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MEMORIAL VOLUME**

PROFESSOR H. D. VELANKAR

When the printing of the present issue of the journal was nearing completion, the grievous news was received of the sad demise of Prof. H. D. Velankar. His connections with the Society date from the early twenties when he undertook to compile a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the Society's Collection. This was a task the successful accomplishment of which was justly regarded as an achievement. He served for years on the Council of Management of the Society, and was from 1953 to 1959 one of its Vice-Presidents. For a decade or more he carried on the onerous duties of the managing editor of the journal, contributing learned reviews and articles to its pages. In his death the Society loses one of its most estimable members. *Requiescat in pace.*



José Lucrecio de Cárdenas

VOLUMES 39-40 (combined)

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DR. JOSÉ GERSON DA CUNHA
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DR. JOSÉ GERSON DA CUNHA

1844-1900

By George Mark Moraes

ONE OF THE important stipulations of the treaty of June 1661, concluded between Portugal and Britain, was that the harbour and island of Bombay should be ceded in full sovereignty to the latter. In return Britain was required to patch up the quarrel with the Dutch with whom Portugal was then fighting a losing war. The Portuguese authorities in India, however, were reluctant to honour this stipulation, fearing, as they did, the development of Bombay into a potential political and commercial rival of Bassein, the proud metropolis of their flourishing "Province of the North," if left in alien hands. They tried to put every obstacle in the way of its cession, and gave in only when it was impressed upon them that the desperate situation at home could be saved by no other expedient. They ceded Bombay on 18th February, 1665, and what had been till then but a suburb of Bassein was thus set on its eventful career in the course of which it not only eclipsed Bassein, but rose to be the commercial capital of the empire that the British eventually built up in India.

In this tercentennial year of the cession of Bombay, it is but just that the Asiatic Society should commemorate the services of one who devoted his best talents to delineate the stages by which this *urbs prima in Indis* achieved its proud destiny in a magisterial work—*The Origin of Bombay*. Dr. José Gerson da Cunha was in his day a most distinguished member of the Society. He devoted himself to antiquarian research with the zeal of an apostle, making it his life-work, and had on the eve of his dying-day (3rd July, 1900) seen through the press the last pages of his *chef-d'oeuvre*. The book was published as a special number of the Journal of the Society, whose earlier volumes are enriched by valuable contributions from his pen extending over a life-time.¹

FAMILY AND LINEAGE

Dr. Da Cunha was a Goan, born at Arpora in the district of Bardes, on the 2nd February, 1844.^{1a} His family, however, traced its origin to Kuṭhāl (Cortalim), a picturesque hamlet nestling in the groves on the banks of the Zwari, which stream separates the district of Salsette from Tiswadi in its meandering course. Kuṭhāl has had a village community exclusively of Sarasvat Brahmins, composed in modern times of twenty-four vāṅgoḍs or households.² Bālakrishṇa, the ancestor of Dr. Da Cunha,

¹ Appendix II.

^{1a} *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, p. 72 (Baptismal certificate).

² F. N. Xavier, *Bosquejo historico das comunidades*, p. 322. Only six at present.

belonged to one of these households.³ In consequence, the Da Cunha family would now be classed among the Kuśasthalis or rather the more illustrious sept of the latter, the Chitrapur Sarasvats of North and South Kanara who likewise⁴ trace their origin to Kuṭhāl. According to the mythical account in the Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa of the Śkaṇḍa Purāṇa the Brahmans of Kuṭhāl were part of the progeny of the ten sages⁵ whom the Brahman hero, Paraśurāma, invited to come down from Trihoṭra to assist at a sacrifice which he was intending to perform in commemoration of his victorious campaign which had ended in the destruction of the Kshatriyas. This progeny, originally consisting of sixty-six families, were settled in eight villages in Goa, ten each at Kuśasthali (Kuṭhāl) and Keḷośī, belonging to Kautsa, Vatsa and Kauṇḍiṇya Gotras, six families each at Maṭhagrāma (Margão), Vareṇya (Verṇa), Loṭli, and Kuḍasthali (Curtorim), ten families at Chuḍāmaṇi (Chorão), and twelve families at Dīpāvati (Diwar) also called Gomañchala⁶.

HONORIFIC SENVI

In common with the other Sarasvats of Goa, the Brahmans of Kuṭhāl styled themselves Śenvis, an honorific whose significance had already become shrouded in mystery when Bālakrishṇa left his native village to try his fortune in Bardes some time in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Jesuits who had made Kuṭhāl the starting-post of their activities in Salsette about this time were confronted by the mutually contradictory and fanciful derivations ascribed to this epithet when they began making inquiries about its meaning. They thought that the derivations that could be accepted as plausible were those having a bearing on the two callings in which the Brahmans of Kuṭhāl had been long enjoying a near monopoly, viz., those of the village school master and scribe. For in the whole of the Konkan none but the Brahmans of Kuṭhāl taught the children the three R's and they were in demand as scribes even in kingdoms outside Goa. In fact it was on this latter account that they were nicknamed cats, a metaphor suggested by the noise which they made with their quills, which noise resembled the purring of cats.⁷

³ *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, p. 48.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. XV, *Kanara*, pt. I, p. 165.

⁵ Bhāradvāja, Kauśika, Vatsa, Kauṇḍiṇya, Kaśyapa, Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra, Gautama and Atri.

⁶ Da Cunha (ed.), *Sahyādrī-Khaṇḍa of the Śkaṇḍa Purāṇa*, Uttarārḍha, ch. iv, vv. 4-10, pp. 31-12; G. R. Sharma, *Sārasvata Bhūshana*, pp. 58-59.

⁷ Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo*, pt. II, conq. I, div. I, para 13, p. 12. Of the same tenor, naturally enough, is the interpretation of the caste-name "Śenavi" attempted by the author of the *Konkanākhyaṇa* (A.D. 1721). He says that when the great Chhatrapati Shivaji conquered Rajapur on the west coast, he was met by the talented scribes. The latter objected, on being described as "Mahārūshṭra" or marūṭhas, that they were "Śenavais." Ch. IV, Pūrvārḍha, vv. 14-15.

These interpretations, however, were too plebeian to explain the origin of an honorific proudly borne by a caste which claimed to be the aristocracy of Goa. It is, therefore, to the credit of Dr. Da Cunha that when he applied his mind to the question he contrived an interpretation which was calculated to substantiate the title of the caste to blue blood. He seems to have thought it significant that the eight villages in which the progeny of the sages was originally settled were all in the two districts of Tiswadi and Salsette. Now these names mean etymologically thirty and sixty-six villages, and put together yield the telltale word 'Śāṇṇav' or ninety-six, the origin of the caste-name Śeṇvi, apparently due to the division of the progeny of the sages into ninety-six families.⁸ The figure had about it an aristocratic tinge as well on the analogy with the ninety-six *kulin* families from which the Marathas, the real aristocracy of Maharashtra, are admittedly descended,⁹ the Sarasvats having even a better of the former because of the close resemblance between Śeṇvi or Śeṇoy and Śāṇṇav.

This hypothesis, however, would be as true as it is certainly ingenious had it not been for the fact that it was necessary for its author to play with the figures to make it work. He increases the number of the original families from 66 to 96, in order to assign them each to the 96 villages in the two districts—a permutation which takes undue liberties with the number of the families which are unequivocally mentioned together with the villages in which they settled in the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa. Nor is the hypothesis acceptable in the new and improved form given to it by Mr. G. R. Sharma, according to which the Sarasvats established their supremacy over the ninety-six villages.¹⁰ This is again wishful thinking, as it is notorious that all village communities in Goa have been on a footing of equality with each other, whether they be Kshatriya or Brahman.

Fortunately, the successive stages in the morphology of the word are preserved in the inscriptions found in the Konkan, from which it is possible to deduce what must have been its original form and what exactly it signified. The penultimate stage in the change in the form of the word was evidently Śeṇui which is found in an inscription from Aksi (in the Alibag taluka of the Colaba district) of the time of Keśideva, i.e., Arikesari of the Śilāhāra family of North Konkan, who is described here as the Emperor of the Konkan (Konkaṇa Chakravarti). Issued on Friday adhika Jyeshṭha māsa, krishṇa pakṣa Ś. S. 934 i.e., 16th May, 1012, the inscription gives the name of Bhairju Śeṇui (भइर्जु सेणुई)

⁸ Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 8 and 11.

⁹ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 82.

¹⁰ Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 60. It may be mentioned in passing that Dr. Da Cunha's interpretation was rejected by K. B. Gunjekar in his *Sarasvati Maṇḍala*, pp. 49-50 as untenable and worthless.

who was serving under Kesideva as his Chief Minister.¹¹ The other stages, leading to the original Sanskrit form of the word, are indicated in an inscription from Dive Agar, a coastal village in the Janjira region of the same district, which mentions a number of Brahmans bearing the cognomen Shadaṅgavi, one of whom is referred to merely as Shadaṅvi,¹² thus showing that the use of the honorific in the two forms was current during the period. The word Shadaṅgavi is obviously to be traced to the Sanskrit Shadaṅgavid,¹³ meaning versed in the six Aṅgas, viz., Śikshā (phonetics), Kalpa (sutras on ritual), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chanda (metre) and Jyotiṣha (astronomy). This is an honorific similar to Dvivedi, Trivedi and Chaturvedi, of which the Sarasvats could well be proud and which on account of their highly intellectual qualities they richly deserved.

BARDES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It was probably not long after the migration of Bālakṛishṇa to Arpora that the districts of Salsette and Bardes passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The fact was that Meale ('Abdullāh) Khān, one of the claimants to the throne of Bijapur, sought and obtained asylum in Goa on being worsted in the contest, and lest the Portuguese should espouse his cause, Ibrahim Khān, his rival, agreed to cede Salsette and Bardes to the latter on the only condition that they should keep Meale out of mischief. The Portuguese who had unsuccessfully attempted to annex these districts on previous occasions, after seizing the island of Goa in 1510, were elated at this happy turn of Fortune's wheel and took firm possession of the districts in 1543.¹⁴ This event had an important repercussion on the family of Bālakṛishṇa in that it was caught in the missionary net along with most other Hindu families when the Friars Minor embarked on their activities in Bardes. These friars were entrusted with the spiritual ministration of the district during the viceroyalty of D. Afonso de Noronha (1551-54).

According to a contemporary missionary estimate¹⁵ there were approximately three hundred temples in Bardes, each village boasting of at

¹¹ S. G. Tulpule, *Prāchīna Marāṭhi Korṭva Lekha*, pp. 7-9. Another early form of the honorific is met with in the Valapattana plates of the Goa Śilāhāra king Raṭṭarāja which refer to one Nāgamaiya as "Brāhmaṇa-Sēnavai." H. C. Chakladhar, "Valapattana Plates of Silāra Raṭṭaraja," *IHQ*, vol. IV (1928), pp. 218-19. These plates are dated in the Śaka era corresponding to 24th December 1010.

¹² Alfred Master, "Some Marathi Inscriptions, A.D. 1060-1300", *JSOAS*, vol. XX (1957), pp. 422-23; M. G. Dikshit, "Dive Agar Marathi Copper Charter; Śaka 982," *EI*, vol. XXVIII (1949), p. 124 line 7 in the facsimile of the original. The inscription is dated Ś. S. 982, Śūrvarī Pauraṇamāsī of Mārgaśrīsha, Friday, regularly corresponding to 10th November, 1060.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹⁴ M. F. G. Saldanha, *Historia de Goa*, vol. I, pp. 78-79; Ferisha-Briggs, vol. II, pp. 96-98.

¹⁵ Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista espiritual de Oriente*, pt. I, ch. 55 (c. 1636). *MS*

least five shrines, dedicated to deities collectively known as Pañchadevatā. These deities were the Kuladevatā, the patron of the village, Bhūmidevatā, an apotheosis of the generations that had lived there, Sānteri, the earth goddess, Vettāl, the guardian deity, and Bhūmipurusha, an ancestral hero celebrated for his prowess. Every village had, besides, the chief temple, dedicated to the principal god such as Rūvalnāth of Asagaum. At the head of these temples was the shrine of Mālsādevī at Priol in Ponda. A notable feature of the rites observed in this temple was the change of apparel of the image of the goddess three times a day, the people fondly imagining that each time the clothes were changed the image looked the age the clothes represented: a girl of twelve in the morning, a matron at noon, and a venerable old lady in the evening.¹⁶

But the vision of the one God was not obfuscated by the worship of these deities. They addressed the supreme God as Parabrahma, Ādirūpa or Ādimūrti, holding that this God of Gods devolved his power on his deputies—that of creation on Brahma, that of preservation on Vishnu and that of destruction on Maheshvara. So firm was their belief in one God that they repeated it many times a day in a Marathi verse:

तं ब्रह्म होउनि रचिसि
विष्णु होउनि प्रतिपालिसि,
ईश्वररूपे संहारिसि,
तीनि लोक.¹⁷

Their idea of God would thus correspond to the Christian concept of the Trinity but for the fact that they regarded their triad as consisting of three divinities, distinct from one another and from Parabrahma. Accordingly, their belief in thirty-three crores of gods could have been no more than a graphic rendering of the concept that the facets of the godhead are so infinite in number that to describe them adequately would be beyond the capacity of human vocabulary.

Supporting this system of beliefs was a large corpus of literature, consisting as it did of the four Vedas, six Śāstras (or Summas), the Purāṇas and specially the Bhāgavata, the Āgamas and the epics. This literature was read and expounded in schools all over Bardes. These schools were a sort of a feeder to a university at Mungipaithan situated on the banks of the Godavari. In the early years of the seventeenth century this univer-

from the Vatican Library, microfilm of which is in the possession of the present author. Photoprints of the same were kindly supplied to him by Fr. Achilles Meersman, O. F. M. to whom he takes this opportunity to express his sense of gratitude. The text has since been published by F. Felix Lopes, O. F. M. (1962-64) but is inaccessible to him.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

sity, with a renowned teacher at its head, trained a thousand pupils in all branches of religious and secular knowledge. The studies in the schools were conducted in Sanskrit. The pupils who began by learning the Devanāgarī alphabet were therefore required to master the grammar of this language, a task which kept them occupied from one to three years. It was incumbent on those intent on embarking on a course of astronomy and mathematics that they should have a sound background of natural philosophy as well. The course in physics was of twelve years duration, and there were courses available also in magic and necromancy, although few took them, as it was deemed undignified to learn and much less practise them.¹⁸

CHRISTIANISATION

It was difficult to win over to Christianity a people so passionately devoted to their religion as those of Bardes by methods which the missionaries were wont to employ—of conveying their meaning to their listeners through interpreters. The Sarasvats had spread themselves in eleven villages of the district—Moheḍem, Haṅzuu, Nachnolem, Kaṅdolim, Ukasai, Punalem, Sirodem, Haṅadoṅem, Sāḷgaum, Pomburpa and Asagaum.¹⁹ They controlled the mind of the people through their temples and schools, while in their capacity of mentors they forbade the people to have any truck with the foreigners. The missionaries began to have a real rough time in Bardes. They were stoned by the people as they went about their business and were afflicted in a hundred different ways.²⁰ Inquiring into the causes of their unpopularity, the friars accounted for it by the fact that they spoke a foreign tongue not understood by the people, a circumstance which estranged them from these latter; while the Brahmans what with the mastery of the language could move them to tears or to ecstasy according as in their poetic strains they dwelt on the woes of a Sita or the exploits of a hero of the Mahābhārata war.

The friars, once they had grasped the secret of success, applied themselves with a will to the study of the language so as to be able not only to preach and catechise but to hold spell-bound a whole audience grief-stricken while in moving verse was sung the passion and death of the Saviour and transported while joyful strains announced His resurrection and nativity. The first among the friars to succeed in this difficult task was Friar Amador de Santa Anna. He spoke Konkani with such precision of phrase and elegance of diction that the Brahmans themselves flocked to hear him believing that he was one of themselves, the accuracy of accent belying his nationality. He translated Pedro do Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum*, corresponding to our modern Butler's *Lives of*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 68.

¹⁹ *Konkaṇākhyaṇa*, Pūrvārḍha, ch. iv.

²⁰ Paulo da Trindade, *op. cit.*, ch. 55.

the Saints in this language. He was followed by Friar João de S. Mathias who translated the catechism of Christian doctrine of Cardinal Bellarmine—*Dichiarazione piu copiosa della Dottrina Christiana*—first in prose and then in verse—and by the greatest of them all Friar Gaspar de S. Miguel, who produced large original works such as the *Vivekamālā* or garland of discriminating knowledge, in 6000 verses, a book on the Passion in 3000 verses and a catechism in 8000 verses. The *Vivekamālā* dwelt on the four last things of man—Death, Judgment, Hell and Heaven in the first four parts, the remaining three being devoted to the degradation brought about by sin, to human misery and heavenly happiness. The book on the Passion was intended for singing the Passion in Lent before the full service on Sundays, while the catechism in verse, although based on the original of Cardinal Bellarmine, contained matter drawn from diverse sources, and had besides an appendix on the lives of the Apostles. Both the *Vivekamālā* and the Catechism contained a critique of Hinduism, a subject which the author subsequently developed in a separate book with emphasis on rites, customs and sacrifices. Lastly, the gifted friar wrote a manual of use to his colleagues in conducting divine service on Sundays and treating of matters relating to faith and the sacraments.²¹

The success of the friars was now assured. The state also came to their assistance by discriminating in favour of Christians and threatening with expulsion any who would put obstructions in the path of intending converts. One after another the Hindu citadels fell until at last before the close of the century all the three hundred temples had toppled. At this time Bardes had at its head nine principal villages, constituting a sort of local government. As the number of Christians multiplied in the villages, the friars divided the district into parishes at each of which they built a church. Thus at Sirula, the principal village in Bardes, was built the church of St. Saviour; at Mapuça, a weekly market town of considerable antiquity, the church of St. Jerome; at Pomburpa, Nerul and Moheḍem were dedicated churches to the Blessed Virgin under the invocations of Mother of God, Our Lady of Hope, and the Immaculate Conception, at Calangute the church of St. Aleixo and at Aldona (*Haṇadonem*) the church of St. Thomas. In some other localities where the villages or hamlets were contiguous and the population not so dense, three or four villages were joined together to form a parish. Accordingly, the church of St. Elizabeth of Portugal at Ukasai exercised jurisdiction over the adjoining villages of Panela, Pliora and Verem; the church of St. Diogo at Guirim over Sangolda and Parvari (Porvorim); the church of St. Christopher at Tivi over Pirna, Assonora and Sersum (Sirsaim); the church of St. Francis of Assissi at Colvale over Camorlim, Neura and Nadora; the church of St. Anne at Siolim over Marna, Ocel and Chapora;

²¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 69.

that of St. Michael at Anjuna (Hanzun) over Asagaum and Verula; and the church of the Holy Trinity at Nagoa had spiritual care of the villages of Para, Arpora and Sālgaum. A fact of importance to the family of Dr. Da Cunha emerging from the chronology of these conversions is that the Brahmans of Sālgaum were among the first to be converted to Christianity in this area.²² Now that Arpora is contiguous to Sālgaum, both forming in conjunction with Para and Nagoa a single Parish, it is not improbable that the entire locale was converted during the same period, engulfing the family of Bālakrishna in the movement.^{22a}

²² *Ibid.*, ch. 57.

^{22a} When the late Dr. Antonio de Noronha, a quondam judge of the Goa High Court, whom Prof. A. K. Priolkar cites with approval [*The Goa Inquisition* (1961), p. 55], made bold to say in his *Indus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa (A India Portuguesa, vol. II, p. 261)* that the conversions in Goa were due among other reasons largely to the fear of physical force and moral cowardice, it is to be doubted if he grasped the implication of what he wrote. Unless the Goans were a boneless wonder—which they were most certainly not—it goes without saying that there would have been some instances at least of people standing up to it, if physical force was employed in their Christianization. But there is no tradition in Goa of people having died martyrs for the old religion. And according to Dr. P. S. Pissurlencar, the erstwhile Director of the Goa archives, there is no evidence at all of forced conversions in the Portuguese territories, even though this statement refers only to Shivaji's times. Cf. Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times* (1961), p. 354. True, some Hindus did leave Portuguese India, but this was not owing to fear of physical force but due to a law which compelled the Hindu widows with minor children to surrender them to the Christian orphanages. Accordingly, apart from the discrimination of the State in favour of Christians in consonance with the prevailing evil practice in Europe summarized in the vicious maxim *cujus regio ejus religio*, increase in the number of the Christians was thanks to the work of a picked band of missionaries who reckoned among them such great saints and scholars as Francis Xavier, Robert de Nobili, and C. J. Beschi, besides the ones spoken of in the present paper. It will not detract from the laudable work of the missionaries of modern times, both Protestant and Catholic, if it is maintained that the missionaries of the stature of the earlier ones never appeared in India again. Moreover, our people seem to have been impressed by the practical aspect of Christianity as represented by institutions designed to assuage distress such as hospitals and disseminate enlightenment such as the parish and secondary schools and the universities. Again, the prestige of a Christian power which made itself respected in the Indian sub-continent for a hundred years by virtue of a succession of victories was another factor. In consequence, the people must have thought that here was a power which had come to stay in India permanently, with which it was necessary to work out a *modus vivendi*; and the corporate life such as was lived in the village communities facilitated the conversion *en masse* of which we read in the documents. Prof. Priolkar's contention seems to be that, once forced to accept Christianity, the Goan Christians were kept caged, cribbed and confined in the new faith by the Inquisition which severely punished the least 'paganizing' tendency on their part. But according to Dellon this had an adverse effect on conversions, because the proceeding of the Inquisition in letting off comparatively lightly Hindus and Muslims committing the same offences hindered many among them from embracing Christianity on account of "the dread of being liable to be sentenced to the flames". Priolkar, *op. cit.*, "Dellon's

ERA OF ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOOLS

The friars took great pains over the religious and intellectual culture of their neophytes. One of their earliest educational establishments was at Maruagaru where they built a church with a public school attached to it, both being dedicated to the three Magii. As the best families, indigenous as well as European from all over Goa, began patronizing the institution, the village lost its original name, and was called Reis Magos after the school established at the place. The chief feature of the instruction imparted in this school was the prominence given to classical studies—Latin language and literature—and religious knowledge, although place was found for liberal arts including vocal and instrumental music in the curricula.²³ The chief feeders of this school were the parish churches themselves which were required under a decree of D. João III to have a school attached. In the parish schools besides the three R's, the character of the pupils was sought to be formed by means of religious culture, and their artistic tastes cultivated by means of song and music.²⁴ And the type of education imparted in the Parish schools determined to some extent the form the course of studies took in secondary schools like Reis Magos. As Dr. Da Cunha has profoundly remarked concerning the services rendered by the parish schools :

“The greatest benefit that has accrued from these primary schools to the Indians who have frequented them, from the beginning of the 16th century to the present, is the cultivation of music. Art in any form demands imagination, sympathy and power of identification with other natures, which the generous character of the Portuguese enabled them to teach to their Indian fellow-subjects who had hardly any music of their own. A few lagnis and the recitation of some abhangas constitute even now the whole repertoire of the Hindus. The Christian converts had instilled into them, with the love of music, the most spiritual of arts, the highest religious aspirations. They were taught the *Veni Creator, O Salutaris Hostia, Ave Maris Stella, O Gloriosa Virginum*, and many other melodious hymns and songs in Latin and Portuguese, in which emotion finds its fullest expression, carrying him who listens to

Account of the Inquisition at Goa ,” p. 36. The correctness of Dellon's observation is borne out by the fact that during the same period the missionaries succeeded better in the princely states of South India where there was neither the Inquisition nor Portuguese power. On the other hand the severity of the Inquisition compelled the Christians to cross the frontier into the neighbouring Bijapur territory to escape from the punishment. There were some 20,000 such Christians there. Theodore Ghasquière, *Mathieu de Castro, premier vicaire apostolique aux Indes*, p. 85.

The religious policy of the Portuguese has to be studied again, among other reasons with a view also to ascertain how far was the anti-Hindu legislation effective and how much of it was dead letter.

²³ *Ibid.*, ch. 56.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

the very zenith of aspiration, and which seem to have the wonderful power to link the present with the past. Besides, the Portuguese *modinha*, *chacara*, and *solao*, which are analogous in style to the Spanish *tango* and *cancion morisca* and the Napolitan *mandolinata* and *Santa Lucia* have also influenced deeply the Indian popular *mandos* and *zolis*.'²⁵

It is only to be expected that the descendants of Bālakrishna, now distinguished by the Portuguese surname of Da Cunha which they had assumed at the time of their conversion, made full use of the facilities that were available at their parish at Nagoa. Some of them may have had the good fortune of frequenting Reis Magos and even one or other of the four universities flourishing at the time in Goa, each under a Religious Order—that of St. Bonaventure under the Franciscans, that of St. Paul under the Jesuits, that of St. Thomas under the Dominicans, and that of Populo under the Augustinians.²⁶

These institutions which held the field for well-nigh two centuries turned out men of high intellectual calibre and moral integrity who were eagerly sought after to fill some of the administrative positions in an empire that had sprawled over the five continents. The most notable products of this education, however, were the clerics. Fr. Antonio João de Frias, who is remembered for the controversial book he wrote on caste, was a master of arts of one of these universities. Fr. Leonardo Pais, who issued a spirited reply to this work,²⁷ studied at the University of St. Paul, later taking the degree of master of laws at the University of Coimbra (Portugal). Fr. André Gomes, who was nominated bishop of Kanara in 1643, was the first Indian to be appointed to an apostolic see. Others to be so appointed were Dom Matheus de Castro as bishop of Cresopolis in 1652, Dom Custodio de Pinho as bishop of Herapolis in 1671, Dom Thomas de Castro as bishop of Tulsivalem in the same year, and Dom Isidore de Noronha as prelate of Mozambique in 1670, all of whom having completed their studies in Goa won laurels at the College of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. In the eighteenth century this apostolic succession was continued by Dom Antonio de Noronha who was nominated bishop at the instance of the French government and who was ennobled with the title of Dilavaringa Bahadur by the Mughal Emperor; and by the learned Augustinian Dom Fr. Manuel de Jesus Maria José who was nominated to the see of Mylapore in 1788.²⁸ But the worthiest products of these

²⁵ Da Cunha, "A brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their language in the East," *JBBRAS*, vol. XVIII, pp. 186-87.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

²⁷ In his treatise *Aoreola dos Indios & Nobiliarchia Bracmana* (Lisbon, 1702) Fr. Antonio João de Frias endeavoured to establish the pre-eminence of the Sarasvat caste (the priesthood). Fr. Leonardo Paes issued a rejoinder entitled *Promptuario das diffinicoens Indicas* (1710) seeking to put the caste in its place, i.e. next to that of the Chaddos, the aristocracy of Goa.

²⁸ Cf. J. Beneditto Gomes, "O Instituto Vasco da Gama," *BIVG*, No. 16 (1932), p. 48.

institutions were the members of the Oratorian Order, all of them Christian Sarasvats, who have won immortal fame by the creation of a whole corpus of Christian literature in Sinhalese and the description of whose epic feat in salvaging, and then propagating, Catholicism still awaits the pen of a talented historian. It was indeed a proud day for India when the Order was called into being by its saintly founder, the Venerable Fr. Joseph Vas.

CONJURACAO DOS PINTOS

These active minds in the Goan seminaries and universities, cultivating as they did European literature and eagerly looking to France for inspiration as the intellectual mistress of the world, could not but be affected by whatever was looming on the intellectual horizon of Europe. They were touched to the quick by the yearnings of the French people, chafing under tyrannical rule, for free institutions and civic rights. The conditions of servitude under the Portuguese in Goa roused similar longing in this intellectual class, leading to the promotion among the people of national consciousness. Naturally enough, as the educationally advanced and enlightened class, the lead came from the clergy who in 1787 made a bid to end Portuguese rule in a movement designated as "Conjuração dos Pintos".

It was the plan of the patriots to win over the legionaries and the auxiliary corps stationed in Ponda and Bardes through the intermediary of certain officers sympathetic to the cause. After toppling the government, they intended to summon a constituent assembly for establishing a sovereign Goan republic. It was confidently expected that the movement would have the ardent support of the people. But it was betrayed and met with an abortive end, being ruthlessly suppressed by the Portuguese troops. In Portugal itself it had the full backing of the group of Indian intellectuals that were sojourning there at the time. Prominent in this group were Father Caetano Victorino de Faria and his more brilliant son begotten before he took Holy Orders, José Custodio, also a priest. While the father languished in jail in Portugal, being sent to prison on the discovery of the plot, the son escaped to France where he won renown as a magnetizer and illuminist. He even supplied the Indian contingent to the French Revolution, marching against the Convention at the head of revolutionaries in an attempt to overthrow the Gironde on the memorable 2nd June, 1793, the 10th Vendémiaire.²⁹ The abbé Faria figuring in Alexander Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo* is none other than our José Custodio de Faria, his picturesque personality of priest, professor, scientist and revolutionary having been used to good effect by the novelist in the portrayal of one of his important characters. Another notable member of this group which stormed the Convention

²⁹ Saldanha, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

was José Antonio Pinto, a near relative of Dr. Da Cunha. On his return to India, José Antonio Pinto joined the Peshwa's army and attained to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the artillery. He was severely wounded in the last war of the Peshwa Baji Rao II with the English, and retired into private life, declining the invitation of the latter to join the British army, and the offer of the Viceroy of Goa, Conde do Rio Pardo, to appoint him as Professor of Mathematics at the Military Academy of Goa.³⁰ José Joaquim Pinto, who also rose to the rank of Major in the Maratha army, was a cousin of his. He died a bachelor in 1854, and as his sister had been married to José Maria da Cunha, the grand-father of Dr. Da Cunha, he left the family estate to one of his grand-nephews, Fernando Claudio da Cunha, a younger brother of Dr. Da Cunha.³¹ It is, therefore, wrong to stigmatize the period dominated by the ecclesiastical schools as an age of intellectual stagnation.³² Even if they had no other achievement to their credit, the political ferment which they produced is a title proud enough by which their existence could be amply justified.

