difficult problem. It will be very difficult for anyone to take away the Jagir from the hands of the Afghans. I do not see anyone who can undertake this work. That is why I would request you to entrust me with this work."

The Begam agreed. I then brought the Mughal, from whom I had been borrowing, to the Begam. The Begam was behind the curtain. I told the Mughal to pay two Rupees daily for the Begam's expenditure, and that I would repay all the debt within two months from the Jagir income.

I then took leave of the Begam. The Begam kept two camels, one carriage, and five attendants including Darah Beg with her. She handed over her other equipment, and attendants, male and female to me. She said, "You can take such of your colleagues as you like, with you."

She gave orders appointing me and Abu Turab Khan to the administration of the Jagir asking us to work in unison and agreement in Jagir affairs.

I then left the Begam and reached Gaziuddinagar within three days. There I learnt that a son had been born to me. I rendered thanks to God. Next day I arrived at Delhi and went to my house. The boy was named Allah Yar Khan (1760 A.D.)

I heard that Qasim Khan had become the captain of the artillery of Abdussamad Khan and that Abdussamad Khan had been reappointed by Ahmad Shah as the Governor of Sirhind. Qasim Khan was despatching cannons from Delhi to Sirhind.

I met Qasim Khan and told him of my departure to Sialkot as the agent of the Begam Saheb. Qasim Khan received me well and said, "If you wait for fifteen days, you can carry these cannons to Sirhind. Without elephants they cannot be sent. He also entertained my colleagues on two annas per day to make arrangements for the despatch of the artillery. I said "How can they subsist on two annas per day. You may show them consideration by way of further concessions so that they may be satisfied. You may also allow them to sit in your presence when somebody calls, as this act would raise their self-respect."

I stayed in Delhi for twenty-five days. I had a small illness. My colleagues used to come daily to me to enquire after me. One day I received a letter from the Begam in which she had written to say "May God's blessings be on you. What you had said was correct. Your colleagues had maligned you out of spite. I have received a letter from Jammu from which I find that the maidservant, who I had supposed, had escaped to Delhi, has appeared again in Jammu. She has been kept under detention."

When my colleagues heard of this, they became very much ashamed of themselves. I did not think it proper to take them with me to the Jagir. In case I succeeded in managing it, they might say that it was all due to their efforts.

I took my family with me. I accompanied the artillery to Sirhind. I reached Sirhind in a few days. I left my family and the family of Darah Beg at Sirhind. I gave them some money for their needs and moved forward.

When I reached Jullundhar, I found that Sarbuland Khan of the tribe of Ahmad Shah had been appointed governor of Lahore. He was camping at Jullundhar. He proposed to stay at Jullundhar and appoint one Saadat Yar Khan as his deputy at Lahore. Saadat Yar Khan wanted to purchase my elephant. I thought it politic to deposit the elephant with him for four months. I then arrived at Jammu, traversing the hilly regions. By God's grace the governor of Chahar Mahal had been transferred and Rustum Khan Bangash had been appointed in his place. It was the previous Governor who was proving an obstacle in our taking over the Jagir.

I and Rustum Khan were together for two or three days. We entered Sialkot together.

The revenue officials created difficulties. They were instigated to do so by the previous agents appointed by the Begam. Even Rustum Khan was influenced by them. But one day I threatened to kill them. Thereafter everything went off smoothly. The rabi crops had been gathered. It was still two to three months for the rainy season. Collection of revenue was very difficult. But I kept a force of one hundred and fifty-five men with me. I behaved with tact. I gave a remission of eight thousand rupees to the cultivators. The result was that people worked sincerely. And Land revenue which was due, was brought every day to the treasury. I however, told the cultivators that every year there would be an increase in the revenue demand. I appointed a Hindu as my secretary. The mulla who had cheated the Begam at Jammu to the tune of two thousand Rupees, fell into my hands. I put him in prison.

At this time the following news was received from Delhi. Bhau, the Maratha Chief, had, with an army of three to four lac horse and foot, and with the intention of fighting Ahmad Shah Abdali, arrived at Delhi

(August 1760). Mughlani Begam had left Ahmad Shah's camp and arrived at Jammu.

Out of the Land Revenue realised eleven thousand Rupees were in the treasury. One thousand Rupees were paid to Government as Nazrana. I gave five hundred Rupees to Abu Turab Khan Koka who had worked with me on behalf of the Begam.

Meanwhile the Governor of Chahar Mahal, with one hundred fifty horse and foot, came out of Sialkot to fight the Sikhs. On hearing this, in a short while I also galloped off and joined him at a distance of two Kos. I enquired where he was going. He replied that there was a village six Kos off where fifty Sikhs were fighting with the Zamindars (Landholders). The Zamindars had informed him and so he was bound for that place in order to punish them. I accompanied him. When we covered six Kos we found the village invested by nearly four thousand Sikhs. On seeing our troops from a distance, they left the village and fell upon us from all sides. There was a fort nearby. It was in ruins. We entered it. The fighting commenced. The Sikhs surrounded the village from afternoon to midnight and made the situation of the village critical.

We spent the night in great anxiety. When the day dawned, I saw that Sikhs and Zamindars were coming upon us from all sides. They started fighting and made our situation critical. They shouted loudly, "Hand over Rustum Khan, the governor of Chahar Mahal to us" For three or four Gharis (for about an hour and half) we fired on them. Afterwards as our gunpowder stock was finished we became helpless. The Sikhs grew bold and came below the fort. Under these circumstances we hurled on them, stones, clods of earth, broken earthen vessels, pieces of wood, in short, anything that we could lay our hands on. We kept them away till midnight by fighting boldly. At last the Sikhs began to climb the bastions and break open the doors.

At this, Rustum Khan, I, and six other men, tied pieces of cloth round our waists and holding our swords we came out of the door. By chance my foot slipped near the gate and I fell down. The Sikhs rushed forward and captured me. A few paces, and Rustum Khan was also captured. One of my colleagues Allah Vardi Beg was killed. By that time about twenty thousand Sikhs and Zamindars had gathered. They took us to the village where fighting had taken place. As night came, they demanded one lakh of Rupees from me. The discussion was prolonged till midnight. At last the deal was settled for six hundred Rupees. It was settled that I should go to my village the next day, and give them an order on some person in Jammu when I would get permission to go to Jammu safely.

Accordingly two or three Sikhs were sent to the village. About one hundred Sikhs too went in that direction. They allowed me to ride on horseback for two or three Kos. Afterwards they forced me to walk. I walked a distance of seven Kos. I was much exhausted. My feet

began to ache. Then I caught sight of the city of Pasrur from a distance of two or three Kos. At that time the Sikh who was on horseback uttered a prayer saying "Oh Guru! who ever utters your name in the morning is never disappointed in any undertaking". At this, tears came to my eyes. I remembered God and prayed for deliverance from the Sikhs. I was still praying when I noticed a fort on the way. The Zamindar of that place with forty or fifty musketeers fell upon the Sikhs. He defeated them and carried off all their plundered goods and baggage. He released us and brought us in his fort. At the time of the evening prayer the Sikh who was carrying us sent the Zamindar of the fort a word that the Mughal whom he had seized was to be ransomed by the Sikh Chief for six thousand Rupees and that he was responsible for that sum. On hearing this the Zamindar put us in detention in a tower.

As regards Rustum Khan it was decided that he should pay a ransom of two lacs of Rupees. The money was to be obtained from Sialkot. After two about forty thousand Sikhs went to Sialkot to demand money. As the fort of Sialkot was strong and situated on an eminence, the Diwan of Rustum prepared for a fight. He also called upon Khwajah Mirza Khan for assistance. Khwajah Mirza Khan had taken a few Mahals situated near Sialkot, from Sarbaland Khan Saaduazai (Governor of Lahore). The Diwan wrote to Mirza Khan to say that if the latter were to come to his assistance he would be paid two thousand Rupees as a price for putting down the Sikhs. It would also redound to the credit of Mirza Khan. Mirza Khan was fifteen Kos away. But on receipt of the Diwan's letter he immediately marched a distance of five Kos. As soon as this became known, the Sikhs plundered Sialkot and went away to a distance of five Kos. They sent word to the Zamindar who had released me. He did not know who I was. He took me to be an ordinary soldier. I was detained in the fort for ten days. I prayed to my Pir (Spiritual Guide) Syed Abid, to get me released from the bondage. That afternoon when I was sleeping I saw in my dream a holy man walking with me with a stick. He was saying "Pay up something and go away from this place."

When I woke up, the Zamindar came to me and said, "If you pay me two hundred Rupees I will take you to Sialkot." I got the amount. Next night he sent me to Sialkot.

Tahmaskhan at Jammu

After two days I met the Begam. She had arrived in Jammu only twenty days prior to this. The fifteen thousand Rupees which I had sent, had been spent by her. She also took the five hundred Rupees which I had retained with me for Nazrana (due to Government). She received me kindly. She rebuked Abu Turab Khan Koka, saying "During this period you have not exerted your self. Tahmaskhan alone achieved this during this short period."

Due to this reason, Abu Turab Khan and his mother (once a wet nurse to the Begam) became my enemies. They represented day and night to the Begam, "Tahmaskhan has collected thirty thousand Rupees. He has deposited ten thousand Rupees with a banker. He has further distributed eight thousand Rupees as rewards to various persons. The rest he has brought to you. This too was meant to show what he had done. I (Abu Turab Khan) have, on the other hand, exercised the utmost economy. I have not wasted a single Rupee."

But the Begam had been pleased with my work. I said "If I can send one agent to Sialkot, the affairs will run smoothly." But Abu Turab did not want this. He felt that if I was degraded and be allowed to send an agent, he would get credit for successful management of affairs. So Abu Turab, his wife, mother and sister all influenced the Begam so much that I was imprisoned by her. Abu Turab sent one of my colleagues, Darah Beg, as his agent to Sialkot.

Darah Beg went to Sialkot. None of the Landholders of the Jagir went to see him. He then took the Begam to Sialkot. For fifteen days none of the Zamindars called on her.

At that time Rustum Khan, had paid twenty two thousand Rupees to the Sikhs through the Raja of Jammu, and had obtained his release. He was at Sialkot. He said to the Begam "You cannot get a better and more efficient man than Tahmaskhan. You should not leave him." Disappointed, the Begam returned to Jammu. The Rajah of Jammu and his minister also said "Tahmaskhan is a well wisher. It is not proper to keep him under detention. But the Begam did not listen. She placed more restrictions on me.

The battle of Panipat (14th January 1761).

Bhau, the Maratha, along with Vishwas Rao and three to four lakh troops consisting of cavalry and infantry, and all ready to fight, arrived at Delhi and camped there. In view of this big army, Yaqub Ali Khan, the Governor of Delhi shut himself up in the fort. From the ramparts of the fort he fought with guns and mortars for a day or two. Afterwards he made peace with the Marathas. He left the fort with all his equipment and crossed the river Jamuna. Delhi now came under the full control of the Marathas. The family of Alamgir Second, held talks with Bhau. After the murder of Alamgir Second, Shah Jahan Second had ascended the throne. He was sent back to the quarters allotted for the princes. The Marathas enthroned Jawanbakht, son of the Prince Ali Gohar.

When Prince Ali Gohar heard of the murder of his father, he was away in Bengal. On receipt of the news he ascended the throne and proclaimed himself emperor.

When Ahmad Shah got the news of the occupation of Delhi by Bhau, he was at Koil (Aligarh). He called Shujaud-dowlah, Ahmad Khan

Bangash, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and Najib Khan to his side. He then marched from Koil and reached Shahdara, and camped there. At that time the river Jamuna was in floods.

Bhau marched and came upto Panipat. Sardar Samad Khan who was the Governor of Sirhind on behalf of Ahmad Shah had arrived with his army at Kanjpura. There a battle took place with the Marathas. The distance between Panipat and Kanjpura must be about twenty Kos. But the Marathas attacked Samad Khan and destroyed his army. They also devastated Kanjpura the same day. They killed Samad Khan and Najabat Khan Rohila.

Qasim Khan, who had become the captain of Samad Khan's artillery was captured by the Marathas. At that time Saqi Khan, the son of Farra Khan the Mughal captain, was present. He said "This Mughal is my servant and is (like myself) in the service of the Marathas. "In short, Saqi Khan got Qasim Khan released and sent him to his home.

At this time Ahmad Shah crossed the river Jamuna and arrived near Panipat. Bitter fighting started. Daily, fighting would occur between the contestants and men would be killed. The Marathas were sturdy soldiers. They were very much adept in the guerilla type of warfare. They were also very alert. Yet in the face of the Afghan army they could not do anything. Ahmad Shah blockaded the enemy from all sides. He would not allow any provision to reach the Marathas. The Marathas once or twice tried to procure supplies and attack the army of Ahmad Shah. But not one of them escaped safely from the attacks of Ahmad Shah's army. They were all captured. When the Marathas saw this they became frightened. They placed cannons and other guns round their army. They erected fortifications round the camp. There was great distress in the army. The situation at last reached a stage when no one from the Maratha camp could set his foot outside the fortifications.

At last, due to scarcity of grain, the Maratha army was reduced to terrible helplessness. It then marched out to the battlefield to give battle. Ahmad Shah mounted his horse. The battle was joined. Those who were present in the battle say "It was a tremendous battle. The exploits of Rustum and Isfindar were repeated, between the contending armies."

As fate would have it, Bhau and Vishwasrao, the Maratha Chiefs were killed. The Maratha army was defeated. Out of the four lac Marathas, one lac must have escaped with their lives. The rest were defeated, and killed. Great wealth, such as gold, ornaments, and innumerable other articles fell into the hands of the army of Ahmad Shah, other chiefs and the Zamindars of the nearby areas. From that victory from the invisible, everyone became rich and affluent.

After the victory, Ahmad Shah handed over Delhi to Najib Khan. He then turned towards Qandahar.

My Affairs

I now turn to my affairs. I remained in the imprisonment of the Begam for six months. The Kharif crops of the Jagir had been harvested. They were to bring a land revenue of twenty thousand Rupees. Actually only three thousand were realised.

Fateh Ali Khan, one of the Qizalbash chiefs was a superintendent of the audience chamber of Shah Wali Khan, the Afghan Vazir. He had been appointed to realise revenues from Jammu. He spoke to the Begam and got me released from the prison.

At this time Ahmad Shah was on his way to Qandahar. He passed through Lahore. At Sialkot, on the main line of communication, the Landholders of Sialkot, out of fear of the Afghan army, came to the Begam's officers. But once the army moved they stopped coming.

Abu Turab Khan Koka died after a short illness. The Begam was full of grief for his death. She said to me "You have practised some witchcraft and killed my foster-brother." The Begam was angry with me for a few days.

Darah Beg had been appointed as the official for Jagirs. He was dismissed after a few days. A Khwajahsara was appointed in his place. Darah Beg was reduced in his condition. I said, "You were a colleague, and yet you turned against me. I did not expect this behaviour from you." Darah Beg was full of repentance. He said "I will never commit such a mistake again. I have my son Turah Beg. I only desire that he should be looked after. Kindly see that I do not starve." I gave him some amount for two or three months.

The Begam's Affairs

After the mourning for the Koka Abu Turab was over, the Begam appointed a Khwajahsara to manage all her affairs. So long as I held that post I used to speak words of advice to her, and tell her tales emphasising the need for proper behaviour. The Begam too was not guilty of any improper conduct.

But during the period of six months when I was under detention, scandals again started. A person named Shah Baz began to frequent the Begam's house. There was a great scandal about it in Jammu for two or three months past.

The Begam wanted to confiscate the property of the deceased Koka. But his mother (once wetnurse of the Begam) did not give anything. Due to this, quarrel broke out between the Koka's people and the Begam. The Begam's house became subject to stone throwing at midnight everyday. Her manager, the Khwajahsara could do nothing to stop it. The Begam then remembered me. She called me and told me of her troubles. As I was under a cloud, nobody was paying any attention to me. I therefore seized this opportunity and said "I will investigate this case, and find out who indulges in stone-throwing within eight days." The

Begam was pleased at my remark. She dismissed the Khwajahsara whom she had appointed to manage her affairs and appointed me instead. I started going to the Rajah of Jammu with a view to recovering the goods of Abu Turab Koka, estimated to be of one lakh Rupees. But luck favoured the father of the Koka. He conspired with the Rajah, his minister and officers and got them to side with him.

For this reason the Begam was very much disappointed with the Rajah. She left Jammu and took up her residence at Samba (Thirty miles south east of Jammu). It was within the jurisdiction of another Rajah. She left me at Jammu to wind up her affairs. She said, "When you come to me, I will appoint you to manage my Jagirs."

I was in Jammu for seventeen days. I then went to see the Begam. I saw that the Begam had sent away my family and other female attendants of her establishment to a place known as Paramandal. She was staying alone with the person (Shahbaz) to whom I have made a reference above. She had married him.

She said to me "I have married him. You should go and pay your respects to him and present an offering of five Rupees. I will give you one good sword and a pearl necklace. I will also hand over the management of the Jagir to you."

As I did not agree to what she said, she was very angry with me. But I reminded her of her illustrious family, of the Prime Minister Qamaruddin, her father-in-law, of Muinulmulk, her husband, of Nawab Jani Khan, her father, of Nawab Abdussamad Khan, her grandfather (from the mother's side), of Zakariya Khan, her maternal uncle, and of Nizamulmulk. I said, "You have brought disgrace to your family. Ahmad Shah Abdali had addressed you as his daughter. You can write to him saying that, to avoid scandal you wanted to marry in a good family. On receiving permission you can select some one of good family and marry him. In that case your Jagir can also continue."

The Begam did not say anything. But she looked at me angrily. She said to me, "You go and stay at Paramandal. I will arrive there and then give you leave to depart."

I went to Paramandal. The Begam arrived there in the night with her husband. On the way she consulted her husband about the treatment to be given to me. If I were to be put in prison, affairs would deteriorate. But if I were to be left free, I might scandalise her. The only proper course, according to the Begam, was to kill me. She placed a guard of fifty persons on me. Her aim was not to let me know her designs. She decided to get me killed the following night. But my life was destined to be preserved.

There was a Bairagi who owned the place. He had also a temple under him. Early in the morning I sent word to him saying, "I am in great distress. Please help me. I have three or four dependants with me. Send a force and release me from this situation. I will be much obliged to you."

The Mahant immediately collected a force and came down. He rescued me.

Tahmaskhan leaves the Begam's service (June 1761)

I took my family and Darah beg and left for Jammu. I sold my aigrettes and tiara. I also mortgaged a few other things. I purchased two horses. I had one horse with me already.

Now that I had escaped from a terrible danger I began to search for employment. At that time Zain Khan Mohamad, was the Afghan Governor of Sirhind on behalf of Ahmad Shah. He was raising troops. I decided to go to him. The Rajah of Jammu wanted me to enter his service. But I did not consider my prospects bright in that hilly region. I thought of going to Delhi and seek service under the emperor or his officers. I made arrangements with a merchant to supply provisions for my family for six months. We four horsemen started. Myself, Darah Beg, Aurab Beg and Faizullah Beg. We had one Rupee with us. We were joined by forty horsemen who desired to place themselves under me. Two Khwajahsaras, whom I had known at Lahore, Miyan Matbah and Javid Khan by name, joined us. They advanced four Rupees for a tent to be purchased for me. But by the time Darah Beg went to the Bazar, the tent had been sold.

We then left Jammu. In the two stages that we marched I had to feed ten persons. The four Rupees which were with me were spent. At the third stage Darah Beg said "We have no money. What should be done now." I replied "Let us put our faith in God."

That day I camped at a place sixty Kos distant from Jammu. My companions had not yet settled. I noticed that a Khwajasara arrived from Jammu. He said "Six months ago I had pawned my carpet with you. Here are the two rupees which I am returning. Please return my carpet." I took the two Rupees and returned the carpet to him. I said "Your money will be of great use to me. If you have two Rupees more, I am prepared to part with my own carpet. It would not have been possible for me to move from this place."

We left that place the next day and arrived at the hills of Shahpur. The River Ravi flows nearby. The officer of the place asked for taxes (transit). I had the letters of the Rajah of Jammu with me. His men were also with me. I therefore crossed the river without paying any taxes. The boatmen, however, crowded round me for rewards. I had no money with me. So I said in a loud voice to Darah Beg "Take two or three Rupees from some horsemen and give them to these boatmen." A horseman promptly opened his purse and gave the money. I then moved forward. On the way the horseman said "It appears that Tahmaskhan does not have money. I have two hundred Rupees with me." I heard him. I said to Darah Beg "This is good. We should take sixty Rupees from him as loan." We then marched from Shahpur to

Nurpur, Jwalamukhi, a holy place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, and Nadaun. Through hills and ravines we marched sometimes on foot. The march was a difficult one.

The Sikhs

The Sikhs were in occupation of the entire region. Previous to this, Nawab Mirza Khan had fought with his one thousand troops against forty thousand Sikhs, and had been killed by them.

Khwajah Abid had been appointed the Governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah. He came out a few stages from Lahore to put down Charat Singh (Grandfather of Maharajah Ranjit Singh). He laid siege to Charatsingh's place (Guzranwala). Charat Singh was in great difficulties. It so happened that there were some Sikh soldiers in the employ of Khwajah Abid Khan. He had also called one thousand Sikhs from the Doab. All these Sikhs conspired together and decided to fall on Khwajah Abid Khan at the time of his march and disperse his army.

On hearing of this Khwajah Abid Khan fled to Lahore with a few attendants.

Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan were in charge of Doab, on behalf of Ahmad Shah. The Sikhs defeated and threw them out of that area as one would throw out a fly from the milk.

In short from the river Attock to the Sutlej the Sikhs were in occupation of the province.

I went to Sirhind and saw Qasim Khan. He entertained me. He asked the persons who were with me, "I understand that Tahmaskhan has been given considerable jewellery by the Begam. He must be having something left with him."

But the persons said on oath, "Tahmaskhan has been reduced to starvation. What jewellery can he have with him. What Tahmaskhan told you on the first day of his arrival is correct." For twenty days Qasim Khan went on making enquiries in this manner. When at the end he found out that I had nothing with me, he stopped sending food to me. He also removed the horsemen who were in my service. We four horsemen alone remained. We had hardly anything left with us. We spent six months in very great distress.

Sardar Zain Khan the Governor of Sirhind had gone to the region of Rooji. We sustained ourselves with great difficulty. I asked for money from Qasim Khan. He did not give me a single pie. I held my patience. Meanwhile, the news of the arrival of Ahmad Shah to put down the Sikhs got abroad. I demanded back from Qasim Khan, the loan of four hundred Rupees which I had advanced to him previously. He said that he would return it the next day.

Ahmad Shah's arrival to fight the Sikhs (January 1762)

Ahmad Shah reached Lahore (January 1762). He fought a few

battles with the Sikhs. The Sikhs dispersed in face of the Afghan army. About fifty thousand Sikhs, cavalry and infantry came towards Sirhind and the region of Rooji and started disturbances. Sardar Zain Khan with ten to fifteen thousand troops came to Malerkotla and camped there. The Sikhs too came and camped at distance of seven Kos. Zain Khan received instructions that Ahmad Shah had crossed the two rivers of the Doab and was falling upon the Sikhs the next day, and that Zain Khan should start fighting the Sikhs in the morning. The Sikhs had also received intelligence of the Shah's movements. They tried to flee away. Qasim Khan had already been ordered to begin the fight. We also arrived. The Sikhs fled away. We pursued them for half a Kos. Just then the Sikh Cavalry turned aside from the direction of Ahmad Shah and marched upon us. Qasim Khan could not withstand their assault. He started retreating. I prohibited him from doing so. But he did not listen to me. He went towards the camp at Malerkotla. I moved alone towards the left. But this time the fleeing Sikhs had disappeared. Murtuza Khan Bharach, an officer of Zain Khan, was standing on an eminence with five hundred troops. I went and joined him.

Within an hour Ahmad Shah's army arrived and surrounded us. They thought that we belonged to the Sikh army. I alone was wearing the Kulah (Afghan head gear). I came out and explained the situation to the men of the Afghan army. Ahmad Shah was satisfied with my explanation. His spies too gave him the same intelligence. Ahmad-shah knew Murtuza Khan. He awarded him a robe and said, "The Wazir Shah Wali Khan and Zain Khan have gone in pursuit of the Sikhs. You too hasten and join them. Murtuza Khan, according to the habit of the Indians, moved slowly. I moved ahead. I covered a distance of ten Kos. I noticed that the Wazir Shah Wali Khan and Sardar Zain Khan were marching together. They had about four thousand troops. I was an arrow throw ahead. I was driving the Sikhs in front.

At that time Zain Khan asked me "Where is Qasim Khan" I said, "When I saw him, he was alone with his troops driving the Sikhs. I have no news of him. But I saw that the Sikhs were fleeing. Many of them were running hither and thither and were beseeching to be spared." The Afghan army pursued the Sikhs, killing and destroying them.

On that day (Fifth February 1762) the Afghans pursued the Sikhs up to the fort of Barnala (belonging to Ala Singh) a distance of twenty Kos. In that fight, probably twenty-five thousand Sikhs must have been killed. As evening came, the Afghan army camped there. The next day Ahmad Shah, who had marched by a different route, arrived.

The same day Qasim Khan arrived from Malerkotla. He gave out that the Sikhs had killed me. Darah Beg had gone to demand salary due to me from Qasim Khan. Qasim Khan said that Tahmaskhan (myself) owed money to him and that he could recover the amount as also articles from my effects.

The same day I saw Qasim Khan. He asked me "Did Zain Khan make enquiries about me" I said, "Yes". He asked me about your whereabouts. I told him that you had fled to Malerkotla".

On hearing this, Qasim Khan became very angry with me. I too did not spare him. I asked "This is how you observe your previous oaths and agreements made to me. You have reduced me to misery. When my colleague came to you to get from you the salary due to me, you did not pay anything. On the other hand you said that I owed amounts to you. You owe me four hundred Rupees which you had taken from me at Lahore. I have not spoken about it till now."

I recovered my salary and sent it to Jammu

Ala Jat waited upon Ahmad Shah. He submitted many presents to Ahmad Shah and thus got a release. Ahmad Shah then marched towards Lahore. Zain Khan took leave of Ahmad Shah from the Doab and returned to Sirhind. I accompanied Zain Khan. He was very kind to me.

Tahmaskhan at Jammu

The roads again had become open on all sides, the danger of robbery and fear of highwaymen disappeared from each direction because Ahmad Shah was staying in Lahore. I suggested to my colleagues Darah Beg and Faizullah Beg that they proceed to Jammu and bring our families soon as it appeared that after a month roads might be closed again. They did not agree. I then left for Jammu. I had fifty Rupees with me. I went to Lahore. I heard that my family had arrived at Sialkot. I was practically destitute. I, however, reached Sialkot.

I took my family with me. I paid my debts. I had only fifteen Rupees left with me. Things were very dear at Sialkot. Grain was selling at seven seers per rupee. This was the rate at Sialkot, Lahore and the Doab.

I reached Lahore within four days. From there I moved forward. The fear of the Sikhs was growing day by day. The Afghan army had laid waste the area around Lahore. By God's grace I overcame all difficulties and arrived in Doab on the third day. At Jullundhar, I borrowed some amount, and with great difficulty reached Sirhind with my family. The whole journey took me twenty four days.

At this time Ahmad Shah Abdali left Lahore for Qandahar (12th December 1762). Disturbance broke out throughout the province. I had foretold that within twenty five days disturbances would break out. This came to pass.

Birth of Sa-adyar Khan January 1763 (The Urdu poet)

One month after I returned to Sirhind a son was born to me. I named him Saadat yar Khan.

One of my horses had been stolen. I sold one horse for one hundred and fifty Rupees. I gave one horse to Darah Beg. I had only one horse left. It was small in size and blind in one eye. I used it for myself.

Fighting with the Sikhs went on every day. I had drawn my pay directly without reference to Qasim Khan. He was angry with me. I explained everything to Zain Khan and separated from Qasim Khan.

On hearing this Qasim Khan said to Zain Khan "If Tahmaskhan separates from me, I too will not remain in your service."

At this Zain Khan became angry. He said "I have observed that during the time of Taimurshah, you were dependent on Tahmaskhan. Now, owing to helplessness, he has come in your service. He had three or four horses. At present he has only one small horse with him. You want to deprive him even of that and turn him into a foot soldier."

After great wrangling I separated from Qasim Khan. Muhamad Mughal, Husain Beg, Faizulla Beg and Turah Beg joined me. Zain Khan gave me one hundred Rupees for the purchase of a horse. He also, in lieu of my salary, gave one horse from his stables. I had remained in the service of Qasim Khan for seven months. I had received from him nothing but illtreatment. Now that I separated from him I was employed on duties like that of Sazawals (Executive Officers). In a few months I collected tents and other necessary material. I took eight persons in my employment.

Tahmaskhan decides to leave Zain Khan

From the condition of Zain Khan's army and his behaviour, I felt that things were taking an altogether different shape. It would be proper, I thought, to leave this place and proceed with my family to Delhi and thence to seek service under Shujauddowlah.

Tahmas Khan leaves for Delhi

Zain Khan began to behave in violation of the established principles of administration. He no longer paid the salaries of his soldiers. He began to plunder villages unnecessarily and from the booty brought, he would make niggardly payment to his soldiers in lieu of their salary. He became friendly with the Rajas of the hill-region. He began to make efforts to collect money. Owing to this behaviour of Zain Khan, I came to the conclusion that there were no prospects for me at that place.

For ten days I explained to each of my colleagues what the situation at Sirhind was and how I had decided to leave the place. I said to them. "If any of you cares to accompany me it will be good. I foresee that this army of Zain Khan will be destroyed and the city of Sirhind will be ruined and become a deserted town. As a friend, I am giving this warning beforehand. What you want to do, is your concern."

On this, many of my colleagues agreed to accompany me. I took twenty soldiers, my companions and horses with me and left Sirhind.

About fifty Afghans from Daila, accompanied us to Mustafabad. They had evil intentions. They told us that they were the servants of Murtuza Khan Bharach. They informed us that Zain Khan, had, in their presence, issued order that no soldier should be allowed to go to Delhi. If anyone were to do so, he should be killed. The aim of these Afghans was to get a hundred or two hundred Rupees from us. With great skill we got rid of them at Mustafabad. We then went ahead and crossing the river Jamuna reached Jamal Garh. In our journey further the local officials held that we were merchants dealing in horses. We protested that we were soldiers in search of jobs. They would not listen. We had to leave our horses and family at a place and had to make a promise to the official of that place that we would get the necessary orders from Zabita Khan (Son of Najib Khan) who was at Delhi. The area between the Jamuna and the Ganges is under the occupation of the Afghans. They never allow anyone to leave without payment of taxes. I had Abdullah Beg with me. He had joined me with eight soldiers. Taking Abdullah Beg and a footman with me I started.

After a journey of two days, I reached Delhi (1763 A.D.)

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE ĀRANYAKA PARVAN
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, BOMBAY

By Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala

THIS manuscript was referred to by us in *Lalit Kalā* No. 10 (October-November 1961, p. 54) where we published the colophon. The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that it is dated in the year 1516 A.D. which makes it the only manuscript definitely datable to the period of the rule of the Lodī Sultāns.

Miss Durga Bhagvat of the Asiatic Society who is aware of our interest in all illustrated manuscripts brought this MS. to the notice of the authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum. Due to her kindness, for which we thank her, we have been able to study it and discover its importance as a document of sixteenth century Indian painting, for not only is it dated but it mentions the place where it was painted and further mentions the reign of the king in which it was produced. We publish below the colophon and its translation :

Samvat 1573 varshe, Śrāvaṇa Vadi, Some, tatsamaye Yoginīpure Sulitrāṇa-Sikandara-vijaya-rājya-pravarttamāne, tassamaye Kachchhauvā-jaladurge Chandrāpurī-nivāsinaḥ tara nivasah san, Chaudhurī Vinaya, tasya suputra Chaudhurī Kalhā, tasya putra Vaishṇava Chaudhurī Śrī Bhānadāsa idam Mahābhārata Araṇyaparvaṁ ātmasravaṇārtham likhāpitam ; likhitam Kāyashta Gauḍanavaya Śrī Lakhanasī sutaga Bhāvanīdāsa.

In the Samvat 1573, Śrāvaṇa vadi 9, Monday, during the victorious reign of Sultān Sikandar in Yoginīpura and when the Chaudhuris, inhabitants of Chandrāpurī were residing in a fort by the side of the river at Kachchhauvā, Chaudhurī Śrī Bhānadāsa, a Vaishṇava by faith, son of Kalhā, who was son of Chaudhurī Vinaya, got for recitation to himself, the Āraṇyaparvan (Vanaparvan) written (and painted ?) by Bhāvanīdāsa, son of Lakhanasī of Gauḍa Kāyashta lineage.

Chandrāpurī is in all probability to be identified with Chandwar on the Jamuna in Tahsil Firozabad (District Gazetteer U.P. of Agra and Oudh) and Kachchhauvā is best identified with Kachaura, also on the Jamuna (fifty-seven miles from Agra) in the Bah Tahsil. Thus Chandrāpurī and Kachchhauvā are not distant from each other and the Chaudhuris of the inscription appear to have moved from Chandwar, their original habitat, to a little further down the river at Kachaura. Though the inscription does not specifically state that the MS. was written and painted at Kachchhauvā, yet it would appear that it was written and painted by a Kāyashta artist in Yoginīpura (Delhi). It is of interest to note that Sikhandar Lodī (1489-1517 A.D.) ruled over Delhi, Agra and

Jaunpur areas and that in 1504 he set up his new capital at Agra. Thus it is clear that this MS. was illustrated in the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur which has been surmised by us as the area to which probably most of the *kulāhdār* MSS. belong.

The manuscript is the predecessor of the style of the Jaipur *Mahāpurāna* of 1540 A.D.¹ and but for the fact that it bears the date 1516 A.D. it might easily have been thought to belong to the same period. But there is one feature of this manuscript which is absent in the 1540 *Mahāpurāna*. Here we have several miniatures which are predecessors of the *Chaurapañchāsikā* style, as for instance, Satyabhāmā and Draupadī conversing (Fig. 8). What is the gap between this manuscript and the *Chaurapañchāsikā* we need not discuss at any length as the matter is somewhat controversial. Khandalavala takes the view that till the problem of the *chākdār jāma* is solved all such MSS. could belong to any date between 1515 and 1570 and therefore, no definite pronouncement should be made, while Moti Chandra thinks that we can assume that the *chākdār jāma* as a Lodi period costume and therefore, such MSS. can be dated between 1515 and 1550 A.D.. The workmanship of the *Āranyaka Parvan* is somewhat crude and a large number of folios are divided in three compartments. The manuscript is obviously a bourgeois production and the work is often of inferior quality. The majority of the miniatures are apt to be tedious but there are also some very interesting features in this manuscript. For instance, we find various animals in the mountainous forests through which the Pāṇḍavas passed during their journey and the foliated rocks (Fig. 4) which are seen also in Western Indian or Gujarati painting. Another very interesting feature of the manuscript is the depiction of a large number of *tīrthas* whose representations are simplified by the introduction of a river, a lotus-lake or a tree as the case may be (Fig. 3). Another feature is the treatment of the human figures where the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition is more pronounced than in the 1540 *Mahāpurāna* as in the exaggerated chest, the sharp nose, the indifferent treatment of the hands and feet and very large eyes (Figs. 5, 6, etc.). In the treatment of the women folk, however, this manuscript shows the crystallisation of a type (Fig. 8) which later on developed into the *Chaurapañchāsikā* type, the Lahore Museum *Laur Chandū* type etc., with thin waist, pointed nose and squarish face. The *chākdār jāma* is completely absent though several types of long and short *jāmas* are depicted. Transparent *oḍhnīs* are worn which balloon out behind the head and the *kulāhdār* turban is a prominent feature. A turban somewhat like that in the 1465 Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* and in the 1540 *Mahāpurāna* is seen. The composition is quite simple consisting of not more than a few figures. There are

¹ See Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin No. IV, 'A Gita Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum' by Karl Khandalavala, where it is referred to as the Digambara MS.

explanatory labels mentioning not only the particular episodes but also giving the names of the characters. This practice is also found in the *Chaurapañchāsikā* and *Laur Chandā* and also in certain cases in 1540 *Mahāpurāna*. Apparently this practice was resorted to in order to acquaint the readers with the actual explanation of the scenes and not leave them to interpret them in their own way as these Chaudhurīs were hardly scholars of Sanskrit. They could read some sort of Hindi and these labels are in Hindi.

In the 15th century there are a large number of references in the Avadhī poems about painting which inform us that the subject-matter of these paintings was the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, etc. This is the first time we get an illustrated copy of the *Mahābhārata* which proves the correctness of the information given by Maulāna Dā'ūd and Qutban in the *Laur Chandā* and *Mirgāvat* respectively.

The background colour is usually red and only basic colours are used in which the red predominates. No attempt has been made to use the colours to achieve the effect of modelling such as we find in the *Chaurapañchāsikā*. The architecture is the same as in the *Chaurapañchāsikā* and the *Mahāpurāna* of 1540 with the squat type Lodī domes.

Another interesting feature is that some scenes and compositions are similar to those of *Chaurapañchāsikā*, for instance, the scene showing Kuntī bemoaning the departure of her sons (Fig. 10) lying down on a bed in a pavilion and again bidding farewell to one of her sons outside the pavilion. The scene could easily be compared with a similar composition in the *Chaurapañchāsikā* though the purpose of the composition is quite different. Another very significant point is that the name of the author or the reciter appears in insets which is a regular feature in the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Mirgāvat* and the Lahore and Punjab Museum MSS. of the *Laur Chandā*.

The costumes represent the types in use in the Lodī period. Hindus go in *dhotīs* and turbans but the more refined amongst them as shown wearing turbans, *jāmas* and *shalwārs*. Warriors of course, go in armour or in *jāmas*, *shalwārs* and turbans. The costume of the women-folk is practically the same namely, thin transparent *odhnī*, skirt, and *sārī* with schematic folds which is a distinguishing feature of the *Chaurapañchāsikā* set. In depicting the female costumes the ends are shown in stiff triangular projections.

It is also significant to note that in most of the cases there is no attempt made to relieve the monotony of the monochrome background. This may be due to the restricted space in which the action takes place and it may also be due to the cost involved in adding more details as the patrons of such MSS. were ordinary zamindars.

In this manuscript as in the 1540 A.D. *Mahāpurāna* the painter and the writer are Kāyasthas and apparently his whole family including perhaps women, children, old men and pupils must have been engaged in the

work of writing and painting and hence the pictures show unequalities in execution and differences in style.

In one of the miniatures a cannon is shown (Fig. 1) which means that at least as early as 1516 it had been introduced into India, at least ten years before the battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D. when Bābur defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

Fig. 1. Fol. 17 rev.

The Yādavas engaged in a war.

The fort has been besieged by armed cavaliers and foot soldiers engaged in a mortal combat. An interesting point in the picture are the cannons mounted on the fort. It is a well known fact that cannons were used in the battle of Panipat fought between the forces of Bābur and Ibrāhīm Lodī in 1526 A.D.. The picture shows that the cannon was introduced in India at least ten years earlier.

Fig. 2. Fol. 57 rev.

Incident from the story of Nala-Damayantī.

The picture is divided into three panels. In the top panel Nala is shown conversing with Vṛihadīśvara Rishi, seated in between a tree on either side. In the second panel, two incidents are depicted. On the right Damayantī is left alone in the forest, and on the left she is being swallowed by a dragon and is being rescued by the hunter. In the bottom panel, the dragon is shown dead and Damayantī stands conversing with the hunter. At the right corner is shown the death of the hunter who had made indecent overtures to her.

The incidents have been very simply related. The action takes place only against plain background and only a few trees are represented to indicate the forest.

Fig. 3. Fol. 83

Representation of the Tirthas.

The entire scene is divided into three panels again subdivided into smaller compartments. In the first compartment of the top panel Janamejaya is conversing with Vaiśampāyana. In the second compartment Draupadī is thinking about the welfare of Arjuna; Yudhiṣṭhira and Nārada are conversing. In the last compartment, Bhīshma is conversing with Pulastya on the bank of the Ganges.

In the middle panel, in the first compartment are represented the sacred tanks at Pushkara, Jambu Tīrtha, Kaṇvāsrama, Vaśiṣṭhāsrama, and Piṇḍaraka Tīrtha. The tanks are stepped and the water is represented in basket pattern. In the third panel as well, the places of pilgrimage are represented. In the first compartment the confluence

of the river Ganga is depicted. In the second compartment Durvāsā is conversing with Viśvāvasu. In the third compartment of the same panel Dvārakā is situated and in the fourth compartment Rudra-tirtha is represented by the image of Śiva.

Fig. 4. Fol. 120

Places of Pilgrimage.

The scene is divided into three panels. In the top panel, Yudhiṣṭhira is conversing with Lomasa Ṛishi. In the second compartment king Bhagīratha is conversing with his minister. The middle panel is very interesting. On the left is depicted a mountain with caverns in which may be seen an elephant and a stylised lion. There is also a lake associated with it. On the right stands the personified figure of the river Gaṅgā in front of Bhagīratha. The scene in the bottom panel shows Bhagīratha practising penance. On the right is shown the four-handed Śiva on the mountain Kailāsa.

Fig. 5. Fol. 153

The Journey of the Pāṇḍavas.

The scene is divided into three panels. In the top panel are represented Bhīma with some Ṛishis and Draupadī conversing among themselves. In the second panel is represented the mountain Gandhamādana with two demons and a tree. In the second and third compartments of the same panel are shown Yudhiṣṭhira conversing with some aboriginals who are shown dressed in leaf-skirts and armed with bows and arrows. In the last compartment of the same panel is represented the Himalayas approached by the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī. The sky is represented by a zig-zag line ; the sun is represented by a radiating disc.

Fig. 6. Fol. 154

Gandhamādana Mountain.

The scene is divided into two panels. In the top panel Yudhiṣṭhira is talking with his brothers and Draupadī ; curly cloud at the top. In the lower panel Gandhamādana mountain is represented. The mountain is craggy and there is a lotus pool on the right with a tree, which is being guarded by a Yaksha on either side.

Fig. 7. Fol. 155

Pilgrimage of the Pāṇḍavas.

The scene is divided into three panels. In the upper panel appear Vaiśampāyana instructing Janamejaya. In the middle panel is represented Lomasa Ṛishi accompanied by the Pāṇḍavas. The scene is laid in a forest represented by broken trees. The sky is covered with curly clouds through which the lightning is flashing. The red background is covered with dots indicating the rainfall. In the lower panel apparently the Pāṇḍavas are depicted proceeding towards a mountain. Apparently



Fig. 1. The Yādavas engaged in a war. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Yoginīpura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 2. Incident from the story of Nala-Damayanti. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Yoginīpura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.

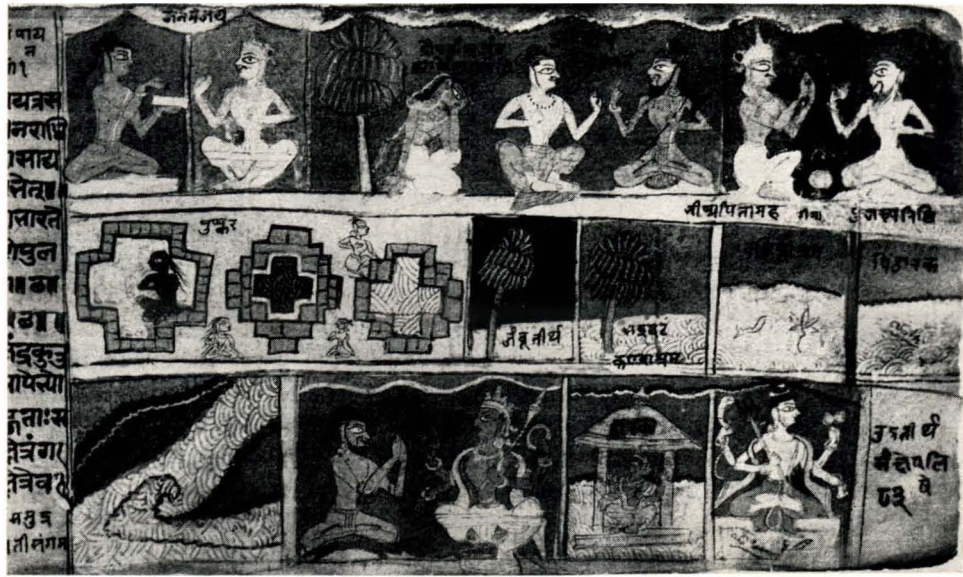


Fig. 3. Representation of the Tirthas. *Aranyaka Parvan*. Yoginipura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 4. Places of Pilgrimage. *Aranyaka Parvan*. Yoginipura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 5. The Journey of the Pāṇḍavas. *Āraṇyaka. Parvan.* Yoginīpura (Delhi), c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 6. Gandhamādana Mountain. *Āraṇyaka Parvan* Yoginīpura (Delhi), c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 7. Pilgrimage of the Pāṇḍavas. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*.
Yoginīpura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 8. Satyabhāmā and Draupadī. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Yoginīpura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 9. War between the Pāṇdavas and Jayadratha. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Yogiņipura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.



Fig. 10. The Sorrow of Kuntī. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Yogiņipura (Delhi). c. 1516 A.D.

the storm has abated and the sun is shining in the sky. The mountain is represented by a series of cones with tilted tips covered with tufts of grass.

Fig. 8. Fol. 268

Satyabhāmā and Draupadī.

The scene is laid inside a courtyard with a tree on either side. Draupadī dressed in thin garments and wearing ornaments decorated with pompons, is seated on a round cushion conversing with Satyabhāmā. On the wall in the background may be seen some paintings; stormy cloud on the top.

It is interesting to note here that in the figures of Draupadī and Satyabhāmā one may see the emergence of the type which one finds in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. Their gestures are meaningful and there is a conscious attempt to make the figures as beautiful as possible. In the foreground may be seen an open lotus design which appears in the Punjab Museum *Laur Chandā* set, and which becomes a regular feature in the Malwa painting in the seventeenth century.

Fig. 9. Fol. 299

War between the Pāṇḍavas and Jayadratha.

The battlefield is covered with six chariots and the combat is on the point of being joined in. It is remarkable, however, that the scene is singularly bereft of movement and the participants look like puppets.

Fig. 10. Fol. 349

The Sorrow of Kuntī.

In the top panel is represented Vaiśampāyana and Janamejaya. In the lower panel is depicted a pavilion furnished with a bed on which Kuntī is lying disconsolate. Outside the pavilion on the right she is shown conversing with Yudhiṣṭhira. The sky is covered with curly clouds.

SOMA IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS OF THE ṚGVEDA

By N. J. Shende

SOMA is one of the major deities in the RV. One entire Maṇḍala (ix) is devoted in the RV for its glorification. Soma is the material of offering in the sacrifice and Soma is a deity. Soma is not identified with the moon in the RV; but in the YV and AV Saṁhitās the identification is certain. In the Brāhmaṇas of the RV, Soma occurs in both the capacities as the haviḥ and devatā, and is identified with the moon. It is evident that Soma is firstly the material of offering in the sacrifice and is then elevated to the status of a deity. Its formal features are not clear in the RV Saṁhitā and also in the Brāhmaṇas. The authors of the Brāhmaṇas speak reverentially of Soma as a deity. Soma was the drink of the gods, who were made immortal by it. The sacrificing priests were the next privileged persons to drink it. No other person including the sacrificer or his wife even were entitled for its drink. The sacrifice as a means of pacification of the gods was much concerned with the Soma. A series of sacrifices in which Soma was offered is called Somayajñas, the other groups of sacrifices, being paśu and havir yajñas. In the order of priority, paśuyajñas seem to be the earliest, then the Soma yajña and finally the haviryajñas.

Soma and the Devas

(1) There are thirty-three Devas, who depend on Soma libations. They are: eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, Indra and Prajāpati (KB 12.6). In the AB (2.18), in the above list, there is Vasaṭ-kāra in the place of Indra. These are Somapās (the drinkers of Soma). There are other thirty three deities who do not drink Soma (asomapās), viz. ; eleven prayājas, eleven anuyājas and eleven upayājas (AB 2.18).

(2) Soma is in the power of Varuṇa as long as he is tied up and kept covered before being pressed. Here the connection between Soma and Varuṇa is due to the root meaning of the word, Varuṇa, one who covers from the root vr̥. Thus the bundle of Soma shoots kept covered is controlled by Varuṇa. Varuṇa is his deity as long as he is tied up (AB 1.13). Soma is kept covered with skin of black goat in the sadas chamber of the sacrificial enclosure (AB 1.30).

(3) According to Paiṅgya, the deity of Soma is Indra, as with the Bahvṛcas (KB 16.9).

(4) Soma is the moon (KB 4.4).

(5) Soma is the king of the Devas. The Devas thought that since they had no king, the Asuras defeated them. Therefore they decided to have a king. They elected Soma as their king. With him as their king, they became victorious in all quarters (AB 1.14). The KB (7.10)

informs us that the Asuras obstructed the Devas in the quarter of the universe. The Devas were in the North-eastern direction. Therefore they anointed Soma for kingship. They then pushed away all Asuras from these worlds.

(6) Soma is Viṣṇu (KB 8.2).

(7) Soma is Brahman and Kṣatra, and Gāyatrī is Brahman (KB 7.10).

(8) Kauṣītaki says that Soma is year (KB 7.10).

(9) Soma is the embryo of the Dyāvāpṛthivī (AB 1.26).

(10) Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu are the deities of the three worlds respectively. Thus Soma is the deity of the mid-air or antarikṣa (KB 8.8).

(11) Soma is Āpaḥ. The waters belong to Soma. The rivers flow towards the west to fall into the sea and the Āpaḥ the waters as a whole are of Soma (AB 1.7).

(12) Yajamāna is Soma himself (AB 1.17).

(13) King Soma is the comrade, strong in the assembly of the Brāhmaṇas (AB 1.13).

(14) Soma is the winner of food (pituṣaniḥ). Ṛtus (seasons) are the royal brothers of king Soma as of men (AB 1.13).

(15) Soma comes to the house of the sacrificer as a guest. He is requested not to kill the heroes of the sacrificer. The houses of the sacrificer are afraid of Soma when he comes there. He removes sin (AB 1.13).

It will be seen that Soma is called the king of the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. He stays in the mid air or the heaven. He is the child of Dyāvāpṛthivī and is the waters. His stay in the mid-air obviously identifies him with the waters. He is ruled by Varuṇa, the lord of the waters. He is Indra and Viṣṇu. This naturally connects him with the sun, as such with the year (saṁvatsara). It is also obvious that he is described as having Ṛtus (seasons) as brothers. The year is made up of the Ṛtus. He is the moon. Thus there are following phases of Soma :

(i) Soma is the sun, year, Indra and Viṣṇu.

(ii) Soma is in the mid-air, therefore connected with the waters and Gandharvas.

(iii) Soma is the moon.

(iv) Soma is the king.

The residence of Soma in the mid-air and his associations with the waters and the Gandharvas are the sources of the myths about bringing Soma from the mid-air, also from the heaven and releasing him from the custody of Kṛśāna Gandharva. His identification with the sun (Viṣṇu) the Saṁvatsara (year) and Indra makes him connected with the sacrifice as the divine offering from the heaven and the immortal drink of the gods. The productive activity in this world approximately requires one year for completion. Sacrifice is the symbol of such productive activity. Therefore Soma is connected with the year and sacrifice. The immortal plant is crushed here for securing immortality by offering

it in the sacrifice. His crushing in the form of juice is represented as the waning moon. Hence he is identified with the moon.

Soma and Gandharvas

Soma resides in the waters of the mid-air. It is guarded by the Gandharvas. In a rite in the Soma sacrifice water is brought from the river and is kept in the sacrificial enclosure. For bringing the water, the priests go with their wives. While explaining the necessity of the company of wives here KB (12.3) points out that the Gandharvas love women. Therefore they turn their minds towards them and neglect their duty of guarding Soma residing in the waters. Thus the priests can take water in which Soma is supposed to be residing. The Brāhmaṇa remarks that this is like one taking away the yajña of a careless person. In this myth we are told that the Gandharvas are the commissioners to guard Soma in the celestial waters.

Vāc brings Soma

Soma, the king, was among the Gandharvas. The Devas and Ṛṣis meditated on him, "How shall Soma, the king, come to us?" Vāc said, "The Gandharvas love women. With me as woman you barter it". The Devas declined; for they thought that they could not do without her. Vāc said, "Still you buy. I shall return when you will require". With her as a great naked woman (mahānagnī), they brought Soma. It will be noticed that in the rite of purchasing Soma, originally there is the idea of guilt or sin, since the Gandharvas were distracted from their commission of guarding Indra's Soma by tempting them with the help of Vāc, who acted as a great naked woman. Thus by immoral means, particularly by resorting to seductive charms of a wanton and beautiful woman and thus taking advantage of the weakness in the character of the Gandharvas, Soma is taken away from the custody of Gandharvas. The act involves double guilt or sin, firstly it is robbed from the Gandharvas and the means used for it is highly objectionable, as it refers to their weakness towards women. To get a certain thing by using feminine charms of a woman is the vilest of the tricks played by the Devas. This shows how a human mind can think of resorting to such mean trick to gain one's object. Thus this act of purchasing Soma is tainted with objectionable and immoral act of robbing and seduction.

Thus Soma is to be brought from the Gandharvas by seducing them. In the Soma sacrifice this part of the procedure is symbolised by bringing up a young immaculate cow to buy Soma. Vāc after inducing the Gandharvas to part with Soma, went back to the Devas. Thus the sacrificer repurchases the cow. The price of Soma is given and the same is brought back. As Vāc is among the Devas when Soma is being bought the sacrificer should speak inaudibly. Vāc (speech) herself is among the Gandharvas and not present there. When the fire is

again brought forward, Vāc returns from the Devas (AB 1.27). Thus the purchase of Soma, repurchase of the cow offered as price, and speaking inaudibly at the time of purchase are the symbolical rites in the Soma sacrifice, which are explained by the myths.

Vāc, who went to the Gandharvas to induce them assuming the form of mahānagnī is no other than Chandas (metres). The Devas reflecting on the means of bringing Soma, decided to depute metres. They asked them, "Do you fetch this Soma the king for us?" They agreed. Having become birds they flew up. In that Chandas flew up having become birds, those who know the stories (ākhyānavids), call this tale Sauparṇa. The Chandas were of four syllables each only. Jagatī being of four syllables flew up first; but felt weary as she went half the distance. Then she cast off three of its syllables and becoming of one syllable, she flew back again, bearing consecration and penance (dikṣā and tapas). Jagatī metre represents cattle. Therefore he who has cattle obtains dikṣā and penance. Jagatī came back with these two important features of sacrifice. Dikṣā is the vow of proper conduct throughout the period of sacrifice and tapas stands for austerity and physical restraint by sitting near the fire and heating oneself. These two rules governing the movement and behaviour of the sacrificer enable him to elevate himself to the status of the Devas.

Among the Chandas, Jagatī having failed to bring Soma, another Chandas, Triṣṭubh flew up. Having gone more than half the way, she felt weary. She left away one of her syllables and becoming of three syllables she flew; but could not secure Soma. She came back with dakṣiṇā. Therefore in the sacrificial rite, dakṣiṇā is taken in the place of Triṣṭubh at the mid-day pressing (AB 3.25; KB 16.4.5; TS 6.1.6.2; PB 8.4.1; SB 4.3.2.7).¹ Thus Triṣṭubh failed to bring Soma. Next Chandas to try this feat was Gāyatrī. She is favourite with Soma. She, then, assumed the form of a bird (Suparṇa, one of good wings) and attempted to fly up (AB 1.13). Then the Devas said to Gāyatrī, "Do you fetch Soma, the king for us?" She agreed to do the work, provided they accompanied her with the whole formula for safe passage. They consented to the proposal. She flew up. The Devas accompanied her with the recitation of the whole hymn for safe journey containing the words "forward" and "hither". The sacrificer who offers Soma in the offering in Agni similarly goes to the heaven safely. Now Gāyatrī went to the place where Soma was kept under strict guard. She terrified the guardian of Soma. She then grasped with foot and mouth the king Soma and also collected the syllables, which other Chandas had dropped. In this act of taking possession of Soma, she came in conflict with Kṛśāna, the Gandharva, who guarded the Soma. Kṛśāna pierced her with an arrow, which cut off the nails of her left foot. That nail became a porcupine, which is like a nail. The fat which flowed from the wound became

¹ Bloomfield M., *The Legend of Soma and the Eagle*, JAOS, XVI, pp. 1-24.

a barren cow. It is therefore an oblation as it were. The socket and the point of the nail become serpent, which does not bite. From swiftness came the viper. The feathers became the flying foxes, sinews the earth-worms and shaft the blind snake. Thus the nail became an arrow. An arrow has socket, point, feathers and shaft.

Gāyatrī was addressed by other two metres, "Soma with our property, the syllables, has come with you, give it back to us". Gāyatrī replied, "No. These syllables are mine, since they were found by us". They, then disputed the matter before the Devas. The Devas decided, "The syllables are the property of Gāyatrī, as they were found by her, and we gave them to you". Therefore they belonged to Gāyatrī, as she possessed them. Even now they say that one who possesses the object has claim over it. The possession is the definite claim for the title. Thus Gāyatrī with eight syllables supported the morning pressing. Triṣṭubh of three syllables could not do so. She requested Gāyatrī to join her in support. Gāyatrī agreed to do so provided that she was given a share. Therefore the last two verses of the Marutvatīya Śāstra belong to mid-day pressing. Jagatī with one syllable could not manage the evening pressing alone. Therefore she requested her to include herself in the prayer. Thus Gāyatrī accompanies the third pressing in the last two verses of the Vaiśvadeva Śāstra. In this way the metre which was one became three. All metres become of equal strength and of similar quality (AB 3.27).

The pressings of Soma

Since Gāyatrī grasped Soma in his celestial abode with her right foot, that became the symbol of morning pressing. That became the abode of Gāyatrī. Hotṛ regards it as the most perfect of all pressings. What she grasped with her left foot became the mid-day pressing. The grasp was not firm. It slipped. It did not become equal with the morning pressing. The Devas sought to remedy it. They placed Triṣṭubh and Indra in it. Thus the two pressings became of equal strength. That she grasped Soma with her mouth became the third pressing. Flying she sipped the sap of Soma. It was the third pressing of the evening. It was not equal to the two pressings. The Devas remedied it with cattle. They added milk to Soma and proceeded with the offering of butter and animal offering. Thus Soma with milk, butter and animal formed the offering of the evening. This was the third pressing.

Thus the pressing of Soma is due to the grasping of Soma by Gāyatrī. Soma was brought by Vāc, who is in the form of Chandas. Of all Chandas, Gāyatrī became foremost and her holding the Soma became the symbol of the pressings of Soma.

Gāyatrī assumed the form of a bird, *suparṇa*, which is eagle. On her way to the heaven Tārṅṣa showed the way to her. Tārṅṣa is the wind. Thus the wind led Gāyatrī to the heaven. Here we are told that the

place of Soma is the heaven. It was also mentioned to be the mid-air, the region of the Gandharvas. It is therefore not decided which is the fixed place of Soma, antarikṣa or svarga. A ṛc addressed to Tārṁṣa (RV 10-178-1) is recited on this occasion (AB 4.20).

The first pressing of Soma

Ādityas and Āngirasas disputed as to the world of heaven thinking, "We shall go first to heaven". The Āngirasas first saw the pressing of Soma on the next day for reaching the heaven. They deputed Agni, one of themselves to go to Ādityas and announce their intention to press Soma for the next day. Ādityas having seen Agni saw the pressing of Soma on the same day. They said to him, "We announce the pressing of Soma to-day only for reaching the heaven. With you as Hotṛ we shall go to Svargaloka." Agni agreed and came to Āngirasas. He told them what had happened. They asked him, "Did you announce?" He replied in the affirmative. He said, "I announced. They gave me reply". Āngirasas said, "No. You did not respond". Agni said, "I did." 'With fame he approached when he came to Ādityas with the priestly functions.' "If one were to refuse him, he would refuse fame. Therefore I did not refuse". Thus Agni said. In the end Agni first officiated at the first pressing of Soma by Ādityas. They went to svarga and then the next day, Āngirasas offered Soma sacrifice and reached the svarga. Soma is brought from the heaven; by offering the pressed Soma juice one reaches the place of Soma, i.e. Svarga (AB 6.34).

A point in the priestly traditions may be noted here. When a priest knowing his duties in the sacrifice is asked to officiate in a performance of sacrifice he cannot refuse the invitation. If he refuses it, it is as if he were refusing fame. Therefore even when Agni had gone to Ādityas to announce the Soma sacrifice of Āngirasas, he could not refuse to officiate in the Soma sacrifice of the Ādityas on the same day (AB 6.34). Another point to be noted in this connection is the late appointment of the priest called Achhāvāka. Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava sought an invitation from the Āngirasas as the priest called Achhāvāka. He came there when the sacrificial food had been invoked. Therefore he was not selected earlier. In the Soma sacrifice he was selected later on. He came from the eastern intermediate direction. Therefore seated in this direction he awaits invitation. A fragment of puroḍāśa is kept for Achhāvāka. Alkiyu Vācaspatya was the Brahmā priest at the consecration of Upasads of the Naimiṣiyas. This Brahmā priest performed the function of Achhāvāka, when the pressing of Soma had been done. They said, "We have kept for him the portion of Brahmā which was not given to him up to this time. We have kept the portion for him only" (KB 28.4). Acchāvāka priest is selected after the food offerings are invoked in Soma sacrifice. He gets the portion, which is kept away for Brahmā. Thus Brahmā is the extension of the office of Acchāvāka. He is

selected just at the time of the pressing of Soma. He is offered a portion of puroḍāśa.

In the pressing of Soma there is an elaborate procedure. Soma is kept soaked in water. It is then pounded with the pressing stones, strained and offered in wooden cups (grahas). All these implements are deified. Devas praised the pressing stones with the Arbuda hymn (RV 10.94) and verses for Soma-pavamāna. They obtained the immortality, truth and resolve (KB 15.1).

Soma is mixed with ghee (ghṛta). In this respect a myth is told: Devas went to svarga by prāyaṇīya rite; but they could not see the directions. Soma said to them, "Offer me ghṛta; so that I shall see one direction". They offered ghee to him. He saw the South. The priests, therefore, carry round Soma purchased in the South. Standing in the South they press Soma (KB 7.6).

The pressing of Soma is killing a victim

Soma being pressed is a victim. The shoots of Soma are ten, viz., (1) The old shoots which they press in the sacrifice, (2) delightful shoots, which are waters, (3) sapshoots, which are rice, (4) male shoots, which are barley, (5) bright shoots, which are milk, (6) living shoots, which are victim, (7) immortal shoots, which are gold, (8-10) Ṛc, Yajus and Sāman shoots. When all these shoots unite together, there is Soma, the pressed Soma. It will thus be noted that the pressing of Soma is symbolical of offering rice, barley, milk oblations and of a victim. The pressing of Soma is like offering the cake of rice and barley, the puroḍāśa and a victim. In the evolution of the system of sacrifice the offering of the juice of Soma is earlier than the offerings of puroḍāśa. That is why the comparison is made between the two types of offerings (KB 13.4).

Soma is bought

Soma used as offering is procured by purchasing. It is bought in the East; for the Devas bought the king Soma in the Eastern direction. They bought from the thirteenth month, the intercalary month of the year. Therefore this month is not known. The person, who sells Soma is not a known person. From him he is bought. The Soma-seller is an evil. The strength of Soma, when was bought and was led to men went away to quarters. The priests sought to win it with eight ṛcs (aṣṭa, aś to pervade). In this rite of bringing Soma, eight ṛcs are recited to secure strength (AB 1.12).

It is to be noted that (1) Soma is purchased, (2) He is purchased in the nameless intercalary month, (3) Soma-seller is a sinful person and that (4) Soma loses his power when he is bought, and it is recovered by reciting eight ṛcs. It may be observed here that from the very beginning when Soma is purchased he is looked upon as an object which is very harmful and requiring special care. He is purchased from some nameless

person, who is definitely not fit to be associated with in the society, a sinner. Even when Soma is bought, his strength decreases and is to be regained by reciting eight ṛcs. All this means that there is something very harmful, sinful and risky in the purchase and use of Soma.

When Soma is being brought a ṛc (RV 10.71.10) is recited. This ṛc is composed by Bṛhaspati the son of Āngiras (AB 1.13). The KB (7.10) points out that ṛcs recited while Soma is being brought are nine. The first ṛc is recited three times and the second ṛc three times. Thus the total number of ṛcs recited are thirteen. The number thirteen is peculiar with Soma, as it connects him with the thirteenth month of the leap year. It also indicates that the origin of Soma is peculiar and distinct. The KB insists with great emphasis on the thirteenth month, which is the harmful residue of the twelve months of a year (KB 7.10).

Soma is purchased with four things, viz., a cow, gold, garment and a female goat. These objects are intended to secure pairing, union or propagation upto four degrees. They serve for generation or procreation (KB 7.10). The cow with which Soma is purchased is called Subrahmanyā. She is the speech, for Vāc is female. Soma becomes a calf to the cow. With Soma as calf, the sacrificer milks all desires. This cow is a good holy power (subrahmanyā). The sacrificer calls this cow from the heap of rubbish outside the altar. On this occasion a bull is given as the priestly fee. The bull and cow form a perfect pairing (AB 6.3 ; TA 1.12.3-4 ; SB 3.3.4.17).

The idea of sin and harm resulting in the loss of sensual powers is involved in the purchasing and bringing Soma in the sacrificial chamber. This decrease in the sensual powers is identical with the moon, which wanes and waxes and which thus symbolises the disease of consumption. It is the quality of sin and loss of physical power which result in the identification of Soma with moon. The KB (7.10) points out that the king Soma is the yonder moon. It enters in the sacrificer when he purchases Soma ; he thinks, "The yonder moon is Soma, the king. Let him be pressed out." The idea involved in purchasing a sinful and harmful thing called Soma and then trying to press it out of the body appears to be some sort of sympathetic magic. By the evil, harmful and consumptive thing, evil, danger and consumption of the sacrificer are taken out and removed (KB 7.10).

This idea of sin and harm which is associated with Soma is also found in the description of the house of the sacrificer when Soma is brought home. The house of the sacrificer is afraid of the king Soma when he arrives. He is then pacified and therefore he does not harm the children and cattle of the sacrificer (AB 1.13).

Soma is brought to the sacrificial chamber in a cart, yoked by two bullocks. He is taken down from the cart when one of the two bullocks is yoked and other unyoked. If both are yoked to the cart, Pitṛs become the deity of Soma. It seems that when Soma is brought in cart yoked

by two bullocks his deity is the Pitṛs. From the Pitṛs he is brought to the gods. If both bullocks are unyoked when Soma is taken down from the cart, lack of peace and rest would come on the offsprings, who would be scattered away. The ox which is unyoked is the symbol of the progeny, which sits in the house, and that which is yoked is that of those who are on journey. Thus by this practice of keeping one ox yoked and the other unyoked, the sacrificer secures both *yoga* and *kṣēma* (preservation and maintenance) of his property (AB 1.12).

The Devas said that they did not succeed because they had no king. They made Soma as their king. With Soma as their king they conquered all directions.

The Devas then kept Soma in the cart and turned into the East. They conquered the East. Thus turning the cart to the West, South and North they took down Soma. They conquered all directions. Thus a sacrificer conquers all directions (AB 1.14).

Soma comes as guest to the house of the sacrificer. An offering on nine potsherds is offered to him. The potsherds are nine because there are nine vital breaths in a body. The sacrificer secures the vital breaths. Soma is offered the oblation as a guest. It is intended for Viṣṇu, who is Yajña. Thus Soma is equated with Viṣṇu, the Yajña (AB 1.15). Agni is kindled on this occasion of reception of Soma. This kindling of Agni is like killing a victim; for Agni is the victim of the Devas. This practice is similar to the killing of a bull or barren cow when any respectable person or king comes to the house as a guest. It may be noted here that there was a custom of killing a goat or bull or barren cow when any respectable person visited the house as a guest. In his honour these animals were killed and the guest was entertained with the meat of the victim. This custom is followed when Agni is kindled when Soma comes home as a guest. There is no fear now from the guest as we are told that the houses of the sacrificer are afraid of Soma when he comes. Now he is a respectable guest in the house (AB 1.15).

Soma is kept covered. Hence Varuṇa (root *vṛ* to cover) is his deity. The shoots of Soma become dry. A vessel containing ghee is placed on Soma who is kept near the Vedī (altar). This vessel (*tānūnaptra*) is touched by the sacrificer and all priests. It is considered to be a very cruel act when they perform the ceremony of touching the vessel called *tānūnaptra*. Soma is kept under the weight of the vessel. It is indeed very cruel that the respectable guest should be tortured like this.

In this ritual we notice the gradual change in the attitude of the theologians towards Soma. Soma is brought with great ceremony as a deity. Now he becomes an object of offering in the sacrifice. He is subjected to procedure of the offering of oblations. He is to be crushed to take out juice out of him. He is dry. Therefore water is sprinkled over him. This sprinkling of water enriches him (*āpyāyana*, AB 1.26).

The water used in sprinkling Soma is not a foreign object. It was with Soma in the mid-region, where both were residing. The Āpaḥ (water) and Soma belonged to the mid-region. The water is brought on the previous day. There are two types of waters: *vasatīvarī* and *ekadhānā*. Soma is sprinkled with them. Adhvaryu asks Hotṛ to press Soma, who is like the king giving rain and making fruitful all productions. It thus appears that Soma belonging to mid-region is offered to Indra for securing rain and making the whole earth full of food and growth. Soma is squeezed for Indra who is helped by Vasus, Ādityas, Rudras and Ṛbhus in killing Vṛtra. Soma has power and food with him and is associated with Bṛhaspati and all gods. Soma sacrifice is a symbolical sacrifice for securing rain, food and energy. His connection with Indra is due to their common residence in the mid-region. It is to be noted that the deities connected with Indra are group deities, such as Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas (AB 2.20). Soma is associated with Āpaḥ because of their common place of residence i.e. mid-region. These waters form the sacrifice. They come down to be joined with Soma. Thus Soma of the mid-region is brought down and sprinkled with waters and is offered to Indra for giving him energy. The sacrificer and priests drink it as the most nourishing drink, making them immortal (AB 2.20).

In the Vedic mythology, Soma is one of those deities which are first material for offering in Agni and then deified. The stage of his deification is found in the RV. One entire Maṇḍala is devoted to sing his glory. His is a unique place among the Vedic gods. A creeper of Soma is the basis of the deification. Although it grows on the earth, it is supposed to be residing in the mid-air in the divine waters guarded by the Gandharvas. By the divine Vāc, he is brought down. He is sprinkled with water and is ready for crushing. His main quality is to invigorate and then to appease and to inspire Indra to kill Vṛtra. Soma therefore became a very important means of offering sacrifice. Along with Soma, milk, ghee and water were also used for offering. Victims were also killed, in addition. But Soma sacrifices became the privilege of the Kṣatriya elite to secure fame, glory, prosperity and heaven.

By the offering of cups of Soma (*graha*) the Devas grasped the Yajña who had gone away from them. They sought to search him with the directives (*praiṣa*). They made him more radiant with fore taste of the offering (*puroruca*). They found him on the Vedī. Then they made him known by reciting the prose formulas (*nivids*). This legend attempts to explain the meaning of the basic procedure of a Yajña. The terms such as *praiṣa* (to direct), *puroruca* (to illumine beforehand), *Vedī* (to obtain), *graha* (to grasp), and *nivid* (to declare) are sought to be explained with reference to the sacrificial procedure. The main point to be noted here is the importance of the *grahas*, the cups filled with Soma to grasp the elusive Yajña. It is intended to point out how the sacrifice was made available by means of Soma. Otherwise Yajña had escaped from

the hold of the Devās. It seems that the very institution of Yajña was in danger of neglect ; but Soma refound it and gave wide currency to it (AB 3.9). The lost sacrifice was searched by the Devās very meticulously and they leaned and bent forward in the act of searching, even as a man who has lost some object leans and bends forward in the act of searching. Yāska (Nirukta 8.22) explains this bending forward while offering Soma, as the relic of the ancient act of searching for Yajña. Sāyaṇa explains this bending forward as (1) mark of respect for elders or teachers, (2) a mode of concealment in finding a lost article, or (3) stooping to see what is lost (AB 3.9). Thus the lost Yajña was held by the cups of Soma and was made available to the Devās. The moral seems to be that the importance of Yajña which was fast failing was regained by Soma.

After offering the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice, a sacrificer should perform the consecration for the Soma sacrifice. When one has grasped the sacrifice, one grasps the deities. The sacrifice brings forth the deities. These deities secure desires for the sacrificer. If a person feels that he is unsupported he should offer a caru (cooked rice) with ghr̥ta, in the consecration rite in the Soma sacrifice. The rice grains are the milk of a man and ghr̥ta is the milk of woman. This is the pairing of man and woman. This enables the sacrificer to get offsprings and cattle (AB 1.1). The dikṣā rite in the Soma sacrifice is performed with the offering of caru and ghr̥ta which makes the sacrificer important and possessed of offsprings and cattle.

In the sacrifice when cooked offerings are made, the sacrifice is called haviryajña. This sacrifice is incomplete while the Soma sacrifice is complete in itself (KB 10.6).

In the sacrifice Agni is the chief and the most important deity. The Hotṛ recites ṛcs called śāstra when ghr̥ta is offered in him. When Soma is offered the Sāma-singers chant stotra. The śāstra and stotra are of the same purpose. Soma and Agni are the same. It means that the Sāmaveda prominently concerns itself with the Soma as the Ṛgveda with Agni. As the Sāmaveda is the later development in the mode of recitation of the ṛcs, Soma sacrifice is also later in the process of sacrificial ritual (AB 2.37).

The Yajña is carried on by the offerings of ghr̥ta and Soma. The ṛcs, recited while offering ghr̥ta, are said inaudibly, because offering of ghr̥ta is like the pouring of seed, which is done inaudibly. The offering ṛcs to Soma are recited loudly. It is because Soma is the moon. The ghr̥ta belongs to the world of the Devās, while Soma belongs to the Pitṛs. The sacrificers thus arise from the world of the Pitṛs to the world of the Devās. Soma is connected with the Pitṛs and the moon. It is different from the world of the Devās (KB 16.5).

Along with Soma, ājya or ghee is offered in the sacrifice. By the ājya, the Devās obtained all desires and immortality. Also they obtained

the year of six seasons (KB 14.4). The ṛcs recited at the offering of ājya are called ājyaśāstra. It is the RV 3.13 of seven ṛcs. It is six fold, viz., silent muttering, silent praise, puroruca, the hymn, the strength of the hymn and the offering ṛcs. It is to be noted that the silent muttering and silent praise form the features of the offering of an oblation of ājya. The silent praise and muttering of the names of the deity or of prayer formed later on one of the important symbolical sacrifices such as japayajña. Even when the offerings were made to a deity, the hymn of praise was silently uttered and muttered silently. This fact should be noted in connection with the development of the idea of praise and prayer. In the course of time the actual ritual of offering in Agni became a mental or symbolical process, and what remained was merely the silent praise and muttering of the prayer.

When the Hotṛ recites the ājyaśāstra (RV 3.13), he separates the two lines of the ṛc. This is a symbol of procreation. Man takes apart the limbs of his wife, before he indulges in the act of coitus. Moreover there is the face of Mṛtyu between the two lines (padas). Therefore without drawing breath (prāṇa) he passes over. Prāṇa is immortality, and by immortality he passes over death. At the end of the line he utters omkāra (praṇava). Thereby he hurls praṇava against his rivals. It is to be observed here that in the recitation of the śāstra padas are to be separated; he has to hold his breath between the two padas and at the end of each pada he utters praṇava. In the recitation of the ājyaśāstra, the Hotṛ brings forth the symbol of procreation, attains immortality and destroys the rivals (KB 14.2).

After reciting the ājyaśāstra (RV 3.13), the Hotṛ recites in the Soma sacrifice the praugaśāstra. This śāstra consists of the seven triplets of 21 ṛcs, viz., RV 1.2. 1-3, 4-6, 7-9; RV 3.1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12. The ājya (ghee) forms the very body of the sacrificer, while prauga is prāṇa, the vital breath. When the Hotṛ recites prauga śāstra, he deposits prāṇa in the body of the sacrificer, to secure fullness of life in this world and the immortality and imperishableness in the world of the heaven.

It is clear from the above description of the recitation of the ājya and prauga śāstras, that the purpose of the offering and recitation of the praise and prayer on this occasion is to secure the full life of hundred years with prosperity in this world and to be immortal and imperishable after death in the heaven. The death is just a passing phase for the sacrificer of Soma, which transforms his worldly body into the shining and immortal one in the heaven. These are two-fold objectives of the Soma sacrifice, in fact of every sacrifice (KB 14.4).

In the Soma sacrifice, the Adhvaryu offers ājya and puroḍāśa first and then proceeds with the offering of grahas (cups) of Soma in Agni. The puroḍāśa (cake) is the body of the sacrificer and the two cups of Soma are his prāṇa. With the puroḍāśa preceding the cups, he deposits

prāṇa in the sacrificer. Thereby he obtains full life in this world and the immortality and imperishableness in the yonder world (KB 13.5).

In the Soma sacrifice, Agni is piled upon the altar. This Agni is Rudra, the god who cannot be easily appeased (KB 19.4).

Soma is in the North. He who desires to drink Soma should turn to the North (AB 1.8). Also through Soma the West was known by the gods (AB 1.7).

A victim is offered to Soma. It is dedicated to the sun. The animal should be all white without any speck of any other colour. When this animal belonging to Soma is killed a chant called *divākīrtiyasāman* is sung. This *sāman* is nothing but the five ropes with which the sun was tied and pulled up by the Devas, when the sun was feared to be falling from the sky. Thus the animal for Soma is dedicated to Āditya (the sun) and is expected to be all white like him. By offering an object which is like the sun in appearance the sacrificer desires to secure his favour (AB 4.19). In the offering of a victim to Agni and Soma the victim should be of black and white colours; black for Agni and white for Soma. They stand for night and day. Thus the colour of the victim for Soma is white and stands for the day, i.e. Āditya. Soma is thus Āditya (KB 10.3). A *caru* (cooked rice) is offered to Soma and ghee to Agni in the Soma sacrifice. The first offering *ṛc* (*yājyā*, RV 8.48.13), contains the word *pitarah* (ASS 5.19). The *caru* is white and thus represents the white colour of Āditya. Thereby the sacrificer pacifies Soma. Moreover in the prayer (RV 8.48.13), the word *pitarah* occurs. This shows the inherent relation between Soma and *Pitṛs*. It appears that Soma offering is connected first with the *Pitṛs*. Then it is related to the Āditya and the moon. According to the belief of the Brāhmaṇa theologians, there is first the *antarikṣa* (mid-air) above the earth, then there is the world of Āditya (*svarga*) and beyond that there is the world of the moon. Soma belonging to the mid-air is elevated to the position of the sun and then to the moon. Soma is identified with the sun and white animal and white *caru* are offered in Agni to secure the favour of Soma and the sun (AB 3.32).

When Soma is crushed for extracting juice, he is killed. It is his death. Ordinarily when a sacrificer dies, a cow is killed. When Soma is killed this offering is made of cow, which symbolises the cow killed at the time of the death. The offering of cow secures renewed life in the heaven for the sacrificer. In the same manner, the offering of cow is intended to revive and reproduce Soma who is killed, while juice is extracted from him. The offering of *caru* thus brings back life in the Soma and makes him alive again (AB 3.32).

In the Soma sacrifice, Soma is led forward from *Sadas* to the oblation-holder. At this moment *Asuras* and *Rākṣas* try to kill Soma, the king. Therefore Agni is carried ahead of Soma. Soma being brought from the *antarikṣa* was subjected to the attacks of the demonical beings. Agni

guards him and saves him for the sacrificer. Agni assumes illusory form (māyā) and walks in front of Soma in illusory form (AB 1.30).

Soma sacrifice is of various types. In twenty-four days' Soma sacrifice, the priests kill a victim for Prajāpati thinking to attain the year in safety. The consecration for the sacrifice falls on one day after new moon day of Taiṣya or Māgha (KB 19.2). On the new-moon day in Māgha, while performing this Soma sacrifice, he rests being about to sacrifice with introductory Atirātra. From the new moon day of Māgha, the sun goes to the North for six months. This course of six months is symbolised by a period of six days. They follow the sun for the period of six months. Going to the North the sun stands still, for being about to turn to the South. The sacrificer following the course of the sun in the sky offers sacrifice on Viṣuvat day. Then the sun goes to the South for the period of six months. The priests follow the course of the sun for the period of six days in reverse order. When the sun is about to turn to the North he sacrifices with Mahāvratā rite. From the new moon day of Taiṣya or Māgha month the sun moves for six months to the North and South. Thus as mentioned above the consecration rite will have to take place on this day. But it is an expert opinion that one should not consecrate himself on this day, because the new corn has not arrived in the home and the days are short. Moreover at the time of the final bath they come out shivering. Thus the proper course would be to perform the consecration rite one day after the new moon in Caitra. At this time the corn has come; the days are long and the sacrificer does not shiver when he comes out of the final bath.

It may be noted here that in this Soma-sacrifice for twenty four days, there is the symbolical representation of the course of the sun in the sky during the whole year between two equinoxes. The year began with the new moon day. The equinoxes fell on the new moon day of Taiṣya or Māgha, and Śrāvana. The Soma sacrifice representing the yearly course of the sun would begin on the new moon day of Taiṣya or Māgha. The movement of the sun towards the North and South would take three months each and the reverse of the same course of equal number of months. Thus the twelve months of the year are made up. But in the sacrificial ritual the movement in each direction is counted for six days and reverse of the same with equal number of the days. Thus twenty four days take place. Normally the equinoxes take place on 21st of March and 21st of September; while the extreme movement to the North or South is completed on 21st June and 21st December each year.

Now there seems to be difference of opinion regarding the beginning of sacrifice and for the sake of convenience, the consecration in the sacrifice would commence on the new moon day of Caitra, two months later. Then the equinoxes would be in Caitra and Aśvin and extreme movement of the sun would be in Āṣādhā and Pauṣa. The reasons given here are

much of convenience, such as ripening of corn, longer days and hot weather in Caitra. It thus appears that there is difference of opinion whether the equinox occurs in the month of Māgha or Caitra. Accordingly the time of the performance of sacrifices was adjusted (KB 19.3).

On the previous day or the same day of the Soma sacrifice the sacrificer offers a victim to Agni and Soma. The reason is that when he consecrates he offers himself in the jaws of Agni and Soma. It is a belief of the Brāhmaṇas that the sacrificer is Agni himself. But that he is a victim to both Agni and Soma is a new thought. Accordingly the sacrificer himself becomes a victim and offers himself in the jaws of these two deities. When he offers a victim he buys himself. Thus he redeems himself from the debt and then sacrifices. The principle involved in this rite is that sacrifice is an act of self surrender. He sacrifices to offer himself in the fire and to Soma. He offers a substitute for himself in the form of the victim, and as if he buys himself to redeem himself. He does not partake of the oblation ; because the oblation is the symbol of himself. It is the man in counterfeit. Every oblation that he offers is buying of himself. Therefore he does not eat the oblation. It is as if it were his own body offered (KB 10.3). Another view is that the sacrificer does not eat the offering because the victim to Agni and Soma is connected with the killing of Vṛtra. By means of Agni and Soma, Indra killed Vṛtra (AB 2.3).

In the offering of a cup of Soma called Aindra-vāyaviya graha to Indra and Vāyu, one fourth part of the drink in the cup belongs to Indra and the remaining to Vāyu. In this connection a myth is narrated to explain the proportion of Soma : The Devas did not agree as to who of them should taste Soma first. They both wished to drink him first saying, "May I drink first ? Let me taste first". They did not come to an agreement. They then decided, "Let us run a race ; he who of us wins shall drink Soma first". They agreed. They then ran a race. Vāyu took a lead. Then Indra, then Mitra and Varuṇa and finally Aśvins. Indra saw that Vāyu was fast running ahead and was winning. He then ran up to Vāyu and said, "Let us share the first cup of Soma together. Let us both win". Vāyu replied, "No. It is not possible. I alone shall win". Indra pleaded, "Let me have one-third of the share". Vāyu refused that also. Then he said, "One fourth of the cup for me, please". Vāyu agreed to this proposal. Therefore Indra has a quarter share in the cup. Seeing this a Ṛṣi said, "niyutvān indrasārathih". Vāyu has Indra as his charioteer. Indra acting as the charioteer of Vāyu claims one fourth of the Soma drink. This is the basis of the tradition in the land of the clan of the Bharatas ; since even now (in the days of the AB) when the Bharatas attack the property of the Sātvas the charioteers claim one-fourth of the looted property. They claim this share on the strength of the divine parallel, that Indra claimed one-fourth of Soma becoming the charioteer of Vāyu. From the legend

we learn that (1) there were constant wars between the two Kṣatriya clans of the Bharatas and Sātvats in the days of the AB; (2) that the Bharatas were superior in strength to the Sātvats, (3) that the charioteer of the war-chariot was a respectable man who was allowed to claim a share in the looted property in the attack and (4) that there was growing importance of the charioteers as a community which we see in the war in the Mahābhārata (AB 2.25).

In the offering of another cup of Soma called 'Ṣoḍaśī,' on the sixteenth day of the Soma sacrifice, it is pointed out that 'Ṣoḍaśī' is the thunderbolt of Anuṣṭubh. With this thunderbolt the priests smite away the evils of the sacrificer. Ṣoḍaśī is Indra himself and also the sun. This offering of Soma is Indra and the sun (KB 17.1). The Sāman in Anuṣṭubh metre is the thunderbolt and accompanies the offering of the Ṣoḍaśī cup. It is called Ṣoḍaśī because it is the sixteenth of the śastra. With sixteen syllables it commences. With the next sixteen syllables he says Om, the priest then inserts nivid of sixteen sentences. Two syllables are left over after this adjustment in the Sāman (SV 2.302) in the Anuṣṭubh metre. These two syllables are the two breasts of the speech. They are truth and falsehood. Truth helps and falsehood does not harm him (AB 4.1). The Sāman sung on this occasion is called Ṣoḍaśī to which mahānāmni verses are added. This Ṣoḍaśī is fashioned out of the three worlds. He who is at the height of prosperity and complete in himself should have the Ṣoḍaśī Sāman recited. His evils are removed (AB 4.4). This Sāman is concluded with the last three ṛcs of the mahānāmni (RV 8.69. 1-3).

The Agniṣṭoma sacrifice contains the following rites: dikṣūya rite, dikṣā, pākayajñas, agnihotra, prāyaṇīya, Somakrayaṇa, pravargya, dākṣāyaṇa, paśubandha and iladadha. Thus in this sacrifice the purchase and offering of Soma form its part (AB 3.40). Through the purchase of Soma all medicines with plants and herbs are resolved in Agniṣṭoma (AB 3.40). By means of the three pressings of Soma in this sacrifice, the villages in the east are densely populated (AB 3.44).

Abhiplavaṣaḍāha is the revolving wheel of the Devas. Two Agnihotra sacrifices form its circumference. Four Ukthyas in the middle are the nave. By means of this revolving wheel of the Devas, one can go to any place one may choose. In the Agnihotra there is the Soma sacrifice (AB 4.15).

The Agnihotra sacrifice is connected with the Viśvedevas, who find support in the milk of cow which has sixteen parts. When the cow is milked it belongs to Soma. In fact the milk is Soma (AB 5.20).

At the end of the Jyotiṣṭoma the priests pour Soma in the altar. It is offered to Yajña, who is Viṣṇu. This is the dear abode of Soma. Darbha grass is placed in the altar. Altar is the symbol of the waters and darbha grass that of plants. When the waters and plants unite, Soma becomes complete (KB 18.8).

Āditya is offered an oblation before the Soma-sacrifice. It is called Pravargya. In this connection AB (1.17) narrates a myth: Yajna went away from the Devas, saying, "I shall not be your food". The Devas replied, "You will be our food". The Devas crushed it; but to distribute it separately was not sufficient for them. So they gathered Yajña. Then they asked Āsvins, who are the physicians of the Devas to heal it. They are also the Adhvaryus. Therefore they gather together the cauldron. Then they say, "Oh Brahman, we will proceed with Pravargya; Oh Hotṛ, recite". (AB 1.17). The JB (3.120.128) narrates myth how Devas were not successful in the performance of the sacrifice at Kurukṣetra and how Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa, at the instance of Cyavana guided Āsvins, who performed the sacrifice of the Devas by offering Pravargya rite at the beginning of the sacrifice.

By the pressing of Soma the priests seek to obtain for the sacrificer the yonder sun (Sūrya), who gives heat. By the morning pressing they make him rise; by the noon rise to the middle and by the evening pressing they make him set (KB 18.9).

The act of pressing and making Soma swell is thought to be a very cruel act on the part of the sacrificers. Ghṛta is offered in the neighbourhood of Soma. Ghṛta is the thunderbolt of Indra, which killed Vṛtra. By means of it Soma swells up. The offering of ghṛta, which is a thunderbolt, on Soma, by which he swells, is a very harsh thing for Soma (AB 1.26). Now, Agni and Soma were within Vṛtra. Indra could not hurl his thunderbolt because of these gods within Vṛtra (KB 3.6). The myth of killing Vṛtra is intermixed with that of Soma. We can understand that Soma is the moon, the sun, the waters and Varuṇa; but it is difficult to explain how Agni and Soma came to be within Vṛtra. At any rate, the Brāhmaṇas believe that Soma is the moon. The absence of the moon on the new moon day, and the waxing and waning of it, perhaps, might have given rise to some basis for this fancy. The offering of ghee at the full moon sacrifice contains references to the killing of Vṛtra (RV 8.44.12), because Indra killed Vṛtra with the full-moon offering. In the new moon sacrifice, there are references to the growth (RV 6.16.34); since the moon is destroyed, and the sacrificer causes him to swell and increase (KB 3.5). Thus the Pūrṇamāsa and Darśa sacrifices are symbols of the killing of Vṛtra, which means waxing, waning and disappearance of the moon, which is Soma. Soma is swollen by the pouring of ghṛta. He had become dried up, since he was purchased. Then he is crushed. In this manner the offering and drinking Soma represents the winning over the enemy by absorbing him in one's self.

The KB (15.2) points out that Agni and Soma were within Vṛtra. Therefore Indra was unable to hurl thunderbolt at him. Agni and Soma went out of Vṛtra when they were promised a share in the full moon sacrifice (KB 15.2).

In the Soma sacrifice the Pitṛs are given offering on the previous day of the sacrifice and the Devas on the main day. Indra disappeared from the Devas thinking that he had not killed Vṛtra to the finish. The Pitṛs found him out on the previous day of the Soma sacrifice. The Devas brought Indra to the sacrifice praising him with the maruttvatiyaśāstra at the mid-day pressing (AB 3.15).

With the help of Agni and Soma, Indra killed Vṛtra. Then they said to him, "Through us two you killed Vṛtra. Let us choose a boon". Indra agreed. They chose a boon of a victim on the pressing day (AB 2.3).

In the myths we often get references to the choosing of a boon and running a race for deciding a certain thing. Out of this in choosing a boon we find the roots of the cult of devotion in which a deity confers boon on the devotees on whom it is pleased. The running of a race is the remnant of the early society when the issues of disagreement were fought on the personal strength. Then the tapas is also referred to as the cause of the spiritual power. This may be basis of the Yoga cult and subsequent development into Tantra cult. The recitation of the praiśa and prayers and silent muttering of the prayer are the early forms of the cult of devotion.

The Soma sacrifice is the symbol of the killing of Vṛtra by Indra. On the first day of the sacrifice, the Devas collected the vajra. On the second day they dipped it. On the third day they presented it to Indra. On the fourth day he hurled it against him. On the fourth day the Ṣoḍaśīsāman is recited (AB 4.1).

Puroḍāśa is offered before Soma is offered. In this connection it is told that the pressings of Soma in the sacrifice offered by the Devas were falling down. They saw the Puroḍāśa. They divided it into three parts and offered them at the time of the pressing for holding them together and making them firm. The Devas made the offering of Puroḍāśa before the Soma offering (AB 2.23).

The Ṣoḍaśī Sāman is the singing of the nānada ṛcs (SV 1.352-354). It is the resounding Sāman, when Indra lifted his bolt and hurled it against Vṛtra. Being smitten he cried out. At this time nānada-sāman came into existence (AB 4.2).

Soma is mixed with ghṛta which is thunderbolt. Indra mixed Soma with ghṛta, both being of the same nature. With the bolt Indra killed Vṛtra (AB 2.23).

Soma is sprinkled with water to enrich him and compensate for the injury done to him in the Tanūnaptrā rite. Thus puroḍāśa, milk, ghee are offered along with Soma. Water is also sprinkled on him to fatten him (AB 1.26).

Soma is identified with Vṛtra. Pressing of Soma is killing him. Agni and Soma were within Vṛtra. When they were offered share in the Darśapūrnāmāsa sacrifice they went out of Vṛtra. The deities went out. What remained of Vṛtra was the physical form of Soma. It is crushed.

For Soma, the offering of a barren cow is made in the form of sap of Soma. The barren cow is for the Pitṛs. Along with the Pitṛs Soma comes. Therefore a ṛc containing a word pitṛ is used for Soma.

Having killed Soma in pressing it, the priests revive him and swell him up, when they offer the upasad sacrifices. Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu are the symbols of the upasads. The priest, who calls vaṣaṭ at the end of the prayer before offering Soma is given the first cup of Soma. Then a cup of Soma is given to Hotṛ (AB 3.32).

Priyavrata Somapa used to say, "Every one who shares in the pressings of Soma is immortal. The Pitṛs and Kṣatriyas who participate in the pressing of Soma become immortal (AB 7.34).

Soma is the immortal drink. It is the highest kind of proper food (KB 13.7).

In the Rājasūya sacrifice, the juice of the Soma, pressed in the morning, noon and evening was proclaimed to be the highest food to king Viśvantara Sauśadana by Rāma Mārgaveya. The king then offered thousand cows as dakṣiṇā and allowed Śyāparṇas to perform the sacrifice. Thus Tura Kāvaṣeya proclaimed him to Janamejaya Pāriksita; Parvata and Nārada to Somaka Sāhadevya, to Sahadeva Śiṅjaya, to Babhru Daivāvṛdha, to Bhīma and Vidarbha, Nagnajit of Gāndhāra. Agni proclaimed him to Sanaśruta Arindama, and to Krīḍavid Jānaki. Vasiṣṭha proclaimed him to Sudāsa Paijavana.

Thus Viśvantara Sauśadmana, Janamejaya Pāriksita, Somaka Sāhadevya, Sahadeva Śiṅjaya, Babhru Daivāvṛdha, Bhīma, Nagnajit, Sanaśruta Arindama, Krīḍavid Jānaki, Sudāsa Paijavana all were living kings, who attained greatness through the drinking of Soma. Like Āditya they were established in prosperity. Like Āditya they were bright obtaining tributes from the people of all quarters. All these were Kṣatriyas (AB 7.34). The eminent priests such as Śyāparṇas, Rāma Mārgaveya, Tura Kāvaṣeya, Parvata, Nārada, Agni and Vasiṣṭha were the prominent priests who performed Rājasūya sacrifices for the various Kṣatriya kings. The countries where some of these kings ruled such as Vidarbha and Gāndhāra, were very ancient Āryan lands, Gāndhāra to the North-west and Vidarbha in the very centre of India. These kings performed Soma sacrifices and thus aspired to be very eminent and prosperous sovereign kings like the brilliant sun. The priests co-operated with them and assured the superiority to the ruling classes. Thus there existed harmony among the Kṣatriyas and priestly classes. These kings who performed Rājasūya sacrifices were ancient kings held in high esteem even to the author of AB at his time (AB 7.34). The authority to drink Soma (who is claimed to be both Brahman and Kṣatra), for the Kṣatriya was acknowledged by the Brāhmaṇas. When a king is coronated he seeks the blessings of Soma with Anuṣṭubh metre (AB 8.5). When the king is consecrated for the performance of sacrifice, he becomes the Brahman. He abandons the lordly

power and his weapons and assumes the form and weapons of the holy power, Brahman. He announces his consecration with the \bar{r} si-descent of his Purohita. He assumes the family name and descent of his Purohita who is a Brāhmaṇa. Thus the unity of Brahman and Kṣatriya means that the Kṣatra becomes one with the Brahman. The Brahman claiming himself to be the sole custodian of the Soma drink allowed Kṣatriya to drink the immortal drink only when he was declared to be of the Brahman descent and of the name of his Purohita, when he is consecrated (AB 7.24).