The connection of the Da Cunha family with the ancient and historic family of the Pintos provides the sheet-anchor, showing the high status attained by the descendants of Bālakrishṇa during the two and a half centuries of their stay in Bardes. The rise to prominence of the Da Cunha family just as that of the Pintos was thanks to the liberal policy of the Marquis of Pombal (d. 1782), the Portuguese premier, in throwing open the higher cadres of Government service to Indians. One of his salutary reforms was the establishment or rather re-establishment in 1761 of the auxiliary corps, which was recruited exclusively from among the local people and was headed by the Indian officers belonging to the best families in Goa.³³ In 1763, the choice of Captain of the Corps in Bardes fell on Antonio Caetano da Cunha, the great-grandfather of Dr. Da Cunha, and he was promoted mestre de Campo and head of the Corps the next year.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN GOA

This was the time when efforts were being made by the Government to introduce scientific education into Goa to supplement and reinforce the education in humanities available in the ecclesiastical institutions,

³⁰ *Biographia Goana*, pp. 105-110.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111 note. Major Francisco Caetano, an elder brother of José Antonio Pinto, also joined the Maratha army. He saved two English officers of the Madras army, who had been made prisoner by General Gokhale, put in chains and treated with great cruelty. The service was gratefully acknowledged by the British who granted him a pension of Rs. 2500 a year. On his death half the amount of the pension was paid to his widow. *Ibid.*

³² Cf. L. de Menezes Braganza, "A educação e o ensino na Índia Portuguesa," *A Índia Portuguesa*, vol. II, p. 131.

³³ Gomes, *art. cit.*, p. 58.

which were already beginning to show signs of deterioration and decay. The Conde de Eiga, the viceroy, apprized the authorities at home of the urgency of the matter, and without waiting for the reply founded a school of navigation in 1762. The teachers for this establishment were selected from the array of officials of the marine who used to idle their time for the best part of the year, having nothing better to do.³⁴ In 1774 when the establishment of a nautical school was sanctioned by the Marquis of Pombal, the governor of the times D. José Pedro da Camara wrote to the minister of the Marine, requesting that he should send a professor competent not only to teach nautical science but also capable of instructing the officials of the marine how to discharge their duties. This governor also established in 1776 the school of regimental artillery.³⁵ In 1784 the nautical school received its new designation of School of Marine on being reorganized so as to comprise two stages, preliminary and secondary. At the preliminary stage were taught the rudiments of arithmetic, geometry and rectilinear and spherical trigonometry, and algebra; and at the secondary stage geography, astronomy and pilotage. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the school of artillery was replaced by a course in fortifications, which was superadded to the nautical school.³⁶

In 1817 with the arrival of the Conde do Rio Pardo, the most enlightened of the Governors-General of later times, military studies were reorganized in keeping with the advances in military science in Europe, and the school was designated as the Military Academy of Goa. It now included three courses, a course of five years each in artillery and marine, and a course of five years in engineering, the point of division to start after the students had taken a common course of three years duration.³⁷ The course in the first year comprised arithmetic, geometry, rectilinear and spherical trigonometry, applied to geodic and stereometric operations; in the second year it comprised algebra, differential and integral calculus with deductions relating to probabilities, annuities etc; and in the third year it included mechanics (static and dynamic), hydrostatics and hydrodynamics. The fourth year was divided into two sections, that of artillery (which was based on the treatise of John Müller) and mines with field exercises, and that of marine, comprising repetition of spherical trigonometry, navigation (knowledge of drawing, lines of maps, nautical nomenclature, the practice of artillery on board, manual work etc.); and the fifth year which was devoted to the study of military architecture and attack and defence of the fortified positions.³⁸ When it was further remodelled in 1840-42 the Mathematical and Military School, as it was

³⁴ Menezes Braganza, *art. cit.*, p. 125.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

called, came to have a fairly advanced course in military studies, and when the study of physical sciences was added, the school could boast of laboratories as well.³⁹

The military studies were in the ascendant for a full century in Goa—a circumstance which accounts for three generations of members of an ancient and noble family like that of Dr. Da Cunha taking to a military career. His grandfather José Maria, who was a Captain of the militia, and his father Francisco Caetano, who rose to the post of Commander of the forces at the military station of Braga, could not have attained to the position that they did, if they had not passed through one or other of these military institutions. There is, therefore, no need to be apologetic about these schools. They added one more luminous dimension to Goan intellectual achievement, producing as they did men who distinguished themselves in both civil and military service. To mention only a couple of examples, Joaquim Murão, who was sent to Macau as 'Capitão tenente,' was promoted Governor of that settlement in 1824 and lived to enjoy the tenure of the governorship of Goa, his home province, in 1843; Thomas Peres, a tenente colonel, who was sent with Indian soldiers to combat the Vatuas, rose to the position of Governor of Quelemane and Rios de Sena in 1839.⁴⁰

Dr. Da Cunha would surely have followed in the foot-steps of his ancestors, if conditions had not changed as a result of the firm establishment of British rule after the overthrow of the Peshwa in 1818. During the peaceful times in which his lot was cast there was little scope for a military career. The military studies had in fact already begun to languish; they soon ceased to attract Goan youth. As a result, the Government was compelled to abolish military studies altogether and replace the Mathematical and Military School by professional institutions.

ESCOLA MEDICO-CIRURGICA

In the meanwhile medical studies which had been conducted on unorganized lines over the years were put on a systematic basis by the foundation in 1842 of the School of Medicine and Surgery under the direction of Dr. Mateus Cesario Rodrigues Moacho. He had graduated from the School of Medicine and Surgery of Lisbon and possessed a doctorate in Medicine of the University of Louvain. The course consisted of four years: the first of anatomy and physiology, the second of materia medica, pharmacy, and hygiene, the third of pathology and surgical clinic, practical medicine and obstetrics, and the fourth of history of medicine, internal pathology, clinical medicine and medical jurisprudence. These

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Gomes, *art. cit.*, pp. 53-54. Dr. Gomes mentions many others e.g., the heroes that captured Mordongor in Ponda: Brigadier Carlos Henriques, Belico Valasco and Dom Antonio de Noronha etc.

four years constituted three courses, a course each in medicine properly so called, surgery, and pharmacy. The first two courses were each of four years duration, the candidate opting for the branch he wished to study. The course in pharmacy, however, consisted of two parts, the theoretical which lasted for two years and during which the candidate attended the lectures in medicine, pharmacy and hygiene; and practical work, also of two years duration, in the hospital, after the examination in theory. The school was provided with a medical library, theatres of anatomy and surgery, a section for dissection, and a chemical and pharmaceutical laboratory. A candidate for admission to the school was expected to possess an adequate knowledge of Latin grammar, rational and moral philosophy and French. He also had to join the Mathematical and Military School for the study of arithmetic, algebra till equations, plane and elementary geometry, rectilinear and spherical trigonometry, and for learning the use of instruments, employed in preparing plans for architectural designs.⁴¹

It is claimed on behalf of Dr. Da Cunha in the brief biographical sketch by Socrates de Souza e Noronha and Pascoal João Gomes that before he came to Bombay in 1860 he had studied Portuguese, Latin, French and Philosophy in Goa.^{41a} This is a significant piece of information which shows that as these studies were pursued with a definite end in view, the intention was to prepare him for the entrance examination to the medical school in Goa. His next step would have been to join the *Escola Mathematica e Militar* and complete the first year of the course there, had he not changed his mind and come to Bombay to join the Grant Medical College.

The joint authors of the biographical sketch would have us believe that the reason for this decision was because he found Goa too small a place for his talents—the talents of the future researcher.^{41b} This reason is far from convincing since excellent work was produced in Goa, especially in the history of the Portuguese, a subject on which he toiled most of the time, by his contemporaries—F. N. Xavier, Heliodore da Cunha Rivara, Fr. Casimiro Nazareth, Mgr. S. Rodolpho Dalgado, to speak only of the most outstanding. This work compares favourably, both in quality and output, the achievements of the scholars in Bombay of whom we had then quite a galaxy.^{41c} But none of these scholars both in Bombay and Goa could reach the intellectual brilliance of Francisco Luis Gomes—physician, historian, economist, novelist, philologist and parliamentarian—a many faceted personality conspicuous by its absence in the India of his times and rare anywhere in the world. After half a century

⁴¹ Menezes Braganza, *art. cit.*, p. 144.

^{41a} *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, p. lxxvii.

^{41b} *Ibid.*

^{41c} Dr. Bhau Daji Lad, Justice M. G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice K. T. Telang, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar etc.

of struggle, ensuing in bloodshed, Goa had wrested provincial autonomy from Portugal in 1850s with a legislative assembly and a constitutional Governor General. Francisco Luis Gomes, who was perhaps the only Indian of his day to think in terms of a free and united India, was smitten with grief at the failure of the Indian War of Independence of 1857; and sick at heart at seeing his hope deferred, he wrote a despondent letter to his friend, the French poet Lamartine, on India's political destiny on the 5th January 1861 :

"I was born in Oriental India, the cradle of poetry, of philosophy and of history, and today their grave.

I belong to that race which composed the Mahabharata and invented Chess—two achievements which carry in them something of the Eternal and the Infinite. But this nation which recorded her laws in poems and formulated her politics in the rules of a game exists no longer.

Here she lies, chained in her own country, exhausted of all her fecundity, and in obscurity amidst the dazzling brilliance of her own glory. Beating itself against the walls of its cage, this bird has lost its wings which once made it soar higher than the Himalayas, and lamenting its lost liberty and dimmed light, this Nightingale has forgotten its song the melody of which mounted to the heavens.

I demand liberty and light for India"

The reasons for the decision that the young Da Cunha should leave Goa for Bombay have therefore to be sought in the conditions obtaining in the two places at the time. After the British had made themselves the undisputed masters of the whole of the Indian sub-continent, Goa lost whatever influence it enjoyed when India was divided into different principalities. It was now bound to vegetate and decline, condemned as it was to live in political seclusion. As a result, ambitious Goan youth was compelled to seek its fortune elsewhere. For those desirous of joining the medical profession, there were two alternatives to choose from. They could complete their studies in the local Escola Médica when they would be qualified to enlist themselves in the Portuguese Médical Service. They would then be appointed to the Medical Cadres in the different Portuguese possessions overseas or in Portugal itself. It is to the credit of the alumni of the Escola Médica who were contemporaries of Dr. Da Cunha that as members of the Portuguese Medical Corps they rendered most valuable service wherever they were posted. Thus it is to Dr. Socrates da Costa, Director of Health, Cape Verde and Guinea, that the medical world owes the first description of the sleeping sickness in 1874, while the description of this disease supplied by Dr. Damasceno da Costa is full of precise details. Again, Dr. José Pedro Ismail Moniz was the first to use with successful result an arsenic compound in tripanosomiasis humana, revealing thereby a rare intuition and clinical

⁴¹d *Select Works*, p. 369.

knowledge of a sickness, the aetiology of which was then unknown. Dr. Moniz was also the first to combine arsenic with iodine just as Moore and others had combined it with atotoxil. Other Goan Medical men contributed to medical science by publishing, as and when they came across exotic diseases, articles on them in medical journals. It is again to an alumnus of the Escola Médica—Dr. Carlos de Lamos—that belongs the honour of having been the precursor of preventive quininism. This prophylectic which he used in Goa in 1869 was put into practice on a wider scale half a century later by the French during the First World War in the course of the Macedonian campaign.⁴²

GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE

The second alternative open to the Goan youth was Bombay, which was already holding out attractions of an El Dorado. Here both the Government and the people were working with one accord to make the city an international metropolis, an entrepôt of the world. Accordingly, it was decided for the young Da Cunha that he should join the Grant Medical College, despite the fact that this institution was distinctly inferior to its counterpart in Goa. The college had been founded in 1845 to disseminate knowledge of western medicine in the Presidency free of charge. But the institution was far from being popular with the students. Accordingly, to induce them to join the medical course the college offered them stipends, and there were besides scholarships such as Carnac, Anderson, Farish each of Rs. 25 monthly and Reid of Rs. 15 monthly tenable for the whole duration of the course. Despite the comfortable maintenance at the college and prospects of employment by Government on a salary which was more than handsome, the students by and large were disinclined to join the profession.⁴³ The course taught in the college was of four years duration at the close of which the college conferred its own diploma on the successful candidates, the diploma-holders being styled Graduates of the Grant Medical college or G.G.M.C. The diploma was conferred for the last time in 1862, from which year the University began conferring the degree of L.M. (Licentiate in Medicine) on the successful completion of the same course.⁴⁴ The previous year the University had replaced the entrance examination held by the College by its own matriculation examination.⁴⁵ The latter was a much more severe test of scholarship, as may be gathered from the fact that out of 134 students that appeared for this examination that year only 29 succeeded.⁴⁶ Before matriculation was made the test

⁴² *Escola Médico-Cirurgica de Goa* 1842, 1957, pp. 30-32.

⁴³ *Report of the Director of Public Instruction*, 1856-57, p. 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1862-63, p. 154.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1860-61, p. 40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1861-62, p.27. The syllabus comprised 3 parts: 1) Languages: English and a classical or an Indian language or Portuguese, 2) Mathematics: Arithmetic,

of admission it was usual for a large number of students who had joined the college attracted by the stipends to fall out, owing largely to their incapacity to follow the courses.⁴⁷ It was now confidently expected that a candidate seeking admission after matriculation would prosecute the medical profession with effect.⁴⁸

ACADEMIC CAREER

The young Da Cunha seems to have been sent to Bombay without adequate knowledge of English. Else he would have taken the Entrance Examination in his stride, an examination which was one of the easiest in the world to pass. As it was, however, he had to join the Elphinstone Institution, where he studied for two years before he could join the Medical College. He was one of the fortunate twenty-nine that passed the test, and one of the three to join the Medical College, which he did on 16th June 1862.⁴⁹ There were in all four students in his class—Amindas Munjee Goradia, a Gujarati of the Banya caste who had joined the college from the Elphinstone Institution on 15th June 1861, Atmaram Sadashiv Jayakar, a Bombay Pathare Prabhu, from the Free General Assembly's Institution, on 15th June 1862, and A. S. Gomes, a Portuguese, meaning a Goan or an East Indian, from the Elphinstone Institution who joined on the same day as Jayakar.⁵⁰ For 1862-63, his first year, Dr. Da Cunha was awarded a Government scholarship of Rs. 10 per month for proficiency in Chemistry.⁵¹ During his second year he received Rs. 6-12-0 from the Book Fund but no scholarship.⁵² The reason for this was that in the scholarship examination "the second year students," as the Principal observed in his Report for the year 1863-64, "indeed, came out so badly that no scholarships were awarded to them."⁵³ In 1864-65 which was his third year no scholarship was withheld, and Dr. Da Cunha was awarded the Reid scholarship of Rs. 15 a month for proficiency in Chemistry⁵⁴ and Rs. 17-10-0 for books from the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Book Fund.⁵⁵ In 1865-66 his fourth year, he continued to hold the Reid scholarship.⁵⁶ But the results of the public examination for the degree of the Licentiate in Medicine were disastrous. As the

Algebra (to simple equations) and Geometry (First four books of Euclid,) and 3) General knowledge: elementary History & Geography and elementary knowledge of Natural Science. (*Bombay University Calendar, 1862-63, pp. 60-61*).

⁴⁷ Report as in note 46.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1860-61, p. 40.

⁴⁹ Report of D. P. I. for 1862-63, Report of the Grant Medical College, p. (154).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, for 1865-66, Report of G. M. C. for 1865, p. (148).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, for 1862-63, p. (161).

⁵² *Ibid.*, for 1864-65, p. (58).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, for 1863-64, p. 142 (Appendix G).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, for 1864-65, p. (47).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, for 1865-66, p. (150).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, for 1865-66, p. (148).

report of the Principal laconically puts it : "On 3-12-1866 four students were sent up for the Degree of the University; two of these, I regret to state, failed, the other two, however, succeeded in passing in the first class,"⁵⁷ The failed candidates were Da Cunha and Gomes.^{57a}

The failure touched Da Cunha to the quick and he gave in to despair for a moment. Medical studies were hard and irksome ; the medical career was full of difficulties. Had he an aptitude for medicine and strength and firmness of character to bear up with its uncertainties ? On the other hand, he saw around him people with little exertion amassing incredible fortunes. Fortunately, Da Cunha had in his father, as the present writer was privileged to have in his, a fond and generous, far-sighted and sagacious parent who stood by him in the critical hour of indecision. He firmly advised him to continue his studies, and sent him to England where he could take a British licentiate, more highly esteemed in those remote colonial times, and perhaps less exacting, than the L. M. Degree of the University of Bombay. In London Da Cunha attended St. Mary's School and Hospital, and in a year's time secured the M. R. C. S. of England and L.R.C.P. of Edinburgh at the age of twenty-four. He practised in London for a while under Dr. Burke Ryan and returned to Bombay some time in 1868.⁵⁸

The question naturally occurs to the mind—how did Da Cunha fail in the examination ? One looks in vain to his Boswells for clarification of this bolt from the blue. They dismiss his six years of scholastic life in Bombay in a cryptic half sentence of hardly a dozen words :

"ahi estudou o inglez, as mathematicas, as ciencias naturaes e a medicina."⁵⁹

The sentence simply lists the subjects which he who runs may read in any school or college calendar. There is no curiosity, no attempt made, to know with what success Da Cunha read these subjects. Nor do they tell us why he left for England, merely resorting to sound and fury in an effort, it would seem, to evade a straight answer :

"His spirit was avid for seeing the world and its great cities of which he had a good knowledge from what he had read. His colossal talent was eager to acquire further knowledge and to round off what he had already learnt."⁶⁰

What then is the answer ? His subsequent triumphant career leaves no doubt of his rare intellect. Accordingly, his singular lack of achieve-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, for 1866-67, *Report of the Grant Medical College for 1866-67*, p. (8).

^{57a} Da Cunha failed in Medicine, Surgery, Physiology and Midwifery, and passed in Medical Jurisprudence.

⁵⁸ *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua Familia*, p. lxxviii. A. S. Gomes is heard of no more. Indeed, "the destruction of the poor is their poverty "

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii—viii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

ment both in school and college in Bombay is perhaps to be explained by the fact that his mind had been already formed after the Portuguese idiom. As it happens to persons so formed, he must have found it extremely difficult to express himself in English, a weakness which he does not seem to have entirely got over even after years of assiduous study and practice. After his return from England, when he made up his mind to launch on a literary career, he very naturally chose a language in which he was quite at home. And thus it was that his *Introduction to the study of the Science of Life*, his very first attempt at writing, was in Portuguese, although he dedicated the book to his English friends, Dr. William Burke Ryan, his host in London, and Dr. George Gaskoin, both of whom had encouraged him to publish the work. Secondly, his bent of mind was towards humanities, giving himself full rein once he had crossed the precincts, while he practised medicine for maintenance and nothing more. True, he did carry on some research in this latter subject, as for instance, when the dengue fever broke out in an epidemic from in Bombay in 1871-72. He made a thorough investigation of the disease and brought out a brochure on the history of the malady, its symptoms, diagnosis and pathology and its treatment and prophylaxis.⁶¹ He also read three papers before the Medical Association of Bombay;⁶² and contributed an article to *Lancet* (1870) "on Chloral Hydrate in Labour". But he did not pursue medical studies with the passion and devotion with which he pursued his researches into Portuguese antiquities. In consequence, whereas his contribution to the latter was considerable, amounting as it did to three books and more than a dozen articles, his contribution to medical science was less than half a dozen papers, among which only one was found worthy of publication in an internationally recognised medical journal. In fact, it would appear that as antiquarian research began to grow on him, he abandoned medical studies altogether. The result was that when in 1896 Bombay was smitten with a fatal and mysterious disease which was taking a terrible toll of human lives and had baffled and perplexed the British medical authorities, it was by a curious irony given to Dr. Accacio G. Viegas, hailing from the self-same village, Arpora, Bardes, Goa, but twelve years his junior and belonging to a humbler family, to diagnose it as bubonic plague, thus saving from sure catastrophe a city of which he was later to be the 'Mayor': Deposit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles. It is a pity that in the absence of facilities in Bombay Dr. Viegas abandoned medical research and took to politics. Had there been a progressive institute which could utilise his undoubted medical talents, or had the

⁶¹ Da Cunha, *Dengue* (Bombay, Thacker & Co., 1872), p. 1.

⁶² (i) "The signs of pregnancy"; (ii) "Vicarious menstruation"; (iii) "On the influence of Belladonna." *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, p. lxxviii.

⁶³ *Dr. Accacio G. Viegas*, p. 1 (Leaflet issued on the occasion of the Birthday Centenary Celebration).

University been a teaching, and not merely an examining, body, forward-looking and not cherishing its unmeaning conservatism, the proliferation of a colonial age, Dr. Viegas would have blossomed out into an outstanding authority on the subject of his choice.

BOMBAY IN 1860s

When Dr. Da Cunha first came to Bombay in May 1860 and even when he set up as a physician ten years later, the city was not what it is today, compact and self-contained with a heterogeneous population scattered throughout its length and breadth. The impression it produced on an observant French traveller, Louis Rousselet, who visited it in the latter half of 1864, was that of a conglomeration of settlements. These settlements lay at a distance from one another, each being inhabited by a set of people peculiar to itself, and the whole place receiving the general designation of Bombay only because the settlements were on one and the same island.⁶⁴

The life and soul of the city was the deep and hospitable harbour, a veritable magnet drawing into it the wealth of the world. The original town was within the Fort, the walls of which, still standing in 1860,⁶⁵ were in course of demolition in 1864. About the docks were ware-houses with cotton presses strewn about. This was the time of the cotton boom; Bombay having supplanted America, then in the throes of a war, as the principal supplier of cotton to Europe.⁶⁶ Mountains of cotton crowded the dock area ready to be pressed into bales for shipment abroad.⁶⁷ At a short distance from the harbour were the business quarters with the Town Hall overlooking the banks and counting-houses, the mint and the Anglican cathedral. Few, however, lived in Fort so that it wore a deserted appearance after office hours and on Sundays and holidays.

The Europeans lived in three different quarters in the island according to their place in the hierarchy. The aristocracy, consisting of the rich merchants and the high Government officials, lived in their mansions on the Malabar Hill—a promontary jutting out into the sea to the north, with their gardens and terraces on the side of the hill. Some of these mansions had columns supporting the verandahs and porticos, while long flights of steps led to terraces adorned with statues, vases and fountains from both Europe and Asia.⁶⁸ The promontary to the south vis-à-vis the Malabar Hill called Colaba was occupied by prosperous European businessmen. It enjoyed the healthiest climate in Bombay, exposed as it was to sea breeze on either side. It was intersected by beautiful

⁶⁴ Rousselet, *India and its native princes*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Da Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Rousselet, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

roads which were flanked by bungalows, as the residences of these merchants were called, each of which had its own garden. Designed for a tropical climate, they were covered over with thatched roof to ensure coolness, and had large verandahs on all sides to protect the walls from the heat of the sun.⁶⁹ A causeway had been built at long last connecting Colaba with Bombay, so that at low tide one could come to Fort dry-shod. The poorer class of Europeans were all congregated in Byculla, which locality, lying across a marsh, was unhealthy to live in.⁷⁰

Beyond Byculla where the hills of Mazgaon rise were the Christians all of whom were mistakenly thought by Rousselet to be descendants of the Portuguese colonists. But the remark of Dr. Da Cunha that they were mainly from Bhandari and Koli tribes of Northern Konkan⁷¹ is also questionable, since there were many Indo-Portuguese families who chose to remain in Bombay after the fall of Bassein (1739) rather than go to Goa. There were besides quite a number from the cultivator (Kunbi), Prabhu and even Brahman castes. Rousselet was impressed by their industry, honesty and peaceful disposition, though their deportment struck him as somewhat odd. On Sunday he found the streets filled with women in large white mantillas, going with their children to church, while men decently dressed and wearing black silk hats carried their wives' prayer-books or parasols.⁷² Another important quarter of these Christians, although missed by the French traveller, was Cavel where the Catholic cathedral stood at a short distance from the settlement. They were given to celebrating their occasions with banquets, lasting from afternoon to sun-set. Their prodigal habits got them into debt, resulting in their being ousted from Cavel by the wealthier Banyas in the course of the latter half of the century.

OTHER COMMUNITIES

To the North of the Fort and adjoining it was one of the most interesting parts of the city—the Parsi Bazaar. It was entirely peopled by Parsis with a sprinkling of Muslims. These two business communities chose rather the advantage of residing at the place of their business than enjoying the pleasures of residence in other parts of the island. The houses which were on either side of the long and winding street were lofty and beautiful with balconies painted in lovely colours.⁷³ Rousselet found the Parsis a progressive class who were on the friendliest terms with the Europeans and who in their effort to cultivate the manners of the latter seemed to him in a state of transition neither European nor Indian. Peaceful and conciliatory in disposition, they were an industrious people

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 37.

⁷² Rousselet, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

with all the good qualities of the Jews, but generous to a degree not common in other communities. They were a rich and active class to whose wise leadership the prosperity of Bombay was due in no small measure.⁷⁴ The Muslims were divided into sects—the Bhorahs and the Khojas. All the petty traffic of Bombay was monopolized by the Bhorahs, their shops representing the haberdashery and hardware of Europe. The Khojas were engaged in some other branches of commerce.⁷⁵

Further north beyond the Maidan or the Esplanade was the crowded part of the city—a world of people and races with their distinctive types and costumes—the Banyas, Prabhus, Kayasthas, Brahmans and Jews. The most noticeable among the foreigners were the Persians with their high caps of Astrakan, the Arabs in their Biblical costumes, the Somali Negro with his fine intelligent features, the Chinese, the Burmese and the Malay. In fact, as Rousselet observes, it was difficult to find a nation, from China to Arabia and from Turkestan to the Malaya islands not represented in this superb metropolis.⁷⁶

Among the native inhabitants, Rousselet found that the Brahmans generally held aloof from the rest of the people. The Purvos or Prabhus, whom he describes as the most active and honest class among the Hindus, filled the Government offices (some of them attaining to high positions), and were easily distinguished by their large and colourful headgear. The Kayasthas were employed as interpreters, knowing as they did two languages at least. But the most influential caste were the Banyas who by their subtlety, industry and enterprise had combined with the Parsis in raising Bombay to the position it enjoyed in all branches of commerce.⁷⁷ Rousselet noticed that people of all castes vied with each other to take to the European style of luxury; and every night the public walks were crowded by their carriages, drawn by thorough-bred horses, and attended by servants in fine liveries.⁷⁸

In this part of the city the streets were fairly large by the prevailing standards, and the houses of wood and brick which skirted them were of more than one storey. Their fronts were adorned with verandahs, the pillars of which were exquisitely carved and painted with bright colours. Curiously enough, Rousselet singles out the Bhendi Bazaar as one of the finest sights in Bombay, probably because it was then celebrated for its stables which supplied the magnificent Arab steeds, and was of particular interest to a sportsman. The place was filled with Arabs, Negroes and Bedouins, squatting on cots interlaced with rope, drawn up along the shops, and quaffing aromatic drinks or smoking the long hubble-bubble. Further down was the China Bazaar where always

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

gathered a dense crowd inquisitive to know what were the latest products of Asia imported by the merchants.⁷⁹

PROFESSIONAL SUCCESS

A general practitioner that he was, Dr. Da Cunha was confronted with the choice of either serving a cross section of the inhabitants or confining his activities to a single community. The choice of a wider clientele demanded an adequate knowledge of the languages spoken in a multi-lingual city like Bombay, and their mastery was a challenge to which very few members of the medical fraternity successfully responded. But Dr. Da Cunha had the necessary facilities to smooth over the difficulties. To start with, he had a penchant for languages, and secondly, his knowledge of Konkani and Portuguese, the mother tongue and literary language of cultured Goans of the times, was a great help, one holding the key to the Aryan vernaculars of India and the other to the Latin languages of Europe. He had already studied French in Goa; and he soon acquired a working knowledge of German, egged on thereto probably by the need of consulting German scientific periodicals in his medical research. The presence of Italians in considerable number in Bombay supplied an incentive to learn their language; this he did with ease, thus earning the affectionate regard of a warm-hearted and grateful people.⁸⁰ And then to be of use to the various Indian communities he applied himself to the study of the modern Indian tongues with the same astounding result. The success of a doctor with a charming personality, unfailing courtesy, and formidable linguistic equipment was a foregone conclusion. Dr. Da Cunha's consulting rooms were before long crowded by a rich and numerous clientele—English, German, French and Italian from among the Europeans, and the more opulent strata of the Indian community—the Parsis and the Banyas.⁸¹

LITERARY AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES

The study of languages became Dr. Da Cunha's dominating passion. He soon added to his knowledge of the modern languages that of classical languages as well—Sanskrit, Pehlavi, and Persian. It appears that it was his introduction to the classical languages, and in particular to Sanskrit, that opened up new vistas into fields that had remained till then beyond his purview—those of Antiquarian and Oriental research. One of his early ventures into these fields was a modest paper entitled "Words and places in and around Bombay", which appeared in three instalments in the issues of the *Indian Antiquary* for September

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸⁰ Angelo De Gubernatis in *Dizionario biografico degli scrittori contemporanei in Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, p. lxxi.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. lxxix (Noronha and Gomes)

and October 1874 and December 1875. In this article he investigated into the origin of the present designation of Bombay and the origin of such other place-names in the island as Walkeshwar, Kalbadevi, Ramawadi and Vithalwadi, extracting his information among other sources from the *Sthalapurāṇas* like the Vālukeśvara Mahātmya. This latter literature inevitably led him to the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of the Skaṇḍa Purāṇa, which, purporting as it does to give a historical account of the emigration of the Sarasvats into Goa, interested him most, that being the history of his own people. The work, however, was difficult to trace owing to the fact that most of its manuscripts had been suppressed by order of the Peshwas.⁸² After a diligent search, Dr. Da Cunha succeeded in securing a few 'fragments' from widely distant places in the present states of Maharashtra, Mysore and Kerala; and he published a critical version of the Khaṇḍa in 1877. By 1881 he had completed a translation in English, which, however, he did not live to publish. To this early period also belongs his article "On the Shrine of Śrī Sapta-Koṭīśvara" published in the issue of the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1874. As in his paper on place-names around Bombay in this paper also Dr. Da Cunha gives the purāṇic account of the origin of this temple now at New Narva, Goa, and traces the vicissitudes through which it passed in the course of the ages.