This symbolical identification of Kṣatra with Brahman was interpreted by the priests as the handing over to the Brahman and denouncing his claim to share in the Soma drink. As if he no longer exists as a separate being. Thus it is argued in some priestly families that since the Kṣatriya sacrificer takes the descent of his Purohita (who is the Brahman-priest), in the ancestral invocation of Agni, he is not entitled for a share in the sacrifice. It is also contended that if he takes the share of Soma due to him as a sacrificer, he would become worse and that he would become shut up from the sacrifice. It is therefore natural that he surrenders and hands over his share to the Brahman, who is in the relation of Purohita to the Kṣatriya. The Purohita is half the self of the Kṣatriya. Thus the Kṣatriya sacrificer does not openly partake of the sacrificial Soma. He shares Soma secretly through his Purohita. For Purohita is the Brahman (m) and is the external manifestation of the Yajña. In him the whole Yajña finds support. When the sacrificer hands over the sacrificial Soma to the Brahman, the Yajña is placed in the Yajña, as water in water, or fire in fire. Therefore the share of the sacrificer (Yajamāna) should be given away to the Brahman. It is the opinion of some Brāhmaṇas that the share of the Yajamāna should be offered in Agni with the words, "Prajāpati is the world, named Vibhāt. In this I place you with Yajamāna". But this view and procedure is wrong. He should not do so. The share of the Yajamāna is Yajamāna himself. If he offered it in Agni, Agni burns him. Therefore he should not do so. (AB 7.26).

It thus seems that in the Soma sacrifices, the priests were unwilling to allow the Kṣatriya sacrificer to partake of Soma. They argued that as the Yajamāna assumed the ancestral descent from his Purohita, who is the Brahman, he surrenders his own claim on the portion of Soma for himself. He is not entitled for Soma drink in the sacrifice. For the offering is the very self of the sacrificer, which no longer belongs to him ; but to his Purohita. This position claimed by the Brāhmaṇa priests regarding the surrendering of his right of drinking Soma in the sacrifice to the Brahman was certainly annoying to many Kṣatriya sacrificers. It seems that Kṣatriya alone could afford to perform these sacrifices and Brāhmaṇas figure in them as their officiating priests, and not as the Yajamānas. The curious position was that in the sacrifices financed by

them they were not entitled for a drink of Soma, on account of the position taken by the priests.

A case of the priestly family of Śyāparṇas is given in AB (7.27). These priests, it seems refused to allow the king Viśvantara Sauṣadmana to partake of Soma in the sacrifice. Naturally it annoyed him. He despised them. Ultimately he decided to perform the sacrifice without them. He did not invite them even though they were his family priests (Purohitas). Some scholars² see in this a case of punishment for priestly disloyalty. But it is more due to the revolt of the king against the priestly domination. Thus, in the end, the king dispensed with the Śyāparṇas. But these priests went to the sacrificial chamber and sat down within the altar in the sacrifice, which was being conducted by the king with the help of other priests. When the Śyāparṇas came there without authority he said, 'There sit the Śyāparṇas, the evil doers, speaking impure speech. Remove them. Let them not sit within my altar'. The officiating priests removed them. They felt themselves extremely offended at this insult from their former patron. They felt that it was the case of the preservation of the right and privileges of the post of the Brahman or Purohita, and that they must exercise their own right. They cried out loudly, 'When Janamejaya Pāriṣita excluded the Kāśyapas from the sacrifice, they had the heroes, Aśitamṛgas among themselves, who won the drinking of Soma from the Bhūtavīras. What hero have we amongst us, who will win the Soma drinking?' Thus Śyāparṇas were not the first to be denounced by the Kṣatriyas from the Soma drinking. There were Kāśyapas who were similarly excluded from the sacrifice by their patron, Janamejaya Pāriṣita. But even in the case of these Kāśyapas there was one hero among themselves, who won back to them the right of drinking Soma. Now, out of the Śyāparṇas, one, Rāma Mārgaveya said, 'I am the hero among you'. He was a learned member of the family of Śyāparṇas. When they were getting up from the altar at the rebukes of the king, he said, 'It is possible, oh king, that you are removing from this altar, one who knows the sacrifice?' The king asked him, 'What is it that you know, oh worthless Brahman?'; Rāma Mārgaveya replied that when the Devas charged Indra with five offences and when Indra was thus deprived of Soma drinking, the whole lordly power was denied the right of drinking Soma. Indra obtained, however, a share in the Soma drink, having stolen Soma of Tvaṣṭṛ; but today even the lordly power is deprived of Soma drinking. How can you remove one from the altar, one who knows the food which properly belongs to Kṣatriyas, who were deprived of the right of drinking Soma, and by which the Brahman is made prosperous?' The king then asked Rāma, 'Do you know, oh Brahman, this food?' Rāma replied, 'The priests will bring one of the three foods, Soma, curds or water. If they bring Soma, it is the food of the Brāhmaṇas,

² Weber, Ind. Stu. 10.32.

With this food you will strengthen the Brāhmaṇas. In your offsprings, there will be born one, like a Brāhmaṇa, accepting gifts (Dakṣiṇā), drinking Soma, seeking livelihood and one who can be removed at will.³ When evil comes to Kṣatriya, one who is like a Brāhmaṇa is born in his offsprings. Second or third from him may become a Brāhmaṇa. He will like to live like a Brāhmaṇa. If the priests bring curds as the food, it is the food for the Vaiśyas. The king will strengthen the Vaiśyas. In the offsprings one like a Vaiśya will be born, who is tributary to others, one to be eaten by others, one to be oppressed at will. When evil happens to the Kṣatriya, there is born in his offsprings one like a Vaiśya. Second and third from him may become a Vaiśya and he is fain to live like a Vaiśya.

'If the priests bring to the king water as a food, it is the food of Śūdra. With this food the king would strengthen Śūdra. In his family there is born one who is like a Śūdra, who is the servant of another, to be removed at will, and to be killed at will. When any ill comes to the Kṣatriya, there will be born in his offsprings one like a Śūdra. Second or third from him may become a Śūdra. He is fain to live like a Śūdra.

'These are three kinds of food, oh king, which Kṣatriya, as a sacrificer should not desire. These are not fit to be his food. The proper food for him is this: he should press together the descending growth, the fruits of nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha and plakṣa trees and partake of them. This is his proper food.' (AB 7.27-29). Rāma Mārgaveya further points out, 'The sap of the goblets (bowls without handle) which went downwards because of the descending growth of nyagrodha and that went up became fruits. Kṣatriya does not depart from the proper food, when he partakes of shoots and fruits of nyagrodha. Mysteriously he obtains the drinking of Soma. It is not consumed by him openly. Therefore nyagrodha is mysteriously the king Soma. Mysteriously the king assumes the form of the holy power through Purohita, through consecration, through ancestral invocation. Nyagrodha is the lordly power of the trees. Rājanya or Kṣatriya is the lordly power; for R̥c fastened him as it were to his kingdom and supported him as it were like nyagrodha. Therefore the Kṣatriya sacrificer eats the descending growth of nyagrodha and its fruits, and thereby establishes in himself the lordly power of plants and the lordly power in himself. In his kingdom he finds support. His sway becomes deadly and unassailable. The nyagrodha is a divine tree. The priests tilted over the goblets on the place when the Devas went to the heaven by offering sacrifice. Those goblets become nyagrodha trees. Even to-day at Kurukṣetra they call them nyubjas. They were the first born fruits of the nyagrodha. From them the others were born. In that they grow

³ Yathākāmaprayāpyah (AB 7.28); wandering about at one's pleasure,—Haug; dwelling everywhere,—Weber.

downwards they are called nyagrodhas (growing-downwards). Though they are nyagrodhas, the Devas call them nyagrodhas mysteriously. The Devas love mystery as it were (AB 7.30). Another food fit for a Kṣatriya is the fruit of udumbara. Udumbara is born of strength and is the proper food. This is the pre-eminence of trees. The priests place pre-eminence and proper food among the lordly power. Aśvattha is born of brilliance. It is the overlordship of trees. The fruits of plakṣa tree also form the proper food for the Kṣatriya. It was born of might. It is the self-rule and control of the trees. He places them in Kṣatriya. In the Soma sacrifice, these fruits are kept ready. Then the priests and Yajamāna buy Soma, the king. Then they proceed with the rites according to the manner of Soma sacrifice up to the fast day. Adhvaryu should keep the following things ready: the skin for supporting the pressing, two pressing boards, wooden tub, filter cloth, pressing stones, vessel for holding pure Soma, stirring vessel, ordinary vessel, drawing cups and goblet. When they press Soma in the morning, he should divide these fruits into two. He should press some of them and the remaining he should keep for mid-day pressing (AB 7.32).

From the legend given above the following points may be noted :

(i) There was some sort of misunderstanding between the Kṣatriya kings, the patrons of sacrifice and their family priests, who were styled as Purohitas. These Purohitas had advanced a theory in the performance of Yajña, that their Kṣatriya patrons would attain the heaven by the performance of Soma sacrifices. In the performance of this sacrifice, when the Kṣatriya undergoes the consecration rite, he virtually becomes a Brāhmaṇa, and he assumes the name and ancestry of his Purohita. Thus as it were he passes into a new life of a Brāhmaṇa. He thus transfers his privileges to the Brāhmaṇa. In doing so he surrenders his right of participating in the Soma drink to the Brāhmaṇas. This is the theory. In theory it might have been agreed by some Kṣatriyas. But there seems to be strong opposition to it from very early times. The first Kṣatriya who opposed this theory of the Brāhmaṇa was king Janamejaya, who turned away the Kāśyapas their Purohitas from the sacrificial enclosure and thus insulted them. The matters came to crisis, when in the days of the AB, king Viśvantara Sauśadmana denounced the Syāpaṇas, his Purohitas and it seems he appointed some others to officiate in his sacrifice. He also abused and insulted them. The Syāpaṇas forcibly occupied the place of the sacrificial altar. The king, then, asked them to quit the sacrificial enclosure. Then one of the Syāpaṇas, Rāma Mārgaveya tried to argue with the king. He pointed out that the king need not feel insulted for being devoid of the right of drinking Soma in his own sacrifice; for this right has been forfeited by the Kṣatriyas as such since Indra was denied of this privilege for his misdeeds. Even Indra, the king and Kṣatriya among the Devas was charge-sheeted by the divine priests and thus he lost his privilege of

Soma drinking, which was the highest honour and the means of securing immortality after death and all prosperity in this world. The main charges against Indra were that he misused Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭr, he killed Vṛtra, he gave yatis to hyaenas, he killed Ayurmaghas and that he quarrelled with Bṛhaspati, the divine priest. For these offences, the divine priests excluded Indra from Soma drink. Indra however stole some and satisfied himself. Following the example of the divine priests, the human priests completely excluded their patron kings from this privilege. As a result, some powerful and influential kings did not like this explanation of the Brāhmanas and they quarrelled, denounced and insulted them. But in the society where both Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas had to stay together, some sort of agreement was necessary. Thus one of the Śyāparṇas pointed out how alternative food was traditionally partaken by the kings in the place of Soma. So they argued that the king should not make much of the loss of privilege of drinking Soma. Thus Kṣatriyas were excluded from the right of drinking Soma. The Brāhmaṇas insisted on maintaining this exclusion, inspite of the threats to their very prestige.

(ii) The kings (who were Kṣatriyas) took the name and ancestral name of their Brāhmaṇa Purohitas who acted as Brahman priests in the sacrifice.

(iii) There was a strong belief in the transmigration. The food taken in the sacrifice would bring about change in qualities of the Varnas.

(iv) There were clear cut functions of the four Varnas and they marked difference in their social status. A Brāhmaṇa accepts gifts, drinks Soma, seeks livelihood and he can be removed at will (yathākāmaprāyakya).

A Vaiśya is contributory to others ; he is consumed by others ; others live on his work. He can be oppressed at will.

A Śūdra is a servant of others ; he can be removed and killed at will by others.

(v) The four kinds of food consumed at the sacrifice result in change in status in progeny. A king drinking Soma in sacrifice may have in the 2nd or 3rd generation one who is born like a Brāhmaṇa. One taking curds may have a son subsequently who would behave like a Vaiśya ; one drinking water as food would have Śūdra like progeny. It thus appears that the caste system even though existing in the society of the AB, the castes were marked by the occupations of a person. One could follow the life of any one of the castes though he may be born in another caste.

(vi) Soma drink was the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas. If a king would drink Soma, in the subsequent birth his progeny would show the signs of change of caste by following duties different from his.

(vii) For the history of sacrificial ritual, this legend of Rāma Mārgaveya refers to important points. The Purohita is a very important

office held by a Brāhmaṇa at the court of a Kṣatriya king. He is virtually the self of the Kṣatriya. This Purohita is the Brahman in the Soma sacrifices. The king assumes the ancestral name of the Purohita and thus becoming a Brāhmaṇa by the performance of the Soma sacrifice, he obtains the desired objects in his life. Yet he is not entitled for Soma drink. It seems that Soma plant had become very scarce and it was deemed to be the privilege of Brāhmaṇas only to drink it. Though a Kṣatriya could not be a Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya or Śūdra because he is born as a Kṣatriya ; yet the behaviour of his progeny in the society would make him behave like Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya or Śūdra.

Soma and surā

In the Soma sacrifice the priest gives to the king a bowl of Surā (wine), saying, "With your sweetest, most intoxicating, stream, be you purified, oh Soma, pressed for Indra to drink". He then recites RV 8.45.22.

Soma drink which is in Surā is drunk by Kṣatriya. It is not Surā that he drinks. Having drunk it, the king says, 'We have drunk Soma ; be you propitious to us'. The author of AB (8.20) informs about the pleasing taste of Surā. He says, 'Just as in this world a dear son touches his father or dear wife her husband, pleasantly and auspiciously up to old age, even so Surā, Soma or any other food in the case of Kṣatriya anointed by the great anointing of Indra touches him up to his death'. Thus it seems that the Kṣatriya was given a drink of Surā in the Soma sacrifice and the pleasant taste of it was considered to be like that of Soma drink. This taste of Soma would make him pleasant and auspicious upto the very end of his life. Indra started the practice of drinking Surā and calling it Soma drink. Other Kṣatriyas imitated Indra. The Brāhmaṇas did not mind, it seems, the offering of Surā to king instead of Soma, and called it the drink of Soma.

The pressing and morning offering of Soma

On the day when the sacrifice begins, the rite begins with the recitation of morning litany (prātarānuvāk). This is the head of the sacrifice. After this recitation, Soma is poured in the cups, called upānīśu and antaryāmin, and offered to Āhavanīya Agni. These two cups are the two vital breaths (prāṇa and apāna). Hotṛ priest keeps silence before offering these two cups. His speech is thunderbolt (Vajra). If he were to speak, he would interrupt the breath of the sacrificer. If any one were to say, "Since Vāc is vajra, he has interrupted the vāc of the sacrificer, she will leave the sacrificer : it will come to pass". When Hotṛ utters praise of prāṇa, apāna etc., he utters speech and touches the pressing stones. Thus he, placing breaths in the body of the sacrificer utters speech, with the whole of his life and for the whole of his life. The sacrificer leads full life (AB 2.21). After the offering of these two cups, Soma is kept in readiness for offering by the five priests who

holding the end of skirt of one another (*samanvārambha*) walk in the direction of *cātvāla*. They then take their seats for performing the *bahiṣpavamānastotra* rite. Before performing this rite *caru* (cooked-rice) is eaten by the *Sāma* singers, such as *Prastotṛ*, *Udgātṛ* and *Pratihartṛ*. The *Hotṛ* does not participate in eating *caru*, which is eaten by all gods and men. Brahman also does not participate in eating because then it would mean that the *ṛcs* are inferior to *Sāmans*. It is always contended that the *ṛcs* are superior to the *Sāmans*, and that the Brahman priest is also a *Ṛgvedin*, there being no difference between the *RV* and *AV* at this stage. The *Hotṛ* should recite while remaining seated only. His self is not excluded from *Soma* (*AB 2.23*).

In the morning pressing of *Soma* (*prātaḥsavana*) in the *Soma* sacrifice of the *Devas*, there was a contamination of *Soma*. An *Asura* woman by name *Dīrghajivhī* licked the morning libation of *Soma* to be offered to the *Devas*. *Soma* became intoxicant. He became censurable (*vadya*). The *Devas* trying to remedy *Soma* asked *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* to make *Soma* devoid of intoxication. They asked for a boon to be granted to them for doing the work. They asked for an offering of milk before the morning offering. This is their fixed offering, the offering of *pāyasya* (curds or milk whey). This offering of *pāyasya* is mixed with *Soma*. This removes the intoxication of *Soma*. 'At present', says the author of the *AB*, 'Soma is not mixed with any sour milk. A large quantity of water is added in its place to weaken the strength of *Soma*.' The *pāyasya* offering however, in the sacrifice of the *Devas* removed the intoxication (*AB 2.22*).

Intoxicant Soma

Soma drink is intoxicant. This is due to the contamination caused by the licking of *Soma* by an *Asura* woman, who is significantly called "one having long tongue". It is surprising that the *Asura* woman could get access to *Soma*, which was being pressed for the morning sacrifice. Thus *Soma* became like liquor. This intoxicating effect was weakened by the addition of curds or whey to him. But this practice, later on was abandoned. In its place water was added (*AB 2.22*). In fact *Soma* becomes intoxicating like *Surā* (liquor). A bowl of *Surā* is called *Soma* and addressed, 'With your sweetest and most intoxicating stream be you purified, oh *Soma*.' In the *Surā* there is *Soma*. This non-intoxicating *Surā* is drunk by the sacrificer as *Soma*. It seems that the pressed *Soma* became *Surā*. By the addition of curds or whey or water its intoxicating quality was reduced. This non-intoxicating *Surā* became *Soma* (*AB 8.20*). The intoxicating quality of *Soma*, which is present in *Surā* is explained as due to the tasting of it by an *Asura* woman. It seems that this myth of *Asura* woman is an attempt of the priests to explain the intoxicating nature of *Surā*, which was normally found in the pressed *Soma*. Its effect was weakened by the addition of curds or water.

Hotṛ is the symbol of very life of the sacrificer. His voice is the voice of Yajamāna. Hotṛ utters the calls *Vaṣaṭ*, which is like *Vajra*; but if he utters it twice, while offering Soma in two cups to the two vital breaths, he is capable of stopping the breath of the sacrificer (AB 2.28). Thus the Yajamāna secures fullness of life (AB 2.30). The *nivids* are the prose formulas. They are the embryos of the *litanies* (*śāstra*). They are uttered before the *litanies*, in the morning pressing. Thereby the embryos in the women are deposited at the back and they come into being at the back. In the mid-day pressing, they are inserted in the middle of the *śāstras*. Therefore embryos in women are held in the middle. They are placed at the end in the *litanies* at the evening pressing. Therefore the offsprings are born downwards for generation. Thus Yajamāna is born of the *śāstras* from the *nivids*. The *nivids* are the ornaments of the *śāstras*. Since they are inserted before, in the middle and at the end of the *śāstras*, one makes as it were, upper, middle and lower part of the warp decorated. The Yajamāna shines on all sides with the decoration of the sacrifice. By means of *dikṣā* rite, the Yajamāna becomes Brahman. By the utterance of the *nivids* he is reborn of the *śāstras*. He shines everywhere on that account (AB 3.10).

In the Soma sacrifice every day there are three pressings of Soma and their offerings to different deities. *Prajāpati* allotted different parts to them in the metres and sacrifice. In the morning pressing, *Agni* and *Vasus* are the deities. The metre is *Gāyatrī*. In the mid-day pressing, there are *Indra* and *Rudras*. The metre is *Triṣṭubh*. In the evening pressing, the deities are *Viśvedevas* and *Āditya*, and *Jagatī* is the metre. *Prajāpati*'s own metre is *Anuṣṭubh*. He pushed it to the end of *Śāstra* of *Acchāvāka*. The metre *Anuṣṭubh* then said to *Prajāpati*, 'You are the most wretched of all gods, since you just put me at the end of the *Śāstra* of *Acchāvāka*'. *Prajāpati* at the request of *Anuṣṭubh*, put it at the very beginning of the Soma sacrifice as the first metre of all *śāstras* in three pressings. The sacrificer becomes the master of his sacrifice. Thus *Anuṣṭubh* metre is the first of the metres in the three *Śāstras* (AB 3.17).

In the morning pressing, the Hotṛ recites nine small ṛcs, in the mid-day ten and in the evening nine small ṛcs. The idea behind this is that seed is poured in what is small, therefore the ṛcs are small. At mid-day pressing there are ten ṛcs. It is because the seed, poured in the small, having attained the middle part of the body of woman becomes most firm. Again in the evening pressing there are small ṛcs. From what is small, offsprings are produced. Thus the *nivids* in the *śāstras* and the small, big and again small number of ṛcs in the three *śāstras* are the symbolical representations of the pouring of seed to the actual birth of a child. The whole recitation of ṛcs in *śāstras* and *nivids* represent the process of birth of a child (AB 6.9).

The offering of Soma in the sacrifice and partaking of Soma represent the bringing of the drink from the upper region of the sky where the Gandharvas and Pitṛs stay, on the earth and making the priests enjoy the immortal drink. So Soma drink makes the priests and sacrificer immortal as it did to the Devas. Further, it is the symbol of the release of cows of the Devas from the cave where they were locked by Vala. The Devas sought to win the cows with sacrifice. They obtained them on the sixth day of the Soma sacrifice. At the morning pressing with Nābhāka hymn they tore open the cave. In the third pressing, having destroyed the cave with Vālahilyas, as thunderbolt, they drove out the cows. This legend is reproduced at each time Soma is pressed by the sacrificer. Soma sacrifice represents the release of cows of Devas from the cave of Vala (AB 6.24).

Āsvina Śastra at the morning pressing

One thousand or more ṛcs are recited by Hotṛ in the morning before the offering of the Soma. This is called Āsvina śastra. Though it contains praise of many Devas, still it is called Āsvina, because of their prominence. Hotṛ eats ghee before reciting these thousand ṛcs. Just as in this world a cart or carriage goes well if it is smeared with oil, in the same way, his recitation goes on well if he drinks ghee. He takes the position of an eagle (suparṇa) about to fly when he begins recitation (AB 4.7). Regarding the origin of this śastra a myth is narrated in both AB (4.7) and KB (18.1). We are told in this myth that Savitṛ gave Sūryā to Soma, the king. The KB is not sure whether she was the daughter of Savitṛ or Prajāpati. All gods gathered on this occasion and formed a bridal procession (vahatu). Savitṛ gave over these thousand ṛcs to the Devas (KB 18.1). The AB (4.7) points out that Prajāpati gave away his daughter Sūryāsāvitrī (Sūryā of KB). He made these thousand ṛcs called Āsvina śastra as forming the bridal accompaniment for the wedding ceremony of his daughter, to represent such objects as turmeric powder etc.

Thus in the Soma sacrifice, Hotṛ recites Āsvinaśastra after drinking ghee and representing himself an eagle (suparṇa), which brought Soma from the heaven. Soma is the son-in-law of Prajāpati or Savitṛ. He is Kṣātra and king. Among the gods Agni and Bṛhaspati alone are Brahman, while Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Savitṛ are Kṣatras. They are the kings. Soma is the king of the Bṛāhmaṇas (KB 12.8).

Mid-day pressing of Soma

It was Vasiṣṭha, who proclaimed Soma to Indra at the mid-day pressing in the Soma sacrifices (KB 29.2). Bhāradvāja gave Soma to Indra on this occasion (KB 15.1). At mid-day and evening pressings the Devas become drunk (AB 6.11).

The Devas at Sarvacaru performed a sacrifice. Arbuda Kādraveya came to them at the mid-day pressing and said to them, 'One of your

Hotṛ's office is not being performed. That is Grāvastut'. Then they appointed him. He praises standing, wearing a turban and with his eyes tied up. This is how Grāvastut was appointed and he performed his work in the mid-day offering of Soma (KB 29.1). Grāvastut at the mid-day pressing recites, "Eye (i.e. evil eye) has come". This eye is the serpent. Thus poison came to the priests. Grāvastut used to purify Soma by reciting the ṛcs. This is the origin of the appointment of the priest Grāvastut at the Soma sacrifice. It was believed that at mid-day pressing of Soma, there was likelihood of the Soma being poisoned, which was perhaps due to the serpent poison. Arbuda Kādraveya, the Grāvastut is of the serpent race. He considered that poisoning of Soma was a sort of black eye, an evil, coming to the pressed Soma. He averted the evil-eye by reciting the ṛcs (KB 29.1).

At the mid-day pressing the hotṛ recites a ṛc RV 2.34.11 which is called Dhāyyā. The ṛc is normally recited at the evening pressing. At the Soma sacrifices of the Bharatas this ṛc was recited at the mid-day pressing of Soma. Therefore the cattle of the Bharatas, which are at the stables in the evening for being milked reappear at the noon to the cattle-shed. The ṛc (RV 2.34.11) is in the Jagatī metre, which is connected with cattle. The mid-day pressing is the very self of the sacrificer. The Hotṛ confers cattle on the sacrificer (AB 3.18). Thus there is a historical background to the use of this ṛc in the mid-day pressing. Nāgas or serpents attempt to poison the Soma at mid-day. The seer Arbuda Kādraveya himself a Nāga tried to purify the Soma and make it free from the evil-eye or witchcraft, as he knew how to dispel it. There seems to be a belief that evil-eye of men, look of an evil person poisons even Soma. There is remedy for it by means of sympathetic magic. The ṛc (RV 2.34.11) is used for dispelling this evil effect of the witchcraft. Thus even in Soma sacrifice, a ṛc is used to dispel the effects of the evil charm.

The Soma sacrifice offered by the Devas is the model of the sacrifices for others to follow. Agni was the Hotṛ of the Devas. Mṛtyu waited for him, when he was reciting bahiṣpavamāna stotra. He began ājyāśastra with an Anuṣṭubh metre. Thus he evaded Mṛtyu. Hotṛ began with Praugaśastra. Thus he evaded Mṛtyu. For him, Mṛtyu awaited in mādhyandina pavamāna. Hotṛ began Matutvatīya with Anuṣṭubh, on account of which he avoided Mṛtyu. He could not wait for him in Bṛhatī ṛcs, in mid-day pressing; for Bṛhatī ṛcs are the Prāṇas, which Mṛtyu could not penetrate. Therefore at the mid-day pressing, Hotṛ begins with Bṛhatī metre. At the third Pavamāna, Mṛtyu awaited him. He began with Vaiśvadeva śastra in Anuṣṭubh metre. He avoided death. Then Mṛtyu awaited him at yājñāyājñīya. He began with agnimāruta śastra with a triplet for Vaiśvānara. He evaded Mṛtyu; for Vaiśvānara is vajra (thunderbolt), which drives away death. Having loosened all posts and nets of death he becomes free from Mṛtyu (AB 3.14).

In the śāstras there are inserted the nivids. These nivids are the deities connected with the sun. In that they are placed before, in the middle, and at the end of the pressings, they follow the course of the sun (AB 3.11). Nivids are the decorations of the ukthas. Just as a weaver weaves decorations in the beginning, at the middle and at the end of the cloth, so are the nivids in the hymns. We get here the information about the social conditions of the time of the AB. The weavers wove the clothes with fine decorations in the cloth in the end and at the middle. The woven clothes might have been used as sarees by women and upper and lower garments by men.

At the mid-day pressing, Hotṛ recites the Gauravīti hymn (RV 10.73). The hymn propagates Yajamāna from the sacrifice, which is the birth place of the Devas. Having recited half of the hymn, after the 6th ṛc, he places nivid, in the middle, when six ṛcs are left over. Nivid is the mounting to the world of svarga. Hotṛ should recite climbing up as it were. Nivid is the ladder to svarga. He should take hold of Yajamāna who is dear to him (AB 3.19).

Hotṛ is capable of turning the recitation of the hymn into witchcraft. If he means to do wrong to others, he can do so. Hotṛ, who practises witchcraft should do the following : If he desires, 'May I smite the people with Kṣatra?' he should separate the hymn RV 10.73 into three parts by inserting the utterance of the nivids. Nivid is Kṣatra and the hymn the people. Hotṛ could use the hymn for destruction of the people at the hands of the king (Kṣatra). If he desires, 'May I smite the lordly power (Kṣatra) by the people?' he should thrice divide the nivid in the recitation of the hymn. Here nivid is Kṣatra and hymn the people. If he desires, 'On both sides let me sever him from the people', he should recite the call vaṣaṭ at the both sides of nivid. He cuts the Kṣatra from the people at both the sides. This procedure is for practising magic. In the normal recitation he attains to heaven. Thus not only does the sacrificer reach heaven by the performance of the Soma sacrifice ; but the Hotṛ also gets the svarga by reciting the hymn, call and nivids. He can also turn the destinies of the king and people by his recitation (AB 3.19).

At the mid-day pressing the Hotṛ should recite the Pragātha RV 8.89. 3-4 to Maruts for winning cattle. Both the Pragātha and Maruts are cattle. It serves to win cattle (AB 3.19).

Sāyamsavana or evening pressing of Soma

Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa saw the third pressing of Soma in the Brāhmaṇāc-chaṅsin's office. Therefore day by day the conclusion is by Kṛṣṇa (RV 10.42. 1-3 ; 43.1-3 ; KB 30.9). It was the sage Vāmadeva, who proclaimed Soma to Indra in the third pressing (KB 30.1).

On the sixth day of Pṛṣṭya Śadāha, the Hotṛ recites the Śilpāsāstra. The ṛcs in the śāstra are the artistic works of the Devas. In imitation

of the works of art these are the accomplished works of art such as an elephant, a goblet, a garment, a golden object, a mule or a charioteer. These are the śilpas of men as there are the śilpa śāstras. These are the perfections of self. By these the sacrificer perfects himself (AB 6.27).

The Ṛbhū and the Soma drinking

The Ṛbhū were not entitled to drink Soma, but by their tapas among the Devas they won the right of drinking Soma. They pleased Prajāpati and obtained his love. Then Indra gave them a share in Soma drinking (KB 16.1). But there was a problem as to when they were to be given a share. The Devas desired to arrange it in the morning pressing. Agni with Vāyu repelled them. At the mid-day pressing, Indra with Rudras did not allow them. In the evening pressing, Viśvedevas repelled them saying, 'They shall not drink Soma here', Prajāpati, however urged him, 'They are your pupils. You drink with them'. He agreed. Prajāpati also drinks Soma on both these sides. Therefore one who is of high rank can honour at his table any one whom he desires. The Devas had dislike of the Ṛbhū because of their human scent (manuṣya gandha AB 3.30). The hymn recited is (RV 1.4.1 ; 10.10). By means of Yajña and tapas, the Ṛbhū who were men, raised themselves to the rank equal to that of the Devas.

Thus the Ṛbhū were human beings. They elevated themselves to the rank of the Devas by means of sacrifice and penance. They secured the love of Prajāpati. He urged Savitṛ to allow them to share in Soma drink. They were the pupils of Savitṛ (AB 3.44).

Long forests in the West due to pressing of Soma

In the evening the priests proceed without hastening with the third pressing of Soma. Therefore there are long forests to the west (AB 3.44). It, therefore, appears that in the Western India there were huge and long forests in the days of the AB.

Offering to Viṣṇu in the evening pressing of Soma

The Hotṛ recites a ṛc in honour of Viṣṇu, because he guards what is ill-offered in the sacrifice and Varuṇa guards what is well-offered. As is a roller so is Viṣṇu in the sacrifice. Just as one may keep making well-ploughed and well-rolled field, what had been ploughed and rolled in shabby manner, so does Viṣṇu make what is ill-recited and ill-offered (AB 2.38).

Soma, Yama and Pitṛs

In the Soma sacrifice, a ṛc (RV 10.14.4) addressed to Yama should be recited. Yama is a ruler ; hence he has the honour of drinking Soma first. After this the ṛc (RV 10.14.3) is recited. This is addressed to Kāvya. Kāvya are the beings lower than the Devas, but higher than

the Pitṛs. There are three types of the Pitṛs : low, medium and highest. The Pitṛs have a house to stay. So the order of offering Soma is : Devas, Ṛṣis and Pitṛs. The Ṛṣis are inferior to the Devas ; but are above the Pitṛs. Among the Pitṛs, there are Kāvyaś above the ordinary Pitṛs (AB 3.37). So from the earth the Devas went to the antarikṣa, then to the yonder-world which is the longest. From the yonder-world they reached the world of the heaven (AB 6.9). These paths leading to the Devas are full of light (AB 3.37).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE DHARWAR DISTRICT— A REVIEW

By

M. S. Nagaraja Rao

IN his address before the Archaeological Society of South India, late Dr. Subbarao has very well analysed the problems of South Indian Archaeology¹ and has stressed the importance of regional studies. Of these problems, two are vexing the minds of the archaeologists as far as North Karnatak is concerned, viz., the contacts and correlations between the Chalcolithic Cultures, of the Northern Deccan and Central India and that of the south; and the relationship between the chalcolithic and the megalithic cultures of the south itself. With these problems in mind, intensive explorations were planned in Deccan and North Karnatak, by Shri M. N. Deshpande, as part of the plan of the survey of antiquarian remains. The districts of Dhulia and Ahmednagar in Maharashtra, and Bijapur and Dharwar in Karnatak were chosen for this purpose. For, the land between the Tapti and Bhima has already proved its potentiality regarding the remains of the chalcolithic culture and therefore, the clues for the solutions were naturally expected in the North Karnatak area which also has indicated its potentialities as evidenced from the excavations of Brahmagiri,² Sanganakallu,³ Maski,⁴ and Piklihal.⁵ Thus the area chosen comprised the land in the river valleys of Tapti, Godavari-Pravara, Bhima, Krishna and Tungabhadra. The writer was posted to the district of Dharwar for conducting through explorations, the results of which are reviewed here.

Geologically, the district belongs to the three well-known formations, viz. (i) The eastern black soil plain, underlain by the basal archæan complex largely comprising ancient gneiss and schists. In this are situated several outliers of quartzite of the Kaladgi series; (ii) The central portion, marked by an outcrop of two parallel bands of the famous Dharwars, the geological structure of which is extremely complex and is associated with a variety of rocks, ranging from granitoid schists and clay to chlorite schists and gneisses; (iii) The western extremities

¹ Subbarao, B., *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Madras, 1956-57, pp. 62-78.

² Wheeler, R. E. M., 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947: Megalithic and other Cultures in Mysore State,' *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1947-48).

³ Subba Rao, *Stone Age Cultures of Bellary* (1948).

⁴ Thapar, B. K., 'Maski 1954: A Chalcolithic Site of the Southern Deccan,' *Ancient India*, No. 13 (1957).

⁵ Allchin, F. R., *Piklihal Excavations*, Andhra Pradesh Archaeological series, No. 1 (1960).

are occasionally characterised by the outcrops of basal igneous system. The western margin belongs to the Sahyadris and the rest an undulating plain.

The Malaprabha in the northern part of the district, one of the major rivers draining the district, has Bennihalla as its chief tributary. The Tungabhadra river system mainly consisting of the rivers Kumudvati and Varada, drains the southern part. Varada enters the Hangal Taluka from the Shimoga district and with the Dharma river as its tributary drains the Hangal and Haveri talukas finally joining the Tungabhadra near Galaganath. The Kumudvati taking its birth in the Madag-Masur lake, flows along the southern margin of Hirekerur and Ranibennur talukas meeting the Tungabhadra near Mudenur. Only a small tract of land in the western margin, southwest of Dharwar city, is drained westwards by the Shalmala river.

Dharwar has been well known even from the times of the epics. It has been one of the important tracts of the territory known as Karnatak which is referred to as 'Kuntala' in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and later literature and epigraphs. Evidence is not wanting to prove that the district was the habitat of man since prehistoric times. Many stone tools of palaeolithic times have been recovered in the river valleys of the Malaprabha and Bennihalla. According to the Purāṇas, the earliest occupants are said to have been the Mīnas or the Matsyas, the Nāgas, Abhiras, Mahīśakas, Ajas and the Vānaras or the Koḍugas. Many places of the district are associated, according to the traditions, with the events connected with the movements of Rāma, Sita and Lakṣmaṇa during their exile. Lakkundi, in Gadag Taluka, is described as 'Sri Dāśarathi Vinirmita Mahāgrāma', 'Rāmarathi Agrahāra', in the epigraphs of the 11 century A.D. In the Rāmāyaṇa, it is stated that Kaikeya, when approaching the Daṇḍakas visited the town of Vaijayanti i.e., Banavasi, in the neighbouring district of Karwar, which was ruled by Timidhvaja. Ron, the taluka place, is said to be Droṇapura 'the City of Droṇāchārya'. The epigraphs of the 12th century call Hangal, a taluka place 50 miles south of Dharwar, 'Virāṭanagari' or 'Virāṭakoṭe', and according to the local traditions, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have lived here during the 13th year of their exile. Many places in the town bear the names, 'Kunti dibba' (Mound of Kunti), Bhīma's gymnasium etc. Further, the megalithic tombs, such as dolmens and stone circles, are called 'Pāṇḍavarakaṭṭe' or 'Pāṇḍavaramane'.

According to the traditions and a Kannada work *Mala-Basava Charita* of Singirāja, Nandas are said to have ruled over Kuntala, of which Dharwar formed part. Aśoka is said to have sent his buddhist missionaries to Banavasi, referred to above, where the remains of a brick stupa are found. His edicts are found in the neighbouring districts at Maski and Kopbal in Raichur and Brahmagiri and Siddapur in Chitradurga. The famous Egyptian traveller Ptolemy refers to Banavasi (Banaouse), Alur

(Aloe), Mulugund (Morounda), Kuntala (Kundaloi) and Nagarakhanda (Nagarouis). Alur and Mulugunda are the names of the places in the district, while others formed part of a division called Nagarakhanda as the inscriptions would have us believe. The district was also under the rule of the Sātavāhanas as evidenced by the majority of the ancient sites ascribable to the Sātavāhana period. The other dynasties under whose rule the district came were the Kadambas, early Chālukyas, Rashtrakūṭas, Chālukyas of Kalyani, Kalachuris, Hoysalas, Yādavas and the Vijayanagara Kings, which is amply borne out by the innumerable lithic records and monuments they have left.

Intensive explorations were carried out in the Haveri, Byadgi Rani-bennur, Shirhatti and the eastern part of the Hirekerur taluka between 1957 and 1962,⁶ in the form of village to village survey. The results of the survey could be chronologically arranged as follows: *A. Prehistoric Remains. B. Chalcolithic Remains. C. Megalithic Remains and D. Early Historic Remains.* Besides, many temples of the Chalukyan period and innumerable lithic records of the dynasties mentioned above were noticed. These have been kept out of the purview of this paper, since they are innumerable. Only the prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities are reviewed here.

A. Prehistoric Remains :

Robert Brucefoote (1864) has already reported the collection of very fine palaeolithic tools from the hard kankar cemented shingle bed of the Bennihalla, 3 miles above the junction of the Malaprabha river.⁷ Besides the work done by the Kannada Research Institute of Dharwar, Shri R. V. Joshi undertook a regular study of the stone age sites of the Malaprabha basin and classified the stone age tools of the region.⁸ Dr. H. D. Sankalia and others also carried out explorations in the region.⁹

In the course of his explorations, the writer collected stone age tools of the early palaeolithic period in the following sites. Konchigeri,¹⁰ Jallapur,¹¹ Jirmadapur and Hallur. Of these, Hallur yielded one cleaver collected from the surface of the chalcolithic mound. Jirmadapur and Jallapur yielded good specimens of handaxes all made on quartzite, heavily rolled and patinated. But the site at Konchigeri deserves special mention as it appears to be an open site. The site is situated to the south of the village on the Konchigeri-Bijjur road, about a mile away

⁶ *Indian Archaeology—A Review (IAR)*, 1957-58, p. 39; 58-59, p. 32; 59-60, pp. 37-38; 60-61, p. 28; 61-62, p. 51 (cyclostyled copy).

⁷ Foote, R. B.: *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, p. 130.

⁸ Joshi, R. V.: *Pleistocene Studies in the Malaprabha Basin*. (1955).

⁹ *IAR*, 1955-56, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1960-61, p. 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1958-59, p. 32.

from the left bank of the Doddahalla nallah, flowing south, being a feeder to the Tungabhadra. It is an elevated area with plenty of raw material—quartz and trap. The tools are found on the surface. The nallah does not have any sections. More than 125 tools were collected from the surface. The representative specimens are illustrated here.

Plate I. Nos. 1 - 10.

1. Broad cleaver, of quartzite, partly rolled. It has a broad rounded butt and straight edge, almost completely flaked on both sides by the removal of large and thick flakes in the abbevillian technique. The sides are slightly irregular and the tool is ovoid in section (Fig. 1. No. 1).
2. A long, narrow, irregular, hand axe, of quartzite, slightly rolled. It is worked by the abbevillian technique and has asymmetrical sides and butt. The tip is elongated and pointed. Irregularly bi-convex in section (Fig. 4. No. 9).
3. Hand axe, large, almond shaped, of quartzite. Partly rolled. The upper face is fully worked, by detaching large and thick flakes. Lower face is left unworked, except along the right margin and butt end. Margins are asymmetrical. It is planoconvex in section. Abbevillian in technique (Fig. 1. No. 2).
4. A long narrow rectangular tool, pointed on one side and having an oblique cutting edge on the opposite side. Upper face is flaked by the abbevillian technique. The lower face is left unworked except along the right margin (Fig. 2. No. 4).
5. A small, thick discoid-scraper. It is flaked by detaching several small and thin flakes from the margin inwards. In the centre, a large patch is left unworked, on the upper face. It has a sharp working edge all along the periphery (Fig. 1. No. 3).
6. A thick ovate of quartzite, much rolled. It is fully worked on the upper face by detaching a number of medium sized flakes. The under face is unworked. It is plano-convex in section (Fig. 3. No. 7).
7. An elongated, pointed hand axe of quartzite. It is worked on both faces in the typical abbevillian manner. It has asymmetrical margins (Fig. 4. No. 10).
8. A large, narrow hand axe of quartzite. It has maximum breadth and the centre and has sides tapering to a round point in both directions, so that it can be used as a hand axe from either end. The sides are very symmetrical and the tool has a fine appearance, although the flake scars are large and deep. It is made of abbevillian technique (Fig. 2. No. 5).
9. A medium sized ovate of quartzite. Much rolled. Fully worked on both faces by removing very large flake scars. It has a working all round its periphery and slightly wavy in profile (Fig. 3. No. 6).

10. A cleaver of medium size, of quartzite, partly rolled having a broad, square base and the sides gently tapering towards the top to form a straight cutting edge. The technique is abbevillian. Large patches of cortex remain on both faces (Fig. 3. No 8).

B. *The Chalcolithic remains* :¹³

Since the discovery of the elements of this culture, at Brahmagiri in Chitradurga district of Mysore state, many centres of this culture were discovered in Northern Deccan and Central India. This new culture was given its proper place in the culture sequence by the excavations conducted by Dr. Sankalia and others at Nasik and Jorwe.¹³ As stated at the beginning of this paper, it was desired to find out solutions to the problems posed by the discovery of this culture and also its extension in the Southern Deccan. The explorations in Bijapur district¹⁴ have well attested to the extension of this culture in that part of Karnatak. Dharwar also has its own significant contributions to make, towards the fresh knowledge of this culture. The explorations by the writer brought to light the following sites ascribable to the chalcolithic period (see map) on the evidence of the antiquities such as pottery collected from the surface: Hallur, Mudenur, Nadiharlahalli, Belur, Hadarageri, Madapur, Kunbev Niralgi and Battur.

All these sites give the general sequence of culture viz., the chalcolithic or Stone axe culture, megalithic and the early historic or the Andhra cultures. The chalcolithic phase is characterised by the occurrence of the pottery of the grey ware variety in association with the polished stone axes (Plate II). At Hadarageri, on the bank of the Tungabhadra, the additional significant feature is the occurrence of the painted pottery of the cream slipped ware and Jorwe ware, in addition to the polished stone axes and the usual grey ware. The Jorwe ware has been reported on the banks of Kaveri,¹⁵ at T. Narsipur. In the light of these discoveries, the occurrence of Jorwe and Malwa wares, so far down south as Hadarageri points to the contact between the chalcolithic cultures of the Central India and Northern Deccan with those in the Northern Karnatak.

At Hallur, also on the bank of the Tungabhadra, the painted black-on-red pottery of the chalcolithic is absent although the polished stone axes with pointed butt and the grey ware of Brahmagiri variety are present. But this absence is compensated by the presence of the white painted

¹³ A detailed account of the chalcolithic phase in the district has been dealt with by the writer in BDCRI. Vol. XXXI, 1962-63, pp. 55-77. Hence, only the salient features of the Culture are given here.

¹⁴ Sankalia, H. D., and Deo. S. B. : *Report on the excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*. (Poona, 1955).

¹⁵ *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 39; 58-59, p. 32; 59-60, p. 37; 60-61, p. 28; 61-62, p. 51 (cyclostyled copy).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1959-60, p. 38 and 1961-62, pp. 52-53 (cyclostyled copy).

black-and-red ware which is very significant.¹⁶ As is well known, this painted ware is confined only to a few chalcolithic sites such as Gilund, Ahar, Nagda, Navdatoli, Prakash and Tekwada and has not so far been found further south. Hence its occurrence in considerable quantity at Hallur and Kunbev in association with other elements of chalcolithic culture viz., the grey ware and polished stone axes, though indicative of yet another link between chalcolithic culture of southern Deccan and Central India, poses a fresh problem as to why it is absent in the region in between.

Two more sites, viz., Fatehpur and Hosaritti deserve special mention. Microliths are conspicuous by their absence in all the other sites mentioned above. But these two sites have yielded a core each besides the antiquities of the early historic period. At the former site, a fine neolithic was also found. A fine fluted core of chalcedony at the former site, celt and at the latter, a fluted core of reddish-brown jasper with double platform showing very good flutings were found (See plate II, Nos. 7 & 8).

C. *The Megalithic Remains :*

South India has been quite wellknown for its megalithic remains. And Karnatak has contributed its own share. Thus the area surveyed by the writer abounds in megalithic monuments. According to the local traditions these are called 'Pāṇḍavarakāṭṭe' (platforms of the Pāṇḍavas), 'Siddharakāṭṭe' (Platforms of the Siddhas) and 'morera aṅgaḍi' (Shops of the Mauryas). How these names came to be applied to them is not easy to explain. However, the 'Pāṇḍavarakāṭṭe' reminds us of the famous 'Pāṇḍukulis' of the south.

The megalithic monuments (see map) discovered in the area could be classified into three groups, viz., the Dolmens, the Stone-circles and the Cairns. Among these, the most common type is the cist circles.

Dolmens were noticed in the following places:—Benakanahalli in Haveri taluka, Motibennur and Kadaramandalgi in Byadgi taluka and Belhatti in Shirahatti taluka. They are indicated on the surface by rectangular slabs fixed to the ground and square in plan. But in most of the cases some of the slabs are missing. Of these, the dolmen at Motibennur is the largest (Plate III).