The contribution of Dr. Da Cunha to this little known chapter of the history of the west coast established his reputation as an expert on the antiquities of the Konkan, and the Government of Bombay invited him to contribute a memoir on the Konkani language to the Bombay Gazetteer, a literary monument to the British rule which was then in the course of publication. Dr. Da Cunha prepared a learned monograph entitled *The Konkani Language and Literature*, which earned the thanks of the Government which published it in 1881.

ORIGINS OF KONKANI

Dr. Da Cunha's main thesis in this work is that Konkani was introduced into Goa along with the Śaiva form of Brahmanism by the Sarasvats. The proposition, he contends, could be proved if one could trace this language genealogically from Maithili, a dialect spoken in the district of Tirhut, the reputed cradle of the Goa Sarasvats. But he does not attempt the task for want of material, contenting himself for the moment with pointing out that the preterites गेल and केल and such like which are in use at Tirhut bear close resemblance to the Konkani *gelo, kelo* etc., and that the past tense in Maithili *delchhe* "he has given" has a closer correspondence to *dilo, dili* or *dilem*, according to one of the three genders of the subject of the verb in Konkani, than to *dihale vate* in Eastern Hindi and *dela āhe* in Marathi.⁸³

⁸² Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 8.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The hypothesis, however, is based on the doubtful authority of the Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa, which admittedly is a farrago of myths, fabricated centuries later when the Sarasvats had long forgotten the actual place they came from but nonetheless there lingered the memory of their having migrated into Goa from elsewhere. Their claim of affiliation to any particular place was owing to the special reputation for holiness attaching to that place such as Tirthut according to the Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa and "Caxi Poddapura" (i.e., Kashi and Pandarpur) according to the folklore collected by the Jesuits in the middle of the 16th century.⁸⁴ It is, therefore, more reasonable to suppose that the Sarasvats of Goa migrated from somewhere in North-West India—West U.P., Punjab, Sindh, Kutch, Saurashtra—where they are the acknowledged local Brahmans from times immemorial and are found in large numbers, than from anywhere in the eastern side of the Indian sub-continent where they are conspicuous by their absence. In fact the Brahmans in Bihar are exclusively composed of three septs—Maithil, Kānyakubja (or Saranpuri) and Śakadvīpī,⁸⁵ and as is well known, those of Bengal admit none else than the five historic families of Bannerji, Mukherji, Chatterji, Gangoli and Bhattacharya. Now, it is significant that among the various Sarasvat communities of the North among the Sarasvats of Kutch alone the honorific "Śenvi" beloved of the Goa Sarasvats is "still a title of respect."⁸⁶ This is a proof positive that the Goa Sarasvats are descended from the Sarasvats of the Kutch-Saurashtra region, and may have migrated south to the Konkani in the wake of the disaster that overtook the Maitrakas of Vallabhi at the hands of the Arabs in the first decade of the 8th century.

It is, therefore, inadmissible that the Sarasvats introduced Konkani into Goa. The Aryanisation of Goa must have started centuries before their advent during the Maurya period, the formation of Konkani being one of the results of this process. Under the strong rule of the Mauryas, the impact of Magadhan Prakrit, the lingua franca of the Empire, on the varieties of Dravidian speech current in the various parts of their western and southern territories—an impact which continued in its operation in the Deccan and the Konkani centuries after the decline and fall of the Empire—gave rise to the parent dialects of what later came to be distinguished as Gujarati, Marathi and Konkani. It is significant that in South India to which the political influence of the Mauryas did not extend the Dravidian languages were able to hold their own, thus testifying to the vitality and strength of the Dravidian civilization to resist extraneous influence when not supported by the sword. The newcomers, therefore, who spoke their own language—a form of Gujarati

⁸⁴ De Souza, *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 12.

⁸⁵ According to the information kindly supplied by Dr. Panchanand Misra, Reader in History, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur.

⁸⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 438.

current in those days—could add only a new strain to the local speech before they could be assimilated to the language and customs of the local people. This strain accounts for the existence of certain forms of construction in modern Konkani which were current in middle Gujarati, though they have dropped out of Gujarati as spoken in modern times.⁸⁷

LITERARY KONKANI

Dr. Da Cunha then proceeds to give a bibliography of the classical works in the language. He regrets that he cannot produce a list of works written by the natives of Goa before the Portuguese conquest, "although tradition current in the country ascribes to certain Konkani Brahmans writings which were once extant".⁸⁸ He repeats the obiter

⁸⁷ Following a new line of reasoning, Dr. Da Cunha imagined that this native idiom of the Sarasvats was called Sarasvatī Bālabanī "the speech of the children of the banks of the Sarasvatī, as it is called by the descendants even now;" and forgetting his attempt four pages earlier (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-16) to trace Konkani genealogically to Maithili, he avers that the subjection of Sarasvatī Bālabanī "to some modification" resulted in Konkani, "the provincial tongue of Goa." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25. There were besides excellent Konkani renderings. These renderings were of Marathi religious poetry. Prof. Priolkar showed the present writer a photo-print of a MS. from Portugal in which both the Marathi original and the Konkani translation (interlinear) were in the Kannada script of the Vijayanagara period. Dr. Pissurlencar in his article (*BIVG*, no. 73 (1956), p. 58) refers to two codices, nos. 771 and 772, of Konkani prose in Roman script belonging to some Jesuit fund in Goa, and now in the Biblioteca Pública of Braga. He says that they contain translations in the Sarasvat dialect (Lingoa Bramana) of Marathi poems dealing with some episodes in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana; that the script used in the codices is of the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century which resembles the script in use among the Jesuits labouring in their eastern missions during this period; that the codices contain (marginal) annotations in Latin and Portuguese; and he assumes that the translations were the work of some Brahman convert from Goa, being expressly intended for the use of the Jesuits hard put to it to obtain renderings of the religious books of the Hindus. The assumption, however, is gratuitous. For one thing, by this time the Jesuits, who had been cultivating the two sister languages for the past fifty years, had enough knowledge of both to need the services of native translators. Secondly, for purposes of disputation it was sufficient for the Jesuits to have summaries of such works. Consequently, these full-length renderings into Konkani, involving as they did considerable effort on the part of the translators, could have been intended for one sole purpose: for the benefit of the Hindu rank and file, as these latter could not profit from the Marathi religious literature, Marathi being Greek to them. It is very likely that in these manuscripts the Jesuits who wrote both Marathi and Konkani in the Roman script transliterated the poems and their translations which were originally in the Kannada characters, the bulk of them coming down from pre-Portuguese times, since this was the script in vogue in Goa prior to, and for long during, the Portuguese period. According to the Koṅkaṅkhyāna to which we are indebted for this latter piece of information this religious poetry was imported into Goa by the Maratha Brahmans at their advent (*Adhyāya 9, Uttarādha, vv. 101-107*).

dictum of J. H. da Cunha Rivara, author of *Ensaio Historico da lingua Concani*, that the pre-Christian writings in Konkani were destroyed by the missionaries in their mistaken zeal to propagate the faith.⁸⁹ A little reflection would show that it could not have been possible for the missionaries to encompass the suppression of an entire corpus. After Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, for two centuries or more the Portuguese power was confined only to the coastal districts of the present Union territory, viz., Tiswadi, Bardes and Salsette, while the territory to the east of these districts—which the Portuguese called New Conquests, having acquired it at a later date—was outside their jurisdiction during all this period. This territory was not a no man's land, but was peopled among others by Sarasvat Brahmans. There was nothing to prevent them from storing up their literary treasures, if they had any. Moreover, what is more natural than that the literature should have accompanied the images of the principal deities when transferred to this territory on the destruction of their shrines in the Old Conquests? Furthermore, some time before the Portuguese annexed Salsette and Bardes, the Sarasvats would appear to have migrated to places outside Goa, an inscription dated 1546 at Bhatkal⁹⁰ and their presence by 1537 at Karkal⁹¹ showing that they were already flourishing in North and South Kanara a little before these dates. Surely, a cultured people that they were, they would not have agreed to starve themselves intellectually by leaving their literature behind when they left Goa. Accordingly, apart from the unsubstantiated charge of wanton destruction by the Portuguese ecclesiastics, the reasons for the disappearance of Konkani literature of the pre-Portuguese period seems to be that the cultured classes among the Christians in Goa gave up reading the Hindu religious books in Konkani and Marathi of which this literature must have been largely composed, because their pastors

The missionaries used both Konkani and Marathi works for learning these languages as well as to serve them as models, which they of course bettered, in their own works. Dr. Pissurlencar compares the verses in praise of Marathi in Stephens' *Kristapurāṇa* with similar verses in the *Yoga-vāsishṭha*, attributed to Dnyāneśvara, purporting to show that the one was influenced by the other. But it is clear as crystal that in excellence, both of diction and imagery, the composition of Stephens in praise of the language far surpasses that of the author of the latter work. It is a tribute to the genius of the English Jesuit no less than to the sense of justice, fair play and large heartedness of the Maratha people, apart from their innate aesthetic sense, that they have been citing the verses of Stephens in preference to those of the *Yoga-Vāsishṭha*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, *Ensaio historico da lingua Concani*, p. xlvii.

⁹⁰ R. S. Panchmukhi, *Annual Report on Kannada Research in the Bombay Province for the year 1939-40*, p. 73, no. 84, refers to the erection of a temple by Khetappayya of the Bhūradvāja gotra at Bhatkal. The mention of his father as a resident of Kudutari grāma comprised in the sixty-six district (Salsette) would show that Khetappayya belongs to recent immigrants. There is another built by a person from Loṭli in 1555

⁹¹ This is the date of the foundation of their Temple there

frowned upon such reading, following in letter and spirit the decree of the Council of Trent in regard to the reading of books that might imperil faith or morals. In the words of the Brahman interlocuter in the *Kristapurāṇa*, explaining the desideratum of a Christian epic and urging Fr. Stephens to meet this felt want :

जैसें तेआं दिपावतीं । देसपरीचीं पुराणें हाति ।
 तैसीं पुस्तकें कां न मेळती । आमांचा देसीं ॥
 हा मोटा अभिप्रावो जि म्हणे । तुमीं तरि
 वारिली मागिलीं पुराणें ।
 तरि प्रतिपुस्तकें आमा कारणें । कंसी न
 करिती तुमीं ॥⁹²

On the other hand, the Hindus who left Goa, on being compelled to cultivate Marathi or Kannada according to the regions in which they found themselves, naturally took to the literature in one or the other of the two languages to the neglect of writings in their own mother tongue, while the Hindus who remained behind lost interest in Konkani and increasingly took to Marathi. In the absence of a reading public whatever Konkani writings there existed soon went out of circulation. They would have been entirely lost but for the care bestowed on them by the missionaries who were in need of reading them for mastering the language. Thus it was that a part of this pre-Christian literature migrated to Europe and is found in the libraries of Portugal and possibly also in the MSS. section of the *Bibliotheca Vaticana*. As we have already shown earlier, the missionaries were not so crass, *pace* what Dr. Da Cunha thinks, as not to understand that "the preservation of the ancient MSS. and their study would help them to produce more proselytes among the Konkāṇas by preaching to them in their native language."⁹³ Had they not burnt midnight oil poring over the Hindu writings in Konkani, they could never have acquired enough mastery of the language as is needed to produce the literary gems like the *Jardim dos Pastores* and the *Vivekamālā*. It is however true that, scintillating as their works did with the verve of the Latin period which they introduced into their productions, Konkani prose was changed out of all recognition from earlier works. It assumed a new dignity at the skilled hands of literary geniuses such as Friar Gaspar de S. Miguel and the Jesuit Miguel de Almedia ; and what with the terms they coined to express subtle theological and philosophical concepts it ceased to be an instrument merely to be employed for domestic purposes.

Nor is it possible to agree with the opinion of Dr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado that the literary Konkani was created by the efforts of the Christian missionaries. In his own words :

⁹² S. Bandelu (ed.), *Stephensāṅkṛta Kristapurāṇa*, Pailēm Purāṇa, Av. 1, vv 142-43.

⁹³ Da Cunha, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

“In the absence of written material and appropriate norms, the missionaries were compelled to learn from the current speech of the people and with the help of Sanskrit and Marathi ; and it was thus that they composed their Sanskritized catechisms and prayer-books and Marathiazed their apologetical works.”⁹¹

This opinion is based on an uncritical acceptance of the obiter dictum of J. H. Da Cunha Rivara that we have so far been discussing. These missionaries as also the Hindu writers whom they followed as their models could not help using loan words from Sanskrit, Marathi and even Persian. These words also figure prominently in the Konkani as practised at present by Hindu writers in Goa and Bombay such as the late Varde Valavlikar, the prince of them all, and in the literary works produced in the Kanaras, which have admitted Kanarese expressions besides.⁹⁴

Dr. Da Cunha gives a few specimens of the writings composed in Konkani during what may be called its classical period, which include the translation of the Lord's Prayer and the *Stabat Mater*. The former compares well with the best translations ever made of it in any language of Europe. It was the work of the famous English Jesuit Fr. Thomas Stephens, who had also composed the *Kristapurāna*. It is reproduced here as an instance in point, showing how in avoiding relative clauses, which do violence to the language, the missionaries had assimilated its spirit:

आमंच्या बापा तं स्वर्गीं आससि. तुजें नांव थोर जाऊं. तुजें राज्य आमकां येऊं. तुजी खोसी जैसी वैकुंठा जाता, तैसिचि संवसारांतु जाऊं. आमचो दिस-पडतो ग्रामु आजि आमकां दि. आणी आमचि पातकां भगसि. जैसे आमीं आमचेरि चुकलल्यांक भगसितांवू. आणि आमकां टाळणिए पडूं दिऊं नाका : पण जें काई आमचेरि वाइट विग्न येता तें निवारि. आमें जेजूस.⁹⁵

In like manner Dr. Da Cunha thought that there is scarcely a translation of the *Stabat Mater* in any European language to stand comparison “for fidelity of sense or elegance of diction with the Konkani translation of this sublime medieval hymn of Giacomo Beneditti.” As in Europe so in Goa this touching poem on the sorrows of the mourning mother has found amongst the native composers not a few who have expressed in song this story of grief, and it is one of the favourite songs of our people.⁹⁶ The translation was made by a Goan Priest, Fr. Pascoal Dias of Carmona, a village in the district of Salsette, Goa, noted for long as a centre of intellectual culture.

⁹⁴ S. R. Dalgado, *Diccionario Portuguez-Konkani*, p. x.

^{95a} When uninfluenced by Portuguese syntax, the Christians write like the Hindus.

⁹⁶ Mariano Saldanha (ed.), *Doutrina Christã em Lingua Concani por Tomas Estevão*. S. J., pp. 74-75. A. K. Priolkar (ed.), *दौत्रिन क्रिस्तां* (1965), pp. 6-7.

⁹⁶ Da Cunha, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

DECLINE AND REVIVAL

Konkani was hurled from the pinnacle to which it had been raised by the missioners due to the persecution of the Government and the neglect by the people, a ukase going out of the viceregal court in 1684 forbidding its use and insisting that all inhabitants of Goa speak Portuguese instead.⁹⁷ From now on for two centuries there was hardly any creative writing produced in the language so that when Dr. Da Cunha composed his history of Konkani (1881) he could see only a bleak future for the language. He wrote—

“With regard to the future of the Konkani language, I need but make very few remarks. . . . under the circumstances (*i.e.*, subject condition of Goa and withdrawal of official patronage) it is no wonder that it has been treated with neglect by the very children of the soil and has from the absence of a norma to regulate its forms, dwindled into the state of *jargon* or *patois*. Add to this internal disorganization, the power and vitality of neighbouring tongues, and he need not be a prophet who foretells that in the course of a century or two the Konkani language will be encroached upon by the Marathi from the North and the Kanarese from the South, a movement that has already begun when Konkani must succumb in the struggle. This has happened before, and it will happen again ; for such is the fate of all weak tongues and of weak peoples”. (*Op. cit.*, p. 41).

But the attribute of weakness was true neither of the people nor of the language of Goa. From the days of Albuquerque's conquest till the disappearance of the Portuguese regime, there was no period in the long history of four and a half centuries when the people of Goa had not entered an emphatic protest against foreign rule. This protest began with the rising

⁹⁷ In striking contrast to this obscurantist policy of the Portuguese was the enlightened attitude of the Government in British India, an instance of which is furnished by the rise of Sindhi to the dignity of a modern Indian language, owing entirely to the patronage it received at the hands of the British officials. Shortly after the annexation of Sind when Bartle Frere was appointed Commissioner (1850) he felt that much leeway had to be made before Sindhi could be employed as the official language of the courts. For one thing it was not a written language in the sense that it had not a standard alphabet or character, each town employing its own symbols ; and it had no literature to speak of. Frere suggested that the question as to which of the scripts should be declared the standard script—Devanagari or Arabic—should be left in abeyance for the moment and they should concentrate instead on the development of the language. As anticipated, the people opted for the Arabic script, experience proving this script more convenient of the two. In the meanwhile text-books prepared in both scripts had been introduced into schools ; native officials soon learned to use the language ; and before long it was found practicable to issue a circular making Sindhi the exclusive language of record for proceedings in all judicial cases, civil as well as military. J. Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. I, pp. 124-25.

en masse in the closing years of the sixteenth century of the inhabitants of Cuncolim, Assolna and Velim (in Salsette) whose prodigies of valour are touchingly described by the Portuguese historians, and who over the years did not cease making common cause with the enemies of the Portuguese, in their determination to shake off the galling yoke ; and it rose to a climax with the uprising of the Ranes of Satary in the nineteenth and the early decades of the present century. As to the language, it is far ahead of many Indian languages thanks to two centuries of efforts on the part of some of the best minds to render it capable of expressing any idea, however difficult.

A language which had reached a high stage of development, as Konkani had done, could not be expected to rest content with the role of Cinderella assigned to it by its persecutors. Curiously enough, at the very time when Dr. Da Cunha was writing its epitaph (1881), a group of writers were working with a will for its uplift. Edmundo de Souza (1837-1905) who was busy for some time working on the phonetics of the language came out with his *Udêteche Sâlok* February 2, 1889, the first Konkani newspaper ever to be published, and he serialised in its columns a grammar of the language in the course of the year 1889. At about the same time Sebastião Jesus Dias, well-known for his popular book *Tres mil Vocabulos* which sought to provide the intending scholar with a working knowledge of five languages (Konkani, Latin, English, French and Hindustani), brought out a Konkani dictionary. A host of talented scholars followed who devoted themselves to the service of the mother tongue : D. F. Dantas who wrote Konkani *Bhâshechem Laghu Vyākaraṇ*, the first Konkani grammar in Konkani (1910), Casmiro Christovão Nazareth (1830-1929) who produced a Portuguese-Konkani dictionary, and above all the Barão of Cumberjua who, having begun to evince a learned interest in the language with the production of a primer in Devanagari script (1889), definitely tilted the balance in favour of Konkani by the weight of his influence among the Hindus ; not to speak of other writers like J. C. J. Fernandes, Francisco Pascoal Fernandes, A. C. J. Fernandes, F. C. J. Souza, and the creator of the immortal play "Kunbi Jaki," João Agostinho, whose historical novels afford excellent vignettes of life in Goa before the commencement of the great migrations, a decisive feature of Goan history at fin de siècle.^{97a}

In the field of Konkani linguistics Dr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado rendered most valuable service to Konkani between the years 1893 and 1909. His monumental work Konkani-Portuguese dictionary and vice-versa was comparable to the great Marathi lexicon on which Molesworth and Candy had laboured half a century earlier from 1831-1847. With this dictionary which he had prepared with meticulous regard

^{97a} For some of the details in this paragraph thanks are due to Dr. José Pereira.

to the specifications of an exacting science Dr. Dalgado firmly installed Konkani in its due place of honour among the Aryan languages of India. It was his regret that Dr. Da Cunha in his *Konkani Language and Literature* "had only opened up various questions without entering fully into the discussion of the origins of the language, its structure, its different dialects and historical phases, the stages of its normal evolution and the intrusions made by its neighbours, for which and much else he had well recognized abilities".⁹⁸ This lacuna has been most competently filled in our own day by Dr. S. M. Katre in his admirable work, *The Formation of Konkani* (1942), which has rendered to this language the same service that the French savant Jules Bloch rendered to Marathi with his *La formation de la langue marathe* (1922).

CONTRIBUTION TO PORTUGUESE HISTORY

Dr. Da Cunha was on surer ground when he treated of the history of the Portuguese in India. He often visited the seats of Portuguese power around Bombay—Bassein in the north and Chaul in the south, and conceived the project of writing the history of these settlements. The account of each of these places was first read out before our Society and published in the Journal and then compiled in book form in 1876. These accounts, however, are still disjointed and are of a piece with the articles he wrote on other subjects of Portuguese interest: "Historical and Archaeological sketch of the island of Anjediva", "The Portuguese in South Kanara," and "Memoir on the History of the Tooth-relic of Buddha in Ceylon". In the account of Chaul may be found some useful information not easily available elsewhere on the relations of the Portuguese with Ahmadnagar and in that of Bassein a sketch of the Portuguese hero Nuno da Cunha, its founder, together with the travellers' accounts of these two towns, ending with the description of the fall of Bassein to the Marathas in 1739 after a heroic defence by the Portuguese. The book is a useful guide to the ruins, as it contains minute description of the remains of the churches strewn about the two sites.

The other articles speak of the Portuguese in Kanara and Ceylon and are of importance in showing the survival in these parts of their cultural influence long after the disappearance of their political power. Anjediva, a favourite anchorage of the Portuguese since 1498 off Karwar, passed into their hands when Francisco de Almeida built a fort on the island. It was occupied by the English under Abraham Shipman with his garrison of English soldiers from April 1663 to October 1665, the insalubrious climate of the island taking a terrible toll of English lives during that period. It was again occupied by the Portuguese in 1682

⁹⁸ Dalgado, *Diccionario Portuguez-Konkanî*, p. ix. Appendix I discusses with what effect this castle, the loving efforts of her sons have raised, is being spurned in recent times.

and continued to be in their hands till the last day of their rule. The Portuguese built a number of fortresses at strategic points commanding the ports of Honawar, Coondapoor, and Mangalore. In his paper on Kanara Dr. Da Cunha describes the vicissitudes through which these ports passed in the course of two and a half centuries during which Kanara was successively held by the Nayaks of Ikkeri or Bednur and the Muslim rulers of Mysore, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

Among the shorter articles on the Portuguese may be noted the one on "Madame Dupleix and the Marquise de Falaiseau" in which he speaks of the heroism of these two women of Indo-Portuguese descent and defends the former against the attacks of Ananda Ranga Pillay in his *Diary*. The other is a brief note on two Arabic manuscripts on the history of Yemen by C. Rehatsek to which Da Cunha appends a note elucidating a passage in the manuscripts describing an assault of the Portuguese on Aden on 17th Mohrum of 919, corresponding to 26th March 1513. Drawing his material from the Portuguese historians—Barros, Goes, Castanheda, Gaspar Correa and Faria Y Souza, he shows that the Portuguese account is much more elaborate. He remarks that to compensate for his failure Albuquerque sailed to the island of Camavan in the Red Sea, being the first European to score the Red Sea Coast. In this island he set up a pillar with the Portuguese royal arms ingrained on it, and sailing to another island at the mouth of the Straits, which he re-named Vera Cruz, he raised a similar landmark—a tower with a cross. These monuments were intended to symbolize the Portuguese possession of the whole of the Red Sea from one island to the other—"a very easy way, indeed, of taking possession of the world."

The last article dealing with the Portuguese is the one entitled "M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa." Dr. Da Cunha tries to prove that Dellon's *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* published in the year 1687 was spurious, not only because Dellon does not mention his imprisonment by the Inquisition for two full years in another book of his published two years earlier in 1685—*Relation d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*—but actually says to the contrary :

"I went on shore the next day, and by the advantageous offers made by my friends, was prevailed upon to stay near three whole years in this great city (i.e. Goa.), of which I had given you a description before. After this, some affairs of moment happening, which required my presence in my native country, I was obliged to quit the Indies in order to take my speedy return to Europe. I took, therefore, the conveniency of a Portuguese galleon, which, being ready to sail for Lisbon, I, with the permission of the Governor, embarked myself in the said vessel towards the latter end of January".^{98a}

^{98a} *JBBRAS*, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 55.

i.e., in 1676. But Dellon alludes in the book on the Inquisition to a visit paid to him in the prison at Daman by the French traveller Abbé Carré, and it is to the credit of Prof. A. K. Priolkar that he found in an entry in Abbé Carrés' book of travels a resumé of the conversation he had with Dellon. But we cannot find fault with Dr. Da Cunha for describing the *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* as spurious for the reason that *Abbé Carré's Travels in India and the Near East* was not available to him when he wrote his paper. Further, in denying the authenticity of Dellon's work, he was certainly not holding a brief for the Inquisition of which he expressly says, "I have elsewhere qualified in the manner it ought to be by every liberal-minded man, whether Catholic or Protestant".⁹⁹ It is therefore unjust to reproach Dr. Da Cunha as Prof. Priolkar does in his book *The Goa Inquisition* wherein he says :

"It will be seen that the contentions of Dr. Gerson da Cunha and Braz Fernandes that the story of Dellon's imprisonment by the Inquisition of Goa is a fiction cannot stand in the face of incontrovertible contemporary evidence. It is indeed an irony of history that some of the descendants of the "New Christians" in Goa, who suffered cruelly at the hands of the Inquisition, should be so anxious to prevent the truth about the working of the institution from coming to light."¹⁰⁰

It would seem that Prof. Priolkar is suspecting an inquisitor behind every bush.

Dr. Da Cunha continues his account of Portuguese history in his *Origin of Bombay*.^{100a} His description of Bombay under the Portuguese, spread as it is over 171 pages, is disproportionate considering the bare 129 pages which he devotes to Bombay under the British under whom it had far outdistanced in importance the fishing village that it was earlier. Within the limited scope he gave to this period he could not adequately assess Bombay's role in transforming the structure of the East India Company from a mercantile body into a political power that it became in Western India. The history of the great metropolis of Bombay is too complex a subject to be dealt with in one volume, the economic history itself, dealing as it should with local industry and trade, trade with the rest of India, overseas trade with Europe and Afro-Asian countries, needing several volumes for adequate treatment. There are, besides, institutions which grew up in the course of its development such as the Port Trust, Municipal Corporation, Improvement Trust, Stock Exchange, Banks and other financial agencies, and subjects like education, sanitation, housing, transport, sports and recreation—each of which will demand a volume.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰ A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, p. 49.

^{100a} There is a review of the book in *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 351-55.

Then there are the various communities—the Parsis and the Banyas to whose bold enterprise the economic prosperity of Bombay is largely due, the Christians to whose educational institutions spread all over Bombay Western India is indebted for its educational pre-eminence, the Bhorah, Memon and the Khoja Muslims to whose hard work Bombay owes much of its creature comforts, and then the local elements in the population—the Maratha and the Brahman, the Prabhu and the Kayastha, the Koli and the Bhandari—all of whom have served Bombay to the best of their ability, and the contribution of each of which communities will have to be evaluated. A humble start in this direction is being made in the Post-graduate Department of History, Elphinstone College, so as to cover the history of Bombay from 1665 to 1818 i.e., from the foundation of Bombay to the fall of the Peshwa in three dissertations for the Ph. D. degree, and it is hoped to carry the story down to 1914 in other similar research theses.

Dr. Da Cunha had displayed in the studies which he had brought out enough competence to attempt a comprehensive work on the Portuguese effort in India. It was, therefore, not long before he received an invitation from a well-known firm of oriental book-sellers—Nicholas Trubner—to write a history of the Portuguese in India. It was, however, unfortunate that amidst his heavy professional duties, he could not afford the time necessary to complete such a vast project. As he wrote in one of his last articles to this Journal :

“The versatile American scholar, Lovell, who recently died, says in one of his literary essays : “It is my misfortune that in the midst of a reflection or of a sentence I am liable to be called away by the bell of private or public duty”. If literature, allied to diplomacy, is thus liable to be disturbed, it is more so when combined with medicine. This essay is an instance in point. After I began it I was repeatedly interrupted by the call of duty, and it was not till the third day that I was able to resume its continuation. This is the principal reason why the history of the Portuguese in India, announced under my authorship for a long time . . . has yet remained a *desideratum*.”¹⁰¹

And he consoles himself for the fragmentary nature of his work in this field with the thought that he has thereby escaped the tyranny that an undertaking of this nature would have surely imposed :

“Beware”, said Goethe to Eckermann, “of attempting a large work. It is exactly that which injures our best minds, even those distinguished by the finest talents and the most earnest efforts.

¹⁰¹ Da Cunha “A brief sketch of the Portuguese and their language in the East,” *JBRAS*, vol. XLVIII, p. 173.