Stone Circles are generally found on the slopes of the hillocks. They are indicated by undressed boulders of chlorite schist placed in circular fashion, the diameter varying from 10 to 32 feet. Many people who have dug out these circles with the belief that these pits contain gold, and ash with magical qualities (Bhasma) reported that they found besides pottery, iron pieces and sometimes bones. The earthen vessels are to be found filled with ash. Examination of some of the dug out

¹⁶ The importance of the occurrence of this pottery has been discussed by the writer in paper referred to in the foot note 12.

pits, revealed the existence of the typical black-and-red ware of the megalithic variety. These circles were noticed at the following places :—

Agadi, Bidarkatti, Sidenur, Budapanahalli, Chininkatti, Kervadi, Kuskur, Malkanahalli, Kamdod, Udagatti, Tadakanahalli, Nagavanda, Bhairavanapada and Devihal.

The site at Bhairavanapada is worthy of special mention because within the circle of boulders are found dolmen-like structures buried at the centre of the circle, parts of which are visible above the ground. These may well be similar to the port-holed cists of Brahmagiri, since the latter site is only 90 miles north east as the crow flies. Another significant factor is the existence of the chalcolithic mound at Hallur which is only a mile and a half south of this site, where megalithic pottery has also been found.

Cairns are the circles with heaps of small stones, some of which have also been dug out in search of gold. These also have yielded black-and-red pottery and iron implements. They were noticed at the following places :—

Hosur, Belgatti, Tangod and Adrahalli—all in Shirahatti taluka.

The first site yielded along with the typical megalithic black-and-red ware, iron implements such as dagger etc. The circles dug out at Adrahalli are reported to have yielded terracotta animal figures such as camels, horse etc.

D. *Remains of the Early Historic Period :*

Sites belonging to the early historic or the Śātavāhana period such as Itgi, in Shirahatti, and Nagavanda and Bhairavanapada in Hirekerur taluka¹⁷ have already been reported in this district by the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. To these may be added the following sites :—¹⁸ (See map).

Sangur, Hosaritti, Tallihalli, Haralahalli, Narsipur, Kolar, Kittur, Akkur, Belvige in Haveri Taluka; Tadas, Sidenur, Anur, Kadaramandalgi, Motibennur and Kummur in Byadgi Taluka; Honnatti, Gudgur, Kudrihal, Belur, Mudenur, Kunbev, Fatehpur, Nitpalli, Kotihal, Holi-Anveri, Chandapur, Chaudadanapur, Kuli, Chikkamagnur, Godihal, Kuppelur Ukkunda, Banakanakonda, Dandgihalli, Kuskur, Magod, Itgi, Airani and Hirebidare in Ranibennur taluka; Chodhal, Unkli, Tangod, Belhatti, Nittur, Battur, Shankhadhal, Holalapur Yelvatti in Shirahatti taluka; Puradakeri Naga-Vanda and Hallur in Hirekerur taluka.

Of these, the sites mentioned under the chalcolithic have yielded besides the antiquities of chalcolithic culture, pottery, terracottas, and beads of the early historic period as well.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, 1948-49, p. 22 (1953).*

¹⁸ *IAR, 1957-58, p. 39; 58-59, p. 32; 59-60, pp. 37-38; 60-61, p. 28; 61-62, p. 51 (cyclostyled copy).*

The sites are characterised by the occurrence of the pottery, viz., the black-and-red ware, the russet-coated painted ware and the red slipped ware, beads of carnelian, terracottas and stone objects, such as saddle-querns etc. These antiquities have been recovered from the stratified deposits of the Śātavāhana period in the excavated sites of the Deccan.

The black-and-red ware produced by the technique of inverted firing consists of the main shapes of bowls and dishes. This ware is normally thick in section generally salt-glazed, as the surface is usually crackled. The characteristic shining of the megalithic black-and-red ware is absent in this ware.

The russet-coated painted ware is also black-and-red ware, but with paintings in lime or white kaolin. As is well known, this ware is concentrated in the region lying notably between the 13° and 17° parallels north, from sea to sea. This is also salt glazed as the surface is usually crackled. The distinctive feature of this pottery is the wealth of linear patterns, essentially rectilinear or criss-cross, the range of patterns being fairly varied. The designs include (see Plates. No. V & VI) groups of oblique strokes with thick dots in between ; wheel designs with groups of spokes ; indented arcs ; oblique lines ; ladders ; vertical lines joined by horizontal bands ; thick dots on the rims of the pots etc. The most common shapes are the bowls and dishes while vessels with thick rims are also found. The ware has been securely dated to circa first-third century A.D. by its stratigraphic association with the Roman and Śātavāhana coins and the rouletted ware, as seen from the excavations at Brahmagiri, Chandravalli and Maski.¹⁹

The third variety of pottery, viz., the red slipped ware is found in major quantity. It is treated with red slip and is salt glazed as is evident from the crackled surface. It has a gritty core and is not well fired. The common shapes and types are encountered with the bowls, vessels with high neck, beaded rim with a ledge on the exterior, lids with flanged waist. Sprinkles with bottle-neck is another noteworthy type in this ware. The ware is widely distributed in the Deccan and is found in strata ascribable to the Early centuries of the Christian era.

Some of the sites have yielded a notable ceramic assignable to the same period namely the rouletted ware (Plate VI, No. 26).

Mention must be made of a number of potsherds bearing the graffitti marks (Plate VI, Nos. 19-25). The precise meaning of these symbols is still problematic. They are undoubtedly made on the pots after firing, and are, therefore, purposeful, perhaps intended for a particular occasion. They are found on all wares. The antiquity of these have been traced back to the period of Indus civilization.²⁰ Their exact significance

¹⁹ Wheeler, *op. cit.* ; Thapar, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Lal, B. B. : 'From megalithic to Harappa : Tracing back the graffitti on the pottery', *Ancient India*, No. 16, pp. 4-24.

can be found out only after a thorough classification and study.

Though very few terra-cottas (see pls. VI & VII Nos. 1-17) and beads (pl. VIII) have been found in many of the sites, occurrence of these show the need for a thorough search for them. Particularly the study of the terra-cottas would be highly interesting since they reveal to us the life of the common man, his creative art and the amusements.

The foregoing account shows that Dharwar has been the habitat of man since the earliest times. The antiquities that have come to light by explorations have proved to be of sufficient importance as they throw fresh light on the problems. It may not be out of place here to stress the need for further explorations and excavations at promising sites. There is little doubt that such a venture would definitely contribute to the solutions of the problems of the archaeology of Karnatak.

Acknowledgements

The writer is grateful to the Director General of Archaeology in India for his kind courtesy in according permission to utilise the material collected by the writer during the explorations in the Dharwar district as an official of the Archaeological Survey, in the preparation of this review. Thanks are also due to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southwestern Circle, Aurangabad, for supplying the photographs. He is obliged to the Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra State, Aurangabad, for the drawings of the palaeolithic implements and to Dr. V. N. Mishra, who kindly helped in classifying and describing them.

DETAILS OF PLATES

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Plate II. Neoliths from different sites in Dharwar district

Plate III. Dolmen at Motibennur

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- No. 1. Spout of Grey ware pot from Hallur
- „ 2. Fragment of a perforated vessel of coarse grey ware from Hadarageri
- „ 3. Fragment of a Grey ware bowl with applique decoration of the face of a bull—Burnished Grey ware from Mudenur
- „ 4. Fragment of a knob of Grey ware lid from Hadarageri
- „ 5. Similar to No. 3
- „ 6. } Painted potsherds from Hadarageri
- „ to }
„ 18. }

Plate V. Russet Coated Painted Ware showing the decorative design in painting—From different sites in Dharwar dist.

Plate VI. Nos. 15 to 18 Russet coated ware.

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- „ 2. Unpierced pottery disc—(Nittur)
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- „ 4. Fragment of a handle of a redslipped vessel, from Kunbev

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- „ 7. Bottom fragment of a figurine made of mould. The interior shows thumb impression—(Belhatti)
- „ 8. Fragment of a stopper, conical and flat topped and having vertical incised lines—(Belhatti)
- „ 9. Fragment of the left leg with anklets, of a figurine of fine yellowish clay, with redslip. The interior is hollow. Made of Mould—(Motibennur).
- „ 10. Fragment of a torso. Red slipped and of fine texture, decorated with a waist band—(Battur)

- No. 11. Fragment of a wheel with central hub and spokes—(Motibennur)
- „ 12. Foot with rope shaped anklets. Red slipped, fine textured and hollow in the interior—(Magod)
- „ 13. Fragment of probably a pendant rectangular in shape with heads of Makaras in relief—(Battur)
- „ 14. Unpierced pottery disc—(Magod)
- „ 15. { Unpierced discs—(Haralahalli)
- „ 16. {
- „ 17. Handle probably of a lid—(Haralahalli).

Plate VIII. Beads from different sites :

- No. 1. Terracotta pendant-cum-bead having perforations in the centre and at the edge—(Kotihal)
- „ 2. Terracotta, arecanut shaped—(Kunbev)
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- „ 4. Stone bead fragment. Short-circular-double-convex—(Nalwagal)
- „ 5. Carnelian, Long-circular-barrel shaped—(Kawlet)
- „ 6. Carnelian, Long-circular-barrel shaped—(Haralahalli)
- „ 7. Carnelian, Short-circular-round—(Narsipur)
- „ 8. Carnelian, Long-hexagonal-biconic—(Belvige)
- „ 9. Lapis-lazuli. Long-Flattish-Oval-tubular—(Nittur).

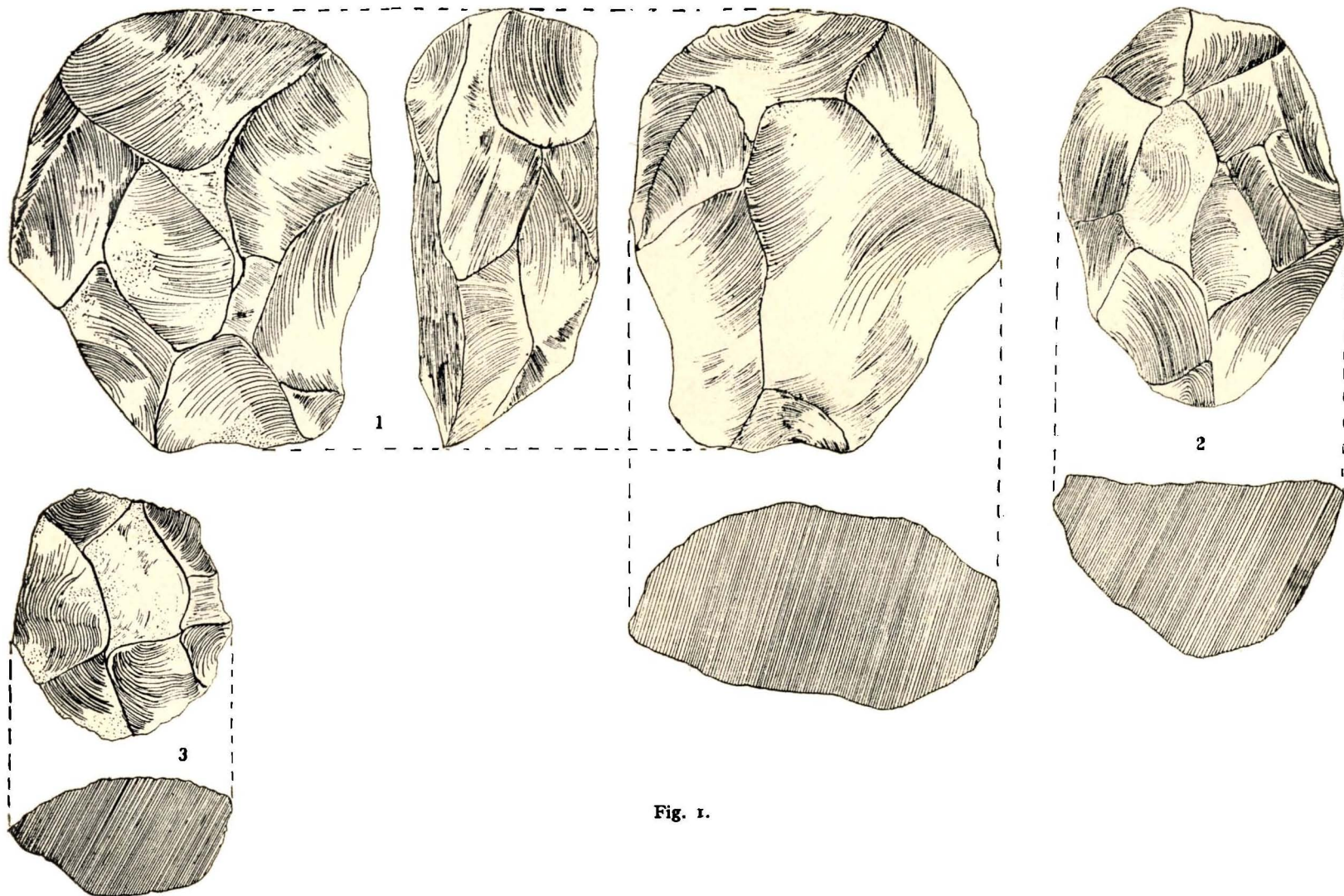


Fig. 1.

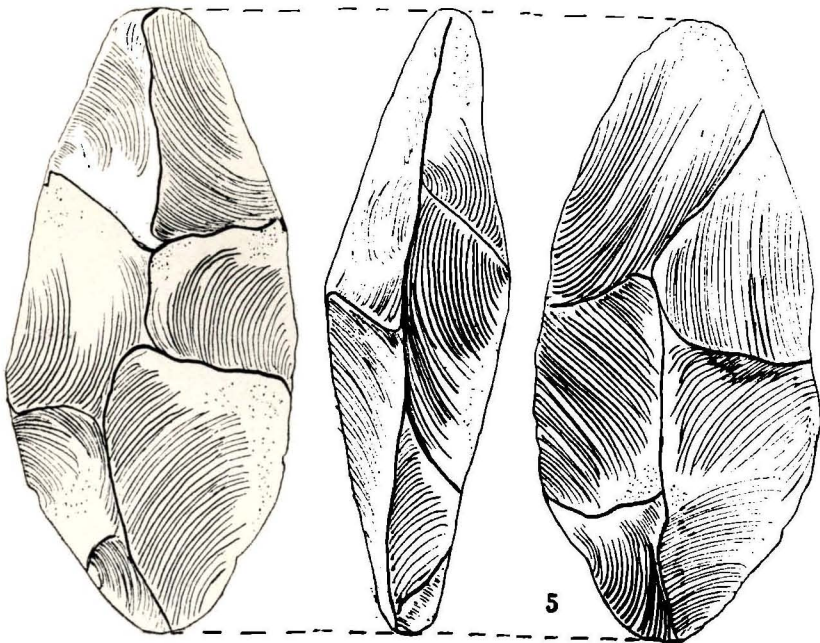
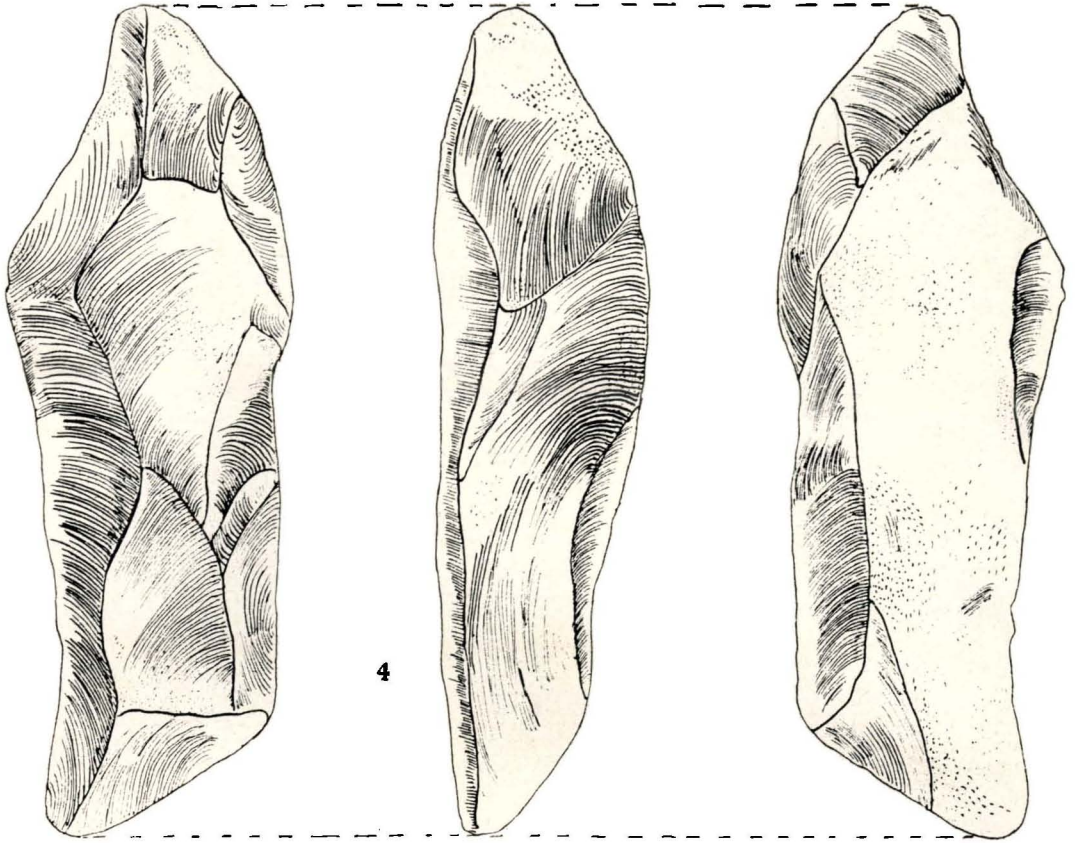
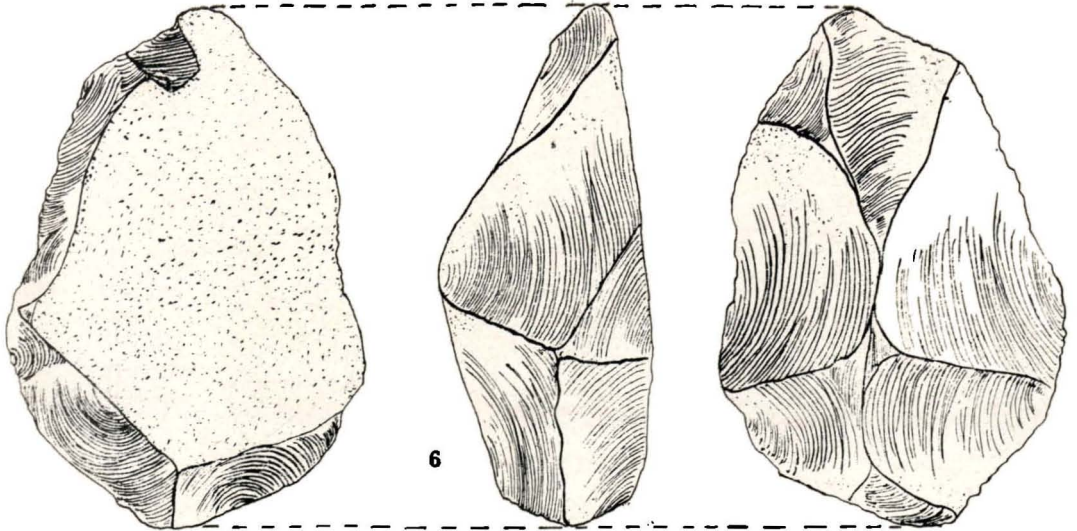
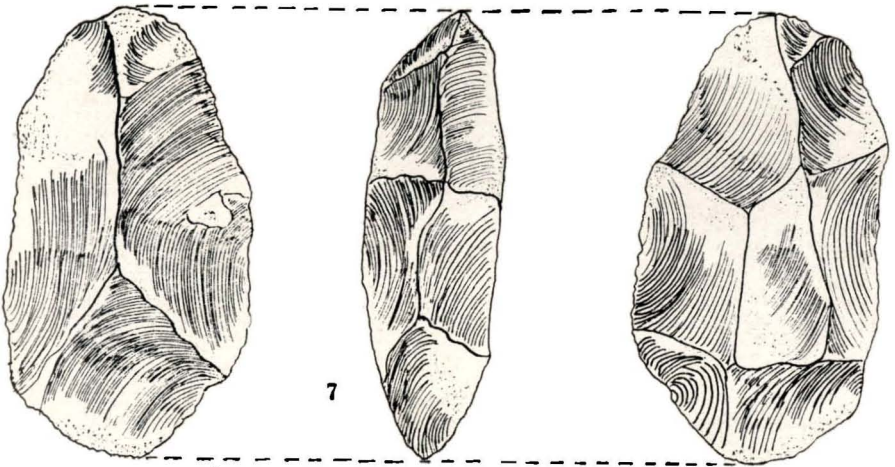


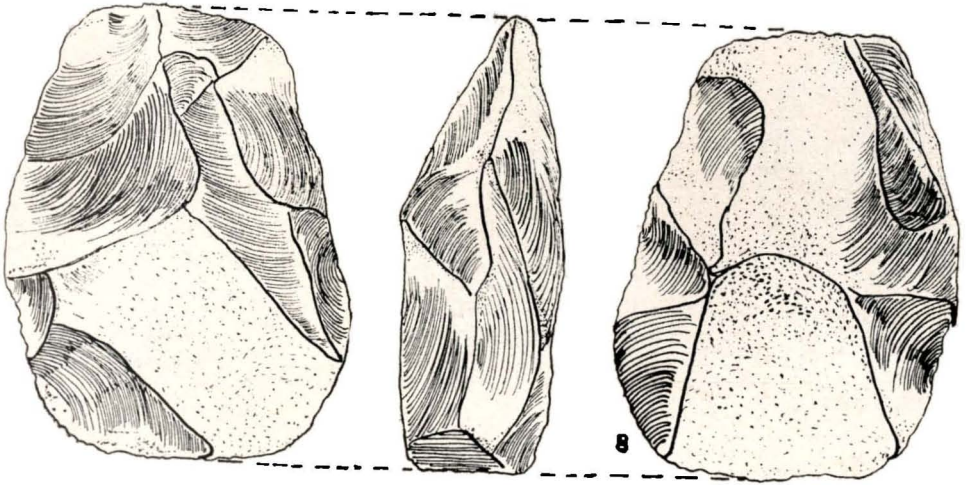
Fig. 2.



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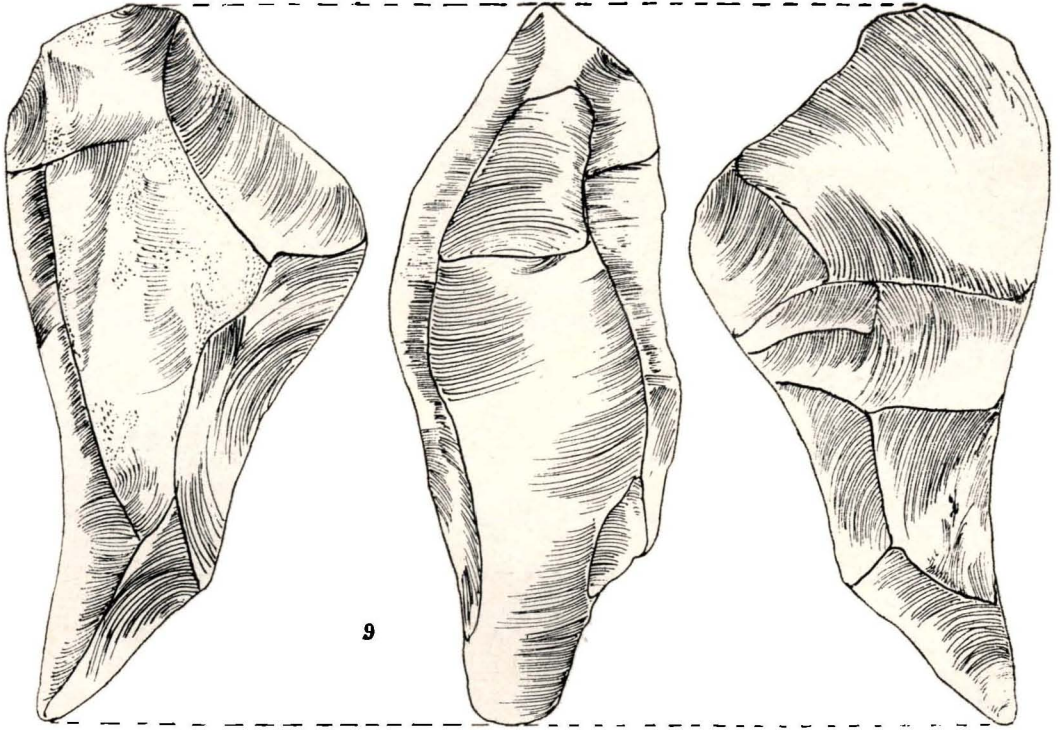


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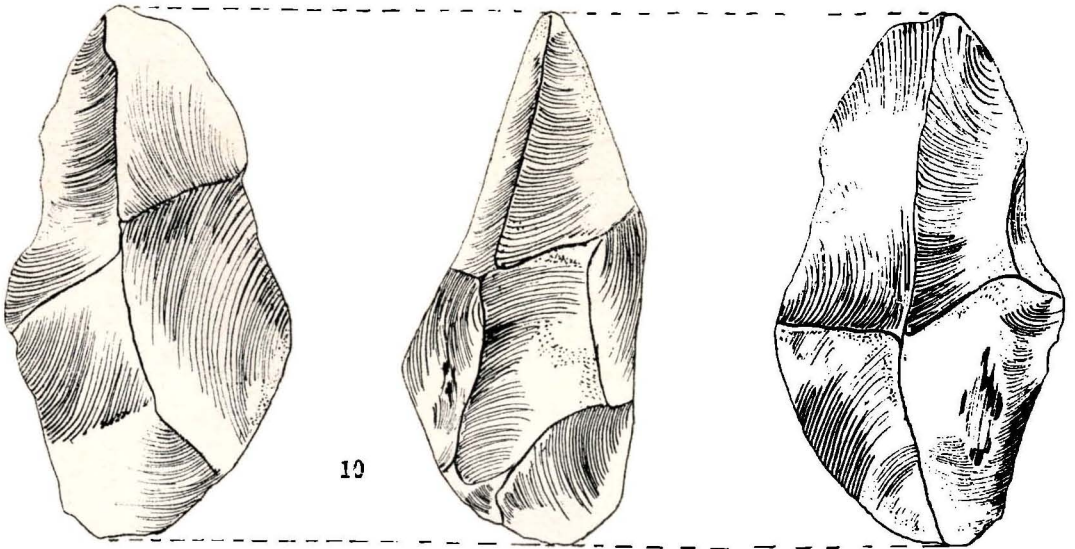


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Fig. 3.



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Fig. 4.



PLATE I. Palaeoliths from Konchigeri.
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PLATE. II. Neolithic Celts from different sites in Dharwar District.
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PLATE. III. Dolmen from Motibennur.
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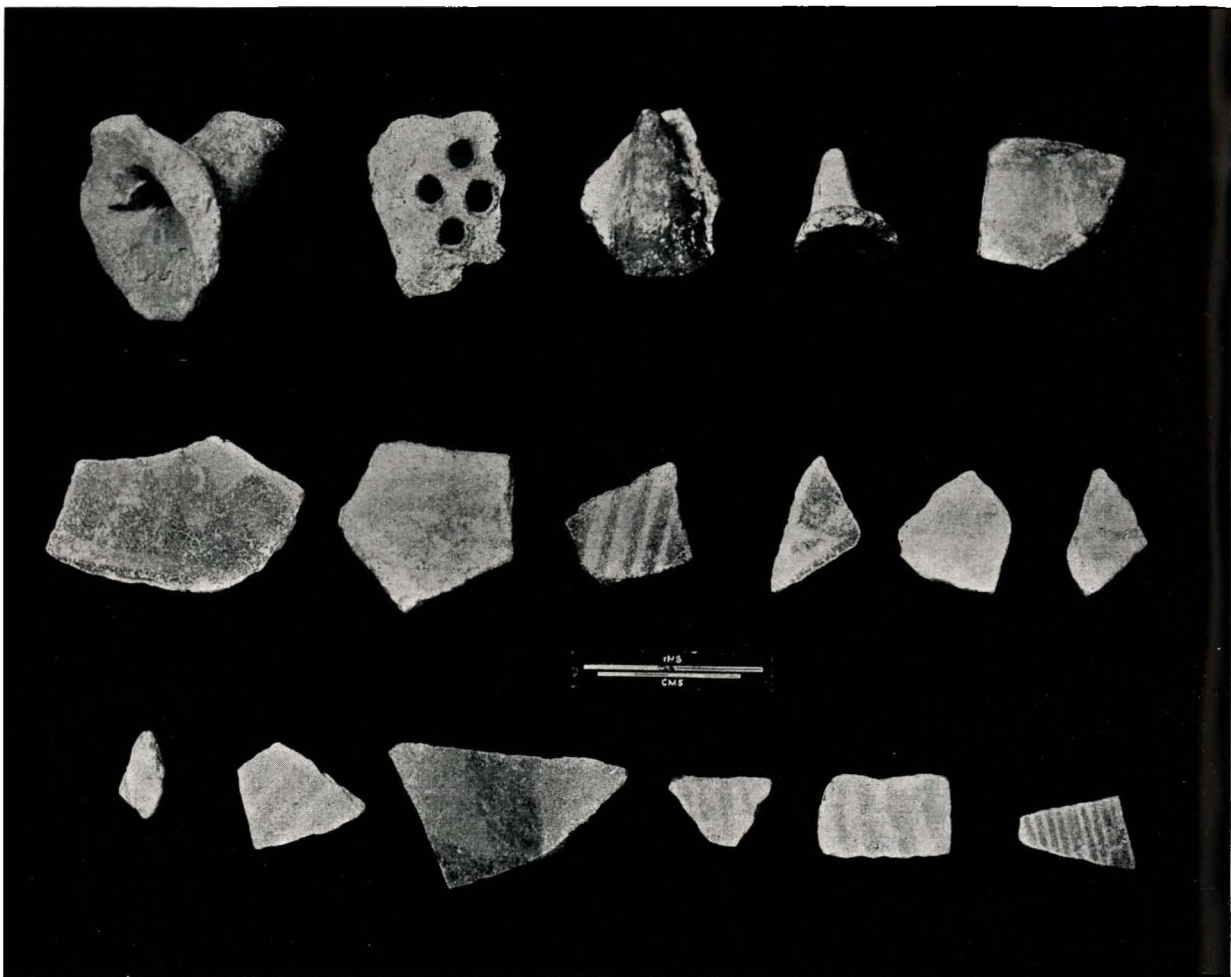


PLATE IV. *Grey Ware and Painted Pottery:*
 No. 1 { From Hallur
 2 { from Hadargeri
 4 {
 3 { from Mudenur
 5 {
 Nos. 6—17 Painted pottery from Hadargeri.
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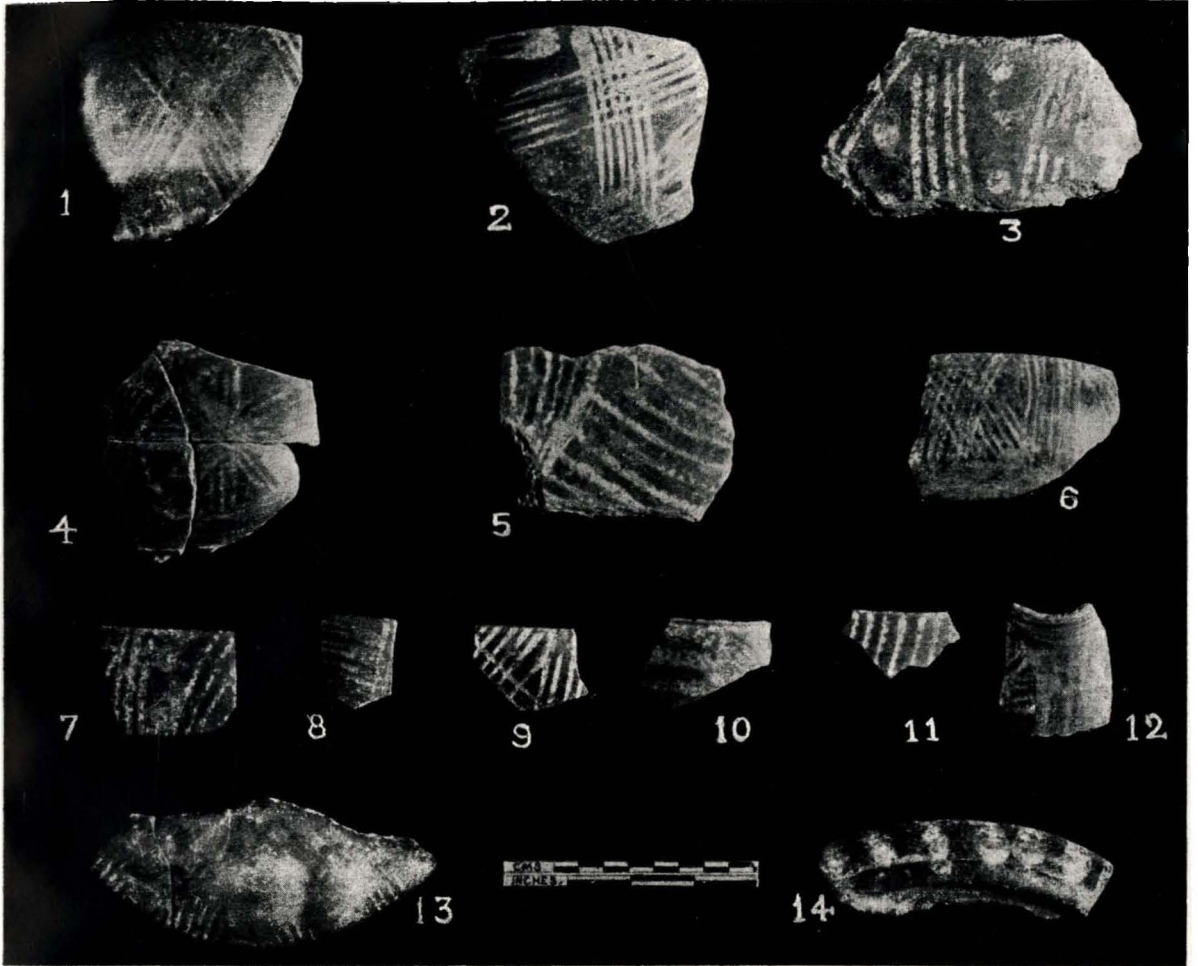


PLATE V. Russet Coated Painted Pottery from different sites in Dharwar district.
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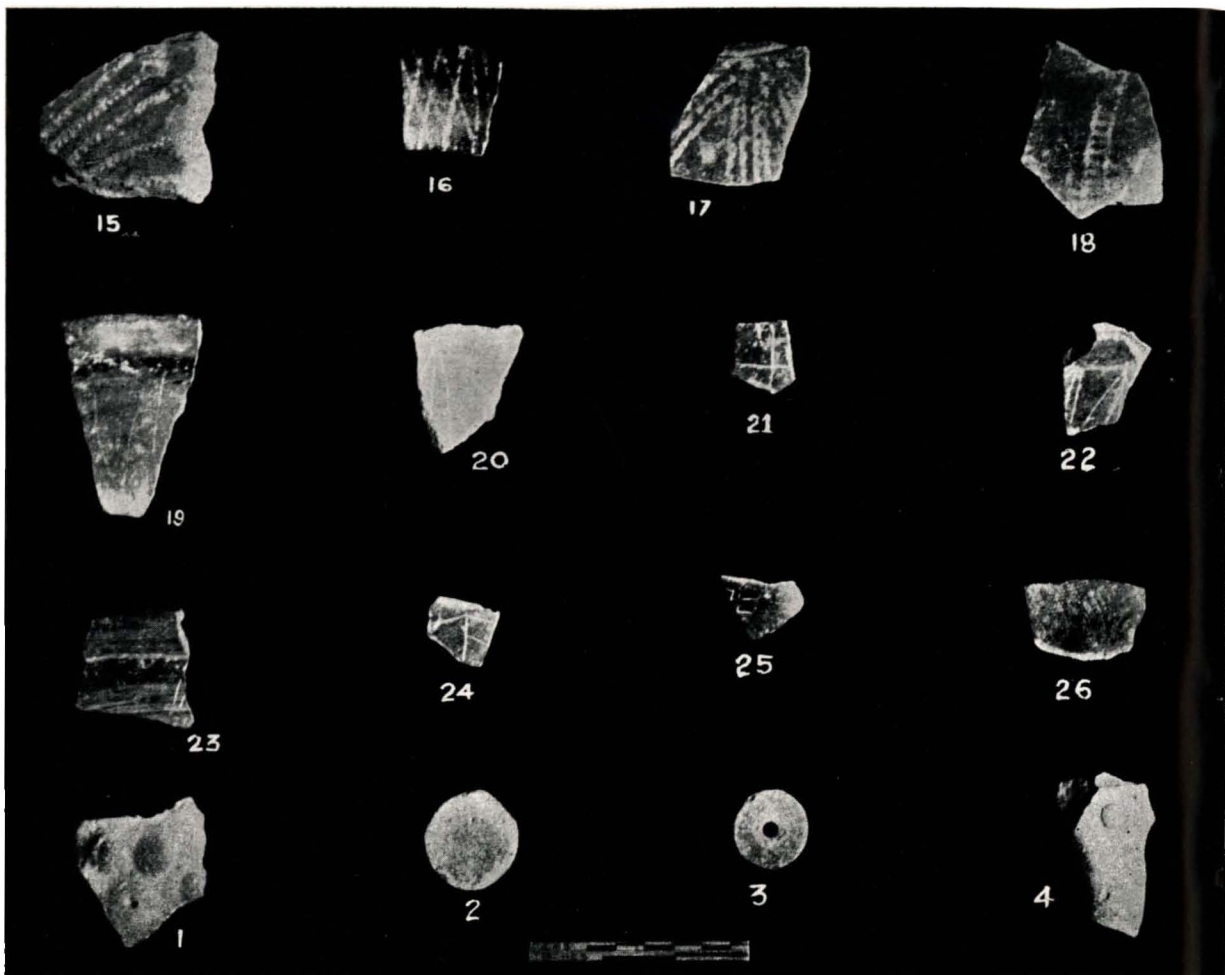


PLATE VI. Nos. 15—18 Russet Coated Painted Pottery.
 19—25 Potsherds with Graffiti Marks.
 26 Sherd with Roullet Marks.
 1—4 Terracottas.
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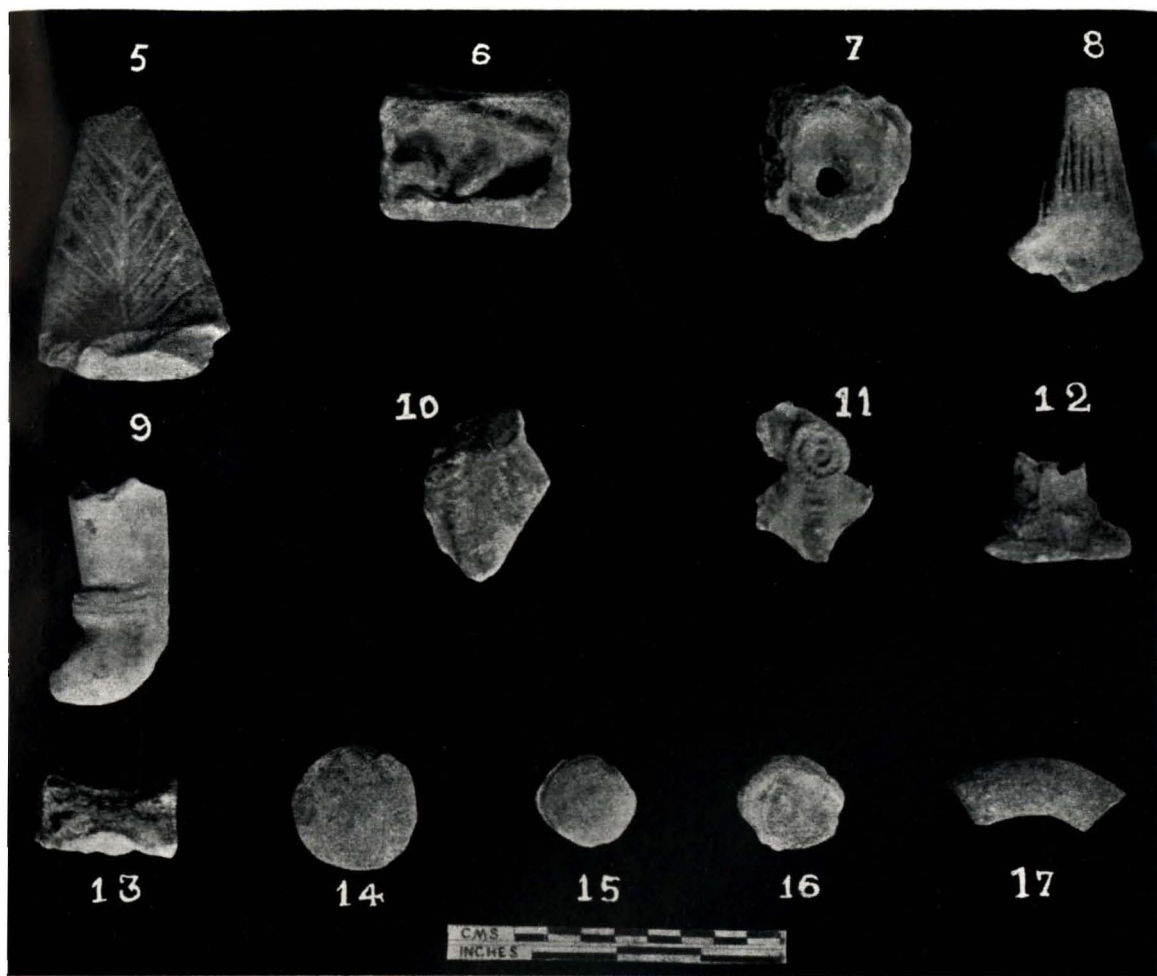


PLATE VII. Nos. 5—17 Terracottas.
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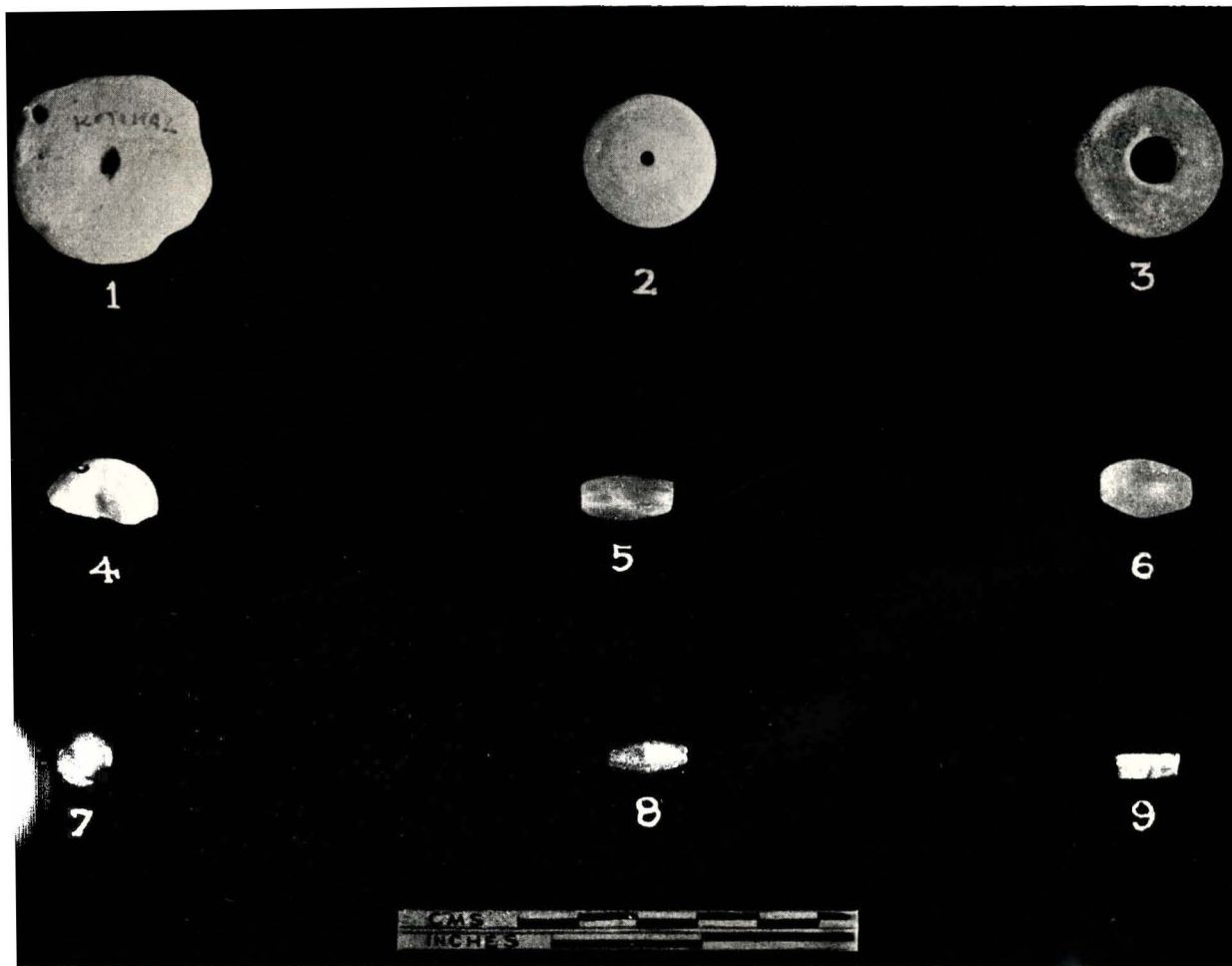


PLATE. VIII. Nos. 1—19 Beads.
(Copy Right. Archaeological Survey of India.)

SĀYAṆA UTILISING PĀṆINI IN HIS ṚG-VEDA-BHĀṢYA

(A Study of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on RV. I.1-19)

By G. V. Devasthali

PĀṆINI'S worth as a grammarian of Sanskrit has remained unchallenged for more than two thousand years in spite of the great advance made by the science of language in the recent century or two. But no serious attempt appears to have been made to utilise his work in the field of Ṛgvedic interpretation. It is only recently that scholars like Dr. Bhawe¹ have come forward to put a premium on Pāṇini's work and press its claim as an aid for Ṛgvedic interpretation and perhaps with good reasons also. It is not, however, quite easy to utilise Pāṇini's work in this field ; and for any one who tries to do it in all earnestness, there is every chance of his going astray even without his being aware of it. The difficulties that one is quite sure to confront in this connection, I have discussed in some details elsewhere.² In the present article it is intended to throw further light on those difficulties and pitfalls by a perusal of the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya on the first nineteen hymns of the Ṛgveda.

There can be no doubt about Sāyaṇa's erudition in general and in the science of grammar as propounded by Pāṇini in particular. Though later on he has avoided giving grammatical explanations and application of Pāṇini's rules to establish the forms and the accent of the expressions under consideration, it may be noted that he is rather highly profuse in this respect in the beginning. Almost every word in the hymns he has explained as regards formation as well as accentuation, quoting copiously Pāṇini's rules and at times also pointing out why some other rule or rules do not (cannot) apply in those particular cases.³ This phenomenon should leave no doubt that Sāyaṇa is explaining the RV. hymns mainly on the strength of Pāṇini's grammar. A close perusal of Sāyaṇa's commentary is, therefore, sure to reveal to us the strong as well as the weak points of Pāṇini's work as an aid to Ṛgvedic interpretation. And this is exactly what we expect to arrive at by a study of the first *adhyaḃya* of the first *aṣṭaka* of the RV. comprising the first nineteen hymns thereof. It may be worthwhile to continue this study further also and go through the whole of the Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya from this point of view. But a sample study like the present one may be found to be sufficient to reveal a general tendency which could further be confirmed (or disputed if possible) with a further study, supplying a greater mass of relevant details.

Even a casual reader of the Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya (on RV.) cannot fail to notice that in several places he has explained words (i.e. their formation and also accentuation) in more ways than one, quoting alternative sets of

Pāṇini's rules in his support. Take, for example, the expression *vakṣati* (1.3). On this expression Sāyaṇa remarks that it may be the same as *vakṣyati* (with its Y irregularly dropped), a *lṛṭ* form in the sense of the *leṭ*. Apparently not quite satisfied with this explanation, he offers another one, saying that it may be only a *leṭ* form. Similarly he has two explanations to offer for the expression *pāvakā* (3.10) viz. (i) *pūvam kāyati iti*; and (ii) from the rt. *pū* with the addition of *ṛvul* (i.e. *aka*), *punāti iti*. The expression *śacā* (5.2) similarly he takes once as an instr. sing; or in the alternative merely as a *nipāta* (i.e. an irregular formation). *Risatah* (12.5), he declares, may be a form of the rt. *riś* (the cerebralisation of ś into ṣ being irregular); or of the rt. *riṣ* of the first conjugation (absence of *guṇa* being irregular or *chāndasa* as he puts it). A similar phenomenon we notice as regards the expression *pūramdhi* (5.3); for once he derives it as a compound of the *prṣodarūdi gaṇa* (formed from *puru* and *dhī*); but again alternatively he explains it as '*puram dhīyate asyām iti*'. Similarly the expression *Yūjam* (7.5) he proposes to derive from '*Yuja samādhanu*' or from '*Yujir yoge*'.

More interesting, however, than all these expressions discussed so far is the expression *ukthya* (17.5) on which Sāyaṇa has quite a long discussion.⁴ First he proposes to apply the *sūtra* '*bhave chandasi*' and derive the expression from *uktha* by the addition of *yat*. Here he foresees the difficulty viz. such formation in *yat* must be *barytone* according to the *sūtra* '*Yato nāvā & c.*' and invokes the aid of the rule '*Sarve vidhayaś chandasi vaihalpikāḥ*' and tries to show why *ukthya* is *not barytone* though it is a *yat* formation. He is not, however, quite satisfied with all this and holds a further discussion where he tries to point out that the *sūtra* '*Yato nāvā etc.*' applies where a word is naturally disyllabic (*dvuyac*) and not after or by virtue of *lopa* (syncope) of one or more of its original syllables. When a word or expression becomes disyllabic by virtue of *lopa* the *sūtra* to apply is '*tī svaritam*'. It is, however, interesting to note that even after this discussion and suggestion of the scope of the different *sūtras*, Sāyaṇa has to declare that expressions like *īrthya* &c. will have to be admitted as being irregular or *chāndasa* according to one view, while according to the other similar admission will have to be made as regards expressions like *ukthya* and *sūrya*. This clearly shows that even an adept like Sāyaṇācārya has to admit that all words and expressions in RV can't be regularly explained as regards formations and accentuation merely on the basis of the rules laid down by Pāṇini. Some irregularity somewhere has got to be admitted, howsoever occasionally it may be.

A similar interesting discussion⁵ occurs about the expression *draviṇodāḥ* (15.7) for which also he has offered two possible explanations, pointing out at the same time that in the one, the *āgama* of *s* has to be admitted as being irregular; while the accent (*ādyudātta*) would be so in the other. The expression *sacā* has been already noted. If it is taken to be

instr. sing. the accent will be irregular, while to admit it as *nīpāta* is nothing short of admitting irregularity. The same is the case with *dīvedīve* (1.3), commenting on which he remarks that *dīve* is loc. sing. of *dīv* (with the *i* of the locative changed to *e* according to the *sūtra* 'supūm suluk &c.' and further that the *pratyaya* is accented either by the *sūtra* 'sāvekācas tṛtīyādi &c.' or by 'ūḍidampadā &c.' Here also one wonders why Sāyaṇa has had recourse to two *sūtras* and has avoided being definite.

Let us now take another expression *susṭutūh* (7.7) on which he has an equally interesting discussion⁶ and two alternative explanations to offer. First he takes it as *karmadhāraya* compound and explains the accent on the strength of the *sūtra* 'manktin &c.'. Then he proposes to understand it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound and explains the accent on the strength of the *sūtra* 'nañsubhyām &c.'. Not satisfied even with this alternative he further proposes to take the expression *stuti* (in *susṭutū*) to signify *karaṇabhūtāh rcah*, and explain the accent by the *sūtra* 'kticktau ca samjñāyām'. Without going deeper into the question of correctness or otherwise of these explanations here, we shall only observe that no definite (i.e. grammatically accurate and convincing) explanation could in this case suggest itself to Sāyaṇācārya in spite of his being deeply saturated in (or perhaps owing to it) Pāṇinian grammar. For if such an explanation was available, where was the need to offer as many as three alternative explanations? A similar phenomenon⁷ is noticeable in the case of the expression *matīm* (6.6) for which also he has two alternative explanations. First he proposes to understand the word *matī* as a *samjñā* (*viśeṣyānupādānāt*) and apply the *sūtra* 'kticktau ca samjñāyām'. Then alternatively he would take the expression only metaphorically as standing for the *jñātā* (i.e. *Indra*). But it is too evident that in both these cases the explanation is only forced and artificial, rather than natural.

Sāyaṇa's references to the several *gaṇas* in justification of the formation or accentuation of several expressions also reveal a similar phenomenon. Thus, for example, the expression *utā* (1.2) is declared by him to belong to *svarādi gaṇa* or alternatively to *evādigāṇa*. But actually it belongs to neither, as a reference to the *gaṇapāṭha* would show it. Nor is *svarādi* an *ākṛtigāṇa*; while *evādigāṇa* is referred to in the *phīṣūtras* (4.82) only, and even there is not shown to include the expression *utā*. In several places Sāyaṇa has invoked the authority of *vṛṣādigāṇa* to justify the *ādyudātta* of expressions like *vāja*, *vānī*, *kāvāla*, *vāreṇya*, *kāmam*. In justifying the accent of the expression *aṅgā* (1.6) he remarks that though it is a *nīpāta* it is not *ādyudātta* because it belongs to *abhyādi* class (*abhyādītīvāt*). As a matter of fact, however, the relevant *phīṣūtra* notes only *abhī* (and not *abhyādi*) as exception to the general rule about *nīpātas* and *upasargas*.⁸ Similar is the case with the expression *doṣāvastah* which, he remarks, is to be included in the *kārtakaujaṇādi gaṇa* (which is an *ākṛtigāṇa*). Elsewhere,⁹ however, he has a different

explanation to offer. It may thus be seen that Sāyaṇa has not always been able to give a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of several expressions both as regards formation and accentuation, and has been constrained to make statements which can't be said to be always above all dispute or difference of opinion.

We may now turn to cases where Sāyaṇa has resorted to the idea of *vyatyaya* of *varṇa*, *vibhakti*, *kāla* or *artha*. Thus at RV. 2.1 we have the expression *āramḥṛtūh* where Sāyaṇa remarks that *r* here is irregularly substituted for *l*; while commenting on *sāmmiśla* (7.2) he declares the substitution just the other way round. Even more bold perhaps is the statement that in the expression *vindhe* (7.7) the *dhakūra* stands for *dakūra*. The same may be said about the statement regarding the expression *sādmamakhasam* (18.9) where he declares the *khakūra* to stand for *hakūra*. Nor are cases of *vibhaktivyatyaya* wanting. Thus at RV. 7.1 on the expression *vānīh* he remarks that it is *prathamā* in the sense of *trīyā*. Similarly he often notes *vyatyaya* of tenses and moods (*lakāras*) with remarks like '*loḍarthe lṛ*' and so on.

More interesting it is to see how he declares the accentuation to be irregular when it runs counter to the explanation of the formation of an expression offered by him. Thus the expression *yāsas* is ordinarily barytone. But at RV. 1.3 the expression is oxytone. Sāyaṇa explains it there as a *taddhita* formation in *ac* from the barytone *yāsas*. But in that case the expression being a *cit* (*taddhita*) ought to be oxytone according to the *sūtra* '*citah*' and have the accent on *sá* instead of *śá* as we actually have it. This difficulty Sāyaṇa throws overboard on the basis of *vyatyaya* remarking '*citsvaram vyatyayena bādhitvā madhyodāttatvam*'. But a study of relevant passages shows that RV. has no such expression as *yāsása* (ending in the vowel *a*, as Sāyaṇa would have it). On the contrary we have two words identically spelt '*yāsas*' with only the difference of accent, one being *barytone*, the other *oxytone*. In fact in RV. there are several expressions¹⁰ like this, identical in spelling but differing in their accent, and also signification.

Let us now turn to yet another expression, *sōmapīti* which has occurred several times in the hymns we have proposed to study for this article. At RV. 8.10 he explains it as a *kr̥duttara pada* compound having the *bahuvrīhi* accent irregularly; at 14.1 and 14.6 he takes it to be a regular *vyadhikarāṇa bahuvrīhi* compound with, of course, its regular accent; while at 16.8 he takes it as a *tatpuruṣa* compound and invokes the aid of the *dāsibhārūdi gaṇa* to justify the accent. This variety of explanations is, I think, enough to demonstrate the difficulty and the element of uncertainty in the application of Pāṇini's rules to words and expressions in the Ṛg-Veda. Another striking illustration in this respect is supplied by the compounds with *ṽśva* as their first member. One of Pāṇini's *sūtras* runs: '*Bahuvrīhau ṽśvam samjñāyām*', according to which the expression *ṽśva* as the first member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound shall become

oxytone. Now this in its turn would suggest that a compound with *viśva* as its first member accented on *śva* shall not be a *bahuvrīhi*; or conversely a compound, that is not *bahuvrīhi* but has *viśva* as its first member, shall have the accent on *vi* (and not on *śva*). But a study of the compounds with *viśva* as the first member occurring in RV. shows that they are generally very often accented on *śva* and yet (even according to Sāyaṇa) they are not all of them *bahuvrīhi* compounds as required by the *sūtra* noted above. Again the real difficulty here is regarding the exact signification of the term *saṃjñā* in that *sūtra*; and it is doubtful whether it is applicable to each and every case where the *sūtra* has been quoted by Sāyaṇa in justification of the existing accent.¹¹

Stomavāhasaḥ (5.1) may serve as another illustration; for Sāyaṇa explains it as a *kr̥duttarapada* compound and justifies the accent on the basis of an *uṇādi sūtra* viz. '*gaticārayorapi pūrvapada prakṛtisvaratvaṃ ca*'. This evidently runs counter to Pāṇini's dicta. Similarly at RV. 1.5 in justification of the accent of the expression *satyá* he has invoked the authority of such a comparatively late author as Haradatta. His explanation of the expressions *purūtámanā*¹² (5.2), *uśádbhiḥ* (6.3), *úttara*¹³ (7.7), and *itáh*¹⁴ (6.10) can be declared to be open to similar doubts. Again as for the expression *nahí* he has to offer two explanations. Once he takes it as a compound (having the *samāsasvara*, oxytone); but at RV. 19.2 he has tried to justify the accent by declaring it to belong to *evādi gaṇa* thus exposing, one may say, the weakness of both the explanations. Similarly on *isānaḥ* at RV. 7.8 he remarks '*cit iti bādhītā dhātusvara eva śiṣyate*'; but at RV. 11.8 he justifies the accent by remarking '*tāsy-anudātlet & c. iti sānaco nudātītatvam*'. In all such cases of alternative explanations it is evident that even Sāyaṇa has found it difficult (nay impossible) to offer definite and exact explanation on the strength of Pāṇini's rules. As the last illustration of this fact we may refer to the explanations of the expression *somānam* offered by Sāyaṇa at RV. 18.1. Once he takes it to be a derivation from the rt. *su* with the addition of *manin* declaring further that in spite of its *nittva* it is not barytone, but has the *pratyaya* accent. This evidently is too high-handed; and even Sāyaṇa himself seems to have been conscious of this fact, as is shown by the circumstance that he offers another explanation, saying that the expression *somān* may be sought for in *uñchādi gaṇa*. But this *uñchādi gaṇa* is neither an *ākṛti gaṇa* nor does it actually contain this expression. Sāyaṇa is aware of this weakness also; and has, therefore, a third suggestion to make, in the words '*auṇādiko vā manir draṣṭavyaḥ*'. Several such illustrations can be cited from Sāyaṇa's RV. Bhāṣya even from the few hymns to which this article is proposed to be restricted. But the number of illustrations given here is, I believe, enough to clarify and bear out the conclusions we are going to arrive at.

We shall now turn to cases where Sāyaṇa has cited (or referred to) the *sūtras* '*cavāyoge prathamā*' and '*cādiloṇe vibhāṣā*'. Thus commenting

on *īmahe* (6.10) he remarks that *īmahe* here is the *prathamā tiñ vibhakti* (i.e. the first finite verb) in view of the second one which we shall get on the strength of *adhyāhāra*,¹⁵ which is necessary for the completion of the sentence. But at RV. 10.4 the verb *vardhaya* he declares to be *dvitīyā tiñ vibhakti*; because owing to the employment of two *cakūras* it has to be supplied in the previous clauses on the basis of *anuṣaṅga*.¹⁶ What is to be observed here is that Sāyaṇa has tried to apply these *sūtras* not only to cases where two *tiñ vibhaktis* are actually employed, but even to those where only one *tiñ vibhakti* is actually employed and the other has to be supplied on the basis either of *anuṣaṅga* or of *adhyāhāra*. (It will be interesting to see if this holds good in all similar cases).

Similarly interesting are Sāyaṇa's discussions concerning the accentuation of *āmantrita vibhakti*. The first discussion that he holds in this matter occurs at RV. 2.8 where he has laid down several general principles about the accentuation of the vocative (of course, in consonance with Pāṇini's *sūtras*). Thus as a general rule vocative is enclitic. But when it is not *padāt para* (i.e. when it stands at the beginning of a *pāda* or a sentence) it is accented; and the accent is always on the first syllable. When two or more expressions in the vocative are capable of *parasparānvaya* the former is to be considered as being *parāṅga* (i.e. forming one word with the second); but in the absence of such *sāmānrya* for *parasparānvaya* such *parāṅgavadbhāva* is not admissible.¹⁷ On this principle the vocatives *Mitrāvaruṇā*, *ṛtāvrdhā* and *ṛtasprśū* are considered as forming one whole; and hence are all of them enclitic. Another point is made clear by Sāyaṇa at RV. 3.1 where we get *dravat-pānī śubhaspatī*, the two vocatives, which are not amenable to *parāṅgavadbhāva*, though the expression *śubhaḥ* (in the genitive) is so amenable, with the result that it is considered as forming one *pada* with the following word *patī* so far as accentuation is concerned.¹⁸ In this connection Sāyaṇa makes it quite clear that the principle of *parāṅgavadbhāva* applies only when the expressions concerned are related to one another by *sāmānyavibhāva*. If, however, this relation does not exist i.e. if both the expressions are only *sāmānya* or only *viśeṣa* the principle will have no scope. This is expressly stated by Sāyaṇa at RV. 3.2 in connection with *aśvinā purudāmsasā*¹⁹ (which both are *sāmānyavacana* only). *Hotāḥ pāvaka* (13.1) and *dīdyagnī śucivratā* (15.11) are further illustrations of the same principle. In this connection it must be observed that Sāyaṇa appears to have ably discussed this question and tried to arrive at some general principles which have to be further scrutinised and confirmed and enhanced.

Lastly we may merely refer to expressions like *ēhimāyāsah*²² (3.9), *sūnṛtānām*²⁰ (3.11), and *ṛghāyāmāṇaḥ*²¹ (10.8) for all of which Sāyaṇa has exercised his ingenuity and found explanations that can easily be seen to be more fanciful and far-fetched than regular and acceptable.

We may now bring this article to a close by stating in brief our findings about Sāyaṇācārya as a commentator utilising Pāṇini's rules for interpreting the Ṛg-Veda :

(1) Sāyaṇa has often offered two or even three alternative explanations as regards the formation or the accentuation of the words quoting different sets of *sūtras* in justification of all of them. (2) He has resorted to the principle of *vyatyaya* in all its varieties in several cases. (3) He has often invoked the authority of the *gaṇas*, but not with justice in all cases. (4) He has offered explanations of expressions like *ēhimāyāsaḥ* which can't be anything but fanciful. (5) Sometimes he invokes the authority of even such late authors as Haradatta. (6) In spite of all his ingenuity he is at times compelled to admit irregularity as regards formation, accentuation, or both in several cases. (7) He has, however, very ably discussed the question of the accentuation of the finite verb and also of the vocative in several places deducing some general principles that certainly deserve a careful consideration.

1. *The Soma-Hymns of the Ṛgveda, a fresh interpretation*, parts I, II and III, M. S. University of Baroda, Research Series—3, 5 and 6.
2. *Pāṇini and RV. Interpretation* contributed to Prof. H. D. Velankar Volume (to be published shortly).
3. See सायण's commentary on तुविजातौ उरुक्षया (I.2.9); निष्कृतम् (I.2.6); त्वादातम् (I.10.7); सुसमिद्धः (I.13.1); सुपेशसा (I.13.7); गार्हपत्येन (I.15.12); नाकस्य (I.19.6);
4. Read : उक्थ्यः । उक्थं शस्त्रम् । तेन स्तुत्यत्वेन तत्र भवः उक्थ्यः । 'भवे छन्दसि' (पा. सू. ४-४-११०) इति यत् । 'यस्य' इति लोपः । अत्र 'तित्स्वरितम्' इत्येतद् बाधित्वा 'तीर्थ्याय कूप्याय' इत्यादिवत् ष्वच्चात् 'यतो ऽ नावः' इति प्राप्तमाद्युदात्तत्वं 'सर्वे विधयश्छन्दसि विकल्प्यन्ते' (परिभा. ३५) इति न क्रियते । ननु 'यस्य' इति लोपात् प्रागेव तित्स्वरितत्वमस्तु । न हि तदा 'यतो ऽ नावः' इत्येतदस्ति, ष्वच्चाभावात् । अत एव हि 'ऊर्म्याय च सूर्म्याय च' इत्यादी स्वरितत्वं दृश्यते । न च परत्वान्नित्यत्वाच्च 'यस्य' इति लोपेन प्रथमतो भाव्यमिति वाच्यम् । प्रकृतिप्रत्ययाश्रयात् वहिरङ्गात् । 'यस्य' इति लोपात् प्रत्ययमात्राश्रयतया अन्तरङ्गत्वेन 'तित्स्वरितम्' इत्यस्यैव प्राबल्यात् । अतः 'ऊर्म्याय' इत्यादिवत् 'उक्थ्य' इत्यत्रापि लक्षणत एव स्वरितत्वं भविष्यतीति किं छान्दस्येन । यत्र हि लोपमन्तरेण ष्वच्चं तत्र 'यतो ऽ नावः' इत्येतद् भवति । यथा 'चेयं' 'येयम्' इति । लोपनिबन्धन ष्वच्चप्रदेशेषु तु स्वरितेनैव भवितव्यम् । इति । एवं तर्हि 'तीर्थ्याय कूप्याय' इत्यादी यदाद्युदात्तत्वं तदेव छान्दसमस्तु । अथात्र तु 'वर्णादाङ्गं बलीयः' (परिभा. ५५) इत्यन्तरङ्गत्वेऽपि स्वरितत्वं बाधित्वा लोप एव भविष्यति । तर्हि 'उक्थ्यः, ऊर्म्याय सूर्म्याय' इत्यादी च छान्दस्य मस्तु । सर्वथैकत्र छान्दस्यान्न मुच्यते ।
5. Read : अतो द्रविणोदःशब्दो भिन्नवाक्यत्वे स्वार्थे प्रथमा । एकवाक्यत्वपक्षे तु व्यत्ययेन द्वितीयाथो भवति । द्रविणसः इत्यत्रापि वाक्यभेदपक्षे द्रविणसः सोमस्य इत्यथ सकारोपजनश्छान्दसः । आद्युदात्तत्वं तु नियमेन स्थितम् । ऋत्विग्विशेषणत्वेन एकवाक्यत्वपक्षे तु क्यजन्तात् क्विप् । अतो लोपादि पूर्ववत् । अत्र तु पक्षे क्यचः चित्त्वेन अन्तोदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते व्यत्ययेनाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।

6. After a lengthy discussion we read : अत इह प्रत्ययार्थमात्रसम्बन्धपरत्वा-
ङ्गीकारेण स्वरः सिध्यतु षत्वं तु च्छान्दसमस्तु । शोभना स्तुतिर्यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिवर्वा
भवतु । एवं च 'नञ्सुभ्याम्' इत्यन्तोदात्तं भविष्यति । अथवा सुष्ठु स्तुवन्तीति
सुष्ठुतयः इति करणभूता ऋचः स्तुतिशब्देनोच्यन्ते । 'क्तिच् क्तौ च संज्ञायाम्'
(पा. सू. ३-३-१७४) इति क्तिच्प्रत्यये सति चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तता भविष्यति । न च
करणीभूतानामृचां कर्तृप्रत्ययेन क्तिच् कथमभिधानमिति वाच्यम् । काष्ठानि
पचन्तीतिवत् तामामपि स्वव्यापारप्राधान्यविवक्षया करणत्वोपपत्तेरिति ।
7. Read : मतिम् । 'मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमन' (पा. सू. ३-३-९६) इत्यादिना क्तिच्
उदात्तः । मतिशब्दो ज्ञानपरो ऽपि उपचारात् ज्ञातरि इन्द्रे वर्तते । अथवा पदान्तरे
विशेष्यानुपादानात् इन्द्रस्यैषा संज्ञा । ततश्च 'क्तिच्क्ती च संज्ञायाम्' इति मन्यतेः
कर्तरि क्तिच् । तस्य उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तत्वात् इट्प्रतिषेधः । चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तत्वम् ।
8. cf. निपाता आद्युदात्ताः । उपसर्गाश्चाभिवर्जम् । फिट्. ४. ८०-८१.
9. At RV. 7.15.15 सा. explains this expression as रात्रेराच्छादयितः तमसो
वारयितः (i.e. as a vocative) ; at 1.4.7 and 4.4.9 he takes it as a
द्वन्द्वसमास to mean 'रात्रावहनि च' (कार्तिकौजपादित्वात् आद्युदात्तः) ; but at
4.4.9 alternatively he would take it as vocative also.
10. e.g. : अपस् (= Work), अपस् (=active) ; अवस् (=help, satisfaction),
अवस् (prep. or adv.) ; परः (pron.), पुरः (prep. or adv.) ; ब्रम्हन् (neut.,
chant, hymn), ब्रम्हन् (masc., priest).
11. Two such compounds occur in the first nineteen hymns that we are
here studying : (1) विश्ववेदसम् (1.12.1) which सायण paraphrases by
'सर्वधनोपेतम्' ; and (2) विश्वरूपम् (13.10) which he paraphrases by
'बहुविधरूपोपेतम्'. In both these cases सायण justifies the accent on
the strength of 'बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्' (पा. सू. ६-२-१०६). It is,
however, difficult to see what is संज्ञा here for विश्व in both the
compounds is evidently an adjective (even according to सायण) ;
while the compounds themselves being ब. व्रीहि can't be संज्ञा ; they
are clearly adjectives (of होतारम् and त्वष्टारम् respectively).
12. Read : पुरुस्तमम् । 'तम् ग्लाने' इति घातोरन्तर्भावितव्यर्थात् पचाद्यचि चित्त्वा-
दन्तोदात्ते ऽपि ऋदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरं बाधित्वा 'परादिशब्दसि बहुलम्' इत्युत्तर
पदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।
13. Read : उत्तरे । उत्कृष्टस्तरो यस्येति बहुव्रीहिः । पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।
14. Read : इतः । इदंशब्दात् पंचम्यास्तसिल् । 'इदम इश्' इति इश् । शित्वात्
सर्वादिशः । अत्र 'ऊडिदम्' इत्यस्यावकाशः आभ्याम् एभिः । 'लिति' इत्यस्यावकाशः
पचनं पाचकः । उभावपि नित्यौ । तत्र परत्वात् 'विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्' इति 'लिति'
इति इकारस्य उदात्तत्वम् । पश्चात्तसेः 'प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः' इति विभक्तिसंज्ञकत्वात्
'ऊडिदम्' इत्यादिना असर्वनामस्थानविभक्तेरुच्यमानमुदात्तत्वं भवति । etc.
15. Read : न च तिङ्ङितिङ्ङः इति निधातः । 'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति निषेधात् ।
उत्तरवाक्ययोरपि वाशब्दयोगात् अन्यथा वाक्यापरिपूर्तेः तिङ्ङविभक्तेः अवश्य-
मध्याहारात् तदपेक्षया एषा प्रथमा तिङ्ङविभक्तिरिति ।
16. Read : चकारद्वयश्रवणात् इयमेव तिङ्ङविभक्तिः पूर्ववाक्येष्वनुषज्यते । अतो ऽ-
नुषक्तैव प्रथमा न श्रुता इति श्रुतायाः 'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति निषातनिषेधो न
भवति ।

17. Read : मित्रावरुणावित्याद्यामन्त्रितत्रयस्य स्वस्वपूर्वपदात् परत्वात् 'आमन्त्रितस्य' इत्याष्टमिको निघातः । ननु ऋतेन इत्येतस्य 'सुवामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत् स्वरे' इति पराङ्गवद्भावेन आमन्त्रितानुप्रवेशात् पादात्तत्वेन पदादपरत्वेन वा आष्टमिक-निघाताभावात् 'आमन्त्रितस्य च' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वेन भवितव्यमिति चेत् । न । पराङ्गवद्भावस्य सुवामन्त्रिताश्रयत्वेन पदविधित्वात् 'समर्थः पदविधिः' इति नियमात् । इह च ऋतेन मित्रावरुणौ इत्यनयोः आशाथे इति आख्यातेनैवान्वयेन परस्परम-सामर्थ्यात् । यत्र पुनः परस्परान्वयेन सामर्थ्यं तत्र पराङ्गवद्भावात् पादादेः आद्यु-दात्तत्वं भवत्येव । । अतः 'नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्य-वचनम्' इति पूर्वस्याविद्यमानवद्भावप्रतिषेधादपि निरन्तरायो द्वितीयस्य निघातः : (सायण on RV. I.2.8).
18. Read : शुभः इति षष्ठ्येकवचनम् । । तस्य पती इत्यामन्त्रिते परतः पराङ्गवद्भावात् आमन्त्रिताद्युदात्तत्वम् । न पुनराष्टमिको निघातः । तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये द्रवत्पाणी इति पूर्वस्यामन्त्रितस्य 'आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्' इत्यविद्यमानवद्भावेन पादादित्वात् 'अपादादौ' इति प्रतिषेधात् । ननु 'मित्रावरुणा-वृतावृधौ' इतिवत् 'नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे' इत्यविद्यमानवद्भावप्रतिषेधेन भवि-तव्यमिति चेत् । न । मित्रावरुणपदं हि सामान्यवचनमिति युक्तस्तस्याविद्यमान-वत्त्वप्रतिषेधः । द्रवत्पाणीपदं तु न तथेति वैषम्यात् । (सायण on R.V. I.3.1.).
19. Read : अश्विना इत्याद्यामन्त्रितचतुष्टयस्य षाष्ठिकमामन्त्रिताद्युदात्तत्वम् । पादादि-त्वान्नाष्टमिको निघातः । पुरुदंससा इत्यपि हि पादादिरेव 'आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्य मानवत्' इति पूर्वस्याविद्यमानवत्त्वात् । 'नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे' इति पूर्वस्य सामान्यवचनत्वेन अस्य विशेषवचनत्वेन नाविद्यमानवत्वमिति चेत् । न । अश्वि-शब्दवत् पुरुदंससःशब्दस्यापि अश्विनोरेव रूढ्या प्रयुज्यमानतया सामान्यशब्दत्वात् । सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवदित्युक्ते ऽ र्थात् परस्य विशेषवचनत्वावगमात् । । अश्विपुरुदंसःशब्दयोरेकार्थवृत्तित्वे ऽ पि पर्यायत्वादेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदाभावेन अ-सामानाधिकरण्यादपि नाविद्यमानवत्त्वप्रतिषेधः । भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानामेव ह्येक-स्मिन्नर्थे वृत्तिः सामानाधिकरण्यम् । । व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तभेदमात्रेणापि सामा-नाधिकरण्याभिधाने वृक्षमहीरुशब्दयोरपि तथात्वप्रसङ्गः । (सायण on RV. I.3.2).
20. Read : सूनृतानाम् । 'ऊन परिहाणे' इत्यतः 'क्विप् च' इति क्विपि सुतरामूनयति अप्रियम् इति सूनृ इति प्रियमुच्यते । तच्च तदृतं सत्यं चेति सूनृतम् । 'परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्' इत्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।
21. Read : नृन् हन्तीति ऋघा । 'अन्येभ्यो ऽपि दृश्यंते' इति विच् । दृशिग्रहणस्य विध्यन्त-रोपसंग्रहणार्थत्वात् नकारलोपो हकारस्य च घकारः । अनुघा ऋघा भवतीति अभूत-तद्भावे 'लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष्' इति क्यष्प्रत्ययो भवति । स ह्याकृतिगणः । 'लोपश्च हलः' इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नकारलोपश्च । 'वा क्यषः' इत्यात्मनेपदम् । लटःशानच् । शपो ऽ द्युपदेशात् परात् शानचो लसार्वाधातुकानुदात्तत्वम् । शपः पित्वादानुदात्तत्वम् । लडादेशस्य तसश्च लसार्वाधातुकस्वरेण धातुस्वर एव शिष्यते ।
22. Read : एहिः माया प्रज्ञा येषामिति बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अथवा । . . . । एहीत्येतत्पदयुक्तं 'मा यासीः' इत्यत्र 'माया' इत्यक्षरद्वयं येषां ते एहिमायासः । पूर्वं पदप्रकृतिस्वरः । (In the former एहि = आसमन्तात् ईहते इति from ईह चेष्टा-याम् ।; while in the latter it is Impv. 2nd sing. of आ + इ (आइ उदात्तादुत्तरस्य इहीति लोपमध्यमैकवचनस्य 'तिङ्ङितिङः इति निघातः)).

KONDĀNE *

By *Vijaya Gupchup*

THE death of Aśoka in circa 236 B.C. was followed by a lull in artistic activity in Northern India. The threads, however, were taken up again by the Sungas, under whose patronage art was carried a stage further, eventually, blossoming into the classic art of the Gupta Age. But in the Deccan and the Konkan, where the Sātavāhanas had stepped into the breach, art progressed on an even keel culminating in the artistic glory of Kondāne, Nānāghāt and Kanheri.

The Matsya Purāna enumerates the names of 30 Sātavāhana Kings who reigned for a period of 460 years.¹ Dr. K. Gopalachari whose chronological pattern is most acceptable for our purpose, assigns the end of the dynasty to A.D. 225. This would mean that the Sātavāhanas inaugurated their rule in circa 235 B.C., a date which approximately synchronises with the death of Asoka.²

Simuka (235-212 B.C.)³, the First Sātavāhana, who thus struck the death-knell of the Maurya Empire in the Deccan, continued the patronage of Buddhism, which had been accepted as the State religion since the times of Aśoka. There is a Jain tradition which credits Simuka with the construction of Jain and Buddhist temples.⁴ The same tradition would have us believe that he turned wicked during his latter days, from which it has been inferred that in the course of time the Jains were excluded from their share of the 'loaves and fishes'.

There are no Jain or Buddhist temples now left in the Deccan which can definitely be ascribed to Simuka, who according to Puranic accounts ruled for a period of 23 years. But on grounds of palaeography, the inscriptions at the Buddhist monastery at Kondāne⁵ in North Konkan can be dated later than the Sopāra edicts of Aśoka, but a little earlier than the inscription at Nāsik—Cave XIV—which belongs to the reign of Kanha (212-195 B.C.), the second Satavahana king. It is therefore highly probable that the earliest Buddhist monument (Kondāne) in the Konkan was excavated during the time of Simuka.

In the evolution of the Brahmi script in the Konkan, before its transformation into 'the later cave characters' represented by the inscriptions at Kanheri and Nāsik, it is possible to trace three distinct stages. These

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¹ Pargiter, *the Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 35-37.

² *A comprehensive history of India*, vol. II, chap. X, p. 295, Gopalachari, *The Satavahana Empire*. p.

³ *Supra* p. 301.

⁴ *Jbbras.* vol. X, p. 134.

⁵ Situated at the base of Rajmachi Hill in the Karjat Taluk about 60 miles south-east of Bombay

stages are represented respectively by (a) the characters of the Sopāra edicts ; (b) the inscriptions at the Kondāne monastery and (c) the inscription in cave XIV at Nasik.

The letters of the Kondāne inscriptions resemble their Mauryan ancestors in general appearance in that the elongated form □ of the Mauryan characters is retained in the letters of the Kondāne epigraphs. On the other hand, the characters of the Nāsik inscription with their buxomness □ seem to be the immediate predecessors of the letters found in the epigraphs of the Kshatrapas and Kuśānas, inscribed during the first two centuries of the Christian era.

True, the forms of letters ka, na, sa, a, ta, ba, la, ha, pa, ma, used at Kondāne, are similar to their counterparts in the Sopāra edicts of Aśoka. But there are at least two letters which place Kondāne later than the Aśokan period i.e. circa 3rd century B.C. the letters dha 𑀘 and va 𑀅.

In the Mauryan alphabet the letter Dha resembled the letter 'D' of the English alphabet. At Kondāne this letter is turned the other way round becoming 𑀘

The Asokan va 𑀅 comprising a circle with a vertical stroke on top is transformed at Kondāne into a triangle with a vertical stroke 𑀅 resembling the form of the letter current in the inscriptions of the later Sātavāhanas, the Kshatrapas and the Kuśānas.

As has been pointed out already, the characters in the Nāsik inscription are buxom like those of the Kshatrapa and Kuśāna epigraphs. This distinct change marks a further stage in the evolution of the Brahmi script placing the Nāsik inscription at a later period than the Kondāne and the Mauryan inscriptions.

This buxomness is the outcome of the tendency to make the left and the right sides of the letters of equal height—a fact which becomes evident when the formation of the letter 'la' in the Mauryan inscriptions is contrasted with the formation of the same letter in the Nāsik inscription. Thus the Mauryan la 𑀭 is composed of a long vertical line curved from below to the left and stopping midway. It is this difference in the height of the two sides of the letter which tends to give it an elongated shape 𑀭. On the other hand, the la of the Nāsik characters has both the sides equal : 𑀭. So much so that, if one so desired, one could enclose this letter in a square : 𑀭. This is true of most of the Nāsik letters. To mention a few—ha, pa, sa, a.


It may further be observed that at Nāsik, the letter 'ma' assumes two forms, an earlier one such as is used in the Sopāra edicts with a circular base and a later one with a linear horizontal base as was used in the Kshatrapa and Kuśāna inscriptions. The earlier form of 'ma' used in the Nāsik inscription evidently indicates an intermediate stage in the development of this letter from the Mauryan to the Kuśāna stage. Thus the Nāsik 'ma' retains the circular base of the Mauryan 'ma' but has already acquired the linear form of the Kuśāna 'ma' in the formation of the upper part :


Mauryan




Nasik


Kuśāna


Yet another point which would place the Nāsik inscription at a later date than the Maurya and Kondāne inscriptions is the different shape of the medial short I used in the inscription. Thus in the Mauryan inscriptions the medial I is a short horizontal stroke extending to the right and turning vertically at the end :—

Mauryan
 I (na)


Mauryan
 I (ni)


While at Nāsik the sign for the medial i resembles the acute accent , thus bringing it a stage closer to the curved sign for the same ligature in the Kshatrapa and Kuśāna epigraphs .

True, the Nāsik 'va' has the same form as the 'va' of the Aśokan period consisting of a circle with a short vertical line on the top. The form of this letter apart, the buxom form of the Nāsik characters, the shapes of the letters ha, ma, la, pa and the distinct development in the sign for the medial short i are points strong enough to place it in a period later than the Sopāra and Kondāne inscriptions. In fact the occurrence of the letters in juxtaposition in their earlier and later forms at Kondāne and Nāsik, actually goes to show that the Brahmi script of the Mauryan times was going through a transition represented by the epigraphs of Kondāne and Nāsik; while the Mauryan influences which are visible in the inscriptions at Kondāne and Nāsik would prove that these epigraphs were removed from each other by a very short interval.

Kondāne lies about 7 miles South-east of the Karjat railway station⁶ and is set in the heart of the forest. It is hollowed out of one of the scraps of the Western Ghats. It was first discovered by Vishnu Sastri in the mid nineteenth century, who sent a brief account of his find to Dr. Wilson.⁷

Kondāne is secluded from civilisation and yet not too far from it. It overlooks the picturesque plains below with surrounding villages. The situation is ideal, answering to the directives of the Buddhist discipline for complete retirement, so necessary for contemplation.

Kondane was a compact Monastery consisting of a pillared chaitya-hall and an adjacent vihāra affording accommodation for about 40 monks.⁸ Although it is now but a shadow of its former self, the little of it that

⁶ *IA*, vol. V, p. 309; Sinclair, *Notes on some caves in Karjat Taluka of the Thana Collectorate*; *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. XIV (Thana), p. 208.

⁷ Vishnu Sastri's account is published in Marathi with an English translation in the *JBBRAS*, vol. III, p. 46 entitled 'Memoir on the cave temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain Remains of Western India' by John Wilson.

⁸ Percy Brown in his article 'The Rock-cut Monastery at Kondane' *JISOA* vol. VII, p. 170 states that the priestly establishment numbered to about 30 members. But the size of the monastery establishment which is not too small makes it possible for us to say it could accommodate more than 30 Monks.

ruined state of the monastery is evidently due to neglect and the nature of the rock itself which belongs to the category designated as amygdaloid, which is a variety of basalt containing almond-shaped nodules of other materials. As this variety of trap is more liable to disintegrate than other massive varieties or granite,⁹ it obviously could not withstand the erosive action of the monsoon which is particularly heavy in this region. Apart from the fact that the variety of the basalt at Bhājā is more durable,¹⁰ its preservation through the ages may have been no less due to the fact that it is situated in a region where the rainfall is comparatively meagre.

The caves face north-west, first in the series being the Chaitya hall which faces south-west.¹¹ Like most early Buddhist Chaityas, the plan of the Chaitya temple at Kondāne is very similar to that of the Christian basilica.¹² It consists of a nave flanked by two aisles. There is a colonnade of 30 pillars¹³ terminating in a semi-circular apse which contains the Stupa. The dimensions of the Chaitya are none too large being not more than 66½ ft. long, 26 ft. 8 inches wide and 28 ft. 5 inches high to the crown of the arch¹⁴ while the nave is 49 ft. long and 14 ft. 7 in wide.

The Stupa which is now much damaged is 9½ ft. in diameter. The neck of the Stupa is unusually long resembling in this respect its counterpart at Bhājā. Like the latter, it presumably consisted of two coffers placed one above the other. The side of these coffers were embellished with the Buddhist rail-pattern,¹⁵ which, as it is not seen in bold relief, is hardly visible. Much of it must come off when a part of the dome collapsed. Probably a hole passed through the coffers to the dome which held the shaft of the umbrella or chattra. As at Bhājā it is likely that a portion of the capital was detachable and therefore contained a relic.¹⁶

The Colonnade must have been quite imposing when it stood intact and from what remains of it, it is evident that the columns raked inwards.¹⁷ This is a common feature of early monuments, which the architect copied mechanically from free-standing wooden structures. survives is enough to give us a glimpse of its pristine glory. The present

⁹ A sample of the rock from Kondane submitted for analysis to Shri V. R. Dongre Geologist attached to the Associated Cement Cos., Bombay, was declared by him to contain nodules of zeolites.

¹⁰ Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 224.

¹¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, *loc. cit.*

¹² The resemblance of a Chaitya Cave to a Christian Basilica is very probably accidental, and both religions may have adopted this plan due to the fact that it was convenient to the nature of its worship which in both instances is congregational.

¹³ *Bom. Gaz.*, *loc. cit.* Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹⁴ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

The raking columns were believed to serve a purpose in these wooden constructions because it was thought that they with stood the pressure of the circular roofs better than the perpendicular pillars. This expedient was abandoned in course of time when it was realised that rock-cut architecture had no use for it.¹⁸

There are remnants of seven columns on the left and six on the right, while those surrounding the Stupa have completely disappeared.¹⁹ The columns are all octagonal and have no capitals.²⁰ Carved on one of the pillars to the left is a symbol resembling a Stupa crowned by a canopy.²¹ Such Buddhist symbols are a feature common to both Bhājā²² and Bedsā.²³ It is also worthy of note that the columns at Kondāne are rather slender compared with the heavy, closely set columns at Karle.²⁴ They have all given way, including the two irregular pillars that adorned the front of the Chaitya, leaving in some cases only the upper portions.²⁵

Between these two irregular pillars there probably stood a wooden screen, the prototype of the one in stone which took its place in the slightly later specimens of Bedsā and Karle. Like its later initiation in stone this wooden screen must have risen to a height of 10 to 12 ft. and had an opening into the nave which was secured by a door.²⁶

The chief attraction of the excavation is the façade or exterior of the Chaitya cave. Like Bhājā and Karle the horse-shoe arch has transverse wooden ribs with lurate apertures.²⁷ The sockets in the vaulted hall are an indication that these wooden ribs originally covered the whole length of the hall, but the wood work has long since disappeared. Like the raking columns the wooden rigs were a survival from the age of wooden structures, from which they could not dissociate themselves even while working on an entirely new material, where they could easily dispense with this device. While the rail-pattern, which is the typical Buddhist decorative motif, is an echo in stone of interlaced bamboos.

The projecting pyramid-shaped balconies on either side of the façade at Kondāne are yet another component which it shares with the early rock-cut architecture.²⁸ Two hanging cornices on either side of the

¹⁸ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. III, (New edition), p. 112.

¹⁹ *Bom. Gaz. op. cit.*

²⁰ *JISOA*, vol. VII: idem, p. 171.

²¹ Burgess, *loc. cit.*, p. 221.

²² Burgess, *loc. cit.*, p. 225. Also see Wauchope, *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, Plate XXV, page 54.

²³ *JISOA*, vol. VII, idem, p. 173.

²⁴ Burgess, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

²⁵ Burgess *loc. cit.*, pp. 220-221

²⁶ *JISOA*, vol. VII, idem, p. 172.

²⁷ *JISOA*, vol. VII, idem, p. 173.

²⁸ *The Early History of the Deccan*, parts VII-XI, Yazdani, part X-Architecture p. 725.

Chaitya arch are supported by flying buckets, recalling the Bhājā style, the brackets on the North side are broken.²⁹ Indeed the whole Chaitya façade of Kondāne bears a close resemblance to the one at Bhājā,³⁰ with the obvious difference in the superior delicacy of workmanship at Kondāne.

On the left side of the façade is a human head in relief twice life size.³¹ The face is now damaged but the head dress which is exquisitely finished has stood the ravages of time. It is very interesting in its detail for it can be compared with the sculptures of the 2nd century B.C. the Bhārhut Stupa in Nagod State, in Madhya Pradesh. The head dress of this donor at Kondāne, for instance, bears a remarkable similarity to that of the standing male figure in the foreground on a relief plinth entitled 'The Adoration of the Buddha', (symbolised by the Stupa) at Bhārhut.³²

The head dress of the figure in the Bhārhut sculpture is finished with the same carefulness and accuracy as the one at Kondāne. The aigrette rising in front of the head dress which is partly broken at Kondāne is clearly visible at Bhārhut. In both places the sculptor has worked on the head-dress vertically and horizontally. It doubtless represents a brocade and the sculptor has succeeded in exhibiting the rich texture as well as the leafy pattern woven into the fabric.

Over the left shoulder of the figure at Kondāne is an inscription in one line which reads : 'Made by Balaka the pupil of Kaṇha' (or Krishna).³³ It is likely that the figure represents Balaka himself.³⁴ It is significant to note that this is one of the earliest extant Śālikas or portrait statues.³⁵

Above this head and on a level with the spring of the front arch is a broad belt of sculpture. The lower portion is covered with the lattice-pattern while the upper portion is divided into registers carved alternately with dancing figures and the lattice-pattern. Over these sculptures is a hand with a reorientation of ends of tie-beams or horizontal beams connecting rafters, followed by four tiers of fillets protruding one over the other, the upper half of the last being serrated.³⁶ Superimposed upon this fillet are Chaitya-arch motifs.

These bands of reliefs rising in tiers suggest the picture of a many-storied building with balconies running along the Chaitya-arch motifs. Each of these Chaitya motifs induces the belief that it is a composite structure in itself like the main Chaitya.³⁷ The repetition of this motif,

²⁹ *IA*, Vol. V, p. 309.

³⁰ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

³¹ *Supra*, p. 221.

³² Bachhofer, Ludwig, *Early Indian sculpture*, vol. I, No. 28(B) compare the latter with the photograph of the donor in Yazdani, *op. cit.*, plate XXIII.

³³ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

³⁴ Yazdani, *op. cit.*, p. 745.

³⁵ Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions*, *ASWI*, IV, p. 9.

³⁶ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 221

besides serving as a decorative feature is calculated to reverberate as it were, among the devotees gathered around, the religious purpose for which the structure was intended.³⁸

On the right side the corresponding belt of sculpture is damaged due to the mouldering of the rock beside the arch.³⁹

Of the registers representing the dancers, the panel on the left of the arch is intact.⁴⁰ The whole frieze in fact seems to be a continuous narration of a dance ballet. The first register immediately to the left of the arch depicts a 'gallant' with a bow (Dhanus) and a sheaf of arrows (Bana) in his right hand and a dancing girl on either side of him. The girl to the left holds the man's girdle while he lovingly touches her chin, an act which seems to have infuriated the girl on the right who is represented as in a pet and protesting against his neglect of her. The sculptor has been able to bring out clearly the emotions of the various partners in the dance. The girl who receives the Man's attention wears an expression which suggests a feeling of glowing self satisfaction while the man seems to be momentarily lost in her charm. But it is in depicting the chagrin on the second girl's face and in evoking the spectator's sympathy for her, that the sculptor has achieved a degree of success which is remarkable.

The next compartment portrays a man with a *musala* in his right hand and stroking his partner's hair with his left, while the woman holds his shawl and bends her right hand so as to touch her hair. The joie de vivre of this couple is strikingly manifested and the artistic elegance of the dance finds adequate expression.

Following the succeeding stages of the dance, the position of the partners is reversed and the ballerina is now on the right of her partner. She in her turn now grasps the man's head-gear as he reaches for her hip-girdle. The serenity on both their faces is by far the most attractive feature of this composition.

In the fourth and last component, the male partner is left alone. He holds a shield (Khetaka) by its handle to which apparently a scabbard holding a sword (Khadga) is strapped. This figure is perhaps the most graceful in the whole frieze.

These registers probably represent one of the folk dances then prevailing among the tribes inhabiting the hilly regions around Kondāne

³⁷ Zimmer, 'The Art of Indian Asia', vol. I, p. 247.

³⁸ Wanchope, 'Buddhist cave Temples of India' p. 8, sees the resemblance of the Chaitya arch motif to the pipal tree leaf. This tree it may be recalled was the one under which the Buddha gained enlightenment.

³⁹ *Bom. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴⁰ A description of these sculptures is found in *ABORI* [vol. XXIII pp. 678-687. 'Woman in the Sculpture of the Deccan' by Yazdani. Also in the early history of the Deccan, parts VII-XI, p. 744 and at seq. appendix B, p. 77 'The Art of Dancing as represented in the sculpture and painting of the Deccan'

For it can be said with considerable certainty that they do not follow any known style or classical dance. True the dance-theme is one that is often repeated in Indian art. However, Kondāne is one of the earliest, if not the earliest instance, when the elaboration of this theme was successfully experimented. It is a theme which is found in the earliest Jain monuments of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa,⁴² in Buddhist sculptures and in later Brahmanical free-standing temples. The recurrence of this subject through the ages and its general acceptance by different religions indicates the close relationship between dancing and religion in India.⁴³ It also goes to show the popularity of the art in the centuries preceeding the Christian era.⁴⁴

The sculptor's masterful portrayal of the emotions and attitudes of these figures is the highlight of the sculptures at Kondāne. The slight tilt of the head in some of the figures is very typical of every kind of dance while the pliant bodies of the dancers are suggestive of a balanced rhythmic movement. This is further emphasised by the alternation of the opposite poses with the right hand resting on the hip while the left leg is firmly planted on the ground and vice versa, and with the left hand bent towards the shoulders and the right leg resting on the toe.