I have suffered from this cause, and know how much it has injured me. . . if you have a great work in your head, nothing else thrives near it; all other thoughts are repelled and the pleasantness of life itself is for the time lost." This opinion, the result of "the lifelong experience of the greatest master who ever consciously made an art of literature," comes with the force of an advice to us all.¹⁰²

CRITICAL ESTIMATE

But it is not given to every scholar, however competent, to bring out a large work, a privilege of minds at all events different from that of Dr. Da Cunha. True, he lived in the golden age of historical writing and was the contemporary of Leopold Von Ranke and his pupils, all of whom produced massive works. Examples of such writings were not unavailable in Bombay itself where in 1826 J. Grant Duff had given to the world his history of the Marathas in three volumes. There were besides illustrious examples of Mountstuart Elphinstone and J. T. Molesworth whose work both in quality and quantity has not yet been surpassed even after a lapse of a century. But it was too early to expect products of Indian Universities to rise to the stature of these celebrities with the result that Dr. Da Cunha and his contemporaries—Telang, Bhandarkar, Ranade—could only display a genius that revelled in short but competent studies of diverse subjects. Moreover, Dr. Da Cunha lacked the vision of a historian. For twenty-five years he laboured on the history of the Portuguese in Bassein, Bombay and Chaul, but failing as he did to bring the whole of the "Province of the North," stretching from Daman to Chaul, into focus, he could only produce a blurred image of the province. Had he the historian's vision, he would have taken within his sweep the external relations of the province as well as its internal history, as exemplified by the social and the cultural life of the people and the colonists in the cities and the country-side, religious organisation, education, administration, art, architecture and music, and economic development. His volume on Chaul and Bassein is, therefore, a little more than a Baedekar which can but be a poor substitute for an integrated picture of the Portuguese achievement in the province as a whole. Then again, a historian would have seen as in a flash that the cities that arose on the banks of the Ullas river from the times of Aśoka onwards—Sopara, Kalyan, Thana and Bassein—were all fore runners of Bombay, and could have little importance apart from that of the region in which they flourished. The importance of this region was due to the fact that the Sahyadris suffer a depression at this latitude, making it possible for the rich hinterland across the ghats to gain communication with the sea coast and access to the world beyond for purposes of import and export.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Another weakness of Dr. Da Cunha was his caste complex. In his *Konkani Language and Literature* he never misses an opportunity of boosting the caste of the author if he happens to be of his caste, however obscure may have been his work like the volume in manuscript *Arte grammatica da Lingua Bracmana* and the *Vocabulario de tres Linguas, Portugueza, Bracmana, e Castellhana* by the Choravian pair, father and son, 1694-1695, and even going out of his way in appending a list of works in Sinhalese composed by the Oratorians—which is irrelevant to the purpose of his book which is the history of the Konkani language and literature—only because these Oratorians belonged to his caste. On the other hand he suppresses the caste of the author if he was a Chaddo, the rival caste, consisting of the aristocracy of Goa, descended as it is from the ruling caste of the pre-Portuguese days, lest it should redound to its glory. Like some other Brahmanical writers of Goa with whom the myth of Paraśurāma is an article of faith, he regards them as Vaiśyas at best, as there could be no trace of the Kshatriyas left in the world after the extermination of the latter by his fictitious hero. It is curious that the Śilāhāras, the Kadambas and the Chalukyas, to mention only three of the dynasties that ruled over Goa and under whom the Brahmans were proud enough to serve, should now be denied the status of Kshatriyas.

It is amusing to watch these scholars with a nostalgia for the Paraśurāma legend catching at a straw to save it from being consigned to the scrap heap of exploded myths and discredited theories. In a note added to the translation of J. H. da Cunha Rivara's *Ensaio historico da lingua Concani*^{102a} for the instruction of non-Goan readers, the annotator, while he is constrained to acknowledge that the Chaddo is the "name of the caste in Goa now corresponding to that of . . . the Kshatrias," yet quotes a passage from the *Dircito Hindu e Mahometano* of Luis Cunha Gonsalves (Coimbrā, 1923) in which the writer ridicules the claim of the Chaddos to be regarded as Kshatriyas. His arguments are that they possess nothing of the warriors nor any warlike customs, and accordingly, their description by the early Portuguese as belonging to the Kshatriya caste was due to the fact that they were "somewhat weak in Indian ethnography". Taking these arguments seriatim, it is notorious that in modern India neither the Brahmans nor the Kshatriyas discharge the duties expected of them as members of their respective castes, or else there would be prodigies of Vedic scholarship among those flaunting the cognomens of Dvivedi, Trivedi and Chaturvedi. As to the Portuguese ignorance of Indian ethnography in the early days, it does not appear to have improved with years, since Dr. Cunha Gonsalves, writing during the latter days of their rule, could still confuse caste with race and speak of "the Dravidian caste of *quetres* or *etchatres*".

^{102a} A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India*, with a foreword by Chintaman D. Deshmukh and *An historical essay on the Konkani Language* by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, translated from the Portuguese by Fr. Theophilus Lobo, p. 151, note 4.

It is more in sorrow than in anger that this weakness of Dr. Da Cunha is pointed out by the present writer. Scholar that he was, he was not unaware that caste led to fission and that fission was fatal to political progress. In his own words :

“The spread of Christianity in the Southern Konkan was not a caste levelling process. It simply conciliated old prejudices with new privileges. A converted Brahman became a Christian in faith alone, retaining all the social rights of Hinduism, and transmitting all caste prerogatives untainted by any admixture of foreign or lower caste blood, through generations, to his present aristocratic posterity. The natives of Goa do not, unhappily, form a blend of races, as in Europe, where time may, perhaps, one day, weld all classes into homogeneity, but recognize practically as many tribes and castes as there are amongst those professing Brahmanism. Until such a blending of caste takes place, it would surely be utopian to believe in the Indian *rasorgimento*. One would be well advised if, until such a wished for consummation is effected, he would patiently stifle in his heart the cry of “India for Indians”, such as was once raised in the very centre of Goa in 1787.”¹⁰³

But towards this consummation Dr. Da Cunha made no contribution.

Although due to these limitations his work could not be classical, Da Cunha was not incapable of drawing wise inferences from the actions of men and the policies they followed. He thinks, for instance, that Francisco de Almeida was wise in advocating the policy that Portugal should endeavour to secure the supremacy of the seas which would enable her to assert her power over the countries bordering them, as Athens had done in antiquity. And accordingly, the Portuguese should rather build factories and counting-houses together with a few fortresses for their defence where needed on the Coast and adjacent islands with a view to place their trade on a solid footing than make large territorial acquisitions which would in the end simply interfere with, if not ruin, their commercial position in Asia. And he thinks that the decay of the Portuguese power was due to the fact that this policy was abandoned in deference to that of Albuquerque. Like the Romans of old, the latter sought to found an empire in the East and amalgamate the Portuguese with the natives. This experiment, transcending as it did the national boundaries, was by its very nature bound to fail in the long run; even though it was in the high traditions of Macedonian and Roman Empires.¹⁰⁴

EMINENT NUMISMATIST

But Dr. Da Cunha was, above all, an enthusiastic numismatist, using great discrimination in building up his collection and not merely content

¹⁰³ Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ *JBBRAS*, vol. XI, p. 301.

with accumulating coins of a bygone age for purposes of display. His collection of typical and valuable specimens extended over the whole range of Indian numismatics,¹⁰⁵ amounting to no fewer than 15,000 varieties of gold, silver and other metals.¹⁰⁶ He studied every one of these pieces—assorting and analysing them so that his study may provide guide lines to future researchers.¹⁰⁷ He thus made himself an outstanding authority on Indian numismatics and was the acknowledged 'facile princeps' in the whole of India.¹⁰⁸ His best contribution, however, was to Indo-Portuguese Numismatics in the papers which he published in this Journal.¹⁰⁹ These fascicules were subsequently issued as a monograph, which was dedicated to Cardinal Laurentio Randi, for some time the Governor of Rome before the fall of the city to the forces of the Resorgimento during the pontificate of Pius IX. This learned Cardinal was a numismatist in his own right, and offered Dr. Da Cunha in appreciation of his valuable work in filling a lacuna in the history of Indian numismatics several rare medallions from his own rich collection, consisting of thousands of medals struck by the Roman Pontiffs from the time of Pope Gregory III down to his own day.¹¹⁰

EARLY PORTUGUESE COINAGE

In these articles Dr. Da Cunha reviews the history of 370 years of Portuguese coinage, beginning from 12th March, 1510, when Albuquerque established the first mint at Goa, and ending with the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 26th December, 1878.¹¹¹ The gold and silver coins issuing from this mint were of the highest degree of fineness, and they were current along the whole length of the Indian littoral and were accepted as legal tender even in the countries of the Persian Gulf and those of the Indian archipelago.¹¹² Among the coins circulating in Goa at the time of the Portuguese conquest was a gold coin called pratap. Corrupted into partap by the Muslims, it was further corrupted into pardao by the Portuguese.¹¹³ It was in reality the old hun and was exchanged for 360 reis. The other coins were the bargani, a silver coin, whose exchange rate was 40 reis, and the bazarucco, a copper coin, worth 2 reis.¹¹⁴ Albuquerque did not follow the prevailing practice of restriking the coins of the previous rulers. Instead he declared the Bijapur currency illegal and replaced it by a new currency dissimilar in type, although analogous in size and value to the old

¹⁰⁵ *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, pp. iii & lxxix

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31—J. M. da Cormo Nazareth.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi—James MacDonald.

¹⁰⁹ *JBBRAS*, vols. XIV-XVI—4 fascicules.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

¹¹¹ *JBBRAS*, vol. XIV, p. 403.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 181.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 404.

currency. In the place of the *pardao* he introduced the *cruzado*—raising its value by 60 reis, a wise measure calculated to prevent the exportation of gold from Goa.¹¹⁵ Similarly, he replaced the *bargani* by the *espera* and the *bazarucco* by the *leal*, but maintained the value of these silver and copper coins as before at 40 and 2 reis. But there was need for a coin of a still smaller denomination, and in answer to this popular demand he introduced the *dinheiro* which was one-third of a *leal*. And when it was found that the revenue accounts were computed by an old and popular coin called the *tanka*, this coin had to be readmitted to the Portuguese series. They, however, changed its designation to *tanga*, which now looked almost like a new coin what with the Portuguese proto-types furnished in its design.¹¹⁶ Both the silver and copper coins of Albuquerque bore on the obverse the letter A, probably initial for Asia, and on the reverse the sphere, while his *meio manuel*, a gold coin, had on the obverse: MEA with crown above (M E A meaning glorious conquest of D. Manuel in India and Brazil) and on the reverse a sphere.¹¹⁷

It is interesting that Albuquerque based his coinage on metrical division, the ratio between his silver and gold coins being 10 : 1. Subsequently, when the *cruzado* was valued at 680 reis, 12 : 1 came to be the ratio between the two metals.¹¹⁸ Albuquerque's system was thus a mixture of the decimal and the duo-decimal division of money. The former evidently commended itself by its greater practical facility in arithmetical operations, and the latter forced itself on account of the fact that men are prone to think duo-decimally when computing the value of products of human industry by the time and labour involved in them.¹¹⁹

LATER ADDITIONS

There was no addition to this series for almost half a century when during the viceroyalty of Afonso de Noronha (1550-1554) a new silver coin entitled S. Thomés (also called *pataca*) was added.¹²⁰ This coin, however, was not well received by the people, and its further issue was forbidden by D. Antonio de Noronha (1564-1568).¹²¹ His successor D. Louis de Alhaide issued a code of rules according to which the future issues of gold coins were to be entitled S. Thomés, each piece weighing 68.8 Portuguese grains of the fineness of 43 points or 20½ carats, while silver coins were to consist of the *Bastiões*. The *Bastiões* were of three categories—*Bastião*, double

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 405 and 411, showing how the measure was productive of the desired result.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XV, pp. 172-73

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 405.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*,

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 413.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 416-17.

Bastião and half Bastião in honour of the then ruler of Portugal.^{121a} In 1578, during his second viceroyalty he added one more coin to the series—the Xerafim, made of an alloy of silver and copper and worth five tangas. The name was borrowed from Persia where it was applied to a gold coin (ashraf) weighing about 50 grains and being equal in weight and fineness to the Venetian Sequin and the Dutch ducat.¹²²

Further innovations in Portuguese currency had to await the beneficent rule of D. Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares (1629-1635). On the 13th of November, 1630 this viceroy ordered the issue of a new silver coinage of the standard of reales or dollars under the designations of patacoes, half patacoes, tangas and half tangas.¹²³ This was followed a year later on 5th November, 1631 by the issue of gold S. Thomés of the standard of 39½ points and value of 3 xerafims and 12 reis having on one side a cross and on the other the numeral 912, their value in reis.¹²⁴

In 1666, during the viceroyalty of Conde de Alvor a new silver coin was struck called xerafim dobrado (double xerafim),¹²⁵ and two years later we have already a glimpse of the rupee in Portuguese numismatics in the mention of the word rupia in an official deed dated the 21st November 1668, not as a denomination of any Portuguese coin but as found among the silver coins and bullion captured from an Arab fleet.¹²⁶ It was, however, not until 1755, that the rupee makes its appearance regularly in Portuguese coinage, though it does appear as early as 1735.¹²⁷

In these articles Dr. Da Cunha has given a minute description with illustrations of the types issued during each viceroyalty in the course of 370 years in conformity with the specifications prescribed by numismatics. But it should suffice here to reproduce details from his description of a rupee coin from the mint at Diu: on the obverse, St. George's Cross, ornamented, with the figures of the year 1749 in its four angles; and on the reverse the Portuguese coat-of-arms; weight, 145 grains Troy. The meia rupia of Diu had identical design and weighed 43 grains Troy.¹²⁸ The designation of rupee was evidently adopted by the Portuguese from the Mughals who in their turn owe it to Sher Shah, who was the first to introduce the word rupia in substitution of the silver tanka between the years 1540 and 1545.¹²⁹

^{121a} *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 170-71. Dr. Da Cunha thinks that ashraf may have derived the name from Ashraf—the mint city where the Kings used to mint their coins. *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 21.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 193.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 22.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

MONETARY FEATURES

Speaking of their monetary features, Dr. Da Cunha says that with the exception of the first issues from Albuquerque and his early successors who had Manuels, S. Thomés and patacoes the Portuguese coinage in India derived its monetary nomenclature from oriental sources viz., xerafim (Persian), pardao, tanga, rupia (Indian), bazarucco (Perso-Indian), rub or quarter of a tanga (Arabic). But in the matter of designs they have, contrary to the practice followed by the other European nations in India—the English, French, Dutch and Dane—scrupulously avoided imitating native prototypes and inscribing any Indian character, and have closely followed the pattern of the Portuguese proto-types. In consequence, there are to be seen on these coins the crosses of several heraldic orders, such as those of Christ, St. Benedict of Aviz, St. George, besides the Christian symbols of the Cross of St. Thomas, the arrows of St. Sebastian and the wheel of St. Catharine, the figures of the Patron Saints of the kings—bearing the names of Sebastian, Philip and John—instead of their own portraits, and finally the coat of arms of Portugal. It is only natural that the legends on these coins, relating to the names and titles of the ruling sovereigns, should closely correspond to those on the coins of these sovereigns issued in Portugal. Another peculiarity of this coinage is the capricious manner in which the moneyers in Goa changed the type of coins not only during the same reign, but also during one short vicereignty or governorship. As an illustration in point Dr. Da Cunha cites two coins among others from the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bombay:

Obv. : The Cross of the order of Christ in the field with year 1737 in its angles. The legend round the margin is indistinct, the character NNE-V.R.P only being visible, and these stamped in a manner different from that of the other coins.

Rev. : The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*, weight, 180 grains Troy.

Obv. : The Cross of the order of Christ as above, with the year 1740. No legend, except V., close to the right arm of the Cross. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev. The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, differently impressed from the above. *Rupia*, weight, 185 grains Troy.¹³⁰

When the Portuguese power was in the ascendant, the *quinas* floated over the following fortified towns: Ormus, Diu, Daman, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Honavar, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Coriate, Calaité, Colombo, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboina, Macao, Solor and Timor. Eight of these towns had established in them mints which

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

regularly issued coins in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag, and of six of these towns Dr. Da Cunha gives the following mint marks:

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| B — Bassein | D or D-o — Diu |
| C-Lo — Ceylon | G or G-A — Goa |
| D — Damao | M or M-A — Malacca ¹³¹ |

DEFECTS OF PORTUGUESE COINAGE

A complaint sometimes heard from the people against the Portuguese government in the 16th century was that it resorted to inflating the currency. Thus it was alleged against D. Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-45) that he issued copper coinage at the exorbitant rate of 36 pardaos the quintal, the market price being between 18 to 20 pardaos; against D. Francisco Mascarenhas (1577-84) that he minted copper coinage at even more exorbitant rate of 57 pardaos the quintal, when the market value was only 22; against D. Constantino Braganza (1558-61) that he issued copper coins at the rate of 42 pardaos the quintal, when the market price was 25 pardaos; and against D. Pedro Mascarenhas (1554-55) that he issued silver patacoes, the value of which was not only in entire disproportion to the market price of bullion, but that even the coinage was debased by reducing it to the standard of billon. Just and God-fearing governors like D. João de Castro tried to meet the grievances of the people by seeing to it that the price of the specie corresponded to the market price of metal, or as the Conde de Lavradio did in 1672 by fixing the standard of both gold and silver coinage when it fluctuated owing to the intrinsic value of metal not being equal to the legal value. After 1712, however, the question solved itself when D. Vasco Fernandes Caesar de Menezes allowed the mints to receive bullion from private parties to coin money after paying the seigniorage. Dr. Da Cunha refrains from drawing any inference from these ups and downs in the history of Portuguese numismatics in India. Nevertheless, does it not testify to the unbroken prosperity of the Portuguese empire that Albuquerque and his successors should have issued a currency, which was legal tender through the entire eastern world, being of the highest degree of fineness? And when the other governors and viceroys, just mentioned, resorted to inflating the value of Portuguese currency, was it not due to the fact that the state was passing through a period of stress and strain, and over-valuation of the coinage was one of the means they adopted to relieve the strain on the treasury caused by their expensive wars—an object which they could have also achieved by debasing the currency?

These articles on numismatics have been translated into Portuguese and published in book-form by the *Agencia Geral do Ultramar*, entitled

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Contribuicoes para estudo da numismatica Indo-Portuguesa. It would be worthwhile for the Asiatic Society of Bombay also to give them a permanent form by re-issuing them as a monograph. They are a lasting contribution to Portuguese numismatics, and not much has been added to it since Dr. Da Cunha wrote on the subject.

CONCLUSION

The profound scholarship of Dr. Da Cunha was recognised by our Society—the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which year after year elected him one of its vice-Presidents, and by the Government of Bombay, which sought his collaboration in the compilation of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. He was a founder-member of the Anthropological Society, and then its President. In 1878 he was invited to participate in the 4th Congress of Orientalists at Florence, Italy. A paper which he contributed "On the vicissitudes of the Aryan Civilisation in India" was awarded a prize of 500 lire. To that sum he added an equal amount and founded a prize at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Rome to be awarded to the best essay on "Relations, ancient and modern, between Italy and India". On this occasion he donated to the Royal Institute of Higher Studies at Florence a collection of Indian antiquities in the hope that eventually this would lead to the foundation of an oriental museum in the city. Then proceeding to Germany he made a gift of rare coins which he had taken with him to the Royal Library of Berlin, to which he also presented important codices from his collection of ancient and rare manuscripts, relating to Jaina Studies.¹³² He was again present at the 19th Oriental Conference in Rome (October 1889) over which he presided.¹³³

The critical estimate of Dr. Da Cunha's work which we have attempted does not detract from the real merit of his scholarship, which unfortunately suffered owing to the fact that he could not rise superior to the prejudices of his times. On the occasion of the tercentenary of the Cession of Bombay, we salute the memory of a great scholar who devoting his best talents to the elucidation of the past threw welcome light on the antiquities of Western India.

¹³² *Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua familia*, pp. lxxix—lxxxix.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. v obituary in *The Times of India*.

A P P E N D I X I

Since the early forties when he helped to produce a Memorandum on Konkani, Prof. A. K. Priolkar has been proclaiming *ad infinitum* that Konkani had neither a local habitation nor a name before it was picked up by the Catholic missionaries to serve as a medium for their religious propaganda. Despite the considerable corpus of literature that has grown up in the language since the sixteenth century and despite the fact that it is spoken by no fewer than a million people in a definable area, he refuses to recognise it as anything but a dialect. According to him the absence of a name for it set a problem to the missionaries, who in consequence called it by different names "Lingoa Bramana," "Lingoa Canarim" and "Lingoa da terra corrente". Just at this time, Armando Contesão, who had been working on the Paris codex of the *Summa Oriental*, an account of his travels by Tomé Pires, had the book published by the Hakluyt Society in 1944. Now Tomé Pires was in Goa soon after its fall to the Portuguese in 1510, and in his account distinguishes the language of Goa which he terms 'Conconjm' from the languages of the contiguous regions in a passage which should be considered *locus classicus* on the point in dispute :

"Now our road takes us to the magnificent kingdom of Goa—the key to the First and Second India. On the sea-coast it is separated from the Deccan by Kharepatan, the chief river in India; on the Honawar side it has Cintacora, and inland it is bounded by the kingdom of the Deccan and the kingdom of Narsinga. The language which is spoken in this kingdom is Konkani. The kingdom of Goa was always esteemed as the best of the king of Narsinga's possessions, for it was as important as it was prosperous. The people of the Deccan won part of this kingdom from him, and afterwards the old Cabaio, father of the present one, won the rest of it from the heathens. It is forty-five years since the Cabaio took over this kingdom, and as long as it formed part of the kingdom of the Deccan, Goa was the head of the whole kingdom of the Deccan and Goa. The language of this kingdom of Goa does not resemble that of the Deccan, nor that of Narsinga, but is a separate language. The people of this kingdom are strong, prudent and very hard-working, both on land and sea". The *Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, 1944, vol. I, p. 54, vol. II, p. 373 (*Portuguese original*).

This put Prof. Priolkar on the horns of a dilemma. In a thesis prepared under his guidance (V. B. Prabhu-Desai, *Satrāvṛyā Satakāntil Gomāntakī Bolī*, Bombay, University of Bombay, 1963, pp. 286-87) his pupil tried to wriggle out of a tight place with the plea that the passage was suspected to be an interpolation, as the manuscripts of the work in Lisbon and Paris differed from each other in some places and the original of the work was not yet found. No scholar, however, could be

taken in by this lame argument of a scholar in despair. It is not often that holographs of old works survive, as for instance all that is left of the handwriting of Shakespeare (1564-1616) are six signatures. In actual fact Dr. P. S. Pissurlencar in his article "A propósito dos Primeiros Livros Maratás Impressos em Goa," *BIVG*, no. 73 (1956), p. 55 had written, naturally having compared it with the same passage in the microfilm of the codex from Lisbon in his possession, though not in so many words, that the passage had upset Prof. Priolkar's apple-cart. A better explanation had, therefore, to be devised, and in his lectures delivered before the Poona University (*Grānthik Marāṭhi Bhāshā ūri Konkāṇī Bolī*, University of Poona, 1966, p. 66) Prof. Priolkar has come out with a new answer. According to him Tomé Pires who completed his account at Cochin must have become familiar with the term Konkani due to the circumstance that the Goans who had gone there for business or some other purpose were called Konkāṇes and their language was denominated Konkani by the local people. But Prof. Priolkar is here plainly begging the question. For one thing, he has to prove that at Cochin Goans were sufficiently numerous and prominent to make their impact felt by the local people for themselves and their language to be so designated. The fact, however, is that it is too early to expect Goan settlements along the Malabar Coast. We find them in the Kanaras only in the thirties. There were no religious reasons at the time of Tomé Pires's visit and earlier for the people to abandon Goa, and economic reasons—prosperity of the place—were all in favour of staying and not leaving the place of their birth. Moreover, there was little to induce Goan businessmen to settle at Cochin; Calicut, which was a major port, was at a shorter distance.

But even as it is, Prof. Priolkar gives the case away when he avers that Konkani is derived from "Kankāṇem," an honorific, according to him, exclusively borne by the Sarasvats, although he now fathers the derivation upon Miguel de Almeida who uses it in his book *Vanavūlyācho Malo* in 1658 (*op. cit.*, p. 64). It is surprising that the Sarasvats could be so self-denying as to resist the desire of having the language designated by their time-honoured honorific or so ignorant that it did not occur to them that it could be so designated, and receive it as a gift from outsiders, first in the early years of the 16th century from the Keralites and then in the middle of the 17th century from a foreigner. [In a Vijayanagar record of the 14th century (Sb 152), however, the designation "Konkāṇa" is applied to the people of Goa, and João de Barros (1552) says unequivocally: The whole coastal strip up to the Ghat which extends along the coast and constitutes with it a long and narrow belt of land is called Concan, and the people, as is proper (*propriamente*) Conquenijs, even though we (the Portuguese) call them Canarijs. Dec. I, IX, 1]. Nor is it likely that the missionaries could have been unaware of a designation that had been current at Cochin—a place with which they

had intimate connections for a century and a half ; and that it should have escaped them that it could be so derived during the hundred years that they had been cultivating the language till it was actually done by Miguel de Almeida. But the truth of the matter is that the language is designated as Konkani in an earlier work, viz., the dictionary of Ribeiro, and, as has been already pointed out by scholars of the subject, long before Ribeiro and Pires, Namdev (1270-1350) has referred to it by this name in one of his Abhangas. But Prof. Priolkar, like his pupil, tries to wriggle out of an untenable situation he has created for himself by the self-same stock-in-trade of interpolation and the plea that the specimen of the language in Namdev is Kuḷāli of Sawantwadi and not Konkani (*op. cit.* p. 66); whereas it is Konkani judged from its grammar and the termination of the substantives in 'o' with a few dialectal differences peculiar to a region, Prof. Priolkar conveniently forgetting the wise and old Marathi adage—"Bārā Kosālā bhāshā badalte".

Why then did the missionaries call the language "Lingoa Bramana"? The reasons for this are obvious. From times immemorial two castes had been dominating the scene in Goa : the Chaddos and the Sarasvats, each speaking a distinct dialect of Konkani. As these castes were equally esteemed, the missionaries could adopt either of the dialects. But they adopted the dialect of the Brahmans, because they came in contact with these latter earlier, the Sarasvats having accepted the new religion long before the Chaddos who fiercely resisted. Naturally enough, the Sarasvats were on this account more highly esteemed by the missionaries than the Chaddos, who in consequence lost the chance of their dialect being used for literary purposes. Thirdly, the missionaries who were hard put to it to learn one dialect could not be expected to add to their difficulties by trying to learn another, and in designating the form of speech they were using as the language of the Brahmans, they were only avowing honestly and humbly that they knew only the dialect of the Brahmans.

As to the word "Canarim" applied to the language, it is significant that it occurs only in the Portuguese titles of the Konkani books, written by the missionaries, and not in the body of the Konkani texts. This would show that they used the designation in the sense of the language of the native or local inhabitants of the Konkani, the Konkanis, whom they termed Canaris or Canarin. It is in this sense that the word, Cannarin, is to be understood, as used in a consultation of 2nd February 1670 ordering a code of laws published that year in Bombay by Aungier, its Governor, to be translated into that language (Foster, *English Factories*, vol. I, p. 2). To the Portuguese whose usage the English merely followed the language spoken here was a dialect of Konkani, and was distinguished as the Canarim of the North from the literary dialect of Goa which was denominated 'Bramana Canarim,' a grammar

of the former written in the 17th century—*Arte Canarina na Lingua do Norte*—clearly bringing out the distinction. Cunha Rivara, *op. cit.*, pp. ccxxxv-vi. This grammar was published in 1856 and was entitled *Grammatica da Lingua Concani no Dialecto do Norte composto no seculo XVII por um missionario Portuguez e agora pela primeira vez dada à estampa por dilligencia de J. H. da Cunha Rivara 1856.4°*. Marathi was regarded by them as a language apart like Gujarati or any other Aryan vernacular, calling the particular dialect they cultivated ‘Bramana-Marastta.’ Cunha Rivara, *op. cit.*, p. cxx; also *Kristapurāna* (Preface).

APPENDIX II

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CAPITAL ACCUMULATION IN XVIIth CENTURY WESTERN INDIA

By *B. G. Gokhale*

IT HAS BEEN generally assumed that the economy of Mughal India was based on the self-sufficient village scarcely affected by capital. Recent Studies have revealed that this can no longer be regarded as a valid assumption.¹ These studies show that the cash nexus was firmly established in the economic life of Mughal India and the peasant paid, at least in part, many of his taxes in cash. Throughout the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries a large volume of money was in circulation throughout the Mughal Empire and the process of capital accumulation had advanced to a stage when a few prominent entrepreneurs concentrated in their hands vast quantities of capital. Among these members of the royal families were naturally the foremost capital-owners. Akbar (1556-1605) is reported to have left behind at least 70 million rupees in cash and his son and successor Jahangir (1605-1627), in the early part of his reign, controlled no less than 250 million rupees.

But royal fortunes formed just one source of capital accumulation. In the various centres of trade in the Mughal Empire lived the rich merchants who were able to marshal vast quantities of capital, and among these Virji Vohra, a native of Surat, was reputedly the richest. This paper attempts to examine the process of capital formation in Western India during the XVIIth century and assess its contributions to the economic life of the area and the country.

The development of indigenous capitalism in India of the XVIIth century was closely connected with the rise of Western Trade. For over a century the port of Surat dominated the foreign trade of India. From Surat were exported commodities like textiles, indigo and saltpetre to the countries of the Western and Asian world. Into Surat arrived a large number of goods from Europe and the East for eventual distribution over large areas of the Empire. This trade brought into being a new class of merchants who served as a link between the Indian producers and their markets abroad. This new class was a group of substantial capitalists controlling millions of rupees worth of capital not only for buying and selling commodities but also for extending much-needed credit to the growing Western enterprise represented by the English, Dutch and French East India Companies. This group was collectively

¹ See Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (Bombay, 1963). "Banking in Mughal India" in *Contributions to Indian Economic History*, Edited by Tapan Raychaudhuri (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 1 ff; "Usury in Medieval India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. VI, No. 4, July, 1964, pp. 393 ff.

described as the *Banians* and their activities ranged from Mocha in the Persian Gulf to Bantam in Indonesia and their caravans travelled inland as far as Agra and Ludhiana in Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the French Traveller who visited India in the XVIIth century, describes the *Banians* in the following words: They "attach themselves to trade, some being *Shroffs*, i.e., money-changers or bankers, and others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell. The members of this caste are so subtle and skilful in trade that, as I have elsewhere said, they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade and do nothing without explaining it to them at the same time."²

In the observations quoted above we have a reference to three different categories of professional men. One is that of the *Banian* who was primarily a merchant buying and selling goods either on his own account or as an agent of a foreign corporation like the English East India Company. Then there was the *Shroff* or *Sarraf* who performed a variety of monetary functions. He was the assessor of moneys, skilled in testing the purity of the metal content of the coins submitted for his examination. For this work he was paid between 1/30th and 1/16th per cent of the coins checked by him. He was also the money-changer, exchanging one kind of currency for another and making a profit from his transactions sufficient to start the process of capital-accumulation on his own account. He often controlled the exchange rates by manipulation of the volume of a given currency in circulation from which activity he made considerable money. He was an insurance (*Bima*) broker charging between 1 to 4½ per cent for goods in transit insured with him. Finally he also wrote and sold bills of exchange (*Hundis*) which facilitated large-scale safe transfer of moneys from one town to another. The third category was that of the banker (*Mahajan* or *Sahukar*) whose primary function was that of offering the necessary banking facilities to the traders, artisans and peasants in their need for credit.³

Of the three the *Banian* seems to have been the most important factor in the accumulation of capital during the XVIIth century. Very often a *Banian* also loaned moneys and played the part of a *sarraf* or *mahajan*. But the *Banian's* primary function was trade, he bought and sold commodities in demand in the regional, national or international markets.

² *Travels in India* by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, Translated by V. Ball, 2 vols. (London, MacMillan, 1889), vol. II, pp. 83-84.

³ See Habib, "Banking in Mughal India," *op. cit.*, (Ed. by Raychoudhuri), pp. 3 ff.

As a rule his investments were of a short-term nature and he was not necessarily interested in investments in the productive processes. The *Banian's* prosperity, depended largely on his connection with international trade, especially trade with and through the Western East India Companies. The importance of the *Banian* for Western trade is indicated by an observation in a lengthy despatch by President Methwold and others at Swally Road to the Company on December 29, 1634, that "according to the custom of this country it is most usual to effect business which is at a distance by a faithful broker."⁴ Tavernier says that nothing is more important for successful trade than the "office of broker or merchant, who should be a native of the country, an idolator and not a Muhammedan, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolators."⁵

II

The English *Factory Records* and the accounts of European travellers in India during the XVIIIth century offer very interesting information on the activities and role of these *Banians* in the process of capital-formation in Western India during the period under review. A list of as many as 158 brokers was prepared from these accounts for the purpose of analysis. A few general observations may be made at this point on the religious and social composition of these men.

In terms of religious affiliation as many as 121 (or little over 77%) of the 158 brokers studied belonged to the Hindu faith. With one exception of a Brahmin of Surat, described as "*Banian Doctor*" in our accounts, all of them were *Banias* by caste. As many as 30 were Muslims and among them were some of the richest merchants. It is not clear whether these Muslims also functioned as money-lenders in addition to being traders. Unlike Hinduism, which permitted the practice of usury for certain castes, Islamic theory consistently opposed charging of interest by any Muslim. However, there was a certain latitude permitted in actual practice and instances of Muslims practising usury are known.⁶ Of the rest one is definitely known to be a Jain (Shantidas of Ahmedabad),

⁴ William Foster, (ed.) *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636* (Oxford, 1911), p. 79. Thirteen Volumes of this series have been used for this paper and they are cited serially as *EFI*, 1618-1621 (Oxford, 1906) as I; 1622-23 (Oxford, 1908), as II; 1624-1629 (Oxford, 1909) as III; 1630-1633 (Oxford, 1910) as IV; 1634-1636 (Oxford, 1911) as V; 1637-1641 (Oxford, 1912) as VI; 1642-1645 (Oxford, 1913) as VII; 1646-1650 (Oxford, 1914) as VIII; 1651-1654 (Oxford, 1915) as IX; 1655-1660 (Oxford, 1921) as X; 1661-1664 (Oxford, 1923) as XI; 1665-1667 (Oxford, 1925) as XII; 1668-1669 (Oxford, 1927, as XIII; one volume edited by Charles S. Fawcett, *The English Factories in India, (New Series),* (Oxford, 1936).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 38.

⁶ See Irfan Habib, "Usury in Medieval India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 417-418.

one was an Armenian Catholic and five Parsis. In the matter of regional distribution the largest number was in Surat (56), next came Agra (26) followed by the Deccan area (20) Ahmedabad (13), Baroda and the Persian Gulf (9 each), Broach (8), Cambay-Diu (8), Bombay (6) and Bantam (1). A small fact of sociological interest may be noticed in the wide-spread practice of the Western Indian *banians* freely travelling overseas apparently without any fear of loss of caste whereas such a fear inhibited the merchants and weavers of Cassimbazar in Bengal to proceed to Madraspatam in January 1662 on the plea that "their cast or lineage is such that they shall lose their birthright if they come upon salt water."⁷ The evidence also indicates that these businesses were organized along rigid family lines for we often hear of the business of rich merchants like Virji Vohra and the Paraks being passed on to brothers, sons or grandsons in the family. Of innovations in business practices we hear of *Bima* or insurance mentioned as early as 1622⁸ and willingness to venture into buying hard-to-sell foreign goods like broad-cloth.⁹ There is also the instance of Bhimji Parak hiring an English printer called Henry Mills to teach Indians how to use the printing press in 1675-1677.¹⁰ Henry Mills, however, refused to teach the technique of printing to Indians and was subsequently dismissed.

The growth of insurance is an indication of the development of an incipient capitalism. We have some figures on rates of premia between 1643 and 1669. In 1643 the Company insured its goods at Surat at a premium of 3½%. A year later the rate seems to have been, at least in some cases, 5%. In 1653 goods on Dutch ships were charged 10% whereas those on English ships cost only 5%. In 1655 a commodity like cochneal was insured at the rate of 2½%; in 1669 the insurance and carriage of lead from Ahmedabad to Surat cost only ½ rupee per maund. Instances are also known of insurance "tricks" when a broker set fire to a ship, in anticipation of an attack, to collect insurance as did Banji Devdas of Surat in 1665.¹¹

III

The major source of profit for the *Banians* was brokerage the rate of which ranged between 1 to 3%. A profit rate of 6% was considered good for inland as well as coastal areas in 1665. But in their dealings with the indigenous artisans like weavers some brokers charged as high a rate as 12%.¹² This was the middleman's profit which seldom helped

⁷ *EFI*, vol. XI, p. 65.

⁸ *EFI*, vol. II, p. 101.

⁹ *EFI*, vol. IX, p. 57.

¹⁰ Frazer, *EFI*, NS., pp. 131, 285.

¹¹ William Foster, *John Company*, p. 187; *EFI*, vol. VII, p. 161; vol. XI, p. 177; vol. X, p. 15; vol. XIII, p. 190; *EFI*, vol. XII, pp. 102, 202.

¹² *EFI*, vol. XI, p. 112.

the artisan grow affluent or led to any significant improvements in techniques. Under this system the weavers and raw-material producers worked in their own places of work at the insistence of the brokers and merchants and were often paid merely a pittance. The merchants bought their goods and sold them to the foreign companies at enhanced prices. To circumvent the inflation of prices by the independent intermediaries the companies invariably employed their own brokers or purchasing agents paying them a brokerage at a fixed rate. Very often the company's brokers received their own percentages from the weavers in addition to the amounts allowed by the companies. Sometimes, as in Broach in 1630, the large purchases by the English of commodities like yarn very adversely affected the Indian weavers who bitterly complained of sharp rise in prices to protect against which they had organized a boycott of English trade.¹³ In 1618 Sir Thomas Roe stated thus: "There is no complaint by the Mogul's subjects that we buy not their commodities, but contrary that we buy so much that their own merchants want for the Red Sea. I know it true we have raised the price of all we deal in and now we fear that the Dutch will make it worse."¹⁴ The artisans thus, were caught sometimes between the predatory activities of the broker and conditions of inflation created by sudden and large demands for goods by the foreign companies and their lot seems to have remained unchanged throughout this period. Normally, such a flourishing demand for their goods would lead at least some elements from among them gradually to amass money and begin the system of "putting out" by which they could have developed into capitalists. But this did not happen. If any attempt at "putting out" or organized production on a large scale was made it was made by the English, as in 1620 at Patna where 100 workmen were employed and 1621 in Baroda where they employed 800 workmen.¹⁵ The Indian brokers and merchants bought from the weavers and producers scattered about or centered in specific areas, leaving the economic and technological aspects of the process of production almost untouched. Some specialization, however, on the basis of urban areas and regions is already evident during the century. Lakhawar (30 miles south of Patna) was a great centre of cotton cloth-manufacture; Lahore was famous for carpet-making; the best dyes were made in the Agra region; Samana, in Patiala, produced a cloth known as "Semiano"; in the Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur there was Lantegree where resided most of the artificers who polished coral; Ahmedabad was a centre of the *jari* and silk-weaving industry.¹⁶ The artisans and artificers were controlled by their caste councils and guilds

¹³ *EFI*, vol. IV, p. vi.

¹⁴ *EFI*, vol. I, p. 17.

¹⁵ *EFI*, vol. I, p. 338.

¹⁶ *EFI*, vol. I, pp. xxi, 162, 168, 192, 265.

which protected some of their rights of manufacture and could have secured a fair price for their work. But these caste councils and guilds did not develop into capitalist organizations. Capitalism in India, at this time, was a phenomenon in which the middlemen, the *banian* brokers and merchants, were prominently involved. Their prosperity was closely associated with foreign trade which, paradoxically enough, affected them adversely in the initial stages. This was because the English increasingly took over the inter-area trade which was the monopoly of the Gujarat trader. The Gujarati merchants, reports Sir Thomas Rose, bitterly complained of the English competition for it took the "meate out of their mouths and overthrowne their trade that way . . . since our coming, this porte is undone, which in their grieffe they spare not sometimes to tell us."¹⁷ The Indian merchants protested to their rulers, the Mughal emperors, who issued orders prohibiting the English from trading in some items like coral or regional trade like the Red Sea trade, but these measures had little effect.¹⁸ The English had decisive superiority in their armed ships and to that argument the Indians had no answer. Gradually the Indian merchants became middlemen for the English, French and Dutch and the growth of their capital was, thus, dependent on the development of Western trade in India.

Many of the brokers worked as bankers too. The usual rate of interest, as noted earlier, was 6% but as high a rate as 12% was not unknown. This should cause little surprise for François Martin, the French Governor of Pondicherry, loaned money to Sher Khan Lodi at the rate of 18%.¹⁹ Some of the leading merchants like Virji Vohra lent large sums of money to the Company and amounts up to Rs. 200,000 loaned to the Company in a year or at a time were not unusual.²⁰ The Company's debts in Surat alone amounted to £ 257,062,10 shs.²¹ in 1694 which should give us some idea of the scale of financial dealings. Local money-lenders did a thriving business loaning money to newly arrived Europeans or old servants of the Company though in some cases these debts turned out to be bad.²² The wealth of Surat can be estimated on two grounds. One is that the customs revenue at Surat annually yielded some one million and 200,000 rupees which is not a liberal estimate at all.²³ Assuming that the average duty was 3% of the value of goods the annual turn-over in Surat alone comes to 40 million rupees. Another estimate may be made from an

¹⁷ *EFI*, vol. I, pp. xiii.

¹⁸ *EFI*, vol. I, pp. 56, 92, 101, 135, 174, 185-186.

¹⁹ *EFI*, vol. IX, pp. 86, 110; vol. X, p. 158; see G. B. Malleon, *History of the French in India* (London, 1893), p. 23.

²⁰ *EFI*, vol. IX, p. 80.

²¹ Shaafat Ahmad Khan, *East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1923), p. 230.

²² See Kincaid, *British Social Life in India* (London, 1939), p. 33.

²³ S. P. Sen, *The French in India* (Calcutta, 1947), p. 64.

English report that Shivaji, the Maratha leader, carried away some three million rupees in addition to several millions more in precious stones and jewellery within a couple of days from some houses in Surat in January 1664.²⁴ Surat had at least two merchants who were multi-millionaires and they were Virji Vohra and Haji Zaid Beg and there were quite a few, like Mohandas Parekh, broker for the Dutch, who could count their wealth at least in terms of a million. Virji Vohra alone was worth 8 million rupees. The 56 merchants and brokers of Surat represented an accumulation of several million rupees. If we consider the capital held by all the 158 brokers and merchants the amounts must run into billions. Such an accumulation was an unprecedented phenomenon in the economic history of India.

IV

We may now make a few generalizations about this capital-accumulation. While a large part of it was held in cash and involved in trade, a substantial portion was also locked up in gold and silver and precious stones and thus lost to circulation. That XVIIIth century India was an "abyss for gold and silver" is pointed out by Francois Bernier, the French traveller.²⁵ Hither came gold and silver from all quarters of the world but once it came it seldom left the shores of the country. This hoarding of precious metals had a lot to do with arbitrary governmental policies resulting in insecurity of property. But the point to be made is that a substantial part of the accumulated capital did not become productive for industry and manufacture. Secondly, this wealth, at least in the hands of the *Banians*, did not lead to increased consumption which could have set into motion a process of increased demand for goods and eventually industrial development. According to the English Dr. Fryer, the Hindu brokers lived not in stately houses but in shacks.²⁶ Bernier observes that "when wealth is acquired, as must sometimes be the case, the possessor, so far from living in increased comfort and assuming an air of independence, studies the means by which he may appear indigent; his dress, lodgings and furniture, continue to be mean, and he is careful, above all things, never to indulge in the pleasures of the table. In the meantime, his gold and silver remain buried at a great depth in the ground . . ."²⁷ When life was risky property must be much less secure and conspicuous consumption must have necessarily invited the cupidity of the rulers and their agents. But such a manner of living

²⁴ *EFJ*, vol. XI, p. 308.

²⁵ V. A. Smith, (ed.) *Travels in the Mogul Empire by Francois Bernier* (London, 1916), p. 203.

²⁶ J. T. Wheeler and M. MacMillan, (eds.) *European Travellers in India, First Series* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 58.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

also meant less capital going into production and consumption as could have been the case under different conditions. It is possible that some parts of the accounts of the European travellers are inaccurate and that it was possible to accumulate and enjoy capital under the Mughals. It is reasonable to assume that the Mughals could not have deliberately destroyed those very elements who brought in enormous revenues to their state. But it must be remembered that the Mughal government was a government of persons rather than a well-defined one that followed laws, and the uncertainty caused by a rule of persons rather than of laws must have been detrimental to the development of capitalism in India.

Nor did the accumulation of wealth mean prosperity for the artisans. Very often, as has been mentioned, the brokers and merchants, exploited the artisans and primary producers and their lot did not show any significant improvement; with the result that their techniques remained unchanged for want of any substantial capital-investment in their tools and implements. An English observation of November 1619 is significant on this point. It says "for though this country be esteemed rich, we find the common inhabitants to be very needy, and have not means, nor indeed will (being subject to the tyranny of every officer) to make provision of every store of commodities beforehand, contenting themselves rather with what every day's labour affords; which also keeps low the prices, when there is little use, and makes a present dearth and scarcity upon the least extraordinary occasion."²⁸ To an English observer of the early XVIIth century Surat was a "land very healthful and fertile" abounding in rich commodities. It seemed "like another Egypt, or to say better, a terrestrial Paradise; such is its abundance in all earthly things."²⁹ This was the situation in the reign of Jahangir when merchants like Virji Vohra were beginning their careers and had not reached the apogee of their financial power. But in the 1660s, during the time of Aurangzeb, the situation seems to have changed if we are to believe Jean Baptiste Tavernier. "Surat", Tavernier states, "is a city of moderate size, . . . the walls of the city are of earth and the houses of private persons are merely barns, being built of nothing but reeds, covered with cowdung mixed with clay to fill the interstices . . . In the whole of Surat there are only nine or ten well built houses, and the Shah Bunder or chief of merchants has two or three of them. The others belong to the Muhammedan merchants . . ."³⁰

Surat, then, if Tavernier is to be believed, was a city of little elegance in its architecture or the general tenor of its life. A city with only nine

²⁸ *EFI*, vol. I, p. 138.

²⁹ Foster, W., (ed.) *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-1614* (London, 1931), p. 239

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 6-7.

or ten well-built houses is more of an overgrown village than a metropolitan centre. But the wealth of Surat, at least until the 1660s could be counted in millions of rupees and of the 158 merchants and brokers studied in this paper 56 were natives of Surat and its environs. Most of them were substantial merchants and could have easily afforded to build comfortable and spacious residences and business-houses for themselves and their dependants. But this did not happen and the only reasonable conclusion seems to be that few of these merchants indulged in elegant living for fear that conspicuous consumption might invite the rapaciousness of their Mughal overlords or depredatory attentions of the Marathas and others who were out to destroy the Mughal power in western India.

The practice of monopoly also seems to be a characteristic practice of the times. Merchants like Virji Vohra are frequently reported to have "overawed" the local brokers and none dared do anything which could be construed as inimical to the monopolistic interests.³¹ Vohra often cornered large quantities of commodities in demand and then dictated prices to the market. Secondly there was also the practice of restricting business enterprise to the family circle; for we find Vohra working with a number of people who were his close relatives. These practices led to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few merchants and prevented its diffusion among many in different places. Hence it was relatively easy for the nascent capitalism to be crippled at one stroke as was done by Shivaji during his sack of Surat. The Maratha incursion seriously interfered with trade at Surat and Surat's prosperity declined sharply after 1670. Already by 1668 the English had acquired Bombay whither they began to transfer their activities from Surat in the 1680s. Bombay began to prosper by 1700 but the Indian capitalism that developed there essentially played a secondary role to British capital represented by the East India Company and its investments. In Surat, Indian capital could compete with British investments on fairly competitive terms; but Bombay was altogether a different proposition. The British claimed Bombay as their Island over which they exercised absolute sovereignty and they were in a position to control all economic activities, especially, those likely to compete with their own interests. They made sustained efforts to induce the brokers and artisans of Surat and elsewhere to migrate to Bombay and achieved a fair measure of success in their efforts. But these brokers and merchants who migrated to Bombay could seldom become capital-owners on the same scale as they were in Surat because of obvious limitations of the over-riding interests of the East India Company and its government in Bombay.

But the most significant factor that deflected the course of capital development in Western India seems to be the course of the Maratha

³¹ *EFI*, vol. V, p. 24.

Revolution. From 1670 to 1750 large areas of Western India were seriously disturbed by wars and revolutions caused by the rise and growth of Maratha power. While the Maratha state did not discourage mercantilist activities—as a matter of historical record the Great Shivaji actively explored avenues of increasing the trade of Maharashtra through Bombay—the conditions of war and the destruction normally associated with warlike conditions hampered the further development of capital growth in Western India. Hence, by the end of the 17th century the process of capital development in Western India had come to a dead end; and the threads snapped then could be taken up only a century later and under entirely different circumstances.

In conclusion the following observation may be made on the basis of the evidence before us. The most important characteristic of economic life in Western India in the XVIIth century is the growth of an indigenous merchant-capitalist class that had accumulated large quantities of capital. This accumulation, however, did not lead to increased consumption; nor did it provide any incentive to technological and organizational changes in the system of production for the market. The lot of the artisans and primary producers seems to have remained practically unchanged in spite of the growth of vast quantities of capital all around. Social and political organization seems to be the main factor hampering the transformation in the character of this Western Indian capitalism. Finally, the conditions created by the Maratha Revolution made it practically impossible for indigenous Western Indian capitalism to achieve its historic transformation. This capitalism, therefore, became more of an episode than a trend in the economic history of India.

SIND AND THE WHITE HUNS
AND
IDENTIFICATION OF HIUEN TSIANG'S
SIN-TU KINGDOM

By B. D. Mirchandani

The Imperial Gazetteer of India states that the "Ephthalites or White Huns settled in Sind and established the Rai dynasty at Alor and Brahmanabad."¹ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* repeats that statement.² Henry Cousens in *The Antiquities of Sind* writes: "We see the country, about the sixth century of our era, under the rule of the White Huns, whose barbarian rulers oppressed the people and threw down their gods."³ The view that the Rai kings of Sind were White Huns was first advanced by General Cunningham in a paper read at the International Oriental Congress in London, 1892,⁴ and it has since been followed, without question, by subsequent writers. The available evidence does not, in my opinion, warrant such a conclusion. Cunningham even maintained that the first two Rai kings of Sind were identical with the White Hun conquerors Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, and the remaining three kings of the Rai dynasty the same as certain rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān, whom he believed to be White Huns. There are absolutely no grounds for these identifications, and it is indeed surprising that a scholar of Cunningham's eminence should have put forward that fantastic theory.

Our knowledge of the Rai dynasty, which is not a great deal, is derived entirely from three Muslim chronicles of Sind. Of these the earliest is the *Chach-Nāma* known also as *Tarīkh-i-Hind wa Sind*.⁵ It is a Persian version, made in A.D. 1216, of a genuine Arab history written not long after the Muslim conquest of Sind, apparently by one who took part in that event. Elliot believes that the Arabic original, which is now lost, must have been composed before A.D. 753. Though mainly a record of Muhammad Kasim's transactions during the invasion, the *Chach-Nāma* in the earlier portion treats of Sind when it was ruled by Hindu kings, and takes us back to the closing years of the fifth century A.D. "This part of the chronicle", Haig remarks, "is no doubt merely an embodiment of the local traditions current in the country about the

¹ Vol. xxii (1908), p. 24.

² Vol. iv (1934), p. 434.

³ *The Antiquities of Sind*, p. 7.

⁴ "Later Indio-Scythians, White Huns or Ephthalites", *Num. Chr.*, 1894, pp. 243-93.

⁵ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. I, gives selected extracts from it. *The Chachnamah* by Kalichbeg is a complete English translation of the chronicle.

time of the conquest. These have received, as was inevitable, a colouring distinctly due to Muhammedan fancy, but there seems no reason to doubt that they contain on the whole a considerable amount of historical truth."⁶ R. C. Majumdar, on the other hand, believes that very probably there existed in Sind chronicles of its Hindu kings on which the account in the *Chach-Nāma* was based.⁷ The other two chronicles of Sind were compiled much later—*Tarīkh-i-Masūmī* in A.D. 1600 and *Tuhfatal-Kirām* in A.D. 1768—and they draw to a great extent upon the *Chach-Nāma* for their account of the Hindu reigns preceding the conquest. In Sind, except for the remains of a few old forts and Buddhist *stupas*, no monuments, inscriptions or copper-plate grants of its pre-Muslim rulers have survived. A few copper coins no doubt have been found at the site of Brahmanabad "bearing sundry old Devanagari letters stamped upon them, but not sufficient to enable us to read any word or name."⁸ In view of the very limited number of such Hindu coins found among the multitude of medieval Muslim pieces, Edward Thomas doubted if they were locally minted money, and he remarked that "these seem to be casual contributions from other provinces of no marked uniformity or striking age".⁹ Our only source, therefore, for the history of the Rais and their Brahman successors is these Muslim chronicles.

We learn from these chronicles that the Rai kings ruled over Sind from A.D. 489 to 622.¹⁰ The dynasty consisted of five kings, named Dīwāij, Siharas I, Sahāsī I, Siharas II and Sahāsī II. They were powerful rulers with vast dominions, which stretched from the sea to the boundary of Kashmir and included, besides Sind and Makran, a large part of eastern Punjab and Baluchistan. The capital of their kingdom was Alor, on the banks of the Indus, near modern Sukkur. Four feudatory chiefs with headquarters at Brāhmanābād (in Lower Sind), Siwistān (Schwan), Iskandah (in former Bahawalpur

⁶ *The Indus Delta Country*, p. 40.

⁷ *The Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C. H. Phillips, p. 17.

⁸ Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 178. The other numismatic remains of pre-Muslim Sind consist of a few coins of a much earlier date, with all signs of impressions absent from their surfaces, found inside the Mirpur-Khas *stupa*; six Sassanian gold pieces, probably of the 5th century A.D., discovered in Larkana district, which bear no legend; and five very early coins, among them one Indo-Parthian, two Kushan, and one Kshatrapa found when opening up the *Stupa* known as Sudheran-jo-daro six miles north-west of Tando Muhammad Khan, "all, to some extent, supporting the opinion that the *stupa*, with others of the same class in Sind, dates back to the first century A.D." (*Ibid.*, p. 183).

⁹ *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas) 1858, vol. II, p. 121.

¹⁰ The term *Rai* appears to be a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *rāja(n)*. As Persian chronicles refer to these kings by that title, the dynasty is commonly known as the Rai dynasty.

territory) and Multan maintained separate armies and exercised authority in their respective principalities. Buddhism flourished in the kingdom side by side with Hinduism. Siharas II, the fourth Rai king, was killed in battle when an army of the king of Nimroz (Seistan) attacked Makran. When Sahāsī II, the last king of the Rai dynasty, died in A.D. 622 his Brahmin chamberlain, Chach, who had "won the confidence of the Rai and the more tender regards of the Rani", seized the throne and proclaimed himself king. He married the widowed queen, who bore him two sons, Dharasiya and Dāhir.¹¹ Mahrat, chief of Chitor, who was a brother or kinsman of the deceased Rai, marched with his army to claim the inheritance, but he was treacherously slain by Chach in a single combat. From this connection with the royal house of Chitor C. V. Vaidya surmises that the Rai dynasty was of Mauryan origin. "Chitor", he writes, "was not yet in the hands of Sisodias, but was ruled by a Maurya family of kings from whom, as the traditions of the Sisodias declare, the kingdom was seized by Bappa Raval . . . It is not improbable that branches of the Maurya family sprung from Chandragupta and Aśoka still ruled in several places in India."¹² Epigraphic record, no doubt, shows that even in the fifth century A.D., and a long time thereafter, there were rulers in Khandesh, Rajputana, Konkan and the Muttra region who claimed descent from the Mauryas.¹³ As Sind had been a part of the vast empire of Aśoka (269-232 B.C.), it is possible that the Rais too were of Mauryan origin. Vaidya thinks that Chach's usurpation represents a Brahmanical revolt against Buddhist dominance of Sind, but according to the *Chach-Nāma* it was simply a palace revolution.

Chach proved himself a vigorous ruler. He reduced to submission the feudatory chiefs in the kingdom, who at first were not disposed to acknowledge him. After the death of Khusru Parviz, when a woman sat on the throne of Persia, Chach marched with his army towards Kirmān and determined "the boundary between Makran and Kirmān." The adventure it seems was aimed at regaining the suzerainty over Makran which was probably lost when Rai Siharas II was defeated and killed in battle.¹⁴ The suzerainty over this border district appears to have gravitated sometimes to the west and sometimes to the east. Chach died after a prosperous reign of 40 years. He was followed on the throne by his brother Chandar, who professed the Buddhist faith. It was not uncommon in that age for the rulers in the same line being

¹¹ Hodivala restores these names to Dharasena and Dhirasena (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I, p. 80).

¹² *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 19.

¹³ G. S. Gai, "Later Mauryas in Indian History", *IHQ*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 240-45.

¹⁴ Cf. R. C. Majumdar: "Chach wanted to take advantage of the confusion in the Persian kingdom to extend his territory in that direction." "The Arab Invasion of India", *JIH*, vol. X, (1931), supplement, p. 25.

either Hindus or Buddhists. When Chandar died, after a reign of 7 years, Dāhir succeeded him at Alor, while Dharasiya set himself up as an independent ruler at Brāhmanābād. On the death of Dharasiya 30 years later Dāhir ruled over the entire kingdom. Sind was invaded eight years later by the ruler of Zābul (Zābulistan),¹⁵ but he was ignominiously defeated. Then, in A.D. 710-11 began the Arab invasion under Muhammad Kasim; Dāhir was killed in the fighting in June 712, and by the following year the entire kingdom from the delta port of Debal to Multan passed into the hands of the Muslims.

There is nothing in our chronicles of Sind to suggest that the Rais were foreign intruders or invaders. Nor their names, like those of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, were foreign.¹⁶ They all bore old Sanskrit names which in the Muslim chronicles appear in corrupt forms. Hodivala restores Dīwāij to Devaditya, Siharas to Śri Harsha and Saliāsī to Sinhasena.¹⁷ The Rais did not take the title of Shāhi, which, according to Cunningham, was assumed by all "kings of the three Indo-Scythian races, the *Toxhāri* or Great Kushāns, the *Kidartac* or Little Kushāns and the *Ephthalites* or White Hun." Nor is there any suggestion in our local chronicles that the Rais were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, which might justify a presumption that, when the Gupta empire was disrupted by the White Huns at the beginning of the sixth century, suzerainty over Sind devolved naturally upon the Hun conquerors.

The Alexandrian monk Cosmos Indicopleustes, who visited India between A.D. 522 and 530, when the Rais were ruling in Sind, makes a reference to the White Huns in India in his *Christian Topography of the Universe*, but places them in the North. He writes: "Higher up in

¹⁵ "Ramal", "Ranmal" or "Nirmal" in the Persian texts are all copyists' errors for "Zābul", which name in Persian characters easily lends itself to such corruptions. The mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and Kandahār rivers was known to the Arabs as Zābul or Zābulistan, a term of vague application, which more particularly denoted the country round Ghazni (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 349.) Hiuen Tsiang refers to it as *Tsan-ku-ta* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 625). From the *Chach-Nāma* it appears that another name of the country was Bhatti (var. Bhetti, Batiyah, Bhatia, Batiya); and curiously, confirmation of this is provided by the annals of Jaisalmer. The Bhatti chiefs of Jaisalmer are Rajputs of Yādava clan and claim descent from the deified hero Krishna, one of whose descendants, according to their traditions, founded Ghazni (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I., pp. 101-2; Tod., *Travels in Western India*, p. 464; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 2-3).

¹⁶ The name of Toramāṇa is supposed to be connected with the Turkish word *turamān* meaning a *rebel* or *insurgent*. Mihirakula is the Sanskritized form of *mihirikul*, a foreign word, which in the sense of a certain kind of cloth figures in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Vincent Smith, "Coinage of the Gupta Period," *JASB*, 1894, pp. 186, 207).

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 80. Siharas is a very natural Prakrit form of Śri Harsha. The loss of *r* and change of *sh* into *s* are very common phenomena (*IA*, vol. I, p. 352).