The persistence in the Indian tradition of the method of modelling the female figures especially, is clearly seen at Kondāne. In truth it is possible to sketch a development from the earliest pre-Mauryan Terra-cotta and gold repousse figures to the Kondāne sculptures and then trace these characteristics to the Bhārut carvings.

Thus in the terra-cotta statuette from Mathura (circa 1000-300 BC) on the representation of Prithvi on the gold plaque found at Lauvitya Nandangarh (VIII to VII Cen. BC) we perceive an accentuation on the attributes of fecundity in the swelling breasts, narrow waist, large pelvis and massive thighs.⁴⁵

At Kondane the rendering of the female form is very much the same, even to the point of copying the accessories,⁴⁶ so that the beaded hipgirdle, necklace, the plain solid anklets and bangles conform to the convention.

The sculptures of Kondāne however are devoid of the primitive crudity and rigidity of contours characteristic of geometrical patterns which are common in pre-Mauryan Forms.⁴⁷ In point of fact, these sculptures show a refinement which is largely due to the fact that they are now conceived as human forms.

The male figures at Kondāne⁴⁸ are characterised by a virility and

⁴² Misra P. 'Evidence of Dance Sculptures from Orissa Temples', *Marg*, vol. XIII No. 2, March 1960, p. 8.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 745.

⁴⁵ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Plate B3.

⁴⁶ Compare Plates IV and V in 'Early History of the Deccan' parts, VII-XI.

⁴⁷ See post plates IV and V.

⁴⁸ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

vitality which exudes from their excellent physique. This is manifested in their broad shoulders, powerful chests and tense abdomens, while the idea of the living flesh is induced by rounded cantours and the smoothness in the modelling no less than the straight lines of the scarfs worn by both men and women which contrast sharply with their rounded forms. These qualities are observable in the sculptures of Bhārhut⁴⁹ also which for this reason may be treated as later and more elaborate examples of their prototypes at Kondāne.

The comparison between the sculptures of Kondāne and Bhārhut may be carried even further. Thus the technique of continuous narration in sculpture which seems to have taken root was transferred, when it spread northwards, from the portrayal of purely secular to religious themes. It was applied in the Sunga sculptures to the narration of the Jataka stories, as is seen at Bhārhut and Sānchi.⁵⁰ Even rhythmic balance, which was attained at Kondāne by the device of the alteration of the posture of the right arm and left leg and vice versa is reiterated in the Bhārhut sculptures.⁵¹ In like manner, the head-dresses of the figures at Bhārhut and Sānchi are similar to the ones worn at Kondāne. This would be evident if we compared the dances at Kondāne with the Tondi (medallious) at Bhārhut.⁵²

There are nevertheless differences between the sculptures of Kondāne and Bhārhut—differences which may possibly be accounted for by the respective characters of the artists concerned. There is a refined simplicity in the modelling at Kondāne which is further enhanced by the subject of the sculptures which is taken directly from life. The carvings at Bhārhut are sophisticated⁵³ in that the artist is prevented from giving free reign to his potentialities on account of the limitations imposed by the religious theme which he is called upon to describe. Then again, at Kondāne the figures partake of a convex form, while the sculptures at Bhārhut have a flattered appearance⁵⁴ so much so that it sometimes seems that the sculptor has merely scratched the stone with his chisel.⁵⁵ Finally while the modelling of the figures at Kondāne is soft and sweet, at Bhārhut it is sharp and abrupt, which imparts a stern appearance to the figures—a quality which is perceptible even in their smiles.

Having dealt with the Chaitya at Kondāne as a composite whole, we shall now speak of the vihāra which lies next to the Chaitya.

The vihāra at Kondāne is to the North-east and forms No. II of the

⁴⁹ Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 55.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 55.

⁵² Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, plate 32.

⁵³ Zimmer, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵⁵ Zimmer *op. cit.*, p. 334.

excavation. Its verandah measuring 5 ft. 8 in. wide by 18 inches long⁵⁶ is quite destroyed except for the left end. The verandah had an unusual numbers of five octagonal pillars and two pilasters which formed its facade.⁵⁷ Above this was a great projecting cornice in two tiers with representations which were reproduced in facsimile of wooden architecture.⁵⁸ There are incidentally two inscriptions on the cornice.⁵⁹

At the end of the verandah on a raised recess is a bas-relief of the object of worship—a Stupa,⁶⁰ enframed within a Chaitya-hall with columns.⁶¹ Incidentally, it is the columns in this bas-relief which give us an idea of the pillars as they might have been in the main Vihāra. This depiction is interesting in as much as it gives us an inkling of the pictorial conventions of the time.⁶²

The exterior walls of the verandah may have been painted.⁶³ In fact faint traces of red and white paint worked into a square pattern are still visible which suggests that the inside walls of verandah may have been decorated with murals.⁶⁴ The front wall of the Vihara is now broken and it is probable that it had one main door and two side entrances leading to the hall.⁶⁵

This hall is 23 ft. wide, 29 ft. deep and 8 ft. 3 in. high and has fifteen pillars standing 3 ft. from each other and 3½ ft. from the side and back walls.⁶⁶ There is thus a row of 6 pillars on either side of the Vihara with 3 pillars at the back and none in the front.⁶⁷ This is a special characteristic of Kondāne which is not shared by other Hinayana Monasteries which are astylar in plan.⁶⁸ In fact the pillars are redundant in the rock-cut monuments as they do not perform the function for which they are meant. Like the raking columns of the Chaitya at this place, these early builders may also have repeated the pillars in the Vihara—a feature with which they were familiar in free-standing buildings. Further it is just possible that being novices in this art, they did not realise that the pillars were not necessary for the purpose of supporting this structure.

⁵⁶ *Bom. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁵⁷ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁵⁸ *JISOA*, vol. viii, p. 171.

⁵⁹ Dikshit, M. 'The Origin and Development of Buddhist Settlement in Western India' (Thesis), p. 463 has edited an inscription on the overhanging cornice of the façade of the Viharas which reads: 'This (is) Harima (Hasmya) of Pavaka. Hamima of the son (of) Kuaka (Kwarta)'.

⁶⁰ The Stupa is 3 ft. high (*IA*, vol. V, p. 310).

⁶¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁶² *JISOA*, vol. VII, p. 174.

⁶³ *IA*, vol. V, p. 310.

⁶⁴ *JISOA*, vol. VII, p. 174.

⁶⁵ Burgess, *loc. cit.*, Sinclair (*IA*, vol. V, p. 310) believes that the doors were about 6½ ft. high by 5½ ft. wide.

⁶⁶ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Sinclair, *IA*, vol. V, p. 310.

⁶⁸ *JISOA*, Vol. VII, p. 172.

The pillars have octagonal shafts which start from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the top, while the capitals are square.⁶⁹ Since what has remained of the pillars corresponds to the columns in the bas-relief, it is not unlikely that like the latter they too had square bases.

On each side of the Vihara are 6 cells, being 18 in all with single stone beds in each, except for the first cell on either side which has two beds.⁷⁰

Over the doors of 14 of these cells, i.e. over all except four cells nearest to the two corners at the extreme end, are representations of Chaitya-arches. These arches are connected by a string course which protrudes about $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and is carved with the traditional Buddhist rail-pattern.⁷¹

The roof of the Vihara is panelled antitypical of structural halls with beams 19 inches deep by 8 inches thick placed $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of each other and piercing the capitals of the pillars. The spaces thus created are again divided by smaller false buttresses—5 inches broad by 2 inches deep.⁷² The ceiling of the Vihara was no doubt painted in circles and squares, but the colours have all but disappeared.⁷³

The third excavation is a simple vihara about 6 yds. square with 9 cells⁷⁴ which formed the living quarters of the Monks. An interesting feature about these cells is that they have a shelf which served as a storing place for the monks' belongings. The front of this Monastery is entirely ruined, but it may have had three doors.⁷⁵

Excavation No. IV is again a row of 9 cells with beds. Over the cells is a projecting natural formation.⁷⁶ These cells in fact are but an improvisation, but it is possible to perceive mortice-holes for the wood-work or probably for wooden-rods.⁷⁷ The cells also have shelves in them.

Beyond these cells is a reservoir now filled with mud, 2 cells under a prominently projecting rock, and lastly a smaller cistern.⁷⁸

Kondāne is doubtless one of the earliest excavations not only in the Thana District (Konkan)⁷⁹ but among the Hinayana Settlements of this kind in the country—its distinguishing characteristics such as the wooden screen, the slopping pillars of the Chaitya and the plain pillars of the Vihara, not to speak of its close imitation of free-standing wooden buildings and the absence of the Buddha image clinch the argument in favour of its remote antiquity.

⁶⁹ *Bom. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁷⁰ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ *Bom. Gaz., Loc. cit.*

⁷² Burgess, *loc. cit.*

⁷³ Sinclair, IA, vol. V, p. 310.

⁷⁴ *Bom. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁷⁶ *Bom. Gaz., loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ IA, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ Kondane is now placed in the Kolaba District (Konkan) but in the Gazetteer of 1882 it is placed in the Thana District.

PLATE I

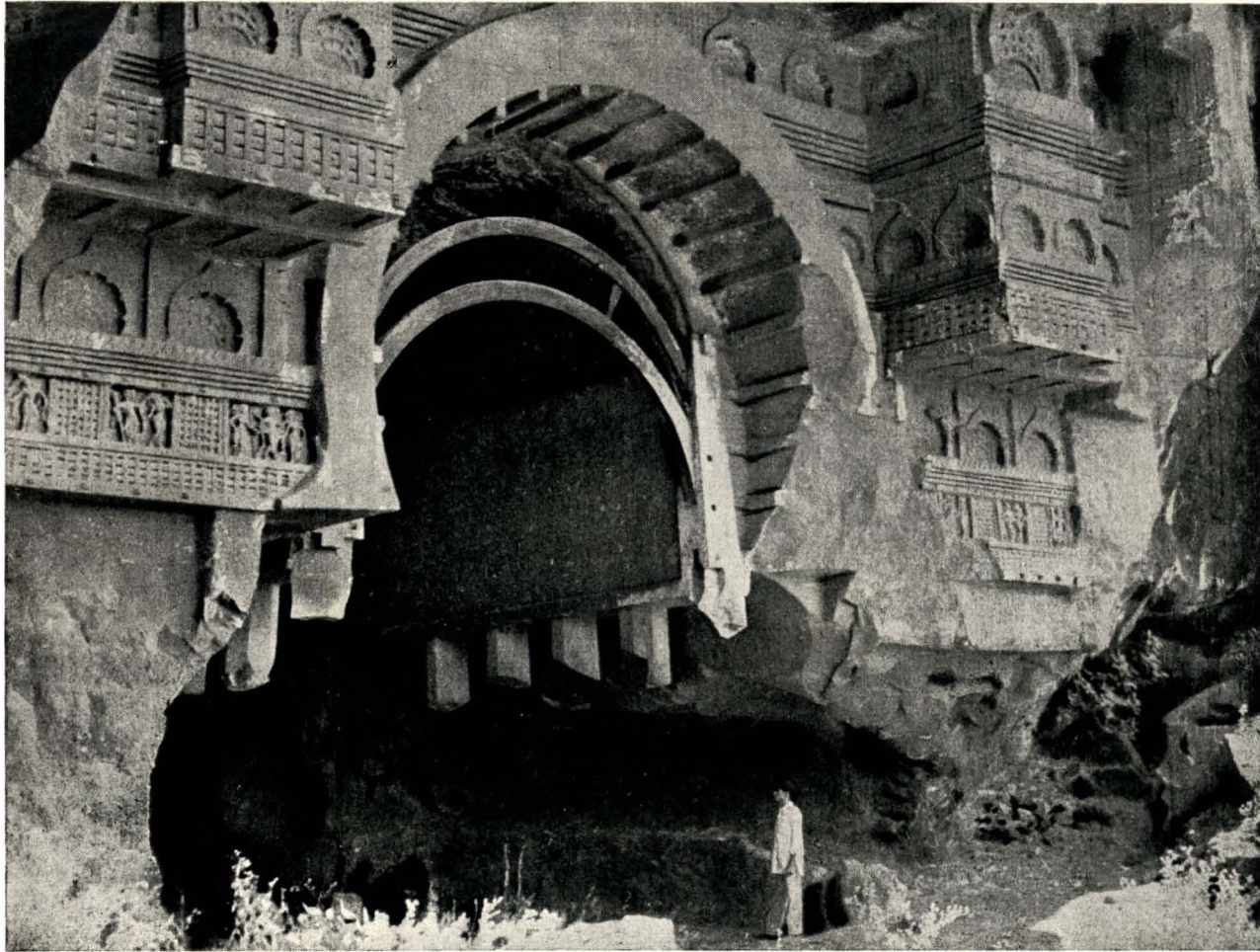


PLATE II



PLATE III



PLATE IV



HINDUISM AND CASTE

By Durga Bhagwat

THIS IS an analysis of the problem of Hinduism and Caste, with reference to *An Essay on Hinduism* by Dr. S. V. Ketkar and *Religion of India—Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* by Max Weber.

Sociology of religion involves a systematic historical approach and its main task is to tackle the interrelation of religion and society, viz., 'What does religion contribute to the integration and disintegration of social groups?'¹

Sociology of religion in India necessitates a survey of Hinduism as the principal religion, and caste system as the primary social organization.

Enormous data collection on Hindu castes and tribes has been made by ethnologists and anthropologists. Sociological treatises on the various aspects of caste-system are also plentiful. Yet on sociology of religion as such, little has yet been written. The two most outstanding of such attempts are *An Essay on Hinduism* by Dr. Ketkar (Cornell University, 1911) and *Religion of India—Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* by Max Weber, (1916, first English translation by H. H. Gerth and Don Martindale, 1958). Taking into consideration the comparatively remote dates of the works, we naturally do not expect to get either the same type of analysis of facts as we would expect from a contemporary scholar. Yet looking to the almost negligible contribution in the field of sociology of Hinduism with reference to caste, these pioneering works still have not only a historical value, but even a capacity to provoke the interest of the student of sociology, in an acute manner, and even shed some light on the problem at places.

Now that Max Weber's writings are available for the first time to many of the English reading sociologists, it should give an impetus for the further pursuit of the subject. It provoked my curiosity and made me undertake a comparative study of these two contemporary scholars. As Dr. Ketkar's books are out of print, many students of sociology know little of his contribution. I am a student of his works both in English and in Marathi ; and hence this essay.

S. V. Ketkar (Feb. 2, 1884—April 10, 1937).

Ketkar published in 1909 his doctorate thesis *History of Caste in India* (Cornell University). Its sequel *An Essay on Hinduism* was published in England in 1911. Ketkar, the pioneer sociologist of India, was a keen student of the Hindu social system. The major bulk of his

¹ Joachim Wach 'Sociology of Religion' *Twentieth Century Sociology*, edited by Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert F. Moor, New York, 1945, pp. 34, 55 ff. 135 ff., 199, 208

writings being in Marathi, his later contributions are unknown to the larger world of sociologists. Ketkar has written a neat essay on caste in the introductory volume of his monumental Marathi encyclopaedia, the *Jnānakōśa*. He also has further tackled the organizational aspects of the Hindu social structure in *Bharatīya Samāj Śāstra* (Nagpur 1935)—'Indian Sociology'. In his scattered writings which are varied and vast, he has made many provoking remarks about Hinduism and caste adjustment in different periods in history. An adequate analysis of all these writings is a special theme for laborious research. The idiosyncrasy of the writer and his amazing capacity to open new horizons of study, make it difficult for a student of sociology to tackle him entirely at one time. It is only possible to tackle him part by part. In the present paper, I have dealt with the purity concept regarding the social aspects of Hinduism and its functional purpose.

Ketkar's Approach: Ketkar's approach to the problem of Hinduism and its relationship to caste is clearly stated in the *History of Caste* and he does not deviate from it in the sequel. His approach is more that of social reformer than that of an academician. He has not taken up the work with the cold objective attitude of a scientist viz., 'as a medical man would examine a dead body'. 'Whether the caste-system is allowed by the Hindu religion or not is a vain question. Occidental peoples ask it and answer it also in their own way. The Hindus also take the question as it is and put it before themselves without considering the rationality of the question. The Europeans ask this question simply because it is rational with reference to their own society and because they cannot imagine a society of any other kind'.¹

Ketkar feels that the 'ship of caste is sinking' and the condition is so precarious that every Hindu feels terribly anxious. He is emotionally so disturbed and the call of duty is so urgent that he can ill afford the objectivity of the western social scientist. He is compelled to be a social reformer. Though Ketkar upholds such view on the matter, he is found criticizing copiously the contemporary social reformers in India headed by Justice M. G. Ranade and others in the later chapters on the future of caste in the very same book. Ketkar lashed them because they lacked knowledge of social and religious traditions and wanted to graft a foreign culture on their own. The inconsistency can be explained and the real purport of Ketkar's role both as a social scientist and reformer understood if we bear in mind the words of L. M. Mair, viz., 'a scientist may be asked to solve a problem which falls in his field, but yet cannot be dealt with by the application of any principle already established; in these cases, the functions of the pure and applied scientist are combined'.²

¹ S. V. Ketkar, *Hinduism*, Introduction, p. vii.

² L. M. Mair, *Studies in Applied Anthropology* (London, 1957), Introduction, p. 9.

The grave concern of the author about the present condition of the caste system is due to the fact that, 'to the gradual unification of the world, one fifth part of which is entangled by the caste-system, there is no other obstacle of equal magnitude'.⁴ He further says: 'The two hundred million Hindus are made up of diverse racial elements . . . They are again divided into over three thousand castes, most of them having sub-castes . . . None of them intermarry and most of them do not dine together.'⁵ The result is that the distance between man and man is too great. It makes the process of unification an impossible task. The caste-system as it exists now, has certainly rendered the social organization of the Hindu society very weak.'

The Lay-out of the Problem : Ketkar attempts definition of four terms, viz., (1) religion, (2) dharma, (3) Hinduism and (4) caste, and then formulates his hypothesis.

'The words, Hinduism, Hindu religion, Brahmanism etc. are of European coinage. In Sanskrit there is no word which can convey the exact meaning or the exact number of meanings which the word 'religion' conveys to the western world',⁶ says Ketkar and points out that on account of this the historical approach to the bearing of Hinduism on caste becomes very complicated.

Religion : Ketkar defines 'religion' as it is understood by the western world viz. 'Religion is a system with two characteristics—First it is intended to attain some kind of eternal bliss defined by its own ideas regarding God and future life and attainable by adhesion to certain definite ceremonies and sacraments and by adhesion to the teachings regarding conduct and morals of some definite teacher or school of teachers conveyed by means of some authoritative scripture modelling the sentiments of the followers strongly, and to which all the laws and customs of the country professing allegiance to it ought to conform. And secondly it makes all its followers one strong social group by a community of feelings and interests'.⁷

The primary characteristic of a religion is that 'it should become formative or determinative of the social group'.⁸

Ketkar proceeds further and shows that there is no corresponding word in Sanskrit or in any Indian language which will convey all the complexities of the word 'religion' in European languages.

He then proceeds further and examines 'religions' of the world in the light of Hindu ideology, and states that 'religions' should be akin to what 'pantha' or 'sampradāya' are in India. He thus distinguishes 'religions'

⁴ Ketkar, *History of Caste*, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶ *Hinduism*, p. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

from 'religion'. Religion, according to him, is stronger than theophratry (sampradāya).⁹ Ketkar describes Christianity as a theophratry or sect.

Dharma : Ketkar does not believe 'religion' and 'dharma' to be the same. He explains the Hindu theory of dharma as follows :—

'To all things animate or inanimate dharma (qualities) has been assigned at the original creation. For example, the dharma of gold is yellow colour and brightness ; the dharma of stone is weight etc. The dharma of a tiger is ferocity and eating other animals ; the dharma of a deer is nimbleness. When they speak of a Manava-dharma, they mean both 'dharma of man' and 'dharma for man', that is they either mean human characteristics or qualities or qualities and conduct proper for man.' Ketkar quotes Manu 'who declares dharma for the four (all) classes. In addition to man's duties as a man, he has to follow also the dharma of his class (Varna). Moreover, he has to attend to his obligations as a householder, as a husband, as a father of a family, as a son and so forth. He should also pay attention to the dharma particular to his family and to his Jāti or caste'.¹⁰

The duties of a man as a member of a caste or tribe 'generally consist of obeying the laws of the tribe regarding marriage and divorce, etc. the worship of tribal gods and general participation in the rites and festivals of tribe'.¹¹ Ketkar further says, 'This the great difference between the Hindu conception of the 'dharma' and the European conception of religion is this. To a European, Christianity or Christian religion are self-defined terms and the acceptance of those ideas and practices that are indicated by the word would make a man Christian. In the case of Hindu-dharma, the relation is different. Hindus are a definite body and 'Hindu-dharma' is that indefinite thing which the Hindus consider their own 'dharma' . . . Hindus follow 'dharma' which is only one and eternal and which according to the Hindu belief, is something which all men follow in proportion to their intellect. When the dharma was in the process of development, Hindus or rather Brahmanas had no ideas as to whether there are any other people in the world who may reject their system of dharma'.

This ideology also makes the caste-system 'exclusive' and Hinduism an entirely non-missionary religion, which totally lacked the idea of conversion. This made adhesion between religion and caste very firm.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

John L. Stocks also in his article, 'Religious Beliefs,' has stated that 'Religion is not identical with religions' (*Natural Religion and Christian Theology*, ed. by Charles E. Raven, Cambridge, 1953, p. 31).

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

The creed of Hinduism is however, not sectarian. It is a universal doctrine which makes Hinduism a far more universal religion than Christianity, according to Ketkar. He criticizes the policy of the Western or Christian scholars who look upon Hinduism as purely 'exclusive' and 'national' religion and claim Christianity, Islam and Buddhism as 'universal' or higher religions.¹²

The policy of conversion adopted by the latter religions has given them an international expansion, no doubt, and the complete lack of such a method has kept Hinduism within its territorial as well as caste bounds. What seemingly appears to be its weakness to the outsiders, also has germs for a greater development in future. Conversion policy breeds antagonism and social conflict as well. When there is no idea of Conversion, human appeal is the only thing that counts. 'The process by which Hinduism is formed is capable of being carried to its logical extent. All civilizations are capable of being united into one civilization. There would be a stock of moral ideas common to all the world, which people would follow whether embodied in any scriptures or not. They will have some common ideas of God . . . All religions in the world would hold the same status as the different sampradayas had in India. Religions would become tribal traditions and Bible, Vedas and Koran would be looked upon as tribal documents, of merely historical interest. The respect for great teachers of mankind would not remain tribal but would become universal.'¹³

In India there was no 'Hindu dharma', and hence there was no need for 'Hindu consciousness' because the tribes outside India and their civilization were capable of mixing easily with the people and civilization in India. The 'human consciousness' of Hinduism is of this kind¹⁴ and hence goes a long way to form the united civilization of the world better than any other professed religion.

Caste-system: All the traditions and customs of the Hindus are controlled by the caste-system, both the caste ideology and actual practice.

Ketkar's definition of caste is that 'A caste is a social group having two characteristics; (1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (2) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group. Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these larger groups are but subdivisions of groups still larger which have independent names.'¹⁵ It is this the three thousand castes and their sub-castes that form the body of Hindu society. The chief characteris-

¹² *Ibid.* pp., 11 ff., 24 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵ *History of Caste*, p. 15.

tics of this society are that (1) it forbids intermarriage and 'permits very little of social intercourse in its proper sense. The only uniting tie between these sharply differentiated bodies is a certain amount of common tradition and common language for a number of them, and for all a common religion which consists in being disciples of the Brahmins'.¹⁶ (2) Next to endogamy the other characteristic is the hierarchy in the caste system, which is represented by the hierarchy of the priest. Priestly hierarchy was found in other non-Hindu societies of the world also. Ancient Egyptian society also had it. In Hindu society it is denoted by the superiority of the Brahmin priesthood.¹⁷

The priestly hierarchy is visible in the *Varṇa* concept of the Hindus, which is the basis of the theory of caste. The *Varṇa* concept is also clearly knit with the notions of purity and impurity.¹⁸ The Hindus have developed an elaborate theory of purity and pollution as no other people in the world have done. So many food taboos as well as the 'touch-taboos' have come into existence on account of it. It is not possible to go into a detailed analysis of it. The point to remember is that it is these notions of purity and impurity from which the '*Varṇa*' as well as caste originate. Neither a Brahmin nor a Shudra can at any time change his caste.

Varṇa and Caste : The exact relationship of the *Varṇa* to the caste is yet a problem of discussion for ethnologists and sociologists. The Indian theory that originally there were only four *Varṇas* which later developed into numerous castes on account of intermarriage and free sexual intercourse, is not acceptable to Ketkar. Like Senart he believes that *Varṇa* and caste were always different.¹⁹ The four *Varṇas* were never castes. The history of the development of castes is not the history of the multiplication of the four *Varṇas*. The history of the four *Varṇas* does not indicate social change to a great extent.

According to Ketkar the four *Varṇas* were only a theory and 'had been of very little influence in making and unmaking of social groups. Nevertheless inasmuch as ideas influence social conditions and events and are influenced by them, the doctrine of four *Varṇas* received a considerable development when the people who held it came in contact with new peoples and conditions. As they held this doctrine strongly, the doctrine created feelings of respect, fear and contempt, towards certain peoples and communities'.²⁰ The *Varṇas* were the four classes made according to the function of each social group.²¹ The notion of the identification between the *Varṇa* and *Jāti* or caste came into existence on account of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁰ *Hinduism*, xxxi.

²¹ *Ibid.*, xxxii.

improper understanding of the Brahmins of the situation. Ketkar says that 'when the Brāhmaṇas held fast the theory of the four Varṇas and thought that the Varṇa was something similar to a Jāti (as they themselves were both Varṇa and Jāti) they began to imagine that the various castes in India which have different caste names are either products of the mixture of the original four castes due to the degradation of section of the four castes. Some of the castes and tribes were classed by them as Kshatriyas, some as Vaiśyas and some as Śūdras. This classification was not made by them in any systematic manner taking all the castes and tribes of India into consideration. Their classification was casual. Every case was decided as it came. They followed one rule. Every tribe or person they may come into contact with was a Śūdra unless there is some special reason to class any of these as Vaiśya or Kshatriya. Thus the history of four Varṇas means the history of classification of the various tribes and definitions of each of the four Varṇas in terms of castes'.²² 'Though Manu, the ancient law giver, describes Varṇa as four divisions into which the castes are grouped, yet the fact was that though many Jātis together formed one Varṇa, the whole Varṇa may be a Jāti', and that Jāti denoted both smaller and larger groups in Manu's times as much as it is now'.²³

Ketkar goes further to show that except the Brahmin no other caste was identified with the Varṇa. 'The Kshatriyas never formed a caste. The royal families of several tribal kingdoms were doubtlessly considered Kshatriyas, but also tribes which were dominant over one or more other tribes often arrogated to themselves the name of Kshatriya and had their claim allowed . . . These Kshatriyas had by no means drawn a sharp line between themselves and the masses as the Brāhmaṇas had done. How could they do so ? The man who rose, raised his whole family or tribe to Kshatriyahood ; but when a tribe failed in strength, the whole tribe suffered in status'.²⁴

The occupations of the Vaiśyas, viz. trade, moneylending, farming, cattle breeding, etc. were neither of one nature nor of the same status. The mārgin between their occupations and the occupations of the Śūdras was often narrow and even undefinable. So neither of these two were either proper castes or Varṇas. Śūdras were often regarded as out of the pale of the Aryan Society.²⁵

Castes and Tribes : The general thesis of Ketkar is that many castes have originated from tribes. When a forest tribe accepts (1) the endogenous policy of the caste system, (2) the Brahmin's priesthood, and the Hindu deities, it is regarded as a caste. There were numerous tribes which had accepted the endogenous. Yet this did not unite them. They

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *History of Caste*, pp. 76-77.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-100.

remained aloof and later were accepted as independent castes. The fusion between castes and tribes as well as castes and the Varna is thus very loose and irregular as well.²⁶ The very process of integration seems to be arrested at its very start.

Though the goal of Hinduism is the happiness of the entire humanity, on account of this incomplete process of integration, as well as hierarchical structure, importance of heredity and exclusiveness, caste-system fails to accomplish it in practice. Each community feels it to be superior to its neighbour. Even the lowest of the castes also have this caste-pride. As purity is the pivot on which the entire system turns, caste in India is strong and rigid. 'The status of a caste or tribe always depended on the Karma, which in various degrees might be pure or impure . . . the caste system sought its justification in the theories of Karma and transmigration of souls.'²⁷

Ketkar's argument about Hinduism and caste-system can be summarised in his own words, viz. 'the different tribes and castes under Hinduism, though of heterogeneous origin, acquired conception of unity and this body, though nontheological, distinguished itself from foreign theophratries (sampradayas) like Christianity and Mohammedanism which follow unsacred conduct . . . The Hindus developed a cosmopolitan philosophy as they have produced a cosmopolitan terminology'.²⁸

Despite proper fusion, uniformity of thought and tradition is visible in the Hindu society. The migration of Brahmins and 'Brahmanized' people everywhere is also a major cause of this common heritage.²⁹

Max Weber (1864-1920) :

Max Weber has not given a definition of Hinduism as Ketkar has done. Another shortcoming in his scientific approach is that he has mixed up the religious content of Hinduism with the Hindu social organization.³⁰ The third fault in his method is the lack of chronological sequence. As for instance, he cites an example from the time of Manu or from even an earlier date than that and there immediately follows an example in the same context from modern times.³¹ The reason for such a lapse is probably due to the fact that Weber had only two sources of information regarding his subject. The first source is the literature of the Smṛtis, especially that of Manu and the second source was the *Indian Census Reports*. As far as the first source is concerned, Weber has not probed deep into every aspect of the relationship of caste to Hinduism as Ketkar has done with reference to Manu's code of law.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

²⁸ *Hinduism*, xvii-xviii.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

³⁰ Weber, *Religion of India*, pp. 3-5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

He depends chiefly on the explanation of these laws by his predecessors and hence his knowledge of this source is derivative and not direct. The latter source, Weber has tackled most skilfully and his masterly touch of the problem is due to his wonderful grasp of the ethnological data. His analysis of the caste-groupings and their interaction in general is valuable ; but as the historical basis is weak, his book naturally is weak in theory.

Hinduism : Weber has noted the following points about Hinduism :

- (1) 'The term 'Hindu' was first used under the foreign domination of the Mohammedans to mean unconverted native Indians. Only in recent literature have the Indians themselves begun to designate their religious affiliation as Hinduism'.³³
- (2) The 'official designation of the English Census for the religious complex' was 'Brahmanism.'³³
- (3) One becomes a Hindu by birth alone.³⁴
- (4) Hinduism is 'exclusive' and it does not resort to conversion. It 'does not wish to encompass mankind'. Hinduism 'is exclusive—like a sect' and hence not a universal religion like—Christianity.³⁵
- (5) Ritualistic purity is the basis of caste and hence the outsiders are looked upon as unclean and out of the pale of Hindu society. The only 'open door caste' is that of the Cāṇḍāla (the out-caste) that can receive such persons.³⁶

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8.

This statement of Weber is contrary to Ketkar's statement of the roles of Hinduism and Christianity. As Ketkar says, the aim of philosophical basis of Hinduism is universal and not sectarian. Yet Ketkar's analysis of the four *Varṇas* and their impact on the castes needs deeper examination and hence it is incomplete. Ketkar has admitted that in practice caste lacks universal bearing. However, the exclusiveness of caste need not be superimposed on the entire religious system of the Hindus as Weber does. As we have seen, Weber mixes the issues of religion and the social system and is apt to be criticized when he calls Hinduism a sect, without taking into consideration the cosmopolitan nature of its concepts. Even Weber is not too sure of his own ground in this respect. For along with exclusiveness, Weber has pointed out certain universal qualities of Hinduism which are also common to the Church. Weber again has admitted the tolerance of Hinduism, which a 'sect' is seldom expected to have. Weber's statement about the universality of the Church is correct if we take into consideration the geographic spread of Christianity and also the humanistic programmes undertaken by the Church everywhere. Ketkar's calling Christianity a sect or theophatry is correct only as far as the origin of the Church and the sharp distinction between the Christians and non-Christians the Church usually makes, are concerned.

³⁶ Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

Weber, as he confuses Hinduism with the caste-system, also fails to indicate the relationship between 'religion' and 'social organization'.

Though Weber has not defined Hinduism or its scope, he has recorded three characteristics of it, viz., (1) caste (2) Karma (3) and belief in transmigration of souls. Yet he denies the relationship of any of these three categories with the Vedic religion.³⁷

Caste: Weber has not offered any definition of caste in this book. In his article 'Class, Status and Party,' however, he has tried to explain some characteristics of castes, as follows: 'The caste is indeed the normal form in which ethnic communities usually live side by side in a societalized manner. These ethnic communities believe in blood-relationship and exclude exogamous marriage and social intercourse.'³⁸

In this statement Weber has pointed out the social basis and the exclusiveness of caste. He has shown both Hinduism and Hindu castes to be exclusive. Weber's thesis about exclusiveness is that 'each caste formulates its own principles' and that, 'no caste can lay down the law for another'. There is no affiliation of an outside individual even from other caste. If it at all happens, the affiliating individual would forego all sib ties'.³⁹

Another statement of Weber that those outside individuals who are denied membership in the caste become the Pariahs or the low-born is also only partially true. The origin of untouchability is dubious still, and the untouchable communities also have the same prestige ideas, principles of endogamy, ideas of ritualistic purity as the caste Hindus have. Similarly Ketkar's statement that caste distinction came in because of the incomplete integration of the Hindu social organization and hence untouchability became irrevocable, is also open to criticism.

Both these scholars, however, agree on one point viz., the close connection between ritual and caste. Ketkar explains it by the concepts of purity, impurity, and expiation; the concept of an indivisible eternal Dharma; the estrangement between religious dogma and political

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Much of this confusion on Weber's part, I think, is due to his failure to keep up the chronological sequence and understanding events in a correct historical perspective.

³⁸ From Max Weber, *Essays in sociology* (translated by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills), London; 1947, pp. 188-9.

³⁹ Weber, *Religion of India*, p. 7. Ketkar admits exclusiveness of caste but says that about accepting non-Hindus as members of the Hindu society, the Hindus have certainly made some provisions, viz., (1) though the front door is shut to non-Hindus still there is no 'objection if anybody comes in by the back door'. An outsider is absorbed in some of the religious sects. (2) The principle underlying caste that each caste has freedom to choose who its member should be. There are examples of persons who after having been converted are taken back in their original caste after expiation. (3) Brahmin has no power to decide such memberships. (4) Though Hindus believe in excommunication, the technique of excommunication is extremely loose and unorganized. (*Hinduism*, pp. 66-76).

power etc. While Weber explains it by the social gradation of castes based on purity which is closely connected with ritual.

Caste and tribes : On the origin of many castes from the tribes both the scholars have an agreement, though they arrive at it from different directions. Weber accepts the traditional view of the origin of castes from the four Varnas and adds that the numerical development of castes was due to the principle Hinduizing the tribes and converting them into castes. Hindu society has many such layers at different levels. Even now the Ahirs, originally a tribe, is found spread in different levels of subcastes⁴⁰. Ketkar cites the example of the Kolis to indicate the same process, though he refutes the origin of castes from the Varnas.

It is to be noted that Weber is unable to look at caste as an independent entity. He describes caste only in the light of the tribe and that too in a contrasting manner. He takes tribes to be entirely outside the Hindu social system. The chief distinctions between a caste and tribe according to Weber are (1) A caste is not territorial while a tribe is primarily so. (2) A caste has a uniform occupation, while in a tribe there can be many occupations. (3) Caste is endogamous while a tribe holds up exogamy.⁴¹

Caste and Occupation : Weber, while considering the occupational aspect of caste, has compared various caste-groups with guilds in other parts of the world. And so far he is right. But his thesis of the origin of untouchability in the occupational aspect of the castes is open to criticism and far from being true.

Weber's line of argument is like this. Because of the exclusiveness of Hinduism foreigners had no place in Hindu society or caste. Like Gypsies they remained nomadic and guests for ever though by their trading occupation they were useful to the society.

Other 'guest people' are the Pariah people who follow various occupations, like weaving, leather work, street-sweeping etc.

Not only this, but Weber holds that the artisan communal organizations, grew gradually into castes on account of the village economy of India under princely control and Brahmanical religious supremacy. Weber is of the opinion that the village industries prospered chiefly under the 'guest workers'. These 'guest workers' were chiefly artisans such as, carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, etc. Those who remained outsiders were touchable; those who clung to Hinduism by accepting the lowest social grade, got recognized as untouchable castes. On account of the King's patronage each of the industries acquired status

⁴⁰ Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34. About the endogamous and exogamous marriage Weber is mistaken. Marriage out of the sib is considered by Weber an exogamous marriage as far as the tribe is concerned. He overlooks the ban on inter-tribal marriage. The caste also forbids the marriage of the same sibs or Gotras.

and became hereditary.⁴³ This thesis of Weber can hardly be acceptable, as Weber has misunderstood the Indian village social life and economy and the place of the artisan castes in them. That the 'guest people' introduce artisan profession is an untenable proposition. The Balutā system is an ancient one, and has nothing to do with the kingly control. Weber joins it with the Maratha ruling system, which is only a partial truth. The main thesis thus being weak, to seek the roots of untouchability in the occupational adjustment of the castes is not tenable.

Some other untenable statements of Weber are

- (1) The Jains are 'Indian Jews'⁴³ Weber call the Jews, 'Pariahs' or 'guest people'. The Jains are called Jews not because they are non-Hindus or 'guest people' but traders who have certain proverbial characteristics of the Jews. Jains are no caste, while the Jews are a social community. The Jains are a religious sect. They have no social origin.
- (2) Weber also calls the Vaiṣṇavas a caste that has acquired the form of a sect., that assimilates the untouchables.⁴⁴ The statement is not correct.
- (3) That Vaiṣṇavism, especially the Kṛṣṇa legend, was deeply influenced by Christology,⁴⁵ is also not true. The statement was originally made by A. Weber and refuted by Monier Williams, in his *Religious thought and life in India* (London, 1883; pp. 96-99); chronologically Vaiṣṇavism precedes Christianity.

Conclusion : It is only by comparing the results of these two pioneering scholars with a recognised authority like Hutton on the Hindu caste that we can arrive at some conclusion on Hinduism and caste-system. There is a common agreement of the three on the following points viz. (1) the origin of many castes from the tribes; (2) the Brahmins were both a Varṇa and a caste but never a tribe; the Brahmins are an excellent example of caste. (3) The Kshatriyas have a tribal origin and (4) the ritualistic origin of castes. Hutton admits that Ketkar's definition of castes is almost satisfactory. He, however, objects to the statement of Ketkar that 'membership of the caste is by birth alone'.⁴⁶ Hutton states that there are many castes in South India who receive strangers among them. These castes receive the progeny of mixed castes. The Ambalvasi in Malabar, and the Shagird, Peshu Karan etc. from Orissa are such castes. Some castes are still in a fluid condition

⁴³ Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 17, 18, 19, 34, 37, 86, 91, 101, 102, 112, 126, 127, 130, 131.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁷ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 19, 26, 115, 116.

viz. Sunri and Valid in Bengal.⁴⁷ Hutton agrees with Ketkar that Varṇa and caste are not the same. And though he criticizes Ketkar's definition of caste for his statement that only those born in the caste are its members, he admits that there is fluidity in the caste-system which has created social adjustability.⁴⁸

Purity Concept : From Ketkar to Hutton every scholar of caste has a common agreement on the purity element in the caste-system. The purity concept however has not been analysed in detail functionally, with its various current and cross-currents ; actions and counteractions. which maintain the social balance.

The functional and occupational aspects of the caste need not be necessarily identical. The occupational aspect can be often associated with hereditary professional division which all civilized nations of the world have adopted to a large extent. The hereditary stratification of occupation is however, not capable either of creating the caste-institution of the same nature and durability elsewhere as in India. Egypt and Greece also had much the same type of caste division. But it died out when its functional utility was no more and a new type of social organisation emerged. Indian caste has survived because of its dynamic character. The dynamic character is purely functional. It is only under the swoop of the western industrialism that the caste-system has shed the old functional character and has become utterly powerless. New conditions demand new social organization. Purity ceases its motivating force. The whole system is completely worn out.

Social position and purity : Purity is notional while its counterpart ritual is functional. Purity and ritual put together make the dynamic in the caste system. The combination creates the caste-ideology which is covered by the concept of Varṇa. Whether Varṇa is class or caste and the bearing of Varṇa on caste are still a matter for discussion. One thing however, is obvious that Varṇa is notional while caste is a fact, because it functions. Both Varṇa and caste put together make the function unifying; while a mere caste without the background of Varṇa would fail to do so. The merging of several castes either in the Brahmin or Kshatriya fold even now proves it.

Purity seems to have bifurcated viz. (1) ritualistic purity and ethnic purity. The function of each type naturally varies.

In ritualistic or sacerdotal purity the Brahmin was the head as the priest ; the Kshatriya came next in ceremonial purity, as a king. Then the Vaiśya as a trader and Sūdra the last as the labourer. In this system the Brahmins identify themselves both with Varṇa and caste at the same time. They made their position significant, and they formed a standard. This was the pivot round which the less perfect caste revolved, the standard of perfection being identity of Varṇa and caste.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

This ritualistic purity is contrary to ethnic purity. The Anuloma marriage, according to *Manu-smṛiti*, clearly indicates that a Brahmin could have wives from all the four Varnas. Kshatriya from the three (exclusive of the Brahmin), Vaiśya from two (exclusive of the Brahmin and the Kshatriya) and Śūdra alone from his own fold. It is obvious that the Śūdra preserved the blood purity better than others. Yet he was not made the pivot of ethnic purity as the Brahmin was made of the ritualistic purity. In this system even the Brahmin lost his central position, with the result that this system though ideologically indicative of ethnic purity, had less social prestige than the former.

In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, in his dialogue with the Brahmin Ambaṭṭha, the Buddha, tauntingly remarks that his community of the Kshatriyas preserved blood purity better than the Brahmins. The Kshatriyas for this reason married even their own sisters while the Brahmins took any women for wives. This is not a mere passing remark. It indicates the non-social character of the ritualistic purity of the Brahmin. It was opposed to the lesser ritualistic but higher ethnic purity of the Kshatriya as the Buddha claims it.

The functional analysis of the caste-system thus opens a new vista for investigation. The ritualistic and ethnic purity both in its opposite and combined roles should be well searched into. The untouchables and tribals with their role of magic experts and medicine men, are still not studied properly. This leaves scope for each of the major units of caste to be examined with its functional aspect. This, I feel, may help us to minimize caste prejudices and make social unification possible.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

MĀTRPAÑCAKA —

A FORGOTTEN ELEGY ON HIS MOTHER BY ŚRĪ ŚANKARĀCĀRYA

by Prof. K. Venkatachalam

NEARLY TWENTY years ago, when I was a student of the St. Xavier's College, Palamcottah, I chanced to hear a verse eulogising the greatness of motherhood composed by the great Śaṅkarācārya. The occasion was a talk by a lecturer in Malayalam of the college, arranged under the auspices of the Sanskrit Association. The lecturer, if my memory fails me not, was one Mr. K. V. Chacko,¹ who hailed from Kerala. He had also recounted the circumstances of its composition. It was composed, so went the tradition, by the great Ācārya on the eve of his mother's funeral. It is well known that this sannyāsīn of sannyāsīns performed the funeral rites of his mother against the accredited ethical code of those who had taken orders. That was a pre-condition imposed on him by her and also accepted by him for his taking to sannyāsa. And he had to keep his plighted word.

The verse had left a profound impression on my mind then. It had almost cast a spell on me. But as ill luck would have it, I did not care to record it at that time. As a result, the only part of it that lingered in my memory in after years was the concluding part of the last line; viz., "तस्यै जनन्यै नमः". Often-times, I have regretted my negligence in not having got it spelt out for me by the lecturer then and there. The memory of the verse kept on haunting me for years.

I had been after this obituary verse for quite a few years now. I could not find it in print anywhere. The published 'Complete Works' furnished no trace of it. Nor was it to be found in the well known Śaṅkaravijayas, of which I consulted the popular versions of Mādhava²

¹ A melancholy interest attaches to the present publication of this article, which is inseparably bound up in my mind with the memory of Mr. Chacko, to whom, in fact, this article owes its genesis. My friend Mr. G. J. Das, Librarian of the St. Xavier's College, Palamcottah, to whom I had written for information regarding the present whereabouts of Mr. Chacko, informed me in his letter dated 28-8-1963 that Mr. Chacko left the service of the St. Xavier's College about eight years ago, when the college closed its Malayalam section and after working in two more institutions in Trivandrum and Kottayam, he passed away about a year and half ago in his native place Chertallai in Kerala.

² Published in Anandasrama Sanskrit Series and attributed by popular tradition to Saint Vidyāraṇya of the Sringeri Maṭha. The attribution to Vidyāraṇya, however, has been seriously doubted by scholars on very important grounds.

and his precursor, Vyāsācala,³ as these alone are readily available.⁴

It is but natural, therefore, that I should have gone into an ecstasy, when I heard the verse again cited by Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran,⁵ Professor of Sanskrit of the Annamalai University in the course of a Sanskrit lecture, he delivered in Ujjain in the Kalidasa Festival, 1962. Thanks to the very deep impressions left on my mind in the early impressionable years, I could identify the verse as the same as the one I had heard years ago from the lips of Mr. Chacko.

Before I proceed with my further comments, I give the verse below along with my free translation of it :

आस्तां तावदियं प्रसूतिसमये दुर्वारबूलव्यथा
 नैरुच्यं⁶ तनुशोषणं मलमयी शय्या च सांवत्सरी ।
 एकस्यापि न गभभारभरणक्लेशस्य यस्याः क्षमो
 दातुं निष्कृतिमुन्नतोऽपि तनयस्तस्यै जनन्यै नमः ॥

(Translation :

Prostrations unto the Mother, for whose manifold miseries of child-bearing, like total loss of taste, emaciation of the limbs and the filthy bed of a whole year, let alone the inevitable suffering caused by the excruciating pains at the time of delivery ; it is impossible for a son—even the tallest among them—to give anything in requital even for one of them.)

There is an unmistakable tone of deep sincerity ringing through every line and word of this enchanting song. And from this deep-seated sincerity and unadorned simplicity springs its remarkable force. The irrepayable debt that every son owes to his mother is depicted here with a vigour, that has hardly any parallel anywhere else in Sanskrit literature. Of other literatures, the only parallel I can think of are the soul-stirring lines of saint Paṭṭinattār of the Tamil country. The string of verses which he is said to have composed before, during and after the cremation of his mother's last remains are a commonplace in every Tamilian household.

³ Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series—24 (1954). Edited by T. Chandrasekharan.

⁴ The Kerala Śaṅkaravijaya, which I wanted to consult, in particular, is not accessible to me. I had made a reference about the currency of the verse in general and in the Keralliya Śaṅkaravijaya, in particular, to my revered Gurus, Brahmaśrī Polagam Srirama Sastrigal and Brahmaśrī S. R. Krishnamurthy Sastrigal, Professors of Vedānta in the Madras Sanskrit College. They were kind enough to inform me that the verse is formed in the Śaṅkarācāryacaritam of Govindanātha, popularly known as Govindanāthīya or Keralliya Śaṅkaravijaya.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr. Venkateswaran for his kindness in having spelt out the verse for me and for allowing the reference to his testimony.