India, that is, farther to the north, are the White Huns. The one called Gollas, when going to war takes with him, it is said, two thousand elephants and a great force of cavalry. He is the lord of India, and oppressing the people forces them to pay tribute."¹⁸ Gollas is identified with Mihirakula, whose name on some of his coins appears as Mihiragula.¹⁹

The White Huns (called in Sanskrit literature and inscriptions Hūṇas) were Central Asian nomads of Tartar origin, who drove out the Kushāns and established themselves in the countries on the Oxus at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. From there they waged incessant war against the Sassanian kingdom of Persia. Their first incursion into India, about the year A.D. 455, was successfully repelled by emperor Skandagupta, who held the whole of Northern India, from Saurashtra to Bengal. Sind, Rajputana and the Punjab kingdoms, however, were outside the Gupta empire. The Bhitari and Junagadh inscriptions bear testimony to Skandagupta's signal defeat of the Hūṇas, which saved the Gupta empire from these barbarians, though only for a time. As the Bhitari inscription has it: "By his two arms the earth was shaken . . . when he joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas." About the year A.D. 475 the Hūṇas conquered Gandhāra and installed there a Hūṇa chief. In A.D. 484 they defeated and killed the Persian king Firuz, devastated the country, and annexed the Sassanian provinces of Khurasan and Zābulistan which bordered on India. At the end of the fifth century, under the leadership of a chieftain named Toramāṇa, they assailed the Gupta empire. The power of the Guptas, after the death of Skandagupta in A.D. 467, had declined and his successors were unable to withstand the Hun onslaughts. The Hūṇas soon conquered the Punjab, Malwa and parts of Rajputana, Uttar Pradesh and Central India. Two inscriptions at Eran testify that sovereignty over Eastern Malwa passed to Toramāṇa in A.D. 510 and in the "very famous battle" that was fought Goparaja, a general of the Gupta king of Malwa, lost his life, and his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre. The sway of the Imperial Guptas, after the loss of Malwa, did not extend much beyond Magadha and Bengal. From a Sanskrit historical work of the eighth century, *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-kalpa*, we learn that Toramāṇa invaded Magadha and compelled the Gupta king to retreat to Bengal, and in his place the Hūṇa conqueror crowned at Benares a young Gupta prince as king of Magadha.²⁰ In an inscription found at Kyara, in the Salt Range in North-West Punjab, Toramāṇa is styled as Mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāha or Shāhi Jauvla. The epithet Jauvla was probably the tribal designation of the Indian Ephthalites. A Jain work called *Kuvalyamāla*, composed in A.D. 778, says that Torarāya (Toramāṇa) enjoyed the sovereignty of *Uttarapatha* and

¹⁸ McCrindle's translation, pp. 270-1.

¹⁹ Vincent Smith, *art. cit.*, p. 207.

²⁰ K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 54.

he lived at Pavvaiyū, on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab).²¹ Toramāṇa was succeeded by his son Mihirakula, the "Attila of India", in A.D. 515. His capital was at Sākala, modern Sialkot. Cosmos describes him as an oppressor who forcibly levied tribute. Vincent Smith identifies him with the local Hun ruler of Gandhāra, to whom the Chinese envoy Sung-yun paid a visit in A.D. 520. He was then engaged in a relentless war with the king of Kashmir (*Ki-pin*), which had already lasted for three years. The Gwalior inscription testifies that in A.D. 530 Mihirakula's authority was acknowledged in that part of the country. According to Hiuen Tsiang, Bālāditya, king of Magadha, who is identified with Narsimhagupta, disgusted at Mihirkula's persecution of the Buddhists, rebelled and refused to pay tribute. Mihirkula invaded his lands, but was defeated, taken prisoner and subsequently released. Taking advantage of Mihirakula's absence his brother seized the throne of Sākala. In A.D. 533-34 Yaśodharman of Western Malwa inflicted a crushing defeat on Mihirakula and compelled the foreign tyrant to take refuge in Kashmir. An inscription on a pillar of victory erected at Mandasor to the glory of Yaśodharman proclaims that he made Mihirakula, "who had hitherto bowed his neck to no one but Śiva", pay homage at his feet. In Kashmir, abusing the king's hospitality, Mihirakula stirred up a rebellion, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. Subsequently he took Gandhāra, killed the king, exterminated the royal family and massacred a great many people. Mihirakula died in Kashmir in A.D. 542 where he was followed by other Hūṇa rulers but of little political importance. The Indian tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsiang and Kalhaṇa represents him as a cruel tyrant and a great persecutor of the Buddhists. "He issued an edict", says the Chinese pilgrim, "to destroy all priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha and leave nothing standing". The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* describes him as "another god of death." The central power of the White Huns did not long survive the blows dealt to it by Bālāditya and Yaśodharman, and the Hūṇa dominion in India broke up into a number of small states, ruled for a long time by local Hūṇa chiefs. The Hūṇas were gradually absorbed in the surrounding population, and as Hūṇas they finally pass from the annals leaving behind only a dreadful memory of their invasion and savage rule. They are believed to be the ancestors of some of the famous Rajput clans. The Ephthalite power north of the Hindu Kush also ceased to exist about the same time as in India. The Sassanian king Noshirwan and the Khākān of the Western Turks, by their combined attacks between A.D. 563 and 567 broke up the Hun dominion. Persia recovered her former possessions and the Oxus became the boundary between the Persians and the Turks.

From this sketch of the activities of the White Huns in India, based

²¹ *J.B.O.R.S.* vol. XIV, pp. 28f. Pavvaiyā is identified with modern Chāchera (J. C. Jain, *The Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India*, p. 195).

on our meagre available sources, it does not appear that the Hūṇas had made their way into the valley of the Lower Indus. It is, however, not unlikely that Multan and the considerable district around it, held by a feudatory of the Rais, passed, with the rest of the Punjab, under Hūṇa suzerainty. It is even conceivable that the early Rai kings were constrained at times to pay tribute to their formidable and aggressive neighbours in the north, whose dominion in India is characterized by a modern scholar as "a mere organization for brigandage on an imperial scale", but of the subjugation of Sind and the establishment of Hūṇa dynasty at Alor and Brahmanabad there is not an iota of evidence. Nor any coins of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula have been found in Sind. Rai sovereignty in Sind dates no doubt from about the same time as the irruption of the White Huns in North India, but the synchronism is fortuitous, and unless there is some other evidence that by itself cannot justify the conclusion that the Rais were White Huns.

Rapson inferred the Hūṇa conquest of the Lower Indus valley from the discovery in Marwar²² (place of the find is not specified) of a hoard of 175 silver coins bearing no legend whatsoever, but otherwise resembling closely the coins of the Sassanian King Firuz (A.D. 459-484), which Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle assigned to Toramāṇa. In his report on these coins, Hoernle observed: "His Indian campaigns during which he conquered Kashmir, the Punjab, *Sindh*, Rajputana and a portion of Central India probably fell within the period A.D. 490-510 . . . The coins of the present find, the age of which coincides with that of Toramāṇa, are issues of the latter king. They may have been carried by his advancing army into India, and thus be brought to the place where they have now been discovered."²³ The available evidence, as we have seen, does not justify Hoernle's assumption that Toramāṇa had invaded and conquered Sind. Even his assignment of these coins to Toramāṇa was ignored by Cunningham, though Vincent Smith²⁴ was impressed with Hoernle's "very cogent arguments" and he thought it "probable" that they were really issued by that Hūṇa conqueror. Rapson²⁵ observed that these coins "have been assigned with much plausibility to the great Hūṇa conqueror Toramāṇa", and relying apparently on Hoernle's view as to the extent of Toramāṇa's Indian conquests, he concluded that "In any case they almost certainly testify to the Hūṇa conquest of the Lower Indus country and West Rajputana." Hoernle's attribution of these coins to Toramāṇa, even if correct, can at the most testify to the Hūṇa conquest of Rajputana, or a part thereof, but not of Sind; for

²² Vincent Smith in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (vol. I, p. 237n) notes that most of these coins are from the hoard found in Mahairwarra (Merwara), not Marwar."

²³ *Proc. A.S.B.* for 1889, p. 229.

²⁴ *Art. cit.*, pp. 190-192.

²⁵ *Indian Coins*, p. 29.

Rajputana could be invaded direct from the Punjab, without Sind being subdued first. Nor have such anonymous coins of Toramūṇa been found in the Lower Indus valley. Moreover, a single numismatic find cannot by itself provide a sure basis for an inference of conquest, as commercial and other reasons frequently account for the discovery of coins far from their original, or intended, area of circulation. I am, therefore, unable to accept Rapson's conclusion.

II

There is nothing in the account of Sung-yun, who in A.D. 519 met the overlord of the Ephthalites in Transoxiana and in the following year visited the local Hun ruler of Gandhāra, to suggest that the *Ye-tha* (as he calls the Ephthalites) were in possession of Sind, as erroneously assumed by Cunningham. The Chinese envoy only remarked: "They receive tribute from all surrounding nations: on the south as far as Tieh-lo; on the north, the entire country of Lae-leh, eastward to Khotan, and West to Persia—more than forty countries in all."²⁶ Cunningham identified *Tieh-lo* with Dahal or the Chedi kingdom on the Nerbudda, which being in Bundelkhand²⁷ no inference can arise that Hūṇa dominion in the south extended to Sind.

Nor was Sind the scene of the conflict in which Mihirakula was finally defeated and forced to retire to Kashmir. That battle, according to Alberuni,²⁸ was fought "in the region of Karūr between Multan and the castle of Loni." Cunningham, in his *Ancient Geography of India*, identified Karūr with the town of Kahrur, 50 miles south-east of Multan, but Maclagan, who compiled the *Gazetteer of Multan*, considers that identification "very doubtful". Loni was identified by Cunningham with Ludhan, 70 miles east-south-east of Multan. In his paper, however, Cunningham, after reconciling the statement of Alberuni with the traditional account attributed to Varāhamihira,²⁹ concluded that the scene of that conflict was in *Ruma*, or the salt-district of Sāmbhar, which is to the north-east of Ajmer, in Rajputana.

Cunningham quoted the following passage in the Tibetan historian Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*:³⁰ "In the time of *Dharma-chandra*, king of Magadha, a Turushka ruled in Kashmir, and *Hūṇi-manṇa*, king of Persia, ruled over Lahore and Multan. One day, seeing on his

²⁶ S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Introduction, p. xci.

²⁷ Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 48.

²⁸ *India*, vol. II, p. 6, (Sachau's ed.).

²⁹ *Jyotirvidabharana*, xxii, 17

³⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p. 101. This Tibetan work, composed in A.D. 1608, is available only in a German translation made by A. Schiefner. The *Rājatarānginī* (vol. I, p. 44) gives a slightly different version of the story in which Mihirakula figures as the ruler of Kashmir and the kingdom invaded is described as Siñhala (Ceylon).

queen's dress the footprint mark of the king of Magadha, he was affronted, and invaded the country of Magadha, where he demolished the temples of Buddha. Then Buddhapaksha, Raja of Benares, with the aid of other princes of West and South India, attacked Hunimanta, and killed him, and re-established the religion of Buddha'. Cunningham suggested that Hunimanta may be taken as the leader of Hūnas. He is probably right, but that by no means helps his contention that the White Huns ruled over Sind in the time of Yaśodharman, whom he identified with Dharmachandra. Cunningham, throughout his paper assumes that because Multan was lost by the Rais, the rest of their wide dominion also must have passed into the hands of the White Huns, for which assumption there is little warrant.

The *Tahfatal-Kirūm* gives 1 A.H. (A.D.622) as the date of Chach's accession and assigns the rule of the Rai dynasty a duration of 137 years. Deducting 133 (137 lunar=133 solar years) from 622, we obtain A.D. 489 as the date of commencement of Rai sovereignty in Sind. Ignoring that evidence, Cunningham placed Chach's accession in A.D. 642, and on the basis of that date he argued that Rais must have been White Huns. R. C. Majumdar,³¹ after weighing all the conflicting chronological data, provided in the *Chach-nāma* and the *Tahfatal-Kirūm* (the *Tūrīkh-i-masūmī* gives not a single date of the Hindu reigns), however, held that A.D. 622 was indeed the correct date of Chach's accession, and I agree with his view. There is besides indisputable indication in the *Chach-Nāma* verifiable from Sassanian records that Chach usurped the throne long before A.D. 642. Chach, after many prolonged and tedious campaigns against the feudatories in all the parts of his dominion which engaged him for several years, marched towards Kirmān, instigated by the fact that Khusru Parviz was dead and a woman sat on the throne of Persia. That Persian monarch was deposed and slain by his son in A.D. 628, but the parricide died in a few months and there was absolute chaos. During the next four years, a whole list of rulers followed on the throne, but each one quickly disappeared. Among these ephemeral rulers of Persia were two daughters of Khusru Parviz. The one named Pooran-dukht reigned from May 630 to October 631 and the other named Azermi-dukht, who succeeded her, reigned for just a few months.³² Chach's expedition to Kirmān occurred during one of those two reigns. His accession, which was several years prior to it, very probably, therefore, took place in A.D. 622.³³ Cunningham, on the other hand, argued: "For the

³¹ Majumdar, *art. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

³² F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, pp. 117-18; W. H. Valentine, *Sassanian Coins* p. 7; J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. 1, pp. 160-64; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, vol. 1, pp. 527-30; *Ency. Brit.* vol. 17, p. 585 (14th ed.); Drouin, *Monnaies Boran ou Pourandokht* (Paris, 1893), pp. 173-75.

³³ Elliot (vol. 1, p. 412) notes: "Al Biruni mentions the establishment of a

accession of Chach we possess two statements, which agree in fixing it not earlier than 641 A.D. The first is the length of the two reigns of Chach and his son Dahir, or 40 plus 33 = 73 lunar years or 71 solar years, and as Dahir was killed on the 11th Ramzān A.H. 93, or 21st June 712 A.D., the accession of Chach must have taken place in 712-71 = 641 A.D. The second authority is the statement of Hwen Tshang that when he visited Sindh in September 641 A.D. the ruler was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. At that time, therefore, the last king of the Rai dynasty was still reigning." Cunningham overlooked the fact that, besides Chach and Dāhir, Chandar ruled over the kingdom; and if his reign of 7 years is also taken into account, we obtain, on his own reasoning, A.D. 634 as the date of Chach's accession. Moreover, according to the *Chach-Nāma*, Dāhir reigned for 43 years,³⁴ and if a further allowance is made for the extra 10 years of his reign, we obtain a date very near to A.D. 622. As regards Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the ruler at the time of his visit was a Śūdra, I may remark that the pilgrim's bearings and account leave no room for doubt that the *Sin-tu* kingdom which he visited and described was a kingdom in the Punjab, also known as Sindhu, to the west of Multan, and not the kingdom of Sind in the Lower Indus valley, over which the Brahmin Chach then ruled. I shall, however, deal with that subject fully later; meanwhile this suffices.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note how Cunningham tried to prove that the last Rai sovereign, whom he supposed to be still reigning in 641 was a White Hun. "The pilgrim", he wrote, "visited Sind in A.D. 641 when the king was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. . . I would suggest that the first syllable, *shu*, may be a mistake for *fa*, as these two characters are frequently mistaken. This change would make the name *Fa-tu-lo* which might be accepted for Ephthalite." This flimsy argument requires no refutation. The Chinese writers call the White Huns by a variety of names, such as *Ye-tha*, *ye-tha-i-li-to* or *Yen-tai-li-to*, *Yuan-Yuzn*, *Himatala*, and Cunningham cites no instance of their being called *Fa-tu-lo*, granted that *Shu-to-lo*, as he suggests, is read as *Fa-tu-lo*.

Cunningham for his other argument also assumed that in A.D. 642-43 when the Arabs seized Makran, it was the last Rai who was still ruling in Sind. Khāki Shirāzi writes: "In the year 22 A.H. the province of Sejistan was conquered . . . , and in the same year Makran was subdued . . . The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was *Zambil*, was also ruler of Sind, and was killed." Cunningham quoted

Sindian era which commences with the winter solstice of 625 A.D. 3 A.H. As M. Reinaud justly remarks, that the commencement of a new era generally indicates a change of dynasty, he is disposed to attribute the establishment of the Brahmin dynasty to this year. *Mem. sur l' Inde.*, 147."

³⁴ Cf. R. C. Majumdar: "The real mistake of *Tuhfatul Kirām* was perhaps the reign period of 33 years which is assigned to Dāhir, whereas according to the *Chach-Nāma* he ruled for nearly 43 years." (*Art. cit.*, p. 26 n.).

this passage in Elliot's long note entitled "The Hindu kings of Kabul" (vol. ii, pp. 403-27), after deleting from it the last three words, and he claimed that it provided "a direct proof that the Sāhasi kings of Sind were White Huns." No king of Sind is known to have been killed when Makran was captured by the Arabs. That border district was a dependency of Sind, and its chief, whom Khāki Shirāzi calls Zambīl, who apparently was killed in action, was not "also the ruler of Sind", the absurdity of which statement could not but have been obvious to Cunningham. Yet, he took Zambīl to be the name of the ruler of Sind. Then, remarking that the Indian alphabet has no z, he connected Zambīl with Jabula (= Jauvla), the tribal designation of the Indian Ephthalites, and concluded that the last Rai sovereign must be a White Hun. He wrote: "The year A.H. 22 began on 30th November 642. The conquest of Chach Brahman may therefore have taken place in A.D. 643. Perhaps it is this Zambīl, ruler of Sind, who is referred to by Masudi as the Prince named Ranbil, who reigned in the valley of the Indus, and who, after subjugating E. Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates." Masudi's Ranbil could only be Chach, who, sometime between A.D. 630 and 632, advanced to the Persian province of Kirmān. It is, however, not Cunningham's case that even the Brahman successors of the Rais, on the throne of Sind, were White Huns. Masudi's statement itself is sufficient to disprove any connection whatever between the term Zambīl (or its variant Ranbil) and the tribal designation of the Indian Ephthalites.

Zambīl was not the name even of the chief of Makran. The *Gazetteer of Makran*³⁵ gives his name as Saad. The epithet Zambīl and its several variants, as explained by Elliot, were designations indiscriminately applied by Muslim historians to all the border chiefs of India. About the close of the seventh century, the Hindu king of Kabul won resounding victories against the generals of the Caliph. "The interest which this contest excited throughout the Khilafat", Elliot writes, "seems to have invested the Prince of Kabul with a fictitious celebrity, in so much that he is the hero of many Arab stories of the Holy wars on the frontiers of Hind. Nevertheless, there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley³⁶ calls him 'Zentil'; Weil,³⁷ 'Zenbil'; Reinaud,³⁸ 'Ratbyl' and 'Zenbyl', Wilson,³⁹ 'Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zentil'—variations

³⁵ Cf. "The ruler of Makran, a Malik named Saad, managed to offer stubborn resistance with the help of large reinforcements which were sent to him from Sind, but was defeated with heavy loss in a sanguinary battle and Makran passed into the hands of victors" (p. 43)

³⁶ *History of the Saracens*, p. 490.

³⁷ *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. i, pp. 419, 461.

³⁸ *Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 71, 72 and 178.

³⁹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 133.

easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters; E. Thomas,⁴⁰ 'Ratpil'; Price,⁴¹ 'Reteil', 'Ratteil' or 'Retpeil'." Wilson thinks that the real name of the Prince of Kabul was Ratna-pāl or Rutun-pāl. Masudi (A.D. 943,) who called the rulers of the Indus valley and of Kabul Ranbal observed that "the name formed in his time the designation of the indigenous princes of the country." The Muslim historians use the epithet simply as a royal title or, in the words of Thomas, as "a mere *generic* designation of the Indian kings". This usage, Elliot noted, "arises from the ignorance of the Muhammadans, and that they were ready to apply all the stories relating to the border chiefs of India to that one who had obtained the greatest notoriety with historians by his transactions with the generals of the Khilafat". The passage in Khāki Shirāzi, on which Cunningham based his argument, was adduced by Elliot, along with passages from other Muslim historians, merely to illustrate this conventional use of the epithet Zambīl owing to their lack of precise knowledge. The fact that the earliest Muslim chronicle of Sind, namely, the *Chach-Nāma*, which is a near-contemporary record of its Hindu kings, does not refer to the Rais, or their Brahmin successors, by any such epithet is also not without significance.

Cunningham, by equating Zambīl with *Jawla* of the Kyara inscription and *Jabula* of certain unnamed coins in his possession, sought to invest the epithet with ethnic significance, and he maintained that every ruler so designated by Muslim historians was a White Hun. "This name of Zambīl", he remarked, "is only another variant of Zambil, Zambol, Ranbil, Ranbol, etc." He also suggested that Zābul (Zābulistan) received that name from its Jabuli conquerors though he did not indicate by what name that province, before its annexation by the White Huns in A.D. 484, was known. A. Bombaci in a learned article on Ghazni in the *East and West* (vol. viii, pp. 247 f.) writes that the ancient name Arachosia (*Harakwatis* of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, *A-ru-ha-at-ti* in Accadian, and *Har-ra-u-ma-ti-is* in Elam), for the region in which Ghazni was situated, gave place to a new name in the fourth century A.D., and he adds that Zābul or Zābulistan was "the form used in Islamic sources". The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*,⁴² which, according to Pargiter, was composed in the fourth century A.D., in one of its geographical cantos, names among the North-Western peoples the "Pallavas (Pahlavas), Carma-khaṇḍikas (people of Samarkand), Gāndhāras and Gabalas, the Sindhus (people of Hiuen Tsiang's Sin-tu) Sauvīras (people of Multan and the area north of it) and Madrakas (people of the central Punjab). The Gabalas, whom Pargiter could not localize, from

⁴⁰ Thomas, "The Early Coins of Mohammedan Arabs", *JRAS*, vol. XII, p. 344.

⁴¹ *Retrospect of Mohammedan History*, vol. I, p. 454-5.

⁴² *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, translated and edited by F. E. Pargiter, introduction p. xiv, 314, 315.

the order in which these names appear, I surmise were the people of the highlands around Ghazni. Gabala, the name of the country, was probably turned into Zābul by the Arabs who have no *ga* sound in their language. If Bombaci and Pargiter are correct in their chronology, Zābul or Zābulistan did not get that name from the White Huns. On the contrary, it may be, presumed that the Indian Ephthalites took their tribal designation from the name of the country where they were based before they invaded India. Be that as it may, the epithet Zambīl and its variants, in any case, have no connection whatsoever with the tribal designation of the White Huns, and carry no ethnic significance.

R. B. Whitehead, like Cunningham, holds that the Rai kings were White Huns. He writes: "The identification of local Sind rulers belonging to the Rai dynasty with the great Hūṇa leaders Toramāṇa and Mihirakula is sheer fancy. Cunningham was on firmer ground when he asserted that the Rai kings were White Huns; not only were those rulers of Sind known by the title of Zambīl, but the earlier years of the dynasty synchronized with the period of Hūṇa supremacy in North-west India. Yaḳūbī, Ṭabarī, and Masūdī repeatedly allude to 'the celebrated Rutbīl' who is variously designated as king of Kabul, of Sind, and of Sijistan (Seistan). Ibn Khalikān speaks of 'a Turkish tribe in the territory of Sijistan governed by a king named Retbīl. Yaḳūb bin Leis slew their king and three princes, all bearing the title of Retbīl'. There was the Zant-bel, Ran-pāl or Ratan-pāl dynasty of Kabul and Zabul, also the Kabul Shāh, Ran-pāl or Ratan-pāl, the Zantbīl of the Arabs. The title of Zambīl with its variants is applied like Shāhi and Tigīn to foreigners from the north-west who invaded India in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The word Zambīl seems to be derived from Zabula (Indian form Javula), the ethnic designation of the Ephthalites in the Indian borderlands. Zabulistan or Zabul, the Ghazni highlands on the Upper Helmand, was an Ephthalite province; in it we read the tribal name of the Hūṇa invaders of India. The epithet Zambīl was also applied to the conquerors of the Ephthalites, the Turks".⁴³

I have already sufficiently dealt with both these arguments. The instances that Whitehead himself gives of the application by Muslim historians of the epithet Zambīl (and its variants) to all and sundry, including even the Turks who destroyed the Ephthalite power, only go to show that the epithet had nothing to do with the tribal designation of the White Huns. As to the synchronism on which he relies, let me point out that the Rai dynasty came to power in Sind in A.D. 489, whereas at that date the White Huns held no part of India proper. Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya⁴⁴ writes: "Thus about

⁴³ "Multan: The House of Gold", *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 63-4.

⁴⁴ *Early History of North India*, p. 192.

400 A.D. there was no Ephthalite settlement in India proper, though they had been knocking at the door of the country. The condition seems to have been the same a hundred years later, for, from the Chinese sources Chavannes⁴⁵ describes the extent of the Ephthalite empire in c. 500 A.D. as comprising Tokharistan, Kabulistan and Zabulistan, but no part of India proper."

III

After the capture of Multan, Muhammad Kasim visited the famous sun-temple there, in which he found an idol made of gold with two eyes of red rubies in its head.⁴⁶ He removed the idol and robbed the temple of all its buried treasure, amounting to 13200 *mans* of gold. The local tradition, as related to the Arab commander, ascribed the foundation of the temple "in ancient times" to Jibawīn, king of Multan, "who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir" and "a Brahmin and a monk" (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 205-6). Elliot noted that the name in his copies of the *Chach-Nūma* could even be read as *Jasūr* or *Jaswīn*.⁴⁷ Taking advantage of this uncertainty about the name, Cunningham arbitrarily decided that it must be *Jabul*. He wrote: "The name is variously written as Jabun and Jabur for which I propose Jabul. The change is very slight in Persian characters." Dr. Buhler⁴⁸ and Vincent Smith⁴⁹ considered the epithet Jauvla of the Kyara inscription a tribal designation applicable to any member of the Hūna dynasty, but Cunningham treated it also as another name of Toramāṇa. He then identified Jibawīn with Toramāṇa as well as with Diwāij. In this tortuous manner (Jauvla or Jabula = Toramāṇa = Jibāwīn or Jabul = Diwāij) Cunningham tried to show that the Hūna leader Toramāṇa and the Rai king Djwāij were identical. He wrote: "In this inscription Toramāṇa is called Mahārāja Toramāṇa *Shāha Jauvla*. On my silver coins the name is spelt *Jabubla* and *Jabula*, each preceded by the royal title of *Shāhi*. This at once recalls the name of *Jabun* or *Jabul*, the first king of Multan, who built the temple of the sun. As he was not a Brahman, he must have belonged to the Shāhi (? Rai) dynasty,

⁴⁵ *Documents sur les Toukine Occidentaux*, pp. 224-5.

⁴⁶ Hūen Tsiang who visited this magnificent shrine in A.D. 641 writes: "The image of the Sun-dēva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems . . . Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it . . . The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this Dēva). They have founded a house of mercy (*happiness*), in which they provide food and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so" (Beal, vol. II, pp. 274-5).

⁴⁷ Kalichbeg (p. 190) gives *Jaswīn*.

⁴⁸ *EI*, vol. I, p. 238.

⁴⁹ *Art. cit.*, p. 189.

which preceded the Brahman Chach. As his date is fixed by subtracting the 137 years of the Shāhi dynasty from A.D. 642, the date of Chach's accession, we get A.D. 505 for the accession of *Jabul*, the builder of the temple of the sun, who must therefore be the same person as *Dīwāij*, the founder of the Shāhi dynasty in Sindh. But as *Toramāṇa Jabula Shāhi*, the father of Shāhi Mihirkul, was reigning at that very time, I have no hesitation in identifying him with *Jabulā Dīwāij* of Multan."

The entire argument is misconceived. Jibawīn, according to the tradition, as given in the *Chach-Nāma*, was a Brahman. The builder of the sun-temple, therefore, could not be either Toramāṇa or Dīwāij, who admittedly were not Brahmans. Nor does the tradition say that Jibawīn was the *first* king of Multan, on which gratuitous supposition Cunningham ascribed the temple to the *first* king of the Rai dynasty. Rai Dīwāij was so honoured by Cunningham simply because, suitably with his theory, he happened to be a contemporary of Toramāṇa. Though contemporaries, they did not hold Multan at one and the same time; sovereignty over Multan was first exercised by the Rais and then it passed to the White Huns. Cunningham also takes for granted that this celebrated shrine was built at the beginning of the sixth century, and not earlier. According to the Purāṇic tradition the Multan sun-temple is of great antiquity. Sāmba, son of Krishṇa by Jāmbawati, was made king of Multan, after the defeat of Bāṇa, the Asura. When afflicted with leprosy in consequence of an imprecation of the irascible sage Durvāsas, he retired to Mitrawana, where by fasting, penance, and prayer, he acquired the favour of Sūrya and was cured. As a mark of his gratitude, Sāmba erected a temple of the Sun, in which he installed a golden statue of *Mitra* (sun-god), and founded in connection with it a city called Sāmbapura on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab).⁵⁰ Alberuni⁵¹ tells us that one of the former names of Multan was Sāmbapura, and the Hindus of the place celebrated a festival in honour of the Sun called *Sāmbapurayātrā*. Hodivala⁵² suggests that the name of the founder of the temple in the *Chach-Nāma*, about which there is uncertainty, may be Jambadeva (Sambadeva). Whitehead observes: "The statement that the temple at Multan was built by Toramāṇa is pure surmise. Not only must the uncertain name Jaswīn or Jabwīn of the *Chachnāma* be Javula, the tribal designation of the Hūṇas, the Ephthalite invaders of India, but the particular Javula has to be Toramāṇa. There is no other evidence. It seems unlikely on the face of it that a vagabond horde erected this temple. Sun worship was rare in India, but did exist before

⁵⁰ *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Tr. Wilson, ed. Hall, chap. iv, pp. 76-79; *Bhavishya Purāṇa* quoted in Wilson's note. The latter Purāṇa mentions that, as local Brahmans were not willing to officiate as priests, Sāmba brought *Magas* (Magi of ancient Persia) from *Śakadvīpa* to serve as priests at the temple.

⁵¹ *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, pp. 298; vol. II, pp. 184.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 98-9.

the arrival of influence from Iran. A Hindu ruler of the Solar Race could have built a temple to the sun-god ; probably this particular fane existed long before the arrival of the Ephthalites.⁵³

Cunningham, in identifying Mihirakula with the second Rai king, wrote: "As I have already identified his father, *Toramāna*, with *Jabūna* or *Jabula*, the first Scythian king of Sindh, who built the temple of the sun at Multan, so I would now identify his son Mihirkul with Jabula's successor, who in the *Chach-Nāma* is called *Sīharas*. As the original *Chach-Nāma* must have been written in Indian characters, in which the letters *s* and *m* are so much alike as to be frequently interchanged, I think it very probable that the name of this second Scythian king of Sindh was really *Mihira*, and that he was the Mihirkul of our coins and inscriptions." The original *Chach-Nāma* was written in Arabic and *not* in Indian characters. The Persian version of it which has come to us was made by one Muhammad Ali Kufi, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. At the close of his translation he remarks that "as the work was written in Hijāzī (Arabic) language and was not clothed in a Pahlevī garb it was little known in Ajam (foreign countries or Persia)."⁵⁴

IV

Gibbon⁵⁵ described the White Huns as "a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and *perhaps to the mouth of the Indus*". Gibbon's rhetorical phrase at the end of his sentence was regarded by Cunningham as yet another proof of the Hūna conquest of Sind. As to the word "perhaps", Cunningham observed: "The doubt of our great historian is now cleared away by the discovery of coins which declare that the White Huns possessed the great cities of Multan and Bahmana in Sindh. From the same source we learn that they possessed *also* the neighbouring countries of Zābulistan and Khurasān." Cunningham had in mind four undated coins—one of Shāhi Tigīn (or Vāhi Tigīn), ruler of Khurasān, two of Vāsu Deva, ruler of Zābulistan, and the remaining one of an anonymous ruler of Zābulistan. He believed that these rulers were White Huns and identical respectively with the third, the fourth and the fifth Rai kings of Sind.

The remote provinces of Khurasān and Zābulistan did not form part of the kingdom of Sind. Nor do any names corresponding to those of Shāhi Tigīn and Vāsu Deva appear in the dynastic lists of the kings

⁵³ Whitehead, *art. cit.*, p. 63.

⁵⁴ Elliot, vol. I, p. 133.

⁵⁵ *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, ch. 42.

of Sind. Besides, if Shāhi Tigīn and Vāsu Deva are to be identified with the third and fourth Rai kings of Sind, we must necessarily presume that they were son and grandson respectively of Mihirakula whom Cunningham identifies with the second Rai sovereign of Sind. At the time of his death Mihirakula was king of Kashmir, but the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* does not mention either Shāhi Tigīn or Vāsu Deva among his successors. Bamzai writes : "Baka, the son and successor of Mihirakula, is painted by Kalhaṇa as a virtuous prince and a great contrast to his father . . . The next four kings Kṣītinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II, and Akṣa are each disposed of with a single line, and accordingly can claim only a very shadowy existence as historical personages."⁵⁶ It is also unlikely that Shāhi Tigīn and Vāsu Deva, who ruled in Khurasān and Zābulistan, presumably after Noshirwan in alliance with the Turks broke up the Hun dominion, were White Huns. That monarch actually divided his kingdom into four great governments of which the easternmost was composed of Khurasān, Seistan and Kirmān, which presupposes the termination of White Hun rule in the Sassanian provinces annexed by them earlier.⁵⁷ There is evidence of the survival of only a small Ephthalite principality in Herat and Badghis, two of the many principal cities of Khurasān, which was destroyed by the Arabs in A.D. 707.⁵⁸ The coins of the rulers of Khurasān and Zābulistan on which Cunningham relies were not found in any part of the former dominions of the Rais, although alluding to the coin of Shāhi Tigīn Cunningham remarked that a few such coins had been found in Sind and Cutch. Cousens, however, makes no mention of them in his *Antiquities of Sind*. Nor is there any other record of their recovery from Sind and Cutch. On this point Witchehead writes : "I was convinced from my own experience in India that the coins in question were not found in Multan and Sind, and had nothing to do with these parts. The find spots are usually on the N. W. Frontier, and in Afghanistan; the nearest place to Multan is Manikyala. . . Three out of Cunningham's four specimens of Vāsu Deva came from the Masson Collection, and Masson got his coins in Afghanistan. To my mind the evidence of the find spots is conclusive. I agree with Edward Thomas that the triple legends point to a borderland where various languages met and interchanged methods of writing; Thomas suggested the locality of Baniān, which seems likely."⁵⁹ Martin also remarks that the coins of Shāhi Tagīn supposed to have been found in Sind and Cutch "presumably are strays—perhaps brought down through Kandahar, Quetta and Shikarpur, the well-known Sindh entrepot for Central Asian trade—and

⁵⁶ *History of Kashmir*, p. 75.

⁵⁷ Malcolm, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 139; Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

⁵⁸ J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, Introduction, p. lxxxix.

⁵⁹ *Art. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

the seat of Shāhi-tigin's power should, therefore, be searched for in Northern Afghanistan and not in Multan, as erroneously supposed by Cunningham."⁶⁰

V

Now I come to the coins themselves. They belong to the class of coins known as Indo-Sassanian, which bear inscriptions in Indian Nāgari, Sassanian Pahlevi, and an alphabet which till recently was undeciphered. Rapson considered it "probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by Scytho-Sassanians."⁶¹ Cunningham described the characters as Scythic or corrupt Greek. Edouard Specht (*Journal Asiatique*, 1901, pp. 487 f.) believed that the characters were allied to those of alphabets of Aramaic origin, called them Sindo-Ephthalite, and he claimed that, reading from right to left, he had deciphered the names and titles of pre-Muslim rulers given in the *Chach-Nāma*. The characters have only now been successfully identified. They are Kushan Greek. The legends on early Kushano-Sassanian coins are all in that script which is read from left to right. Whitehead (*art. cit.*, p. 62) notes: "It is only in the last few years that real progress had been made in the decipherment of inscriptions in so-called corrupt Greek characters; this achievement is due to Professors Herzfeld⁶² and Junker."⁶³ As regards the legends in Nāgari and Pahlevi on the coins of Zābulistan and Khurasān under consideration here, I may mention that scholars differ greatly in their reading and interpretation of them.

The two issues of Vāsu Deva have on the obverse the bust of the ruler, but on the reverse one has the Zoroastrian fire-altar with two attendant priests and the other has the bust of a deity, the identity of which is subject of much controversy. James Prinsep⁶⁴ read the Nāgari legend on the first coin as *Śri Vahar Vakhu Deva* which Wilson⁶⁵ amended to *Śri Bahmana Vāsu Deva*, adding, "the latter word is unequivocal, but the two last letters of *Bhamana* are doubtful." On the strength of this word, the reading of which was uncertain, Cunningham held that Vāsu Oeva was king of Sind. He wrote: "The word read as *Bahmana* is uncertain, but I can suggest nothing better. I believe that it refers to the famous capital of Sindh called *Bāhmanvāsi* by the Hindus; and afterwards *Brāhmanābād* by the Muhammadans. It was 'the city

⁶⁰ *Numismatic Supplement*, no. XLVI, art. 328.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶² *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* by Ernst Herzfeld, 1930.

⁶³ *Die Hephthalitischen Münzinschriften* by Dr. Heinrich F. J. Junker, 1930.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 111.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 400.

of Brahmans' of Alexander's historians. Vāsu Deva must have been the king of Sindh." Brāhmanābād was not the capital of Sind: it was only the seat of power of a feudatory of the Rais. There is also nothing in the local chronicles of Sind to suggest that before the Muslim conquest the place was known as Bāhmanvāsi. The honorific affix *Śri* also, as a rule, precedes the name or title of the Hindu monarchs and not the name of a city or country. If the intention was to declare on the coins the overlordship of Sind one would expect the word Alor rather than Bahmana in the legends. The Nāgari legend on the other coin reads simply *Śri Vāsu Deva*. The obverse marginal Pahlevi legend was read by Edward Thomas as *Sif Varsao Tef Wahman, ach Mullan Malka* and rendered by him as Śri Vāsu Deva, *Brahman*, king of Multan.⁶⁶ Cunningham, however, rendered the latter part of the legend as "king of Wahman and Multan", suggesting, in other words, that *Bahmana* (in Nāgari) and *Wahman* (in Pahlevi) both signified Brāhmanābād, and not Vāsu Deva's Brahmin caste. The *Chach-Nūma* mentions that Bai, sister of Dāhir, the last Brahman ruler of Sind, was betrothed to Suban, the ruler of Zābulistan, though the marriage ultimately did not take place. Also, when the ruler of Zābulistan, in A.D. 707, invaded Sind, Dāhir referred to his opponent as "a kinsman".⁶⁷ It is not unlikely, therefore, that the dynasty ruling in Zābulistan was also Brahman. The words which Thomas and Cunningham took to be *Multan malka* are, according to Whitehead, really *mltan malka*. He writes: "The reading *mltan malka* on the Vasu Deva piece is also certain. It is curious that of his four specimens Cunningham chose to illustrate that from which these all-important words had been obliterated. If the meaning were 'king of Multan', the words would be *multan malka*. I have the great authority of Professor Ernst Herzfeld for stating that *mltan* means first of all *mardān*; *mardān shāh* is a well known name or title."⁶⁸ The Pahlevi reverse legend was read by Thomas as *Panchai Zaulistan*, but he was uncertain about the *significance* of the word *Panchai*.⁶⁹ Cunningham, however, read the legend as *Tukān Zāulistan* and interpreted it as "Punjab, Zābulistan".

The coin of Shāhi Tigīn, preferably (as read by Drouin) Vāhi, with the Turkish title of Tigīn, is illustrated at *Cunn*, Pl. x, 9. On the obverse it has the bust of the ruler and on the reverse that of the deity which appears on one of the coins of Vāsu Deva. Of the two Pahlevi legends on the reverse the one to the right was read by Cunningham as *Takūn Khorasān Malkū*. He observed: "I take *Takūn Khorasān Malkū* to be the equivalent of *Hitevi cha Airūn parameswara* (in the Nāgari legend), the king

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 112-114.

⁶⁷ Elliot, vol. I, pp. 154, 177, Kalichbeg, p. 55

⁶⁸ *Art. cit.*, p. 69.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

of India and Persia." *Tākan* or *Tūki*, he explained, was the old name of the Punjab. Thomas, on the other hand, was inclined to read the opening word as *Tarkhān*, the title assumed by the rulers of Khurasān. Besides, the word in the Nāgari legend, which Cunningham read as *hitiva* and took to mean Hind or India, Thomas read as *hitivira*, that is, noble in heart.⁷⁰ Vincent Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* notes: "I do not believe that the word *Airūn* occurs in the Brahmi legend. The reading and meaning of the Brahmi legend still remain obscure, the characters being indifferently formed and varying much on different specimens."⁷¹ "The die sinker", adds Whitehead, "was so poorly acquainted with the Indian alphabet that the legend has not been read with certainty even after a century's efforts. On some Vasu Deva coins the Indian legend is written from right to left. These facts point to an origin outside India proper."⁷² Vincent Smith also does not confirm Cunningham's reading of the initial Pahlevi word as *Takūn*. The Kushan Greek inscription on this coin, says Whitehead, is *Sri shako*.⁷³

The fourth coin (Cunn., Pl. x. 11) is of a ruler of Zābulistan of unknown name, which bears legends in Pahlevi and Kushan Greek characters, but not in Nāgari. On the reverse of the coin is the bust of the deity, with a Pahlevi word on either side of it. The one to the right is clearly the equivalent of Zābulistan; that to the left was read by Cunningham as *Sapardalakshān*, which he identified with Rajputana. He wrote: "*Sapūdalaksha*, or 'one lakh and a quarter', was the old name of Rajputana. The shortened form was *Sawalakh*, which is still preserved in the present form of *Sawālik*. The early Muhammadan writers describe *Mandor*, the old capital of Marwar, as being in *Sawālik*. Ajmer also was in it, and Hānsi is specially mentioned as the capital of *Sawālik*. The name is said to have been derived from the great number of scattered hills in the country, for which 125,000 is a significant expression." The dominions of the Rais, according to the *Chach-Nāma*, did not include Rajputana. Nor do the Pahlevi legends indicate that this ruler of Zābulistan possessed Sind. Whitehead⁷⁴ says that Cunningham's *Saparadalakshan* is read by Professor Junker⁷⁵ as *Dūwar*, *Rusnan*, which places, according to Martin,⁷⁶ are in Zābulistan.

To sum up: The numismatic evidence on which Cunningham relies, to say the least, is doubtful and uncertain. The only place names which can be read with certainty in the legends are Zābulistan and Khurasān. The evidence of find spots also does not support the view that these

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. 11, pp. 110-11.

⁷¹ Vol. I, pp. 235-6.

⁷² *Art. cit.*, pp. 68-9.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷⁵ For Professor Junker's discussion of the legends see *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.

⁷⁶ *Num. Sup.*, no. XLVI, art. 328.

rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān held Multan and Sind. "These hybrid coins", Whitehead observes, "were struck by kings of Sassanian affinities not in the Punjab and Sind, but in Zabulistan and other debatable lands between Iran and India".⁷⁷

The deity on these coins which Prinsep referred to the Mithra⁷⁸ of the Persians Cunningham identified as the sun-god of Multan. In the *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1872-73 (vol. v, p. 122) he wrote: "The head is surrounded by rays arranged after the Indian fashion and the head-dress is quite different from the head-dress of the Persians." To me, however, the latter feature appears hardly Indian, but it may be due to the contribution of Iranian influence in the development of sun-worship as prevailing in Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era.⁷⁹ Cunningham's attribution, though widely accepted in the past, no longer holds the field. It seems no doubt odd that the rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān, who had nothing to do with Multan, should exhibit on their coins the sun-god of that place, although there is nothing inherently improbable in it; for Hiuen Tsiang tells us that the Multan sun-god had among its voteries "the kings and high families of the *five indics*." Martin identifies the deity as *Shuma* or *Ch'una*, the sun-god of the Western Turks. He writes: "Cunningham's suggestion that it was the sun-god of Multan has been discredited. I have no hesitation in putting forward this alternative proposal. He was apparently a Turkish god whose cult was imported from Central Asia by the Western Turks, who ruled in various portions of Afghanistan from 567 A.D. to 658 A.D. when they were absorbed in the Chinese empire. Watters states that *Shuma* was a sun-god and the bust on the coins is unmistakably that of a solar deity." Whitehead, on the other hand, believes that the deity on these coins is not a god, but a *goddess*. He writes: "Sir Alexander Cunningham described the deity on the coins as 'male head to front, with rayed flames ascending to a point'. The deity had to be male in order to be a sun-god. Edward Thomas noted that the face is unadorned by either beard or moustache, 'but still in the majority of instances looks anything but feminine'. The fact remains that the artist has carefully included moustache or beard in the king's portrait and has deliberately omitted them from that of the deity. The contrast between the two busts is best studied in the piece of Vāsu Deva. There is a significant difference in the arrangement of the embroidery. The

⁷⁷ *Art. cit.*, p. 72.

⁷⁸ Mithra (Sk. *Mitra*) is a god probably older than the separation of the Iranian stock from the Aryan invaders of India. Being in essence Light, it is identified with the sun and regarded as the sun-god of the Persians.

⁷⁹ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 151 f.

features of the deity are not those of a beardless boy. One head is male and the other female ; the deity is a *goddess*.⁸⁰

Let me now refer to a special silver issue of the Persian king Khusru Parviz (A.D. 590-628) on which also Cunningham relied for his identification of Shāhi Tigīn, Vāsu Deva, and the anonymous ruler of Zābulistan with the last three Rai kings of Sind. It has on the reverse, instead of the customary fire-altar and Magi, a bust, with the countenance distinctly of a woman, which too Cunningham described as the Multan sun-god. The *Chach-Nāma* mentions the defeat and death of Siharas II, the fourth Rai king of Sind, when an army of the king of Seistan attacked Makrān. Cunningham believed that the invader was Khusru Parviz, and this silver coinage "with the Multan sun-god on the reverse was struck on this occasion, the year 37 of his reign, or 628 A.D." But in 628 the ruler of Sind was Brahman Chach, the rule of the Rai dynasty having terminated with the death of the fifth Rai, six years earlier. Nor is this silver issue the only one of its kind : there are a few other pieces of the same type issued in the years 21, 27 and 31 of Khusru's reign, and also three gold pieces with the same bust on their reverse issued in Khusru's 21st regnal year.⁸¹ These special issues of Khusru Parviz obviously, therefore, were not struck to commemorate the Persian victory in Makrān, and in the circumstances it is unlikely that the figure on their reverse is that of the Multan sun-god. This Sassanian monarch introduced in the crown on his coins a distinctive double-winged ornament which appears also in the tiara of Vāsu Deva. From this fact Cunningham inferred that Vāsu Deva must be a contemporary of Khusru Parviz, unmindful of the fact that this winged head-gear continued in use, without material change, on the coins of Khusru's successors till the end of the dynasty, and was copied also by the Arab governors of Persia down to the closing years of the seventh century.⁸² These two supposed contemporaries of Khusru Parviz, namely, Siharas II of Sind and Vāsu Deva of Zābulistan, Cunningham, believing as he did that the rulers of Zābulistan possessed Multan and Sind, then held to be identical. The identification of Shāhi Tigīn, ruler of Khurasan, and the anonymous ruler of Zābulistan with the third and the fifth Rai kings of Sind followed as a matter of course. As the former does not wear a double-winged crown, he was prior to Vāsu Deva—the fact that the kingdoms of Khurasān and Zābulistan were distinct scarcely bothered Cunningham—and as such identical, in his opinion, with Siharas II's *predecessor* on the throne of Sind. The anonymous ruler of Zābulistan, who wears such a crown he surmised, must be Vāsu Deva's *successor* and as such identical with

⁸⁰ *Art. cit.*, pp. 69-70

⁸¹ J. Walker, "Some Recent Oriental Coin Acquisitions of the British Museum," *Num. Chr.*, 1935, pp. 242 f ; Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁸² Valentine, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, 87-8 ; Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

the last Rai king of Sind. If Cunningham's identification of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula with the first and the second Rai kings is "sheer fancy", his identification of the rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān with the later three Rai kings of Sind is nothing better.

The coins noticed above are of special interest as they have a bearing on the history of North-West India in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Cunningham's attribution of the coins of Zābulistan and Khurasān to later Hūṇas, in the opinion of Rapson, was "apparently without sufficient reason." He remarked *Indian Coins* (pp. 30-31): "They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlevi—ruling over Sind and Multan. It may be noticed that this region had *at other periods* been in the hands of Persian conquerors". His view that the rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān possessed Sind and Multan was based largely on Cunningham's interpretation of the legends on their coins and the use of the same reverse-type as on Khusru's coins, supposed to represent the sun-god of Multan. If Vāsu Deva was a Brahman, it is unlikely that he belonged to a Sassanian dynasty. Similarly, assumption of the title Tigīn by Shāhi Tigīn suggests a Turkish rather than Sassanian origin. It is not improbable, however, that these local rulers on the eastern border of the Sassanian kingdom, though themselves not Sassanians, acknowledged some dependence upon Persia. Hence the use of the Zoroastrian fire-altar on one of the issues of Vāsu Deva. According to Whitehead⁸³ even the reverse figure on the coins of Zābulistan and Khurasān is an Iranian goddess.

Let me now refer to the various opinions held by scholars about the busts. Prinsep held that the deity on the coins of Khurasān and Zābulistan, represents Mithra, the sun-god of the Persians. Thomas⁸⁴ believed that the reverse figure on Khusru's special issues "accords exactly with the bust on eastern money", which Cunningham subsequently identified as the sun-god of Multan. Thomas supposed that the bust on Khusru's coins could not be that of a woman because "in the *parallel instances* the face seems to look more like the countenance of a boy rather than that of a woman." Paruck,⁸⁵ adopting the same line of reasoning, concluded that the busts were identical, and of the sun-god of Multan. A. de Longperrier,⁸⁶ who in 1840 first published Khusru's special coin, thought that the bust was of Ormuzd. According to Ousley⁸⁷ and Mordt-

⁸³ *Art. cit.*, p. 69.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 114; *Num. Chr.*, 1873, p. 242.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁸⁶ *Essai sur les Medailles des roi persis de la dynastie Sassanide*, p. 78. Ormuzd=Ahura Mazda is the Wise Lord or God, according to the teaching of Zoroaster.

⁸⁷ *Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing inscriptions in the Palavi or ancient Persick characters*, pp. 32 f.

mann⁸⁸, again, the figure on Khusru's coins was that of his consort. George Rawlinson⁸⁹ observed: "The reverse has a head like that of a woman . . . wearing a band enriched with pearls across the forehead, above which the hair converges to a point". On second thoughts, swayed by Thomas's view, he added: "A head very similar to this is found on Indo-Sassanian coins. Otherwise we might have supposed that the uxorious monarch had wished to circulate among his subjects the portrait of his beloved Shirin." Walker,⁹⁰ in 1935, after reviewing the earlier authorities, came to the conclusion that the bust on Khusru's coins was that of the sun-god of Iran. "The problem", he observed, "arises as to the correct interpretation of the figure and the legend on the reverse . . . The legend on the right has presented some difficulty. Ousley read the first word as Airan, i.e. Iran, the old, and the recently revived, name for Persia. An alternative suggestion put forward by him was that it might indicate the name of Irene, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Maurice Tiberius, whom Khusru II had married; or else that of Shirin, the favourite mistress of that monarch. The Pehlevi characters might suit either rendering. If that were so, then the figure on the reverse would be a representation of the Queen with her hair curiously coiffured, or else wearing one of those extraordinary head-dresses so favoured by Sassanian royalty. The fact too that the face is beardless would help to support this theory. Cunningham, however, in 1875, advanced the opinion that it represented the Indian Sun-god of Multan with rayed head-dress 'arranged after the Indian fashion and quite different from the head-dress of the Persian Mithra'. He based his opinion on the fact that a similar bust occurs on a series of Indo-Scythian coins bearing the names of Shāhi Tigīn and Vāsu Deva, who are said to have ruled in Multan (probably in 6th or 7th century A.D.). While it is unlikely that Multan has anything to do with it, the figure is certainly more likely to be a *youthful* representation of a solar deity, from the fact that it occupies the position on the reverse of the coin of the customary fire-altar with attendant priests, and also because of the peculiar 'flaming halo' that surrounds the crowned head. But there is no reason to suppose that it is the particular solar deity whose temple or 'house of gold' is frequently mentioned by oriental historians. In fact the name Airan would rather suggest that we have here a tribute to the sun-god of Iran". The latest opinions are of Martin and Whitehead. The former describes the deity on Indo-Sassanian coins as SHUNA, the sun-god of the Western Turks. The latter identifies the figure on Khusru's coins as an Iranian goddess which he believes has been copied on the coins of Zābulistan and Khurasān. "This deity"

⁸⁸ *ZDMG*, pp. 138-9.

⁸⁹ *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 532.

⁹⁰ *Art. cit.*, pp. 242 f.

he observes, "is connected with the east. Professor Herzfeld sees in her a possible analogue with *Ardokhsho* of the Kushan coins; *Ardokhsho* means genius of the Oxus".⁹¹ To this array of expert opinions let me add that of a layman. To me there seems little resemblance between the two sets of busts: that on the Indo-Sassanian coins is no doubt of a deity while the other on the special coins of Khusru Parviz is distinctly of an attractive woman, probably that of his consort Sira (Shirin), "the most beautiful and best beloved of his wives". Rawlinson writes: "Chosroes seems certainly, in the earlier part of his reign, to have given occasion for the suspicion which his subjects are said to have entertained, that he designed to change his religion, and confess himself a convert to the creed of the Greeks . . . It appears that Sira was a Christian, and that in marrying her Chosroes had contravened the laws of his country, which forbade the king to have a Christian wife. Her influence over him was considerable, and she is said to have been allowed to build numerous churches and monasteries in and about Ctesiphon. When she died Chosroes called in the aid of sculpture to perpetuate her image, and sent her statue to the Roman Emperor, to the Turkish Khan, and to various other potentates".⁹² Had the figure been the representation of an Iranian god or goddess, in all probability, it would not at once after Khusru's death have been replaced on Sassanian coins by the fire-altar, the sacred emblem of the Zoroastrian faith. As regards the deity on the coins of Zābulistan and Khurasān, I am inclined to assign it to Mithra, the sun-god of the Persians.

To conclude, there is no evidence, whether epigraphic, literary or numismatic, to warrant Cunningham's view that the White Huns had overrun Sind and established a Hūna dynasty at Brāhmanābād and Alor. The Rai dynasty no doubt came to power in Sind about the same time as the irruption of the White Huns in Northern India, but the synchronism is fortitious. The *Chach-Nāma*, which is a near contemporary record of the Hindu kings of Sind, does not support the view that the Rais were invaders from Central Asia. Cunningham's identification of Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, and the rulers of Zābulistan and Khurasān with the local kings of Sind, to use Whitehead's phrase, is, of course, "sheer fancy".

VI

Identification of Hiuen Tsang's *Sin-tu* Kingdom.

The Chinese pilgrim visited the *Sin-tu* kingdom in A.D. 641 and his description of it is as follows: "This country is about 7000 *li*

⁹¹ *Art. cit.*, p. 70.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 496, 497-8.

(5 *li* = 1 mile) in circuit; the capital city, called *P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo*, is about 30 *li* round. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet. It also abounds in gold and silver and native copper. It is suitable for the breeding of oxen, sheep, camels, mules, and other kinds of beasts. The camels are small in size and have only one hump. They find here a great quantity of salt, which is red like cinnabar; also white salt, black salt and rock salt. In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine . . . The king is of the Śūdra (*Shu-t'o-lo*) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha . . . By the side of the river Sindh, along the flat marshy lowlands of some thousand *li*, there are several hundreds of thousands (*a very great many*) of families settled. They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. They give themselves exclusively to tending cattle, and from this derive their livelihood . . ."⁹³

From the pilgrim's indications it is clear that the kingdom which he visited was in the Punjab, and not in the Lower Indus valley. He went there from Gurjjara, by which name the modern district of Mār-wār was then known.⁹⁴ From Gurjjara, he says, "Proceeding northward through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 *li*, crossing the great river Sin-tu, we come to the kingdom of Sin-tu". Again: "Going from this eastward 900 *li* or so, crossing the Sindh river and proceeding along the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of *Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu*."⁹⁵ That name corresponds to Mūlasthānapura i.e. Multan. *Sin-tu* and Multan, thus, according to the pilgrim, were neighbouring kingdoms in the Punjab, lying to the west and the east of the Indus respectively.⁹⁶

Sin-tu represents *Sindhu*, the Indian name of the kingdom. Misled by that name, scholars have generally assumed that Hiuen Tsiang's account relates to the Lower Indus valley kingdom of Sind, with its capital at Alor, ruled then by Brahman Chach, who seized it in A.D. 622. No wonder they find the pilgrim's account baffling. Watters, indeed, was so puzzled that he denounced the restoration of *Mu-lo-san-p'u-lū* to Mūlasthānapura as "an impossible restoration." The pilgrim's description of the famous sun-temple there, of which mention is

⁹³ Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 272-3.

⁹⁴ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 72. At the time of, Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Rajputana fell within four main divisions of which Gurjjara comprised Bikaner, the western States and Shekhawati (*Gazetteer of Rajputana*, vol. I, p. 14).

⁹⁵ Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 271-2, 274; Watters; *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 252-4.

⁹⁶ *Sin-tu* and Multan, even according to *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Hwui Li (Tr. Beal, pp. 151-2), lay on the opposite sides of the Indus, to the west and east of it respectively, though the countries in this part of the itinerary are described to have been visited in a different order.

also made by later Arab travellers is, however, sufficient to identify Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu with Multan.

Haig, equally perplexed by the pilgrim's account, observed: "Hiuen Tsiang's Sindh, in fact, is not the Sindh of any period known to history, and his description of it is wholly irreconcilable with the facts which we gather from the contemporary history embodied in the work the *Tūrīkh-i-Hind wa Sind*. He places the capital to the west of the Indus, whereas we know it was on the east bank, its ruins and the long dried-up channel of the river being still to be seen in attestation of the fact. He calls it P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo, which Chinese scholars take to represent such names as Vichavapur, or Vasmapur, or Balmapur; and General Cunningham, taking rather an unwarrantable liberty with the Chinese syllables, turns into Abhijānwapur. All these names, unknown in Sindh and unmentioned in its histories, serve only to mystify us, and the case becomes worse, when Hiuen Tsiang says that Multan was only 900 *li* or so—that is, some 150 miles—distant from the capital of Sindh, and to the *east* of it, the fact being that Multan was 250 miles from it and north-east of it. To all of this must be added his statement that the king was a Śūdra (*Shu-to-lo*), while from the source above-mentioned we learn that at this time (about 641 A.D.) a Brahman ruled Sindh. Some clue is obtained to the country which the Buddhist monk had in his mind when he spoke of Sindh from his remark that: 'They find here a great quantity of salt which is *red* like cinnabar; also white salt, black salt, and *rock-salt*'. It is clear from this that Sindh of Hiuen Tsiang included the *Salt Range*, since nowhere else lower down the Indus could rock-salt be found."⁸⁷

All these were points against the identification of the pilgrim's *Sin-tu* with Sind. Not imagining, however, that there could be a Sindhu kingdom in the Punjab, Haig tried to adjust the pilgrim's account to suit the kingdom of Sind. To that purpose he supposed, first that Chach by his conquests had extended the limits of his dominion to the Salt Range in North-west Punjab, and second that the pilgrim probably made a mistake in placing the capital to the *west* of Multan. He made no attempt, however, to explain Hiuen Tsiang's description of Chach as a Śūdra. Cunningham, in a similar effort, completely ignored the pilgrim's bearings, arbitrarily turned Alor into Abhijānwapur,⁸⁸ and erroneously assumed that in 641 the last Rai sovereign of Sind was still reigning. Vaidya, in his turn, presumed that Chach's usurpation and the termination of the Rai dynasty were events which occurred

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

⁸⁸ Cf. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 35n; "There is a village named Abhijāno, a little to the south of the old capital, which suggested this restoration to General Cunningham. He says Abhijan is Sanskrit for 'fame and is not improbably connected with Hwen Tshang's Pi-shen-p'c-pu-lo'. (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 259). The connection leaves something to be desired in the way of explanation."

after 641. He wrote : "What may be surmised is that Sāhasī was still on the throne of Sind when Hiuen Tsiang visited the country in 641 A.D."⁹⁹ Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* (4th ed., p. 369) took for granted that "the Buddhist king of Śūdra caste must be Sihras Rai", that P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo was the same as Alor, and he placed Chach's accession in 646.¹⁰⁰

All these attempts to fit somehow Hiuen Tsaing's account of *Sin-tu* to Sind, in complete disregard of the pilgrim's indications that *Sin-tu* lay in the Punjab, were unwarranted. The term *Saindhava* for rock-salt in Indian languages¹⁰¹ is by itself sufficient to show that *Sin-tu* was situated in the Punjab; for rock-salt comes from the Salt Range,¹⁰² which apparently was included in the *Sin-tu* (Sindhu) kingdom. Rock salt owes its name evidently to this association with that ancient Punjab kingdom. In this connection it is also interesting to note that "the mercenaries, who under the term of *Saindhava* figure prominently in the later Hindu period of Kashmir history were soldiers from the Salt Range."¹⁰³

It is true that we have no other contemporary record of this *Sin-tu* kingdom in the Punjab, but that to my mind is not a sufficient reason for ignoring the testimony of the Chinese traveller. No historical records of the political development of the Punjab after the overthrow of the central Hūṇa power have survived, but it is certain that many Hūṇa chiefs continued to rule for a long time in North-west India. Bāna, for instance, in his *Harsha Charita*¹⁰⁴ recounts that Prabhākardhana, ruler of Thāneśvar, shortly before his death in 605, despatched the crown prince "at the head of an immense force" against the Hūṇas to the north of his kingdom. Of the Hūṇa principalities in the Punjab Sindhu probably was one, particularly as its ruler is described as a Śūdra. Being foreigners, the Hūṇas presumably at the time were not regarded as Kṣatriyas. Even though the records of medieval Punjab are lacking, early Sanskrit literature provides abundant evidence that there

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ H. T. Lambrick, the latest writer on the early history and geography of Sind, also finds the account of Yuan Chwang (as the pilgrim's name is rendered in modern Pekinese) bewildering. By making certain assumptions and suggesting the possibility that in 641 "Alor had some other name", he identifies *Sin-tu* with "modern Upper Sind" (*Sind, A General Introduction*, 1964, pp. 146-8.)