⁶ The word नैरुच्यं admits of two interpretations, according as or रुचि is taken to denote 'taste' or 'lustre'. Accordingly, it might mean 'loss of taste' or 'loss of lustre'. I have adopted the former in the translation, as more apt in the context

The underlying sincerity of the verse and its consequent emotional fervour are as they ought to be. What can be a more poignant occasion for the spontaneous outburst of a person's filial susceptibilities than the last moments of his mother's mundane existence? It is true, that the case of Śrī Śaṅkara can not be judged by ordinary standards. One may as well employ this very emotional fervour of the verse as an argument to call in question the authenticity of the tradition attributing the verse to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, on the ground that such an expression indicating attachment to his mother would ill become the great philosopher, to whom all earthly bonds had become a mere mirage and who had exclaimed :

का ते कान्ता ? कस्ते पुत्रः ? संसारो ज्यमतीव विचित्रः ।
कस्य त्वं कः ? कुत आयातः ?⁷

But as against this, it must be remembered that even a sannyāsin has his self-imposed duties. It is said that even after all his other relationships are torn to shreds, the sannyāsin is still expected to revere his mother and offer obeisance to her when the occasion demands it.⁸ In the case of the great Ācārya—the sannyāsin *par excellence*—there was this additional factor that he had given a solemn undertaking to perform her *antyaśaṅkārā*. There is, besides, the inescapable law of *lokasaṅgraha*, clearly enunciated and practised by the Lord Himself.⁹ There is, therefore, nothing inherently inconsistent, if the occasion made the great philosopher descend from his soaring heights to *terra firma* for a moment and look back in retrospect on his pre-sannyāsa days. Musing over the power of worldly bonds in a reminiscent mood,¹⁰ he might as

⁷ Bhajagovindam.

⁸ I could not trace any Dharmaśāstra text to support this prevalent view. The Śaṅkaravijaya of Mādhava makes Śrī Śaṅkara prostrate at his mother's feet. Vide :

तत्रातुरां मातरमैक्षतासौ ननाम तस्याश्चरणौ कृतात्मा ॥ (१४.३०)

The commentary Advaitarājyalakṣmī, commenting on the above, quotes a verse from the Skanda Purāṇa, which declares that a sannyāsin could receive obeisance from his father, but that *he* should pay obeisance to his mother. The following are the relevant extracts from the commentary ; q.v.

ब्रह्मवित्सावभौमोऽपि लोकसंग्रहार्थं तस्या मातुश्चरणौ ननामेति संबन्धः । तदुक्तं स्कान्दे—
संन्यस्ताखिलकर्मापि पितुर्वन्द्यो हि मस्करी ।

सर्ववन्द्येन यतिना प्रसूर्वन्द्या प्रयत्नतः ॥

I am grateful to Swami Ramatirtha for having drawn my attention to this citation.

⁹ Vide Bhavadgītā :

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।

कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥ (३.२५)

¹⁰ The Śaṅkaravijaya of Mādhava actually portrays the Ācārya as *deeply moved* (*ārdracetāh*) at the sight of his mother, in spite of his detached spirit. c.f.

असावसङ्गोऽपि तदारंभेतास्तामाह मोहान्धतमोऽपहर्ता ॥ (१४.३१)

well have exclaimed in strains, similar to those of Kaṇva in Kālidāsa's play :¹¹

माता मेऽद्य दिवं गतेति हृदयं संस्पृष्टमुत्कण्ठया
 कण्ठः स्तम्भितबाष्पवृत्तिकलषचिन्ताजडं दर्शनम् ।
 बन्धोऽयं मम तावदीदृश अहो ! निर्घृतसर्बौकसः
 पीडयन्तेऽन्यमुताः कथं नृ जननीनिर्याणदुःखैर्नवैः ॥

There is one feature that is particularly noteworthy about this verse. The picture presented here is severely restricted to a solitary phase of the mother's sacrifice for her children. There are, in fact, many more facets to this sublime picture of the glory of motherhood. The picture drawn by Paṭṭinattār, for instance, is much more comprehensive and touches many more of these aspects. It is, therefore, not unlikely, looking to the very restricted treatment of the theme, that this was just a part of a larger composition and that the author had composed more verses along with this. In other words, the verse appears to have been part of a bigger symphony and not an isolated and independent note.

It is in this context, that the other part of the tradition connected with this verse acquires added significance. I have it on the authority of Dr. Venkateswaran, that according to tradition prevalent in Kerala,¹² Śrī Śaṅkara had composed a string of five verses on the occasion—as a kind of funeral wreath for his departed Mother!—and that these five verses came to be known as *Mātrpañcaka*. I do not find anything incredible or inconsistent in this tradition, particularly in view of what I have stated above that the picture of *mātrmahimā* drawn in this verse does not present the appearance of a composite whole. And if this tradition is true—as is most probably the case—the loss of the remaining four verses should be a matter of profound regret to all students of Sanskrit literature. In spite of the fact, that reverence to motherhood is one of the fundamental planks of our culture and Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic affirmations of the divinity embodied in motherhood are not wanting, there is a strange dearth of latter-day compositions of this type, wherein the poet sings of the glory of motherhood. Further, elegies of this, nature with an autobiographical touch are rarely to be met with in Sanskrit literature. It is all the more important, therefore, that the *Mātrpañcaka* from the pen of no less a writer than Śrī Śaṅkarācārya—if such a composition ever existed—ought to be saved from slow extinction. It is only as an initial step towards this that I have now

¹¹ c.f. Abhijñānaśākuntala, 4.6, on which this is modelled.

¹² I have described this as a Kerala tradition, as both my sources Mr. K. V. Chacko and Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran hail from Kerala and are representatives of that tradition. The point is further elucidated in a subsequent paragraph of the article, q.v.

recorded this verse along with a full account of its complete background.¹³ It is an inescapable truism that all that is ever said or written by poets can not be preserved and possibly need not be preserved either ! But when a composition like the present one is on the point of reaching "the dark unfathomed caves" of oblivion, one would fain echo the sombre note of the poet, mourning the loss of immense treasures of poetry from age to age—

कति कवयः, कति कृतयः, कति लुप्ताः, कति चरन्ति, कति शिथिलाः ?¹⁴

(Translation : How many are the poets, how many their works, how many lost, how many current and how many mutilated ?)

It looks rather strange that this traditional verse should have had its circulation within the limited confines of Kerala though Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is well known throughout the length and breadth of the country. It appears to have been practically unknown to traditional scholars of even contiguous states. It can not be gainsaid that the verse is of particular importance to those interested in the life of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. And what with the present day tendency to neglect things traditional and what is still worse, the attitude of suspicion towards things which have no other means of authentication except a traditional verse preserved in some remote *paṇḍita-paramparā*, I thought it expedient and even essential to have this tradition recorded in black and white for any use that a future worker on the life of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya may find for it.

I must add a word about what I look upon as a kind of internal evidence, which confirms the traditional attribution of this verse to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. The reference in the last quarter of the verse to "*unnatopi tanayah*", suggesting the exalted position reached by the son can fit in very well in the case of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. The obvious suggestion behind it is that even though a son may accomplish great things in his life and thereby bring glory to his parents, who brought him forth into this world and though that may be *one form* of repaying the debt that a son owes to his parents, it can nowise be adequate recompense for the unparalleled sacrifice that the mother makes for her children. That Śrī Śaṅkarācārya was the tallest man of his day requires no proof. He was, verily, the uncrowned king of Bhāratavarṣa ! Thus, the expression "*unnatopi*", which has a subjective touch and throws an oblique hint about the eminence of the author of this verse paying homage to *his*

¹³ I shall be extremely thankful to any learned reader, who may either be in possession of the remaining four verses or may have heard or read of this tradition of Śaṅkara's authorship of Mātrpañcaka or may have any other information which might lead to the rediscovery of the lost verses, if he could kindly communicate to me such information, as he may have.

¹⁴ Nilakaṇṭhaviḥayacampu of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, 1.6.

mother may very well serve as a confirmation of the tradition. While saying this, I am quite alive to the fact that this by itself can *prove* nothing about the authorship. But, taken along with the tradition, its value can not be underrated. My sole object in drawing attention to this is merely to allay the doubts of hardened संशयारम्भ -s, who on account of preconceived antipathies, are prone to discredit all traditions as rigma-roles ! In this connection, it would be pertinent to recall the wise warning given by Pargiter, who had done pioneering work in the field of our Puraṇic traditions. "All human testimony", says Pargiter, "is liable to error and tradition is human testimony concerning the long past ; hence it is *not to be discarded simply because it contains discrepancies.*"¹⁵ Pargiter has made out a case here—and I think, rightly—for exercising maximum circumspection before thinking of rejecting traditions, even when they contain minor discrepancies. He thereby suggests that no stone should be left unturned in reconciling apparent discrepancies in traditions before they are discarded once for all.

In the present case, there is not only no discrepancy of any kind in the tradition, but there is an indirect confirmation too, as already suggested. Further, there is another significant factor, which can not be totally ignored. The tradition in question is preserved in Kerala ; the land of Śrī Śaṅkara's birth, the land where his mother spent her solitary years after his renunciation and *the very land where he performed her obsequies*. This is one more reason, why this tradition ought not to be discarded in an air of supercilious scepticism merely on the score that it is localised in a very limited area of the country. The case would have been quite different if it had been otherwise ; that the funeral took place in Kerala and the tradition had been localised in Kathiawad or Kāmarūpa !

It should be clear from the foregoing analysis that the odds are in favour of the tradition, though there may be nothing to clinch the issue. I believe, therefore, that the tradition regarding Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's authorship of the मातृपञ्चक may be safely accepted *as long as evidence to the contrary is not forthcoming.*¹⁶

¹⁵ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 1962 ; Page 13.

¹⁶ The possibility of such evidence forthcoming to prove or disprove popular tradition is not altogether ruled out. In this connection, it may be added that the present writer has adduced unambiguous literary evidence to disprove conclusively the traditional attribution of a popular verse to Appayya Dīkṣita or Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita in a paper read at the Srinagar session of the All India Oriental Conference, entitled "On the date and authorship of a well known traditional verse".

GOVINDGARH, A PALAEOLITHIC SITE IN WESTERN RAJASTHAN

by *V. N. Misra*

THE village of Govindgarh (Survey of India Map 45 J, 1" = 4 miles) is situated on the confluence of the rivers Saraswati and Sagarmati, about sixteen miles west of Ajmer in the district of the latter name. Both these rivers rise in the western flanks of the Aravallis, a few miles north and south respectively of the town of Ajmer, and flow close to the village of Govindgarh, the Saraswati to the north and the Sagarmati to the south. They join together about a mile west of the village to form the Luni, the principal river of Western Rajasthan. The Saraswati has a shallow and broad valley and is throughout sandy. The Sagarmati on the other hand has a comparatively narrow and rocky valley with an appreciable quantity of pebbly gravel in its bed.

Both the rivers were explored by the writer in January 1959 from their confluence upstream, the Saraswati upto the village of Nand about six miles from Govindgarh, and the Sagarmati upto the village of Pisangan, about four miles from Govindgarh. No implements were found in the Saraswati, but the Sagarmati yielded two palaeoliths from a gravel deposit close to the village.¹ Later in December 1961 two more palaeoliths were found close to the place of the earlier finds.

The section which yields the implements occurs on the right bank of the river about two furlongs from the village. The deposit or deposits at the bottom of the section are hidden by a three feet thick talus formation. This is followed by a layer of sandy and pebbly gravel of four feet thickness. The lower one foot or so of the gravel is more sandy and less cemented than the upper part. The gravel is covered by nine feet thick yellowish silt. The implements were recovered from the lower part of the gravel (pl. II, Fig. 2).

Another section on the river was observed just below its confluence with the Saraswati. Here the lowermost deposit is a whitish clay similar to that observed in the Gambhiri at Chitor in Eastern Rajasthan. Its visible thickness is three feet. This is capped by a sandy gravel of equal thickness. The third deposit is a yellowish silt four feet thick. The topmost deposit is a sandy silt of fifteen feet thickness (pl. II, Fig. 1). However, no tools were found in this section.

The four implements obtained from the earlier mentioned section include one specimen each of core-chopper and flake-scraper and two cleavers. All of them are described below :

GDG 1 (11.7 × 7.9 × 2.8)² pl. III, Fig. 1.

¹ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, pp. 41-42.

² Measurements of the implements are given in centimeters in the order of length, breadth and thickness.

A long, thin cleaver of quartzite ; slightly rolled and sparsely encrusted with lime and clay. It is made probably on an end flake but all trace of the bulb and striking platform has been obliterated by subsequent working on the lower surface. This face is fully worked by cylinder hammer technique. Upper face is also fully worked, except in the centre where there is a large patch of cortex. Margins are slightly thick and working edge oblique ; section trapezoidal.

GDG 2 (8.5 × 5.4 × 2.1) pl. III. Fig. 4.

A miniature cleaver of dark-brown quartzite ; much rolled. The upper face has a large flake scar in the centre which runs upto the cleaver edge and forms the cutting edge by intersecting with another scar from the lower surface. Margins have large but shallow scars. Lower face has a large scar along the posterior end and several smaller ones along the butt end.

GDG 3 (12.5 × 9.7 × 6.0) pl. III. Fig. 3.

An elongated, pointed side chopper of whitish brown quartzite ; completely fresh. The upper face is fully worked except for a patch of cortex along the bottom by removing large but thin flakes. The lower face is completely flaked by the same technique. It has a sharp cutting edge and a thick rounded back for holding.

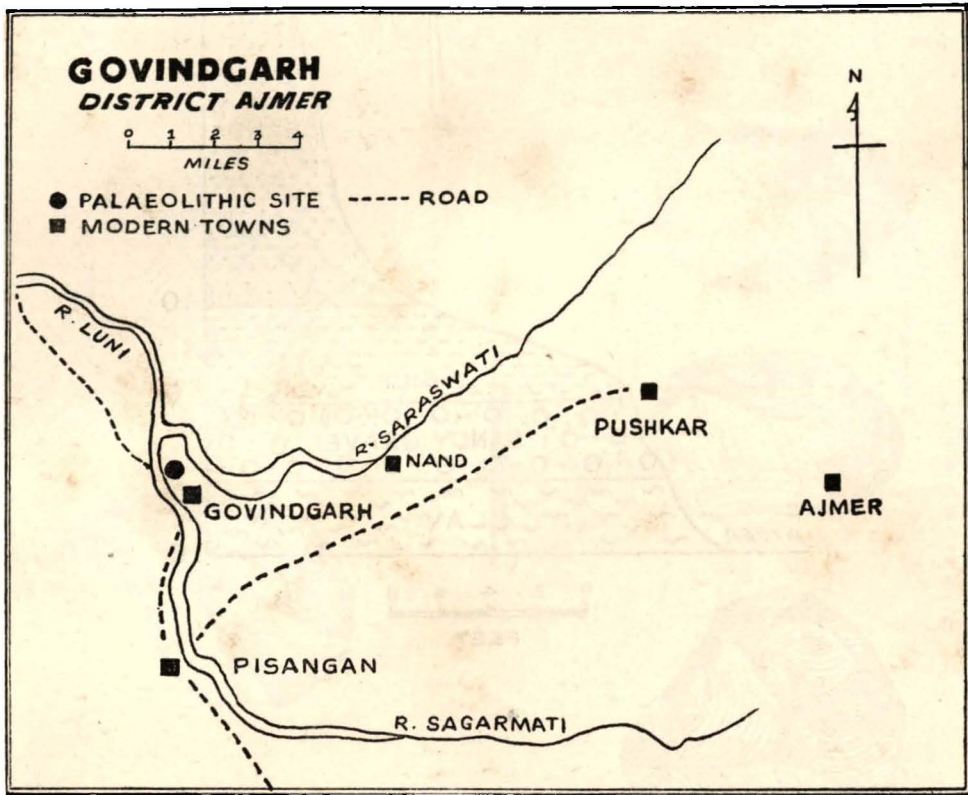
GDG 4 (11.0 × 7.8 × 3.0) pl. III. Fig. 2.

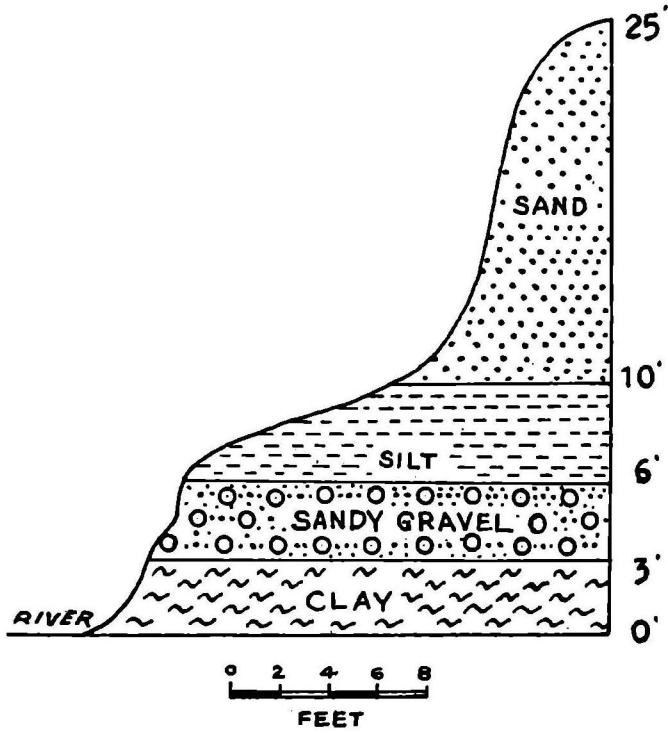
A rectangular flake side scraper of whitish brown quartzite ; unrolled. The upper face is marked by numerous small scars produced by cylinder hammer technique. Right margin is fully worked to produce a scraping edge. Upper end has a small patch of cortex. The ventral surface is a clean flake surface except for a narrow cortical strip along the right margin.

Since the evidence—both geological and artifactual—is small, no generalizations regarding climate, dating, and culture are attempted. It should however be pointed out that the tools are essentially of the Lower Palaeolithic type—in typology, technique as well as raw material—and the stratigraphical evidence is fully in conformity with that obtained from the numerous Lower Palaeolithic sites in the valleys of the Chambal and the Banas and their tributaries in Eastern Rajasthan.³

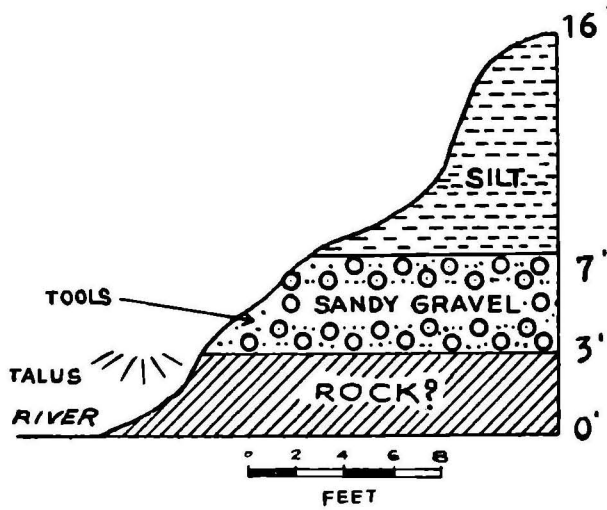
³ For details please see *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, pp. 41-44, 1959-60, pp. 39-41, and 1960-61, pp. 30-31 ; and Misra, V. N. (1961) *The Stone Age Cultures of Rajputana*, Ph.D. thesis. Copies in the Deccan College, and Poona University Libraries ; and Misra, V. N., (1962) "Palaeolithic Industry of the Banas, Eastern Rajputana", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, vol. 34-35, pp. 138-160.

PLATE I





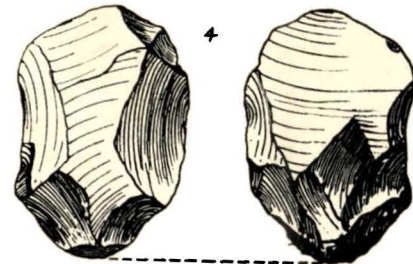
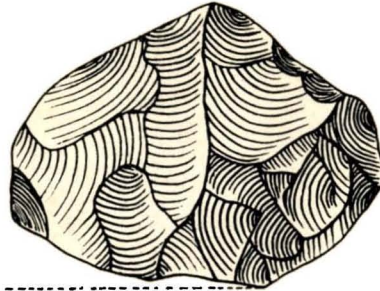
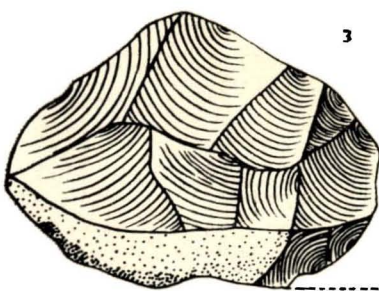
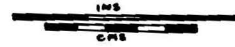
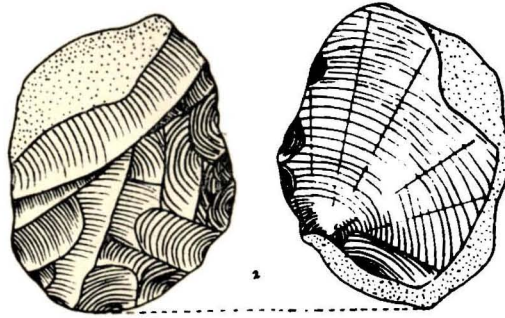
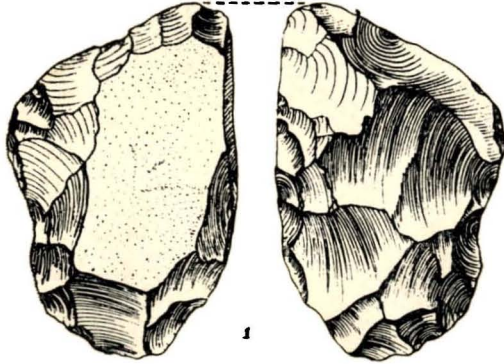
1



2

1. Section along the right bank of the Sagarmati just below its confluence with the Saraswati.
2. Section along the right bank of the Sagarmati two furlongs north-west of Govindgarh.

PLATE III



1. Oblique-edged cleaver ;
3. Core side chopper ;

2. Flake side-scraper
4. Miniature cleaver

A NEW CERAMIC OF THE CHALCOLITHIC FROM DHULIA¹ DISTRICT (MAHARASHTRA STATE)

By S. A. Sali

I. INTRODUCTORY

IN December 1957, the author collected at Chinchoda² (Fig. 1), in association with other Chalcolithic coarse wares and microliths, more than fifty sherds of a painted ware which differed in fabric, types and painted motifs from the till then known post-Harappan Chalcolithic painted wares. However, in the absence of corroborative data from other sites its distinct features were only recorded then. Later on in April 1958, the ancient site at Savalda (Lat. 21°31'45" N. Long. 74° 19'45" E. ; Fig.1) yielded a large number of sherds of the same ware as that found at Chinchoda, besides other already known Chalcolithic painted wares of the region, viz. the Late Harappan and the Jorwe. A careful comparative study confirmed that it was a distinct class of painted ceramic. Important characteristic features of this ware were, therefore, published in a very brief summary subsequently.³ Since the above mentioned discovery, the author recorded the occurrence of this ware on a number of sites (Fig. 1). This evidence, coupled with the interesting painted motifs, illustrating some of the important cultural aspects of the authors of the ware encourage him to publish in detail, from the so far made surface-collections, salient features of this "Savalda Ware" as the author proposes to call it after the typesite at Savalda, where its distinguishing features were confirmed.

2. THE WARE

A. General

In contradistinction to the Jorwe ware with a wash, this wheel-made pottery, with pleasing surface colours, including red, orange, pink, brown, chocolate, buff and their shades, and in the main of medium to coarse fabric, is treated with a slip which shows crackles at places.

B. Types

The types represented in this ware are high-necked jar with a squat

¹ The name of the West Khandesh district has been changed to Dhulia district from 21-10-1960.

² The area considered herein is that which comprised the former West Khandesh district, prior to 1-5-1960.

³ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, p. 24 ; also S. A. Sali, "An Outline of Archaeological Evidence from Dhulia district", *SAMSHODHAK*, Vol. 29, Dhulia (1962), p. 109.

body and blunt carination, dish, platter, dish-on-stand, trough or basin, bowl, lid, ring-stand, etc. (Fig. 4, 48, 54 and 60 ; Figs. 5 and 6).

C. Painted Designs

The designs are painted chiefly in black, occasional examples in ochre red, reddish brown, chocolate and purple colours being also present. They can be grouped under the following four broad categories : I. Animal Motifs, II. Arms or Weapon Motifs, III. Stylised Plant or Plant-like Motifs, IV. Geometrical and other Motifs.

I. *Animal Motifs* :—The animal motifs, executed in silhouette method, include peacock, fish and some as yet unidentified motifs, including horned and other animals and birds (Pl. I ; Fig. 2, 1-8).

II. *Arms or Weapon Motifs* :—This is probably the only chalcolithic painted ware so far found in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent on which are illustrated profusely various contemporary arms or weapons. So far antennae-ended arrow, arrowhead with a notched back unilaterally barbed tool resembling a saw, doublebarbed fish-hook, etc., have been found to be depicted. (Pl. I ; Figs. 2, 4 and 6).

III. *Stylised Plant or Plant-like Motifs* :—Plant-like representations are seen on only a few of the sherds so far collected (Pl. I ; Fig. 2, 2 and 3 ; Fig. 3, 9).

IV. *Geometrical and Other Motifs* :—These include long thin lines, trellis pattern, horizontal bands, loops, spirals, chain pattern, wavy lines, leaf-shaped strokes, comb-like designs, etc. (Pl. I ; Fig. 2-4).

D. Graffiti

On the inside of some of the rim and neck-fragments are seen graffiti marks. In one example the mark resembles English Y and in the rest it consists of vertical lines (Figs. 4, 43 and 48 ; Fig. 5, 50 and 51).

3. EPILOGUE

The chief features of the Savalda Ware presented herein above, as already said, are based on the study of surface collections only. With a view to knowing stratigraphic position of this ware in relation to the other chalcolithic painted wares and other related information in detail, trial soundings on some of the sites would be worthwhile. Besides, its detailed study in a wider context needs also to be undertaken ; for, it is not unlikely that this painted ceramic may prove to be yet another missing link between the early chalcolithic cultures like those at Harappa and the later ones of Western India and Deccan.

4. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I cannot specify in words my gratitude to my *guru* Shri M. N. Desh-

pande for his valuable suggestions while preparing this article. The author gratefully acknowledges the help rendered by Shri S. P. Mote, Modeller, Archaeological Survey of India, South Western Circle, Aurangabad, who prepared the drawings of pottery types in Figs. 5 and 6. Thanks are also due to Shri Jape for the photograph.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATED SPECIMENS

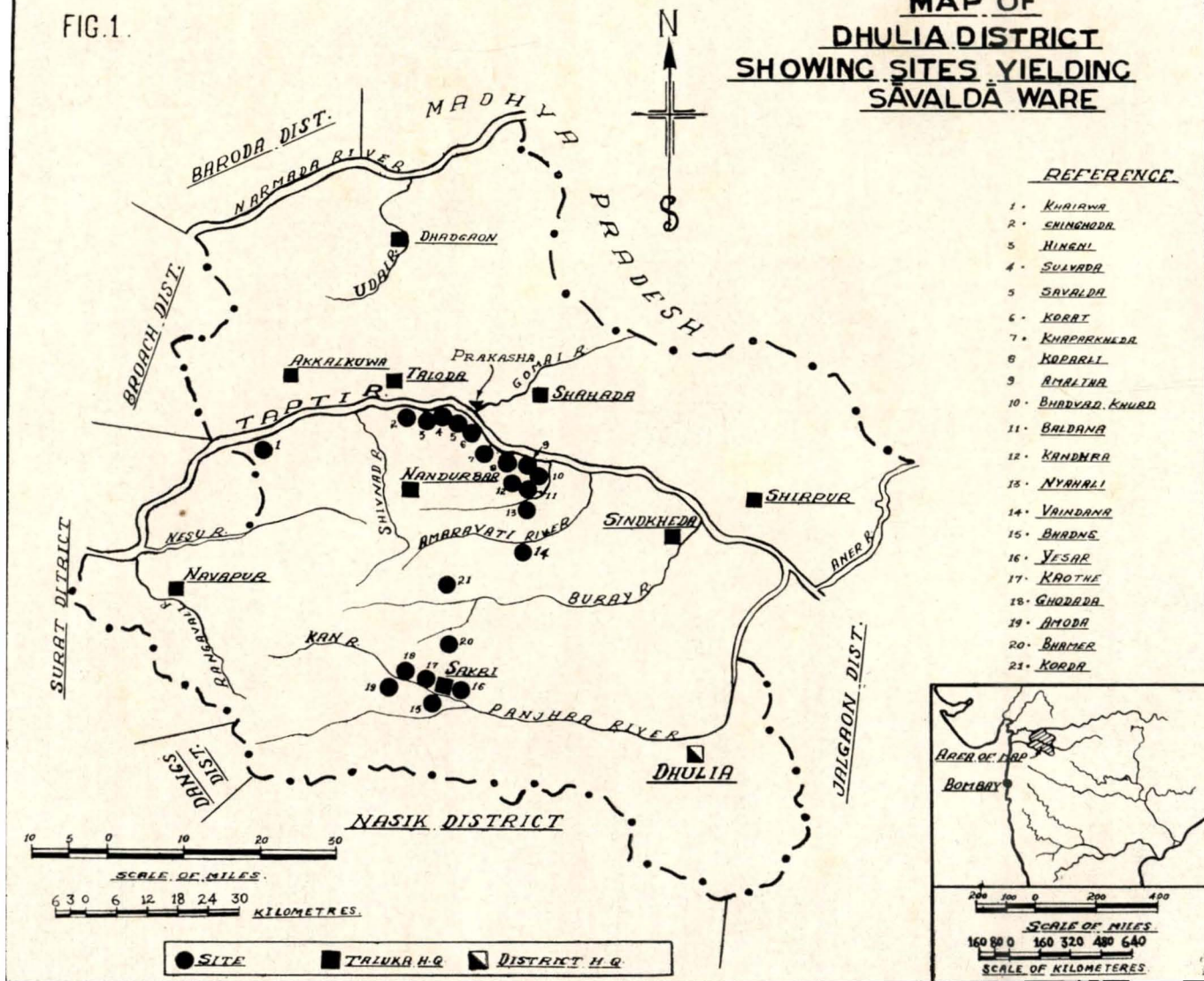
The illustrated painted motifs and types are described below (Pl. I; Figs. 2-6).

1. Peacocks, groups of strokes and an indeterminate design.
2. Plant-like motifs, a peacock and probably a tail of animal.
3. A peacock and a plant-like motif.
4. An indeterminate motif.
5. A wavy line below a rim-band, a row of birds and an indeterminate design.
6. Two indeterminate animals, probably aquatic ones and an indeterminate design above with a herringbone pattern.
7. A horizontal band on rim-top, intersecting loops and two fishes.
8. Horizontal band and an indeterminate horned animal
9. Arrows and a plant-like design. The design and the slip have been peeled off from a large area.
10. Plant-like design and an indeterminate design.
11. Vertical row of arrows.
12. A group of three arrows, one horizontal line and a number of vertical thin lines.
13. An arrow.
14. Two arrows.
15. Two groups of double vertical lines, groups of leaf-shaped strokes, arrows and a trellis pattern below two horizontal bands.
- 16 & 17. "Arrows-in-motion".
18. Three "arrows-in-motion" and an indeterminate design.
19. An arrow, a horizontal band and an indeterminate design.
20. A vertical row of four arrowheads overlapping each other.
21. A vertical row of arrowheads overlapping each other and an indeterminate design.
22. A group of horizontal saw-like designs and a couple of indeterminate patterns.
23. A saw-like design and two incomplete designs.
24. A pattern resembling a saw and thin lines, partly wavy.
25. A trellis pattern.
26. A trellis pattern and a notched arrowhead.
27. Trellis pattern and a group of leaf-shaped strokes.
28. A group of leaf-shaped strokes, horizontal bands, criss-cross pattern and an indeterminate design.
29. Crenate lines between groups of horizontal lines and a trellis pattern.
30. Thin lines and an indeterminate design.
31. A wavy line.
32. A group of three wavy vertical lines.
33. Wavy line between horizontal bands and an indeterminate design.
34. A series of curved lines and suspended pair of leaf-shaped strokes at the apex of each.
35. Groups of vertical lines between horizontal bands.
36. Loops below horizontal bands.
37. Indeterminate design, probably a double comb.

38. Oblique dashes between horizontal bands, a group of leaf-shaped strokes and two comb-like designs.
39. A chain-like pattern.
40. Two chains of arrowhead-like designs and a leaf-shaped stroke.
41. Groups of leaf-shaped strokes.
42. Two horizontal bands and two curved lines.
43. A graffiti mark resembling English Y.
44. Vase with an out-turned rim.
45. Vase with almost vertical rim.
46. & 47. Vase with an out-curved rim.
48. Vase with an out-curved rim, high neck, blunt carination and squat body ; painted in black on the outside with a rim-band and horizontal bands and on the inside with U-shaped solid marks below a rim-band. On the inside of the neck are also seen graffiti marks.
49. Vase with a high neck and out-curved rim ; painted in violet on the outside with a rim-band, horizontal bands and a group of vertical lines and on the inside groups of leaf-shaped strokes on the rim.
50. Vase with an out-turned rim ; painted in black on the outside with a rim-band and oblique strokes between horizontal bands. On the inside is a graffiti mark.
51. Vase with an out-curved rim ; painted in black on the outside with a rim-band and bears on the inside a graffiti mark.
52. Vase with an out-curved rim ; painted on the outside in violet with a broad rim-band.
53. Vase with an out-curved rim.
54. Vase with blunt carination ; painted on the outside with horizontal bands and leaf-shaped strokes.
55. Ring-stand with an in-curved profile ; painted on the outside in the middle with two horizontal bands.
56. Bowl ; painted on the inside in black with a group of leaf-shaped strokes.
57. Vase with an in-curved rim.
58. Bowl ; painted in black on the inside with a group of three dashes and double-barbed fish-hooks.
59. Bowl ; painted in black on the inside with a group of three dashes.
60. Lid ; painted in black on the outside with two horizontal bands at the base of the knob and arrows below.
61. Lid ; painted in black on the inside with groups of strokes along the periphery.
62. Dish-on-stand ; painted on the outside with a horizontal band at the junction of the stem with the dish and on the inside arrows.
63. A dish-on-stand.

FIG. 1.

**MAP OF
DHULIA DISTRICT
SHOWING SITES YIELDING
SAVALDA WARE**



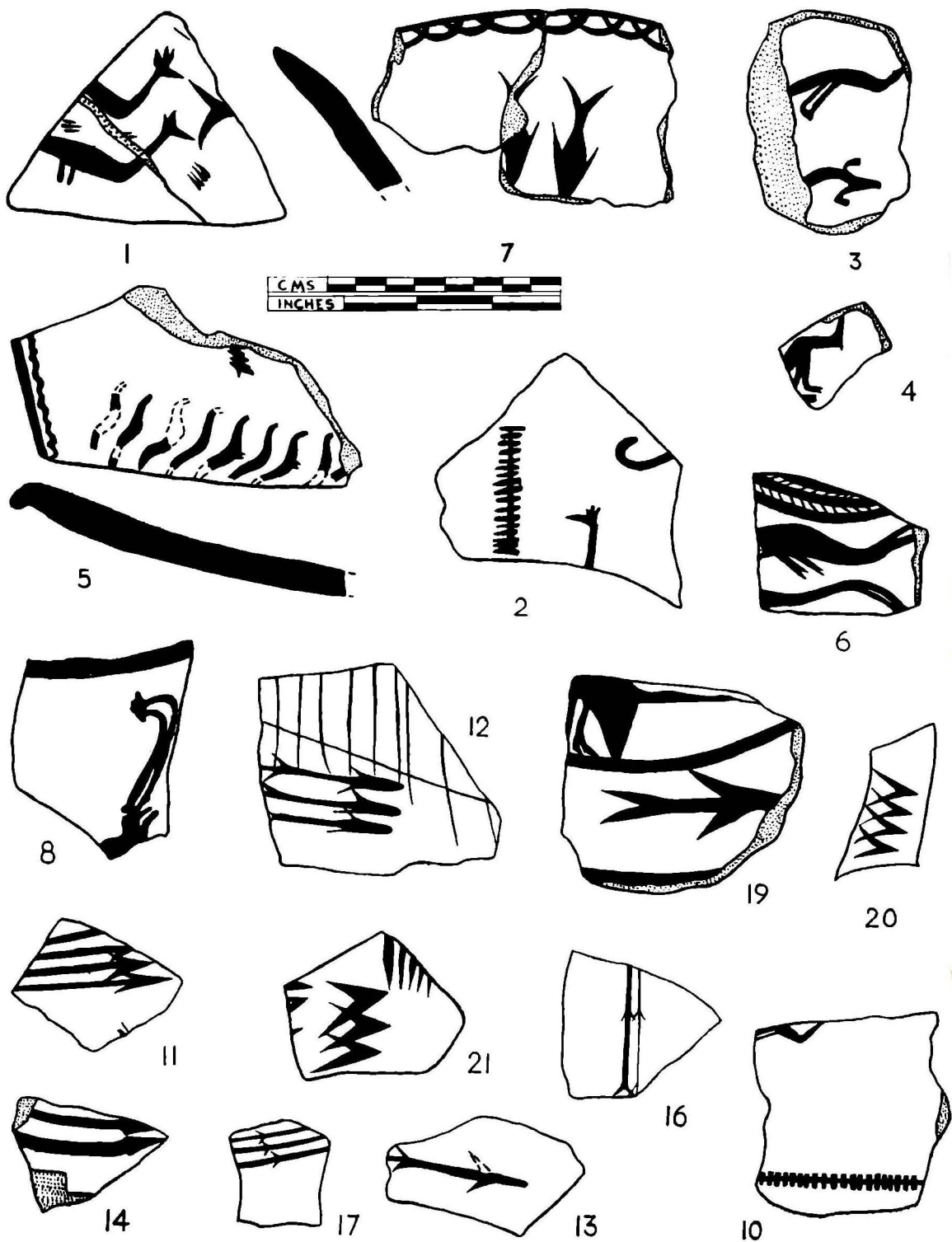


FIG. 2 SĀVALDĀ WARE.

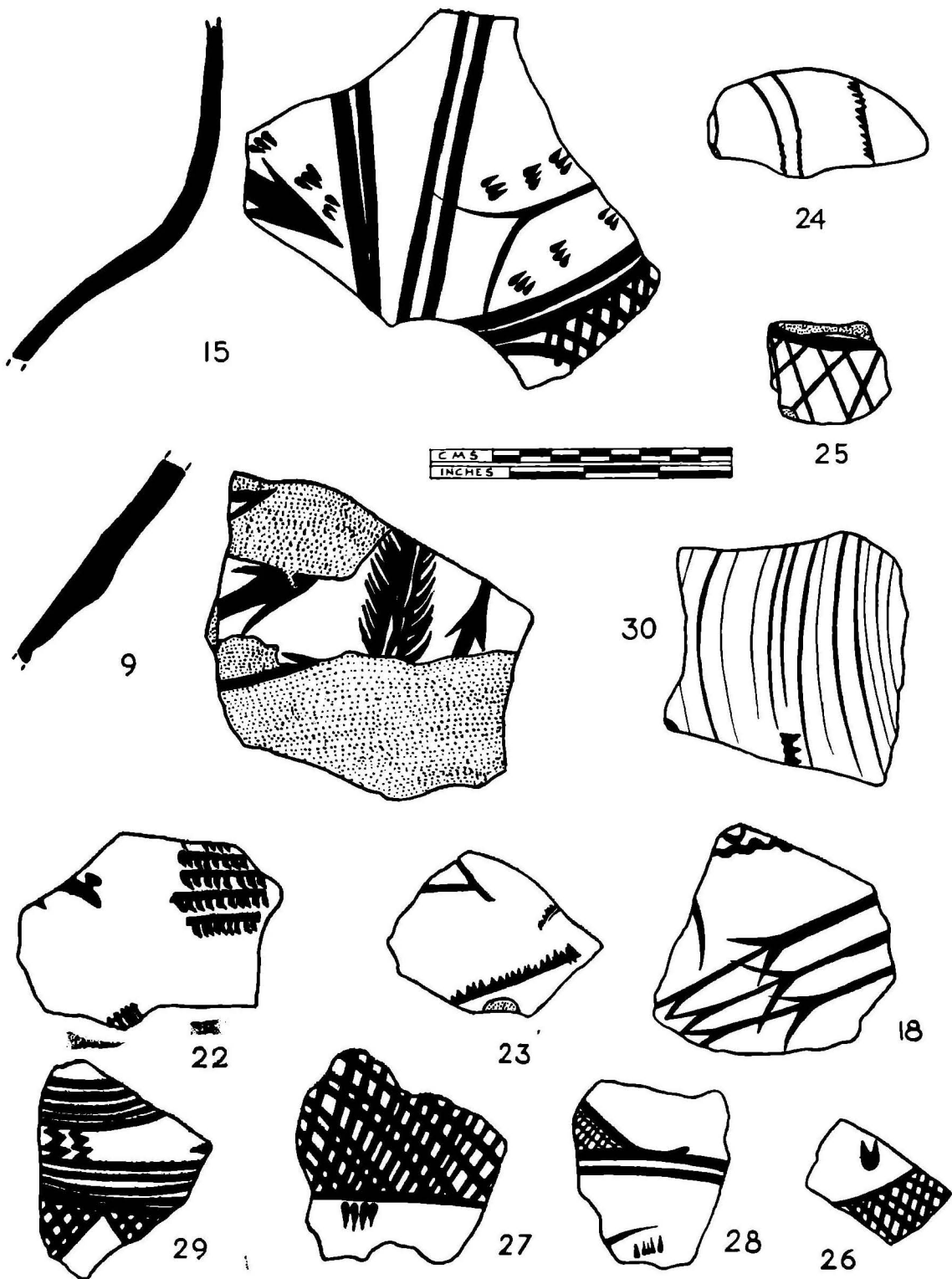


FIG 3 SĀVALDĀ WARE.

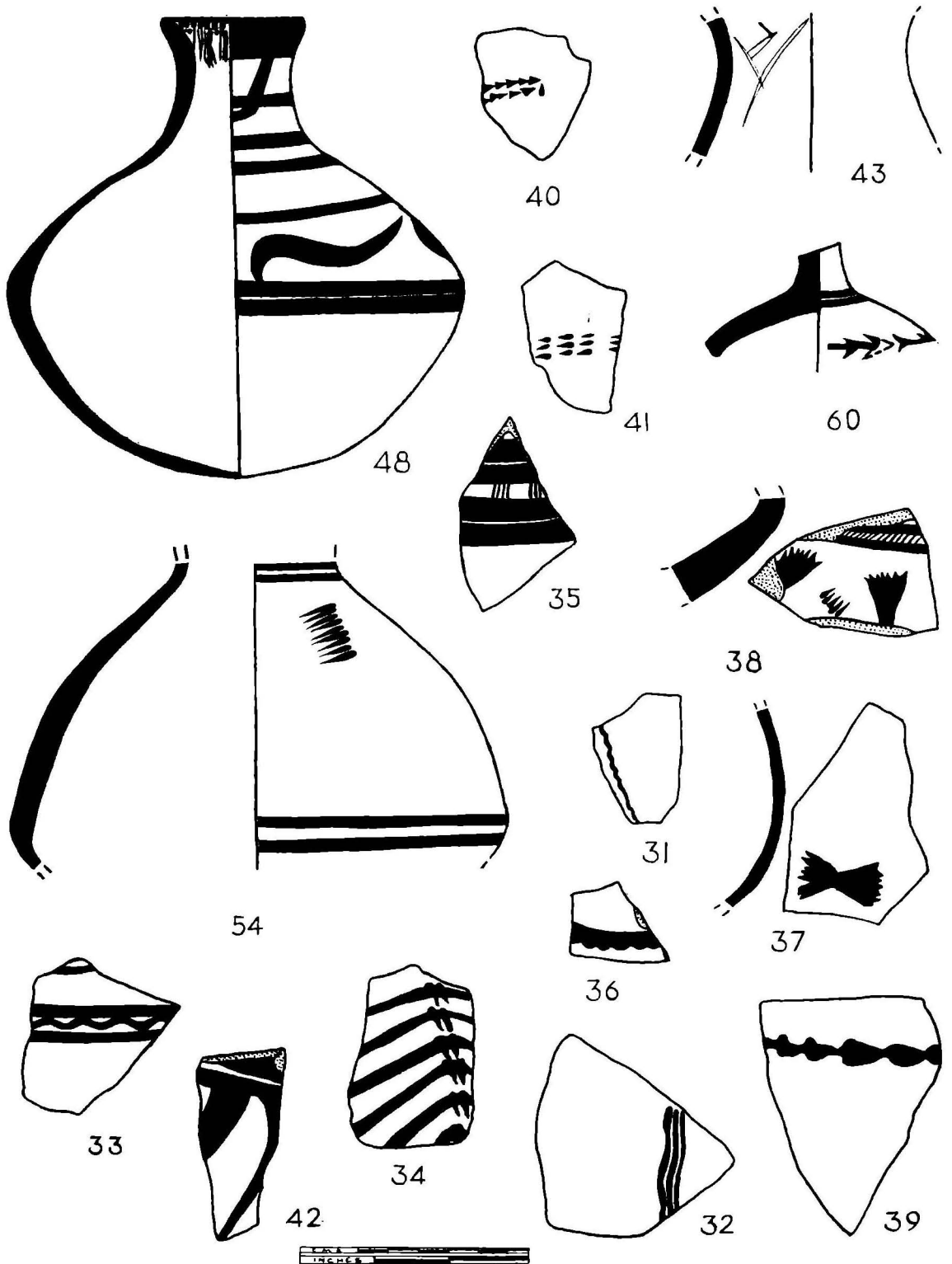


FIG. 4 SĀVALDĀ WARE.(NDS. 43, 48, 54 AND 60 NOT TO SCALE.)

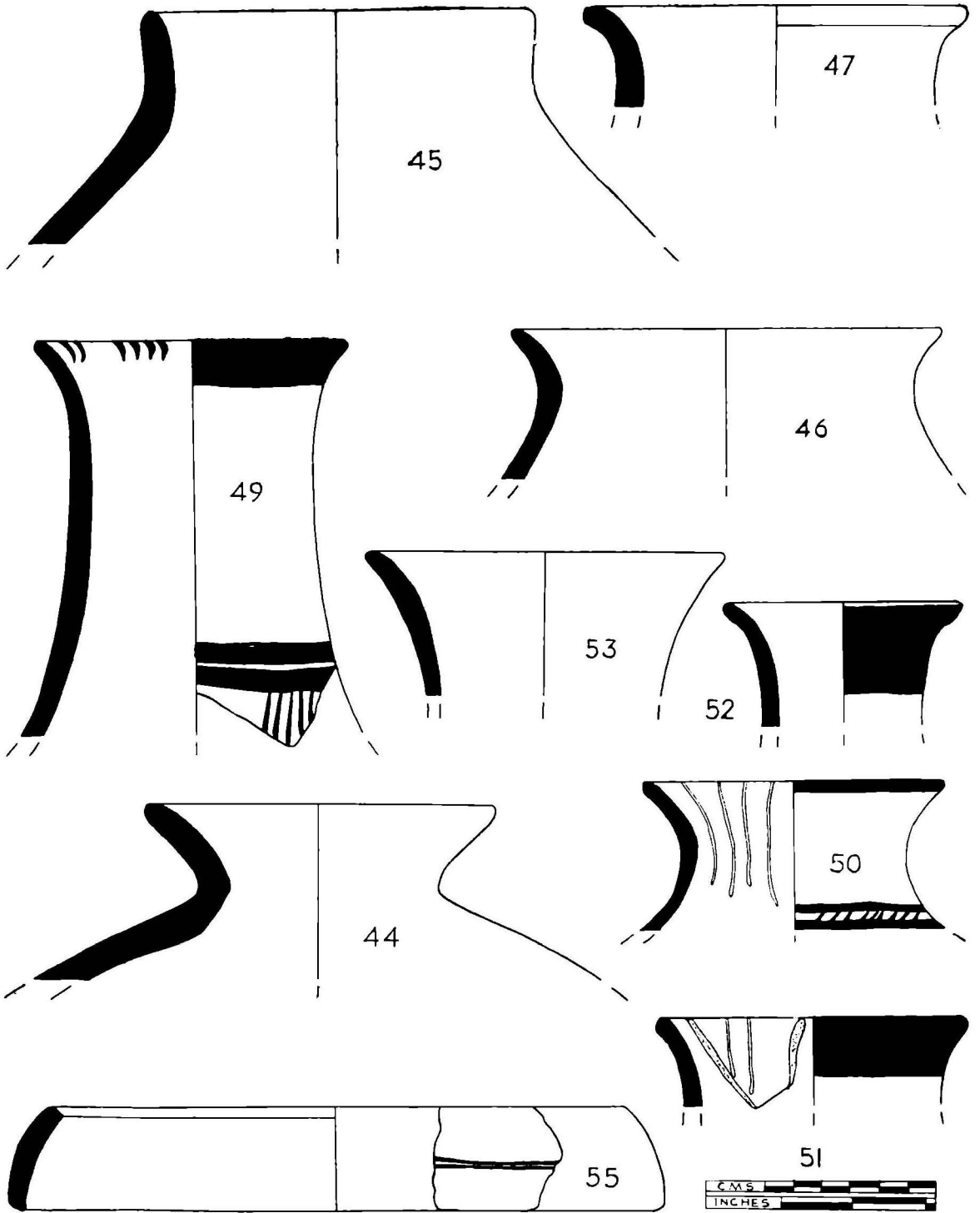


FIG. 5 SÁVALDÄ WARE.

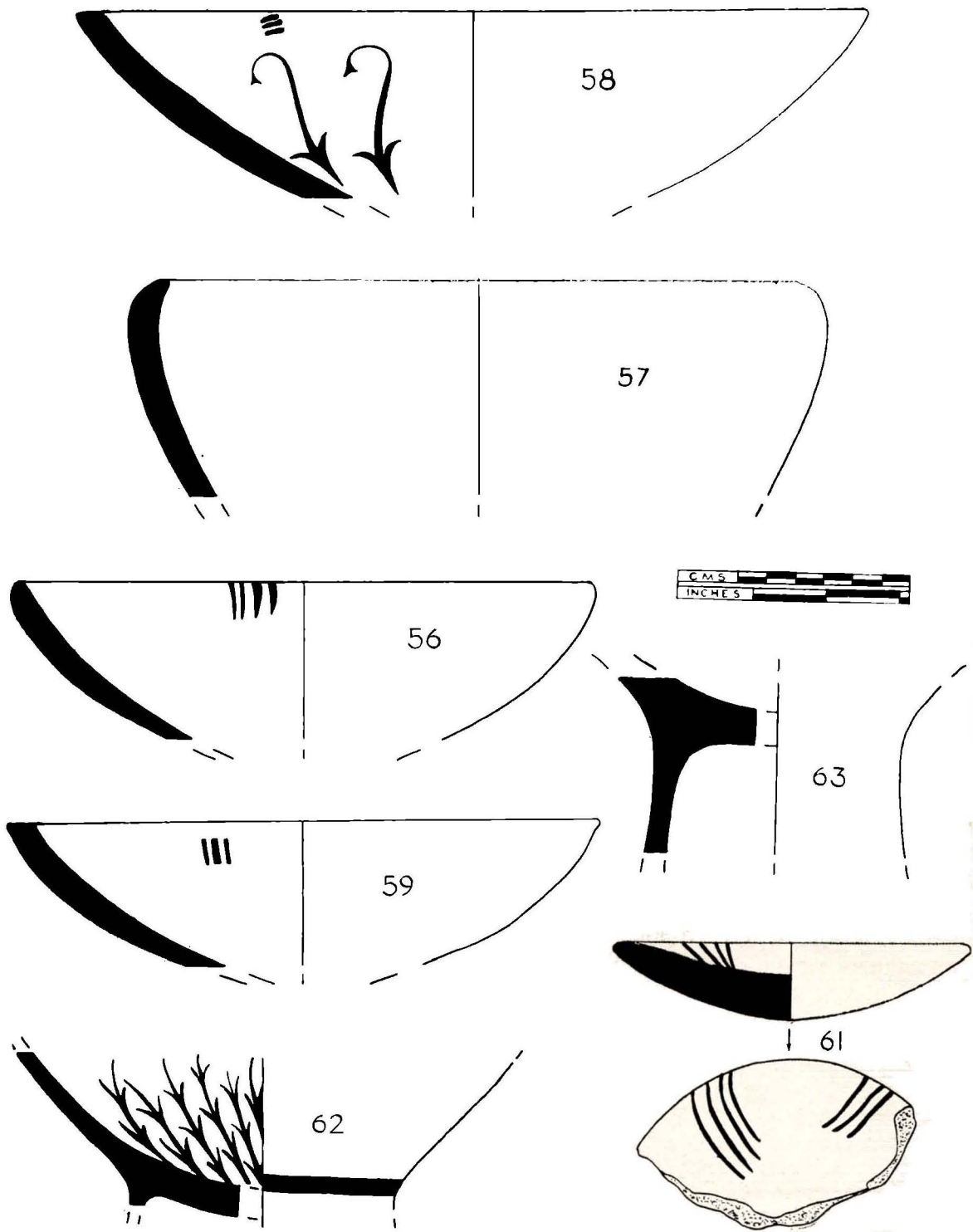


FIG. 6. SAYALDÄ WARE.

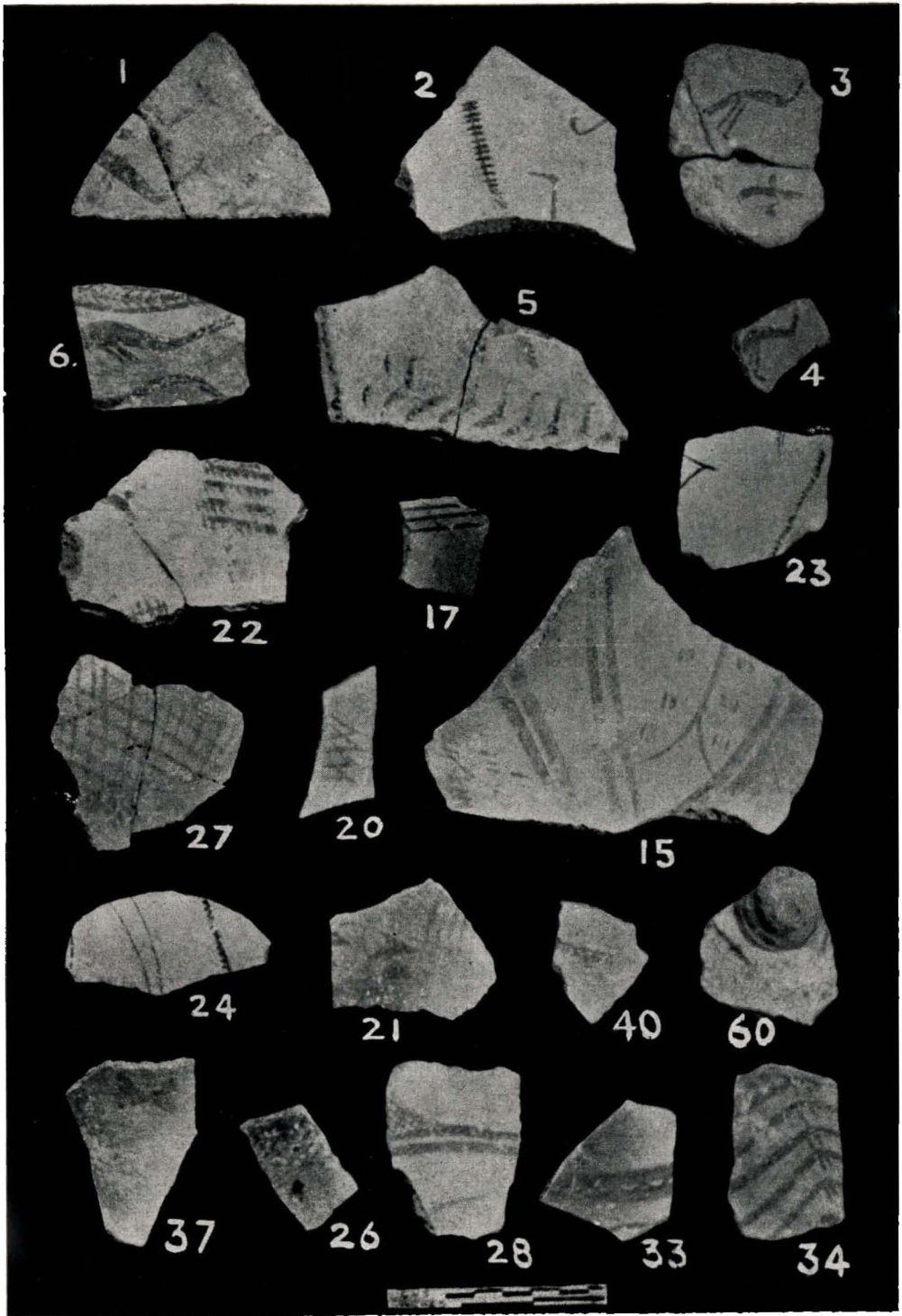


PLATE I. Potsherds of "SĀVALDĀ WARE" from Dhulia district.
 Copy Right: Deptt. of Archaeology, Government of India.



Fig. 1. The Dancing Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera.
(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 2. The Dikpāla Indra on the *jaṅghā* of the Closed Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)

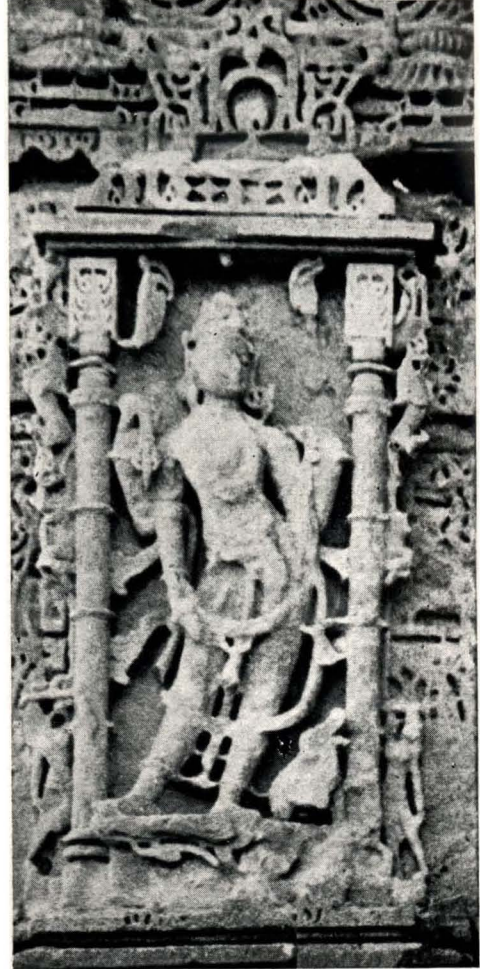


Fig. 3. The Dikpāla Indra on the *Vedikā* of the Dancing Hall, Sun Temple Modhera. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 4. A goddess on the *jaṅghā* of the Closed Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 5. A goddess on the *Vedikā* of the Dancing Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 6. Dwarf vase-and-foilage pillars from (a) Khān Sarovara, Patan Anhilvad, (b) Main Shrine, Sun Temple, Modhera and (c) Ahmed Shah's Mosque, Ahmedabad (Āśāpalli).

(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 7. Dwarf vase-and-foilage pillars from (a) the Dancing Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera, (b) Rāṇī Vāva (now in Bāroṭa Vāva), Patan Anhilvād and (c) Minor shrine at Rudramahālaya, Sidhpur.
(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)

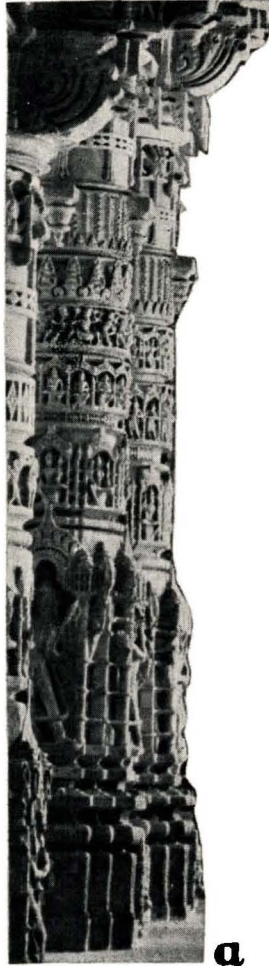


Fig. 8. A wall-pilaster, Main Shrine, Sun Temple, Modhera.

Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State.)

Fig. 9. Free standing pillars from (a) the Trika, Vimala Temple, Abu ; (b) Dancing Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera ; and (c) Closed Hall, Sun Temple, Modhera.

(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)



Fig. 10. Torana pillars, Sun Temple, Modhera.
(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State)

THE DATE OF THE DANCING HALL OF THE SUN TEMPLE, MODHERA

By M. A. Dhaky

THE Sun temple at Modhera has been admired by art critics in phrases that are difficult to excel. It has been acclaimed as ranking "among the supreme creations of Indian genius."¹ Its unknown designer has been called a "master mind"² and a "weaver of dreams".³ The Main Shrine with its Closed Hall and the Portal, the Dancing Hall with the Torana, the Terrace on which they all perch and above all lavishly embellished Tank in front form a group of unequalled picturesqueness amid a desolate surroundings. The hand of nature has lent it a superb, golden pink tint which no craft of man could have slashed on it.⁴

A detailed and a critical examination of this splendid temple, however, reveals certain discrepancies in the orchestration of its component structures. *There are dissimilarities, of style in the main, despite a veil of certain common features, between the Main Temple and the Dancing Hall* (Fig. 1). These disparities are significant inasmuch as they point out to the difference in the date of construction of the two edifices.

The Main Shrine is almost precisely dated to the year A.D. 1027⁵ and represents the pitch of excellence of decorative carving if not the complete crystallization of the architectural expression of the Solankī style. It demonstrates the latter style in its early emergence that leaves behind the archaism of the preceding century.⁶ Yet compared to the sophisticated Nṛtyamaṇḍapa⁷ in its front, the Main Shrine preserves a restraint both in its decor scheme as well as the degree of decoration. The Dancing Hall is more elaborate. The plastic qualities of its applied figural work such as on the *vedikā*,⁸ are never equal to those displayed

¹ Saraswati, S. K., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 595

² Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Period), Sec. ed., pp. 146-47; also note the appreciation of B. Rolland in *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 168.

³ Brown, Percy, *op. cit.* pp. 146-47.

⁴ A similar remark by H. Cousens in *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India* (p. 30) on this point is quite apt.

⁵ Burgess, J., and Cousens, H., *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, p. 81: The Sanctum (as well as the Closed Hall) is slightly above 47 ft. in width. The total length of the temple inclusive of Portal is about 80 ft.

⁶ The problem of the genesis of the Solankī style has been discussed by the author in 'The Chronology of the Solankī Temples of Gujarat' in the *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, No. 2.

⁷ The terms Nṛtyamaṇḍapa and Raṅgamaṇḍapa are synonymous and used in Vāstusāstras in the sense of the Dancing Hall. The so-called Sabhamaṇḍapa is almost unknown in the texts.

⁸ Balustrated *dado*.

by the placid, dignified suavely swaying Dikpālas⁹ and Devīs¹⁰ stationed on the *jaṅghā*¹¹ of the Main Temple.^{11a} Unlike the *apsarases*¹² on the *jaṅghā* of the pillars of the Closed Hall, those on the corresponding positions in the Dancing Hall are, though pliant, less serene, even lifeless (Fig. 3-5). In fact they are on par with the sculptures in such temples as Mahāvīra temple (A.D. 1062) and Śāntinātha temple (A.D. 1082) at Kumbharia, Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple, Sunak, Dugdheśvara Mahādeva temple at Manropur, Brahmā temple at Khedabrahma and what has survived of the ruined shrine in the bank of the tank at Gunja.¹³ At the same time the imagery both on the minor chapels and tabernacles in the Kuṇḍa,¹⁴ although rendered with less care, is otherwise of the same high artistry and verve as seen on the Main Shrine.

By the same token, carving, even of the same themes and devices differ in rendering in Gūdhamaṇḍapa¹⁵ and the Raṅgamaṇḍapa. The chaste, deeply undercut, firmly delineated and elegantly chiselled details seen in the Main Shrine are very much wanting in the Dancing Hall. An orgy of lavishness prevails in the latter structure where the decorative patterns have been produced *en masse* if not quite perfunctorily.

In purely architectural aspects, too, differences do exist. The *pīṭha*¹⁶ of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa is about 7 inches lower than that of the Temple Proper although the sequence of mouldings in both the cases is essentially the same.¹⁷ This may have been prompted by some textual injunction and may not be prophetic in envisaging a chronological difference between the two structures. But the difference in decoration on the *jādyakumbha*¹⁸ of the *pīṭha* of both these edifices is certainly significant. In the Temple Proper the former is carved with simple lotus leaves such as are also

⁹ Regents of the Cardinal Points.

¹⁰ Goddesses.

¹¹ *Entablature*.

^{11a} Those on the Main Shrine are closely akin to the surviving figures on Rudreśvara temple at Prabhas Patan. The sculptures on the Śiva temple (A.D. 1060) at Ambarnath and those on the Udayeśvara temple (A.D. 1059-80) at Udayapur in Mālava are closely akin to those found on the *vedikā* of the Dancing Hall and not those on the wall of the Main Shrine at Modhera. On the other hand, the inscribed image of Sarasvatī (A.D. 1035) from Dhārā, barring its physiognomic features, comes very close to the goddess figures on the Closed Hall of the Main Temple, Modhera. The deterioration paralleled in the territories adjoining to Gujarat in the latter half of 11th century is thus a significant piece of evidence supporting a later date for the Dancing Hall at Modhera.

¹² Celestial damsels.

¹³ All these temples (situated in Northern Gujarat) are attributable to latter half of 11th century.

¹⁴ Tank.

¹⁵ Closed Hall.

¹⁶ Sockle, base.

¹⁷ This was brought about by the reduction in height of such mouldings as *karṇikā* (minor sharp torus), *antarapatra* (fillet), and *gajathara* (Elephant's course).

¹⁸ Inverted *cyma recta*.

seen at Bhadeśvara temple, Anjar and Saṇḍerī mātā temple at Sander attributable respectively to A.D. 1000 and 1050. That in the base of the Dancing Hall displays delicately stencilled pattern on each individual leaf as is met with at Nilakaṇṭha temple, Sunak and Brahmā temple at Khedabrahma. Curiously, the basement mouldings of the flight of steps of the Jagatī¹⁹ leading to the Kuṇḍa conform essentially to those of the Temple Proper not to the Dancing Hall. The *rājasenaka*,²⁰ relatively shorter in height in the Raṅgamaṇḍapa, possesses figural work that is agreeable neither in workmanship nor in disposition to the corresponding member in the Temple Proper. In the latter case, the *rājasenaka* is, however, very similar to the one illustrated by fragments belonging to Somanātha Phase II temple (A.D. 1027-30). A very small part of the *vedikā* of the balconies of the Temple Proper survives and hence affords no useful comparison with the corresponding one of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa. It may, however, be remarked that the vegetal and the geometric motifs on the *vedikā* of the Dancing Hall do agree with those of the *vedikā* of Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia and Śiva temple (mid 11th century) at Sander. The balconies of the Sanctum and the Closed Hall were filled with grilles and did not possess the *kakṣāsana*²¹ member. The latter of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa is comparable to the one of the Dancing Hall of the Limbojī mātā temple at Delmal where erotic motifs are likewise shown.

The dwarf vase-and-foliage pillars in the transepts of the Main Shrine differ markedly from those found above the *āsana-paṭṭaka*²² of the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa. The examples in the Temple Proper betray close likeness to those that grace the *maṇḍapa* of such an early 11th century shrine as the Rudreśvara temple at Prabhas. They are like-wise seen in the inlet sluice chamber of Khān-sarovara at Patan Anhilwad (Fig. 6).²³ Not only that, despite regional variation in style, they come very close, closer than those of the Dancing Hall, to the instances in the Raṅgamaṇḍapa of Śomeśvara temple at Kiradu²⁴ and in the early 11th century additions to Harṣanātha temple at Sikar in Rajasthan.²⁵

The dwarf pillars of the Dancing Hall are taller, the shaft above the vase-and-foliage member unfolding more number of courses. This

¹⁹ Terrace.

²⁰ A broad deep *fillet* atop the base.

²¹ Sloping seat-back.

²² Seat-slab above the balustraded *dado* on which the sloping seat-back rests.

²³ Stylistically, it would seem, these are slightly earlier than Modhera instances. See also Burgess, J. and Cousens, H., *op. loc.* plate XXXIII; At Āśāpalli also a temple with similar pillars existed. These are now seen in Ahmedabad in Ahmedshah's Mosque. See here Fig. 7(a). A variant of this type is found as an engaged pillar in the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa at Modhera (Fig. 8).

²⁴ Kramrisch, Stella, *Hindu Temple*, Vol. II, pl. LXXXVI.

²⁵ The author is indebted to Shri Krishna Deva, Dy. Director General of Archaeology in India for this information.

point of difference loses its weight when it is realized that the height of the pillar was augmented here in order to meet an exigency of covering a greater height than the dwarf pillars and pilasters of the balconies of the Main Shrine are required to cover. But the difference in the quality of workmanship between the two examples is well marked and is surely of some significance. The *āsokapallavas*²⁶ of the vase-and-foilage member in this case possess none of the breadth, vigour, beauty of verve and exquisiteness of details seen in the example from the Main Shrine. The former looks like the near ancestor of those seen in the *maṇḍapa* of the minor shrines behind the Rudramahālaya (A.D. 1142) at Sidhpur, Sarvamaṅgalā devī temple (A.D. 1150) at Kandosan, smaller shrines at Delmal and other 12th century fanes²⁷ if only slightly better proportioned and having relatively superior details. The closer allies of these dwarf pillars are those pillars that once graced the celebrated Rāṇī vāva at Patan Anhilwad (Fig. 7).

The data of the Rāṇī vāva itself is not quite certain. Ācārya Merutuṅga ascribes its construction to Queen Udayamatī, consort of Bhīmadeva and enlists it soon after the foundations by Bhīmadeva.²⁸ But when did she cause this much admired step-well to be built? Historical evidences indicate that she had survived Bhīmadeva (A.D. 1022-64) and was alive for some years in the reign of her son Karṇadeva (A.D. 1064-94). Did she build the well during the life time of Bhīmadeva or the early years of the régime of Karṇadeva? One might think, albeit not quite averredly, that a meritorious act like building a step-well could have been quickened by the piety of a Queen-mother rather than a Queen. A parallel case may be sensed in the Vāpī²⁹ at Vastangadh restored by a widowed Paramāra princess Lāhinī in A.D. 1042. Later parallels of early 12th century, are afforded by the *taṭākas*³⁰ at Dholka and Viramgam for the construction of which Rājamātā Mayanalladevī, mother of Siddharāja Jayasīmha, was responsible. Udayamatī built the Rāṇī vāva, perhaps in memory of her deceased husband. If this is just an idle guess, certain stylistic peculiarities embracing the decorations of the well can not be dismissed summarily. They loom large and frown on any attempt at their casual treatment. The carving as seen in the well shaft and on the pillars and the lintels that were transported away and re-erected in Bāroṭ vāva in the present city, is uniform and unambiguously inferior to the class seen at the Main Shrine at Modhera and its congeners elsewhere. The lintels here bear the same patterns of

²⁶ Leaves of *Saraca Indica* carved conventionally but gracefully right from Gupta Period onward in this context.

²⁷ The other contemporaneous examples such as at Navalakhā temple at Sejakpur, Goddess temple (A.D. 1146) at Kanoda and examples from Karṇāvati (later, Ahmedabad) show five courses of decoration on the shaft.

²⁸ *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 8/21

²⁹ Step-well.

³⁰ Reservoirs.

diamond-and-double volutes above the *tantraka*³¹ and the *ūrmī-velā*³² scroll as are seen in the Main Shrine at Modhera, Dhinoj, Sander and inlet sluice chamber of Khānsarovara at Patan. In treatment, however, the former are weak both in relief and definition of outline; they also suggest certain differences in the minutae. On the other hand, they are reminiscent of those seen in the Trika³³ of the Mahāvīra Temple at Kumbharia. It is logical to infer, let alone on the factor of style, that Rānī vāva was, in all probability, built during the last years of Bhīma-deva or better, during the early years of Karṇadeva's reign. The close parallelisms noticeable in the dwarf pillars of the Dancing Hall at Modhera and those in Rānī vāva reveal sure chronological propinquity of both these structures. Consequently, whatever date is assigned to the one, will find its application to the other.

Next to attend is the case of the free standing pillars in both these buildings. In the Dancing Hall two sub-variations of the same 'order' are observable. The pillars in the four entrance porches are square (albeit with recesses) upto *janḡhā* while the remaining are octagonal upto that moulding. The shaft of pillars of both the types, of course, display the same sequence of superimposed girdles. In the Main Shrine, the pillars of the central octagon are *on the whole* of the same *general* class as, but not *identical* with those seen in the interior of the Dancing Hall. The upper part of the shaft of those in the D. H. is more complex than the similar one in the C.H. The matter is not so simple. The pillars, not unlike those in the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa once existed at Somanātha phase II Temple (A.D. 1027-30). A pillar from this temple was re-used in Phase III Temple in the ambulatory.³⁴ Fragments of the kind were also recovered during excavations at the temple site.³⁵ The other place where this order is met are Vimala Vasahī at Abu,³⁶ and Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia.³⁷ A provincial variation of it also occurs at Kiradu.³⁸ Those of the Torāṇa (A.D. 1018) at Mahāvīra temple, Osia are still closer in appearance.³⁹ The workmanship of the examples cited, however, divides them into two groups *viz.* Somanātha, Osia and Kiradu on one hand and Abu and Kumbharia on the other, the latter two demonstrating very close affinities to those seen in the Dancing Hall at Modhera (Fig. 9).

³¹ Medial projection.

³² Literally a foaming creeper derived from *kalpa-latā* (wish-fulfilling creeper) motif.

³³ Vestibule, *mukhamaṇḍapa*.

³⁴ Cousens, H., *Somanātha and Other Mediaeval Temples in Kāṣṭhīwār*, plate IX.

³⁵ Two pieces of *janḡhā* and two of the shafts have been preserved at present in Prabhas Patan Museum.

³⁶ In the Trika.

³⁷ Likewise in the Trika there.

³⁸ Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, plate LXXXV, Fig. 1.

³⁹ Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jain Art*, Fig. 53.

The problem of the dates of the different components of Vimala vasahī has been immensely complicated by later renovations. The marble, now aged to a deep, lovely ivory-cream suffused with delicate and vivid hues of a rainbow casts a subtle camouflage that successfully eludes the observer. To the Vimala's own heroic and glamorous personality, the tradition and legends liberally allowed all the credit of the marble splendours treasured in this temple, to gravitate. This explicit faith has now been shaken by recent researches on this world famous monument. Recent findings on the problem have in fact some revelations to make. The Main Shrine, the Closed Hall and the Hastiśālā certainly date from the time of Vimala. The authorship of the great Raṅgamaṇḍapa, the Devakulikās,⁴⁰ and the seven elephants inside the Hastiśālā goes, on unimpeachable contemporary literary authorities, supported by epigraphic evidences, to Pṛthvīpāla, minister of Kumārapāla, who completed this work round about A.D. 1150. The Vestibule and the two lateral porches of the Closed Hall, however, occupy an intermediate position in style, and are attributable to the 3rd quarter of 11th century. Its authorship should go to Cāhilla, a brother of Vimala as literary evidences ultimately point out. The identity between the pillars here and those in the entrance porches of the Dancing Hall at Modhera can, then, potentially influence the date of the latter structure.

The criterion of ceilings at Modhera also serves some useful purpose in the present connection. The minor ceilings of all four porches and the central bays of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa are uniformly of the same pattern falling under the *kṣipta*⁴¹ class and Nābhicchanda⁴² order. Two such ceilings, one above the *mukhālinda*⁴³ of the Closed Hall and the other resting on the *antarāla*⁴⁴ pillars in front of the cella, are also in evidence. But the breadth of treatment and superior delineation of details in the latter example distinguish them from those in the Raṅgamaṇḍapa. On the other hand, the ceiling in the portal of Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Sunak comes so close to those in the latter Hall that they can not be but contemporary.

The major portion of the great central ceiling in both the C.H. and the D.H. had collapsed long back leaving behind a shell of a few lowermost courses. But although the diameter of the ceiling in both the cases is essentially the same, being about 15' 9", there is a difference in the nature of the surviving mouldings. In the Closed Hall, the ceiling starts directly with *karnādarīkā*.⁴⁵ In the Raṅgamaṇḍapa, however,

⁴⁰ Minor Cells.

⁴¹ Thrown in.

⁴² Concentric.

⁴³ Front aisle.

⁴⁴ Connecture.

⁴⁵ *Cyma reversa*.

it commences with a *rūpapaṭṭikā*,⁴⁶ a feature also paralleled in the *karotaka*⁴⁷ of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Sunak.

And finally, if the *prahāra*⁴⁸ of the D.H. is compared with that of the Main Shrine, the highly complex, elaborately moulded and profusely decorated one of the former structure stands in a prominent unconformity with the unprepossessing, normal kind topping above the *kuṣacchādyā*⁴⁹ of the Main Temple.

The Torāṇa placed at a very short distance from the Raṅgamaṇḍapa in the east, now truncated above the shaft and severely eroded (Fig.10) is of the same style as the porch pillars save a few elaborations characteristic to torāṇa-pillars as evidenced from the examples at Vadnagar, Sidhpur, Delmal, Asoda and Piludra.⁵⁰

The points of distinction in style between the Main Shrine and the Dancing Hall are now clear. If the factor of increased ornateness coupled with relative deterioration in the plastic qualities in carving carry any weight in interpreting it as symptomatic of relative lateness in age, then surely, the Raṅgamaṇḍapa with the Torāṇa in front of it is late. The Main Shrine, the Terrace, and the Tank with its embellishments and ancillary structures appear to be isochronic; in their workmanship they are affiliated to Somanātha Phase II Temple and Rudreśvara temple at Prabhas as well as Goddess temple at Dhinoj. The Dancing Hall with its Torāṇa betrays better relationships to the cognate group of temples situated at Kumbharia, Sunak, Manropur, Khedabrahma and Gunja. It is also related with a notable force to the Rāṇī vāva at Patan and the Trika of the Vimala Vasahī at Abu. The temples at Delmal, Sander, Gorad etc. occupy their position in between the two. The Sunak group has been assigned by a detailed style critical analysis, to the latter half of 11th century and preferably to the period of Karnaḍeva (A.D. 1064-94) as discussed elsewhere.⁵¹ The Dancing Hall and the Torāṇa, on stylistic grounds, should also be relegated to the same age.

Fortunately, a peculiar behaviour in the spatial disposition of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa and the Torāṇa supplies some clues that buttress this belief. The western porch of the Dancing Hall, the one which faces the Main Shrine, is, curiously enough, a foot shorter in length than the three remaining porches which are identical in length.⁵² Unless this pheno-

⁴⁶ Figural belt.

⁴⁷ The Central Ceiling.

⁴⁸ The base of a *śikhara*.

⁴⁹ The projecting hood above the Wall Proper of a temple.

⁵⁰ All these instances are datable to early 12th century.

⁵¹ Dhaky, M. A., *op. cit.* pp. 37-42.

⁵² See here Fig. 1; for the ground plan of the selfsame Raṅgamaṇḍapa see in A.A.N.G.

menon is arising from some esoteric or astrological consideration there must be some other motive, a consideration from engineering point of view, to effect such an anomaly (Fig. 10). Similarly, the Torana in front of the Dancing Hall has been placed rather in too close a proximity of the eastern porch. At Delmal, Śāsibhuṣaṇa temple at Prabhas, Sun Temple at Piludra and Navalakhā Temple at Ghumali the *torana* was placed at a reasonable distance away from the portal of the *mandapa*. Not only that, the *pītha* of our Modhera Torana, on the east, actually encroaches on two risers of the flight where it had to be underpinned! Evidently, a question of accommodation is involved in the case. The architect, who designed these structures was faced with a peculiar space problem. If he allowed the space legitimate to the correct placement of the Torana and to the length of the western porch, the Dancing Hall would come dangerously close to the portal of the Main Shrine, almost colliding with it. Either he should reduce the size of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa (which he can do only at the obvious risk of upsetting the balance of proportions between the two edifices) or should indulge in some small sacrifices on the eastern and western side of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa, a more convenient, and not quite easily detectable incongruity. He chose the second alternative. Could the original master who designed the Main Shrine, the Terrace and the Tank have committed himself to such a perplexing situation? Or is it the later architect who was faced with a 'blocked up' situation and who had to use his wits in finding out the most satisfactory mean? The latter surmise seems to be more logical, and palpably correct.

The 'master mind' then did not 'conceive' the whole scheme! The 'weaver of dreams' did not contemplate the existence of this Raṅgamaṇḍapa in his vision! It was left to a later master to plant it there. Nevertheless, when silhouetted against the workmanship of 12th century monuments, it is executed decidedly with a superior taste: its details are better disposed and in it the sense of proportions has acted on a subtler plane. The conception of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa, as a whole, is certainly exquisite and as an edifice in its gracefulness outstrips even the Main Temple. Remove it, and half the allurements of this incomparable complex disappears. And yet, if the thought is not too distressing, it is younger in age, an interpolation that could hardly have been conceived in the original blue print. In fact, the power of its beauty, so captivating, the elegance of its proportions, so capricious, the veneer of its decor, so enamouring, even dazzling, the very impact of the whole edifice, so impelling, intoxicate the visitor who surrenders completely to its spell. At the same time, its placement in the same alignment with the Main Shrine on a common terrace and a fundamental harmony of certain decorative details (after all, it was still the 11th century and distinctions can not be *toto coelo* marked between the two structures), ostensibly mask the reality, the suspicion finds no scope

to show. Under the shadow of the drama it enacts, it poses and passes unchallenged.⁵³

Of course, no air of finality can be pretended over this issue. There is, for instance, no epigraphic or a literary evidence to cantilever this conjecture. The Main Shrine is securely dated, true; but it is just a mason's record, not a regular inscription which would purport to give some information about the monument itself. There is equally no reason why the date of the Main Shrine should be applied to the Dancing Hall since the stylistic considerations do not so favour. The possibility of two different guilds inheriting different *genre* of carving does not stand to reason. How is it, it may be asked, that the workmanship of the Main Shrine at Modhera, Dhinoj temple, Somanatha (Phase II) and Rudreśvara temples at Prabhas (situated in the last case far away) reveal the community of traits, conformity of lay out, and identity of workmanship not evidenced with the same force, not even shared in certain particulars by a hall that is erected just in front of it and (supposed to be) *contemporarily* with it? How is it that Rānī vāva at Patan, ascribed as it is to the 11th century and a commendably big project as it was, commissioned by a Royal Queen of an opulent kingdom and in the Metropolis of Gujarat, does not reflect the same excellence of workmanship as the Main Shrine at Modhera, but is, on the other hand in its relative platitude, on par with the Raṅgamaṇḍapa there?

The second criticism that can be levelled against our hypothesis also needs an explanation. Granted that the Dancing Hall is a later addition, was the space as much as 70 ft. computing from the top of the flight to the threshold of the portal of the Main Shrine left quite vacant in the original design? Did it not leave too much vacant space in front of the shrine proper? Is not then, the Dancing Hall included from the very beginning in the scheme and was standing legitimately with the Main Shrine so that no question of spatial impropriety ever arose?

⁵³ Dr. U. P. Shah, has called attention to the "later repairs and replacement of mutilated parts with carvings of later style" at Sun temple at Modhera and few other places (*Holy Abu*, introduction, p. VI). Dr. H. Goetz also seems to believe as he informed the present author in a personal communication. In the Raṅgamaṇḍapa at Modhera the *vandanamālikā* supported by NW pillars is evidently a very late substitution. But the question that crops up here is with regard to the date of the edifice as a whole. The considered opinion of shri Krishna Deva who has surveyed this temple in great details, is also in favour of assigning a later date to this Dancing Hall. Dr. R. N. Mehta, in his Gujarati article in *Gujarāt eka paricaya* (p. 72) feels that the Raṅgamaṇḍapa may have been constructed lately since it is found detached from the Main Shrine. But this is not always a safe criterion in chronological considerations. The large Nandiṃaṇḍapas at Viśvanātha temple (A.D. 1001-2) at Khajuraho and Udayeśvara temple (A.D. 1059-80) at Udayapur, though detached, are contemporary with the Main Temple. On the opposite side, the Raṅgamaṇḍapa of Akhādā Mahādeva temple at Wasai, though connected with the porch of the Shrine Proper, is a later addition.

The inference adduced from such examples, though later in date, is agreeable to the fact that on a *jagatī* there *can* exist an appreciably large vacant space before the shrine proper. The Navalakhā temple (early 13th century) at Ghumali, which is relatively smaller in dimensions than the Modhera temple, has the threshold of its portal some 45 ft. away from the top of the flight of the terrace with no other structure standing in between. An older *torāṇa* or a *catuṣṣṭī* or some similar structure may have existed at Modhera in place of the present Torāṇa and the Dancing Hall, the nature of which we shall never exactly know.

There now remains a third and a formidable objection to be faced on this issue. The portal of the Main Shrine possesses a pair of pillars which are of the same kind as those of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa. The *naralhara* moulding in the *pīṭha* of the porch, is inferior in workmanship to the one found in the main body of the temple. This, together with its imperfect luting, is suggestive of the relative lateness of this portion. The doorframe of the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, too, clearly looks insipid and inferior in workmanship when compared to that of the cella. Evidently, this doorframe together with the pillars in the porch is a substitution of a later period prompted perhaps by the idea of harmonizing the latter with the western porch of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa. In fact, even to-day two fragments of the *janghū* and pillar shafts of very fine workmanship lie in the vicinity of the temple. Judging from their size these could very well have been the original ones of the Portal.

There is thus no hurdle in accepting the Raṅgamaṇḍapa as an after-thought of the whole design. The parallel cases of the later addition of a hall, whether in conjunction with the original shrine, or a detached one are fairly plenty. For example, a Valānaka was added in A.D. 956 before the Mahāvīra temple at Osia, the latter temple itself dating from about the end of 8th century. At Badoli, a detached *raṅgamaṇḍapa* was placed (as determined by Sri Krishna Deva, in the early 11th century) before the temple of Ghaṭeśvara which belongs, according to the same authority, to ca. 900 A.D. The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* in front of the Arāmbikā temple (A.D. 954) at Jagat in Mewad is also of the 11th century. In Gujarat proper, examples of the kind are equally abundant. At Akhādā Mahādeva temple at Wasai (early 11th century) a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* was added in the 12th century in conjunction with the *catuṣṣṭī* of the shrine. According to the *prabastis* of Haribhadra Sūri (mid 12th cent.), Pṛthvipāla, minister of Kumārapāla, added a *maṇḍapa* to Vanarāja vihāra and to the temple of Jina Ṛṣabha at Patan Anhilnad, Vimāla vasahī, Mt. Abu and Ninnaya's temple at Candrāvati. As two contemporary inscriptions inform us Bhīmadeva II built a Meghanāda or Meghdhvani maṇḍapa in front of the great temple of Somanātha (A.D. 1169) in the year A.D. 1217. There is, therefore, nothing unusual if a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* at Modhera were to be added at a later date.

A question that next stems up, is in regard to its authorship. But

before answering that question, another question that foregoes it is pertaining to the *kāvāpaka*⁵⁴ of the Main Shrine itself. It has been suggested—Could Bhima with his confederacy of Hindu princes, have caused a set back in the Gazani ranks about which history, for some reasons remains silent? Surely, the incongruity of constructing the magnificent temple at Modhera so soon after Mahmud's devastating raid justifies such a conjecture. Could it have been built to commemorate Bhima's triumph? ⁵⁵ Whether the temple had been built to commemorate a triumph or not can not be vouched in absence of any direct evidence to the effect. But there is considerable weight in the suggestion that it could have been built by Bhīmadeva I soon after the departure of Mahmud. The scale of the scheme is quite large for that age. The cost of erection of the Main Shrine with its ample Terrace and such a large and elaborately embellished Tank with its numerous chaplets must have demanded a king's ransom. A royal patron alone could have whimmed and carried out such an impressive project. Unlike the affluent Jains, the laity among the Brahmanists could hardly have contemplated to shape such a costly edifice. The sculptures, life-size in dimensions on the Main Shrine reveal an authority behind them. The sculptures of the stature of the Modhera Temple are paralleled only at two places, the great temple of Somanātha and the temple of Ajitanātha at Taranga, behind which stand the wealth and strength of an emperor.⁵⁶ And behind Modhera temple who could else be there but Bhīmadeva?

Karṇadeva, too, has been recorded in the chronicles of Gujarat as a powerful potentate and a great builder. According to *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, he founded the city of Karṇāvati near Āśāpalli and erected there the temples of Karṇeśvara, Kocharabā and Jayantidevī. He also built an artificial lake 'Karṇasāgara' near that city. At Patan he built the Karṇameru prāsāda, the allusion to which is frequently found in a number of *prabandhas*. At Bhadrāvati he built a *vāpī* that was renovated by Jagaḍuśā in the 13th century as informed by *Jagaḍu carita*. Kinloch Forbes on the strength of evidences, both of local tradition and the architectural relics existing in his days, refers to the existence of a vast lake, another 'Karṇasāgara', in the vicinity of Modhera.⁵⁷

The Raṅgamaṇḍapa at Modhera is no mean edifice. Measuring some 53 ft. across its diagonals and embellished so lavishly from the base to the top, it too, does not seem to be an erection by a common man, not even by a congregation who could, at best, build an ornate edifice but otherwise of the size of the shrines such as are found at Sander and Sunak. Could Karṇadeva who undertook a vast project near Modhera,

⁵⁴ Builder.

⁵⁵ Bharucha, Siloo, *Marg*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 53.

⁵⁶ Kumārapāla.

⁵⁷ *Rāsamālā*, part 1, p. 80.

have his hands in building this spectacular Dancing Hall? Could he not have thought to adorn the shrine (what does not seem incompatible, erected by his father) by adding this lovely tribute as a mark of reverence? The final answer confirming or contradicting this theory will perhaps come one day through the accidental turning up of an epigraphic record or some *prabandha*, hitherto unknown, coming to light from some Jain library of manuscripts from Gujarat or Rajasthan. Till then let us accept the verdict of the style.

REVIEWS

Rgveda Mandala VII ; edited and translated into English with introduction and critical notes by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1963. Price Rs. 20.

To the serious students of R̥gveda, Professor Velankar needs no introduction. He has been publishing for over forty years annotated translation of Indra and Agni hymns principally through the Bombay University Journal and his work has justly received praise from renowned scholars in the field.

Prof. Velankar has been doing original work in many fields of Indology and students of this science have come to equate his publications with thoroughness, mastery over the subject of study and impartiality. R̥gveda, however, has all along been his favourite subject. The interest and sincerity with which he writes and lectures on it eloquently indicated the value he puts on R̥gvedic studies.

R̥gvedic interpretation for long has been largely bipolar. One is either inclined to rely on the traditional interpretation offered by ancient theologians of which Sāyaṇa is a classic example or solely depend upon the great work done by modern scholars, based on comparative Philology, Mythology and Linguistics. Relying on the Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya, Prof. Velankar takes the help of pūrvasūris like Oldenberg, Pischel, Geldner and others but quite often offers his own interpretations which are generally found to be correct by scholars of the stature of L. Renou. He is fully entitled to this because of his scholarship, critical judgement and patient continuous work. An ancient literature of this kind can be better understood by a scholar who is born on the same soil, has imbibed to a certain extent the spirit of the writings and has developed an insight. Prof. Velankar has all the equipment of a researcher, has assimilated modern methods of interpretation and in addition he appreciates the hymns, nay, he loves them. He looks upon the hymns as literary compositions and hence points out the poetic beauties of the same.

The present edition contains the text in Devanāgarī without the Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya, translation and critical notes, the latter bearing the stamp of his scholarship and labour.

In the introduction, he discusses eleven different topics connected with R̥gvedic interpretation. Under Vasiṣṭha and Varuṇa, he deals at great length with the hymns addressed to Varuṇa and shows that the attitude reflected therein is not so much that of love as is commonly understood. He points out that the origin of Bhakti should be better associated with Indra who veritably was like a mother to the Vedic seers. In another topic he suggests that there is no basis for believing in the existence of Linga worship in R̥gveda and the word Śisnadeva does not mean a phallus worshipper. Under āgas or sin and Morality, he attempts to

show that āgas or énas is not used in the Ṛgveda in the accepted sense of a sin pertaining to spiritual or ethical matters but primarily refers to the violation of the Vratas of the Gods. The select Glossary contains a short note on Vedic tenses and Moods, all the occurrences of different forms of verbs and nouns indicating also their derivation. We have also in addition a general index giving references to important points referred to in the notes and indices of deities and metres. All these, needless to say, increase the utility of the work. The students of Ṛgveda undoubtedly owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Velankar for this volume and are eagerly looking forward to a complete translation of the entire Ṛgveda.

The Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan has been doing monumental work for popularising Sanskrit studies and for the revival of our great ancient culture. The Bhavan has to its credit a large number of valuable publications. The Bhavan therefore richly deserves the thanks of us all for bringing out this volume, good in print and get-up.

S. N. G.

The Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandrasūri ; critically edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Joint-Director ; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay ; Published by Singhi Jain Śāstra Śikṣapāṭha, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay ; Singhi Jain Series, Vol. 49. Price Rs. 14.40.

This Valuable treatise on Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa prosody has been critically edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar along with Hemacandra's own commentary Chandaścūḍāmaṇi, an anonymous tippanaka called Paryāya and a very compendious introduction, appendix and many useful indices.

Prof. H. D. Velankar has done a great deal of work on metres, both Sanskrit and Prakrit through his editions and papers. Mention amongst these may be made of Jayadāman, a collection of ancient texts on Sanskrit prosody and a classified list of Sanskrit metres and Vṛttaratnākara—Tātparyaṭīkā of Trivikrama. His work on Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres brings to the notice of workers in the field the important role these perform both for the study of Sanskrit metres as well as the prosody of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The present work is a fine example of what an edition should be.

Prof. Velankar by temperament and training is a scholar who undertakes a work of this kind only when he is fully equipped to do it by a thorough study of all the relevant available material. It is therefore fitting that he should choose to edit the work of an author who himself was the master of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres and through

whose book the Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres attained an independent status. Chandonuśāsana has the added distinction of having condensed a very large matter from the province of Metrics in about 700 Sutras.

The value of this edition is greatly heightened by the informative and the critical introduction added to it, wherein in about hundred pages, the editor gives us a short history of the development of Indian metrical science. This, in a sense, is a continuation of his introduction to Jayadāman where he had discussed at length the origin and development of the Sanskrit metres. He traces here the history of the Prakrit metres starting from Bharata. His remarks on the Prakrit and Apabhramśa stanzas in the IV Vikramorvaśiya are very interesting. He is of the opinion that Apabhramśa was in Kālidāsa's times a language of the common man, Prakrits were the languages spoken by the middle classesmen, uneducated women and servants, while Sanskrit was reserved for the learned. He also examines the contents of the important treatises under three pairs representing broadly the three main stages in the growth of the metres under investigation. Speaking of Hemacandra's contribution he says that Hemacandra has given an authoritative, systematic and selective account of all the topics of his predecessors.

The section on Prakrit metres from Jānāśrayi, 5 indices and two appendixes have certainly contributed to the value of the work.

The edition is based on eleven manuscripts, and two have been utilised for the Paryāya commentary. Students of Sanskrit, Prakrit and M.I.A. metres are very much indebted to Prof. Velankar for bringing out this excellent edition. It emphasizes once more that bringing out a critical edition needs a thorough grounding in the subject through a patient detailed spade work. This is a worthy addition to the imposing list of the Bhārtiya Vidyā Bhavan publications and the Bhavan also very richly deserves the thanks of all students of Indology for bringing out this volume.

S. N. G.

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