¹⁰¹ Rock-salt is called *Saindhava* in Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali; *Saindav* in Hindi; *Sindha* in Punjabi; *Sēndho* or *Sayīndho luṅ* in Sindhi; and *Sindhu-lavan* in Sanskrit.

¹⁰² Salt Range, with its extensive deposits of rock-salt, is a long range about 150 miles long which commences on the right bank of the Jhelum, crosses the river Indus and then a southern branch of it forms the boundary between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

¹⁰³ Aurel Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western and South-Eastern Iran*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁴ Tr. Cowell and Thomas, p. 132.

was a region in the Punjab known as *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, of which Sindhu formed the part to the west of the Indus, while Sauvīra comprised the area round and above Multan on the opposite side of the Indus. Hiuen Tsiang's *Sin-tu*, I have no doubt, represents this Sindhu.

The *Mahābhārata* refers to Jayadratha as king of Sindhu-Sauvīra, and places Sindhus and Sauvirās, who fought on the side of Kurus, in the north-west of the Middle Country, "denoting the whole of Ganges basin from the Punjab as far as the confines of Bihar" (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 274). The *Rāmāyana* mentions that invitations for Daśratha's sacrifice were sent out, among others, to "the Punjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra" (Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 276). In *Raghuvaṃśa* (xv, 87-9) Kālidāsa makes Rāma give Bharata the Sindhu-deśa; the latter then conquers Gandhāra which he presents to his sons, who proceed to found the two cities of Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā. Sindhudeśa here can only stand for the Sindhu country in the Punjab. So also in Pāṇini's *śloka* (iv. 3.93) which mentions the name of Takṣaśilā with that of Sindhu-deśa. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, in one of its geographical cantos, mentions among the North-western peoples the Gāndhāras, Gabalas, Sindhus, Sauvirās and Madrakas.¹⁰⁶ The order in which these names appear also indicates that Sindhu (*Sin-tu*) lay in the Punjab. Sindhu and Sauvīra in Indian literature are frequently mentioned together from which juxtaposition it is clear that they were parts of a common region on the Upper Indus bearing the compound name of Sindhu-Sauvīra. The distinction between Sindhu-deśa in the Punjab, and the Lower Indus country of Sind appears very clearly from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhītā* (xiv, verses 32-3), where that great astronomer (A.D. 505-587) mentions Sindhu-Sauvīra as well as Sindhu in the list of countries. The distinction is repeated by Alberuni, though Sachau (*Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, pp. 300, 302) fails to join Sindhu-Sauvīra, and Sindhu occurs twice in the list. Alberuni defined Sauvīra as "Multan and Jahrāwār".¹⁰⁰ His equation of Sauvīra with Multan and Jahrāwār is corroborated by Purāṇic literature.¹⁰⁷ Max Muller also remarks that Sauvirās probably dwelt in the south-west Punjab, near Multan (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 148 n.). The Sindhu country, says the commentator of Vātsāyana's *Kūmasūtra*, lay to the west of the

¹⁰⁵ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, translated and edited by F. E. Pargiter, pp. 314-15.

¹⁰⁶ Jahrāwār, according to Alberuni (*India*, pp. 259-60), lies at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab, 50 miles above Multan. It presumably represents the country of Yaudheyas or Johiya Rajputs. Cunningham writes: "The country about Multan is still called Johiyabār or Yaudheyawārū" (*Anc. Geo.* p. 281).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Raychaudhuri: "*Skandapurāna*, for instance, referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mūla-asthāna or Multan, says that it stood on the banks of the Devikā... In the *Agni-purāna* the Devikā is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvīra" (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 620, 5th ed.)

Indus : "Saindhavānūmīti ; Sindhunūmā nadastasya pāścimena Sindhu dśasastatra bhavānām." (Benares edition, p. 295). Hiuen Tsiang's statement that *Sin-tu* and Multan lay on the opposite sides of the Indus is thus entirely in accord with the evidence of Sanskrit literature. P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo, the "capital city" of *Sin-tu*, though the name¹⁰⁸ has not been explained by scholars, must be looked for in the region to the west of the Indus, in the Punjab.

Some scholars, relying on Buddhist texts, suggest that Sauvīra extended to the south of Multan and included a part, if not the whole, of Sind. *Āditta Jātaka*¹⁰⁹ gives the name of the capital of Sauvīra as Rauruka or Roruva, which Lüders identified with Alor in Sind. Johnston, the eminent Indologist, rejects that identification. He writes : "Rauruka, unknown outside Buddhist texts, is identified by Lüders with the old site of Aror near Rohri in Sind ; the only positive evidence, such as it is, of its real existence is its mention in the *Mahāmāyūrī*'s list of Yakṣas, verse 34 (Levi, *JA*, 1915, i, p. 39), which suggests a more northerly location. For all the places mentioned immediately before or after it, which can be identified, are in Gandhāra or the neighbourhood."¹¹⁰ The *Milinda Pañho*,¹¹¹ in enumerating a few ports and countries in all parts of Asia "where ships do congregate," calls one of them Sovira, which again is assumed to be the same as Sauvīra. Rāychaudhuri, for instance, writes : "Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvīra whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea because *Milinda Pañho* mentions it in a list of countries where *ships do congregate*".¹¹² Sauvīra was far too inland to be the Sovira of the Buddhist text. Moreover, as Johnston remarks, "This portion of the work is a late addition made in Ceylon, and its evidentiary value is small ; it can hardly be held to establish anything without corroboration to place the meaning beyond doubt."¹¹³ Sopara (ancient Surpāraka), 37 miles north of Bombay, which some scholars¹¹⁴ believe is the famous Sophir or Ophir of the Bible,

¹⁰⁸ The Jain name for the capital of the ancient kingdom of Sindhu-Sauvīra was Vitabhaya (*Pravachanasūradhara, dvāra* 12), which is identified with modern Bhera, on the left bank of the Jhelum in Shahpur district. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 275; Sandesara, *Jain-Sāhitya-man-Gujarāt*, p. 170).

¹⁰⁹ *Jātaka*, vol. III, p. 280 (Cambridge edition).

¹¹⁰ "Demetrias in Sind?" *JRAS*, 1939, pp. 225-6.

¹¹¹ Rhys Davis, *The Questions of King Milinda*, vol. II, p. 269. The relevant passage reads : "Just O king, as a shipowner, who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga, or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandal coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate—just so, O king . . ."

¹¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 620.

¹¹³ *Art. cit.*, p. 230.

¹¹⁴ Dey (*Geo. Dic.*, pp. 197-8) identified Sophir with Supara, and so did Benfey to whom McCrindle makes a reference in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. viii, p. 144).

from which king Solomon obtained cargoes of gold and precious stones, can perhaps with better reason be identified as the Sovīra of the *Milinda Pañho*. Separate mention of Sindhu-Sauvīra and Sindhu by Varāhmihira in his list of countries and Alberuni's comments upon them preclude also any supposition that Sauvīra included Sind. Tarn, in supporting his theory that the Bactrian king Demetrius (c. 184-167 B.C.) founded in Sind a city and port called Demetrias, maintained that "Sauvīra-Sindhus . . . at this time were on the Indus and occupied the Delta."¹¹⁵ Johnston, however, in refuting that theory, after reviewing all the evidence in Indian literature bearing on the location of Sauvīras, came to the following conclusions: "Firstly that at quite an early date the Sauvīras ceased to be recognizable as a tribe, their name being applied to a country, and secondly that at the earliest period the name may have indicated the part of the Indus valley immediately below Gandhāra, and later certainly meant the area round and above Multan."¹¹⁶

The real name of the *Sin-tu* kingdom, according to me, was Vṛishadarbha, and it was so named after its founder Vṛishadarbha, a prince of the Ānava race. His three brothers, Suvīra, Kekaya and Madraka, also founded three other kingdoms in west Punjab which bore their respective names. "The Ānavas", Pargiter writes, "held all the Punjab (except the N. W. corner), comprising the kingdoms of Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kaikeya, Madra, Vāhlika, Śivi and Ambaṣṭha" (*Op. cit.*, p. 293). At another place, he writes: "The Ānavas divided into two branches. One branch headed by Uśīnara established separate kingdoms on the eastern border of the Punjab, namely, those of the Yaudheyas, Amabaṣṭhas, Navaraṣṭra and the city Kṛmīla; and his famous son Śivi Auśīnara originated the Śivis in Śivapura and, extending his conquests westwards, founded through his four sons the kingdoms of the Vṛishadarbhas, Madras (or Madrakas), Kekayas (or Kaikeyas) and Suvīras (or Sauvīras), thus occupying the whole of the Punjab except the north-west corner" (*Ibid*, p. 264). Here Sindhu is not mentioned among the western kingdoms, but instead Vṛishadarbha is included. Presumably Sindhu and Vṛishadarbha were one and the same. Also in the map in Pargiter's book, indicating the geographical position of the various kingdoms, Vṛishadarbha is not shown, but Sindhu is represented as the most westerly kingdom by the side of Sauvīra. From that also one may infer that Vṛishadarbha and Sindhu were one and the same. As the kingdom stretched "for some thousand *li*" along the river Indus, Vṛishadharba appears to have been commonly known as Sindhu.

Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, pp. 569-70), however, identified Sophir with Sauvīra, which he curiously believed was another appellation for the province of Idar, at the head of the Gulf of Cambay. Some modern scholars think that Sophir was in Abyssinia; or near the Zambezi in East Africa, or on the Gold Coast in West Africa.

¹¹⁵ *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 142 (1938 edition)

¹¹⁶ *Art. cit.*, 231.

The founder of the kingdom being Vṛishadharba, its capital city was probably called Vṛishadharbha-pura. If that conjecture be correct, it may be inferred that *P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo* represents Vṛishadarbha-pura, or a contracted or Prakṛit form of that name in general use. M. Stanislaus Julien, who earlier in his translations of the life and travels of Hiuen Tsiang transcribed on phonetic considerations the Chinese name as *Vijanva-pura* or *Vichava-pura*, finally, in 1861, in his *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* (p. 92) gives *Vijambha-pura* as a definitive transcription,¹¹⁷ which corresponds closely to Vṛishadarbha-pura, the name derived by me from literary sources.

The only Indian epigraph which mentions Sindhu-Sauvīra is the rock inscription at Junagadh (150 A.D.) of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. The inscription, which was executed by Rudradāman's deputy who held authority over Saurashtra, records the construction of a new dam on the Sudaršana lake in place of the old one built in the time of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B.C.), which had burst. Rudradāman's capital appears to have been at Ujjain in Malwa. A.M.T. Jackson writes in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* (vol. I, pt. I, p. 36): "The poetic eulogies of Rudradāman appear to contain a share of fact. One of the epithets, 'he who himself has earned the title Mahākshatrapa' indicates that Rudradāman had regained the title of Mahākshatrapa which belonged to his grandfather Chasṭana but not to his father Jayadāman. Another portion of the inscription claims for him the overlordship of Ākrāvanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta and Nishāda; that is roughly the country from Bhilsa in the east to Sindh in the west and from about Ābu in the north to the North Konkan in the south including the peninsulas of Cutch and Kāthiāvāḍa." "Sindhu-Sauvīra," Jackson explained, "are two names usually found together. Sindhu is the modern Sind and Sauvīra may have been part of Upper Sind". Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī and Dr. Buhler, who discussed this inscription in the *Indian Antiquary* remarked that "Sindhu-Sauvīra probably comprised modern Sindh and a portion of the Multan districts"¹¹⁸ Sauvīra no doubt comprised the area round and above Multan, but the term Sindhu when used in conjunction with Sauvīra in early Indian literature denoted not Sind, but the Sindhudeśa in the Punjab to the west of the Indus. Rapson, in an article entitled "Western Kshatrapas" (*JRAS*, vol. viii, pp. 639 f.), contrary to Kielhorn's transliteration of the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*,¹¹⁹ wrote, without note or comment, "Sindhu-Sauvīra" not conjointly but as two separate words. In view, however, of the real connotation of the

¹¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 338.

¹¹⁸ Vol. VII, p. 257.

¹¹⁹ Vol. VIII, p. 36

appellation Sindhu-Sauvīra, it seems very doubtful that Rudradāman exercised suzerainty over the Lower Indus valley. Sind, very probably, continued to be under its own Śaka or Parthian princes¹²⁰ who acknowledged no allegiance to Rudradāman. The only positive evidence, such as it is, which may suggest the exercise of overlordship by the Mahākshatrapas of Ujjain over Sind, is the discovery of a copper coin of Rudrasena II (A.D. 256-272) in the debris near a *stupa* known as Sudheran-jo-daḍo, 6 miles to the north-west of Tando Muhammad Khan, in Hyderabad district,¹²¹ but that solitary coin is very probably a votive offering brought by a devotee from Cutch or other adjacent territory forming part of that Mahākshatrapa's dominions.

The foregoing discussion inevitably leads to the conclusion that the *Sin-tu* (Sindhu) kingdom visited by the Chinese pilgrim was in western Punjab. Its real name was Vṛishadarbha, but that classical name had apparently gone out of use in Hiuen Tsiang's time, and he describes the kingdom under its popular name of Sindhu. It was so designated from its bordering on the river Indus "for some thousand li", as attested by the pilgrim. The long narrow strip of country bounded on the west by the Sulaiman mountains and on the east by the river Indus, extending below the Salt Range to the point where that river is joined by the waters of the Punjab, now known as Dērajāt, corresponds to the pilgrim's *Sin-tu* kingdom. It is interesting to note that the level portion of Dērajāt along the Indus, which is capable of irrigation either by means of canals, or wells, or by inundation direct from the river is even at the present day called *Sindh* after the river Indus.¹²² This is what Cunningham, quoting Lassen,¹²³ wrote in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* for 1862-65 (vol. II, p. 14): "The name of Vṛishadarbha is perhaps preserved in the *Brisabrita* or *Brisambrita* of Pliny, who being coupled with Taxillae must have been near neighbours of the Sauvīras."

¹²⁰ The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, composed in the latter half of the first century A.D., refers to the Indus Delta country as "the coast district of Scythia," calls the market town by the shore on one of the mouths of the river Barbaricum, and he says that "inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out" (Schoff's ed., p. 37).

¹²¹ *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1914-15, p. 95.

¹²² *Dera Ghazi Khan District Gazetteer*, p. 2; cf. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, vol. I, p. 907: "The lower part (of Dērajāt) bears the name of Sind from its bordering on the Indus, and the upper part that of Daman or skirt from its bordering on the Sulaiman mountains."

¹²³ *De Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 13.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA
(c. A.D. 700 - 1200)

By Lallanji Gopal

THE TEXTILE industry continued to be one of the important industries of the country in the early medieval period and textiles continued to form a major part of India's exports.¹ We learn a number of fibres being utilised, of many regions as established centres of the industry, and of the high technical skill achieved.

The textiles of the period have been classified into four according as their fibres were derived from tree-bark, fruit, insects or hair.² The *Yuktikalpataru*³ obviously follows this division when it describes cloth under four heads *kaṣeya* (silk, from insect), *kūrpāsa* (cotton, from fruit), *vūrkaṣa* (from tree-bark) and *lomajā* (from wool).

In this text the worms producing silk-cocoons are classified into four types named after the four castes and the threads resulting from them are respectively described as fine, thick, soft and coarse. It omits a description of the kṣatriya type. The brāhmaṇa variety of worms are small in size and are to be found in the *kaccha* (coastal districts) and forests near the south-eastern sea; the threads produced by them are exceptionally white. The vaiśya worms, found in the *kaccha*, forest of marshy-land (*anūpa*) near the western sea, produced yellowish white threads. The śūdra worms produce heavy threads of many types and are to be found in the *kaccha* and forest near all the seas and also in land districts. The text advises that in making cloth the threads of one type alone are to be used; mixture of threads renders the cloths inauspicious. It adds that according to the craftsmen there are many colours and shapes of silk cloth.⁴

Kauśeya being the term for Indian silk naturally finds frequent reference in the works of the period, indicating thereby its common use.⁵ It would, therefore, appear quite natural that the term was sometimes used as the general name for silk.⁶ But as Medhātithi⁷ clearly says it was a particular type of silk.

¹ Ibn Khordadbeh in G. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Perranset Turks*, p. 31; Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 107; vol. II, pp. 379, 385, 388; Chau Ju-kua, pp. 92, 97, 98.

² *Vaijayanī*, p. 168, 11. 233-35; *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha (Ed. Jayasāṅkara Jōṣī), v. 549.

³ (Ed. Isuara Candra Sastri) pp. 81-83. Cf. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, LXIX, 2 for four classes *kūrpāsa*, *hambala*, *balka* and *koṣaja*.

⁴ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 61-63.

⁵ Cf. *Dānasāgara* which everywhere mentions *kaṣeya vastra*, e.g., pp. 112, 113 etc.

⁶ Cf. *Yuktikalpataru*, pp. 81-83.

⁷ On Manu, V, 119-*Kauśeyah paṭṭaviśeṣah*.

In the *Kṛtyakalpataru*⁸ we have a reference to *trasara* and other varieties of silk. It would appear that like the *ṭasar*, *muga* and *eri* of modern Eastern India many varieties of silk were being made in this period.

Patrorṇa was the name for an improved type of silk.⁹ The dictionaries of the period, following the *Amarakośa*, explain it as bleached silk (*dhautā-sauśeya*)¹⁰. Kṣīrasvāmin¹¹ adds the information that this silk is produced by worms eating the leaves of *baḍa* and *lakuca* trees. It has been suggested that the term *paṭṭa* was derived from *patrorṇa*.¹² *Paṭṭa* was sometimes used to signify silk in general¹³ but it is clear from other references that it was a special type of silk.¹⁴

Bhaṭṭotpala¹⁵ states that a *kauśeya-paṭṭa* is commonly known as *netra-paṭṭa*. It is not clear whether he uses *kauśeya* in the sense of silk in general or identifies *netra* with the *kauśeya* variety of silk. It is, however, clear from his own testimony that *netra* was in any case a type of silk fabric.¹⁶

We have demonstrated elsewhere¹⁷ that the term *amśuka*, though mostly used as a general term for a cloth, especially a fine one, later came to signify in some cases a variety of silk cloth also.

The *Yuktikalpataru*¹⁸ speaks of many varieties of cotton cloths according to their appearance, thinness and the like (*rūpa-saukṣmyādi*) but without giving any details says that all these can be used by every body.

It speaks of three kinds of cloth from the bark of trees, according as the trees grow in forests, marshy lands (*anūpa*) or ordinary lands. It does not give many specific details, dividing the category into four on the basis of their trees and the characteristics of their bark. It, however, admits that there are many shapes of cloths of this group. In the *Kalpadrukośa*¹⁹ of Keśava the cloths made of the bark of *kṣumū*, *bhangū*, *śaṇa* etc. are called *vūlkam*. We have shown elsewhere²⁰ that *kṣauma*, which so often occurs in the works of this period, was also made out of the bark of *kṣumū* or linseed plant. Bhaṭṭotpala²¹ also explains

⁸ *Vyavahāra kāṇḍa*, p. 288.

⁹ Cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Dāna kāṇḍa*, p. 154.

¹⁰ *JESHO*, vol. IV, p. 63, f.n. 5. Also *Vaijayantī*, p. 168, 1.236; Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XVI, 29.

¹¹ on *Amara kośa*, II, 6, 113.

¹² *JBORS*, vol. III, p. 216.

¹³ Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, LXXXV, 76; Medhātithi on Manu, V, 119.

¹⁴ Cf. *Paṭṭāmsūka* in *Upamati bhavaprapaṅcākhāṇḍa*, p. 154.

¹⁵ on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XVI, 29—*Kauśeyapaṭṭo loke netrapaṭṭa iti prasiddhah*.

¹⁶ on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, LXXXV, 76—*Paṭṭah praśiddho netrādīkah*.

¹⁷ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 66f.

¹⁸ pp. 81-83.

¹⁹ p. 50, v. 272.

²⁰ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 56-58.

²¹ on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XLVII, 50—*Kṣaumam kṣumūkṣtam*

kṣauma as made of *kṣumū*. The conjectures about the *kṣauma* cloth in the commentaries on the *Acūrāṅga-sūtra*²² and the *Niśīthacūrni*²³ suggest that the production of the fabric had ceased to be popular. In any case there was a definite decline in the standards of its production, as appears from the fact that *khauma*, *khemī*, *khu n* or *khami*, which all are connected with *kṣauma*, are referred to in early Bengali literature as generally used by the poorer section of the community.²⁴

We have referred above to the *Kalpādrukośa* mentioning cloths of *bhaṅgū* and *śaṇa* also. Though *bhaṅgū* fabrics rarely occur in our references, we have some for *śaṇa*.²⁵ The *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*^{26a} clearly refers to *sārīs* being woven from the *śaṇa* yarn. Medhātithi seems to indicate a correct knowledge of these fibres and of their production from bark when he says that the term *kṣauma* was used by Manu²⁶ to imply *śūṇa* and other types of such cloth also.

It appears that *dukūla*, which may originally have been produced from the bark of some shrub like dogal or *dūggāl*, had now come to refer to a white fabric of fine quality.²⁷ This ignorance of the origin explains the varying derivations given by commentators like Kṣīrasvāmin and Sarvānanda.²⁸ The dictionaries of the period, following the *Amarakośa*, identify *dukūla* with *kṣauma* implying thus that *dukūla* was also a variety of linen cloth.²⁹ Kṣīrasvāmin clearly explains *dukūla* as woven of *atasī* thread. The testimony of Sarvānanda is more explicit. He repeats the explanation of Kṣīrasvāmin and then gives *malla* (from which *mal-mal*) or muslin is derived as the vernacular name for the stuff.³⁰

The *Yuktikalpataru*³¹ describes *lomaja* cloth as made out of the hair of animals. It divides these animals into four types according to the names of the four castes but enumerates the features of only three. The brāhmaṇa type has hair thin and pleasing to the touch, the *kṣatriya* has hair thick but soft, while the *śūdra* has thin hair, rough to touch and causing annoyance. The brāhmaṇa type is found on the three mountains Malaya, Meru and Himālaya, the *kṣatriya* in western countries, the *vaiśya* in the east and the *śūdra* everywhere. Here also the text repeats its advice of not mixing the different types of hair. Fabrics made of wool proper

²² II, 5, 1, 4.

²³ *Bhāṣya*, VII, p. 467.

²⁴ T. C. Dasgupta, *Aspects of Bengali Society*, p. 282.

²⁵ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 53-55. For *śaṇavastram* in the *Kūlikā Purāṇa* see B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 127.

^{26a} p. 43, 1.22.

²⁶ V. 119; *Kṣaumagrahaṇam śāṇadīnāmaṇi pradarśanārtham*.

²⁷ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 58-60; *Vaijyanī*, p. 251, 1.35.

²⁸ *JBORS*, vol. III, p. 192, f.n. 4.

²⁹ *JESHO*, vol. IV, pp. 58f.

³⁰ *JBORS*, vol. III, p. 192, f.n. 4.

³¹ pp. 81-83.

find mention as *ūvika* or *aurṇika*.³² It would appear from Medhātithi³³ that whereas garments made of the hair of the *ranku* deer were regarded as of fine quality, those of the hair of goats were viewed as coarse. Bhaṭṭotpala³⁴ explains *kuṭuṭpa* as a cloth made out of the hair of a goat (*chāga*). Medhātithi³⁵ adds that it is of the shape of a blanket and is known among the northerners as *kambala*. The *Kṛtyakalpataru*³⁶ more specifically says that it is the name of the blanket (*kambala*) made in Nepāla. The *Mānasollāsa*³⁷ recommends sheets made of the hair of camels to be used on horses.

One of the reasons for India's supremacy in the textile markets of the ancient world seems to have been the fact that she early developed and mastered the technique of preparing fast dyes from natural sources.³⁸ Even in the times of Pāṇini^{38a} and the *Nikāya*³⁹ texts this appears to have been a developed art.

On the analogy of the eight dyes (*rāga*) in use the *Samayamūṛkū*⁴⁰ describes the features of eight forms of love (*rāga*). The dye of safflower (*kuṣumbha*) is permanent if protected, and is destroyed soon if not cared for. Vermillion (*śindūra*) is dry by nature and sticks if used with oil. Saffron (*kuṅkuma*) is pleasant if used in a small quantity but is unpleasant if used thick. Lac (*lākṣū*) can stick only when heated; when cool it does not stick. Madder (*mañjiṣṭhū*) is lasting and can survive long use if it is first heated and then cooled down. The reddish brown dye called *kāṣāya*^{40a} lasts when it is dry, but is destroyed when mixed with oil. The dye made of turmeric (*haridrū*) vanishes very soon even though protected. Indigo (*nīla*) lasts even after the material is destroyed and remains unaffected even if removed.

Of these eight dyes because of their characteristics *nīla* denoted a firm and constant attachment and *haridrū* an unsteady attachment.⁴¹ Medhātithi⁴² also says that it is impossible for the colour of saffron (*kuṅkuma*) to be put upon a cloth already dyed in indigo (*nīla*). For colouring cloth the most popular dye appears to have been safflower

³² Cf. Medhātithi on Manu, V, 119, Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XVI, 29.

³³ on Manu, II, 98.

³⁴ on *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XL, 2.

³⁵ on Manu, III, 224.

³⁶ *Dāna hāṇḍa*, p. 160.

³⁷ II, p. 221, v. 786.

³⁸ P. Ray (Ed.), *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 103.

^{38a} IV, 1, 42.

³⁹ *Samyutta*, part III, p. 152; *Majjhima*, VII, 10, 1.

⁴⁰ V, 4-5, 19-22.

^{40a} No evidence as to source.

⁴¹ *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, vv. 374-75; *Vaijayanṭi*, p. 203, 11, 51-52. Cf. *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (Ed. Jinavijaya Muni), p. 84, 11.16-17; *Kuṭṭanīmata*, v. 696.

⁴² on Manu, VII, 152.

(*kusumbha*).⁴³ In the *Deśināmamālā*⁴⁴ we find many terms for a cloth dyed with saffron. We do not know if they stand for different styles or designs or are just different terms for the same thing.

The texts of this period give us an idea of the preparation of dyes. Thus, Hemachandra⁴⁵ speaks of the *manjiṣṭhā* plant, which is excessively red, being uprooted from the field, boiled over fire and crushed by hammer. In the *Bṛhatsamhitā* there is a reference to the preparation of fast dyes for fabrics by treating natural dyes like *manjiṣṭhā* with chemicals like alum and sulphate of iron, as also with cow-dung.⁴⁶ The *Rasapṛakūśasudhākara* and the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*⁴⁷ mention alum (*tuvarī*), a fragrant earth produced in the mountains of Surāṣṭra. One variety of it, slightly yellow, is called *phullikā*. Another variety, known as *phulla tuvarī*, is white and acid in taste. According to the *Rasapṛakūśasudhākara* alum when applied to white clothes serves as a mordant for dyes. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* specifically mentions its quality of fixing the colour of madder.

It is needless to emphasise that coloured garments were much in vogue. Our records are literally full of references to different colours of garments. The common use of dye is clearly implied by Medhātithi⁴⁸ when he observes that when clothes are stolen there is always the chance of their former colour being altered. The *Sandēśarūsaka*^{49a} refers to cloth which loses its colour being dyed afresh.

The *Mānasollāsa*⁴⁹ gives detailed advice on the colour of the garment to be used according to the different seasons. Elsewhere in the *Mānasollāsa*⁵⁰ we read of garments of many colours with decorations on the borders and the hems. The designs enumerated here are discs, circles, rectangles, moons, stripes and bands, both narrow and broad. The text says that the dye should be such as to improve in fastness when washed. The colour designs are said to have been made with a machine or implement (*rañjilāni ca yantrakaiḥ*). The text implies that patterns were woven into the fabric at the time of its manufacture but this reference seems to indicate block-printing such as was common in later centuries. The expression *tantubandhasuraktāni* refers to the practice so popular in India of making colourful designs by tying up parts of the cloth and dipping it in dye.

We have many other references which speak of garments of different

⁴³ *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Dāna kāṇḍa*, p. 233, *Gārhaṣṭhya kāṇḍa*, p. 211.

⁴⁴ I, 165-*oratto*; II, 65-*koso*; II, 111-*ghatto*; VI, 63-*ṣomaram*; VI, 145-*mallayam*; VII, 3-*raggayam*; VII, 68-*Virahālam*; VII, 91-*viraho*; VIII, 37-*sulasam*.

⁴⁵ *Deśināmamālā*, IV, 438, 2.

⁴⁶ P. Ray, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 358, 379.

⁴⁸ on Mannu, VIII, 56.

^{49a} v. 101.

⁴⁹ II, p. 90, vv. 1034-39.

⁵⁰ II, p. 89, vv. 1022-33.

colours and designs but it is difficult to determine the method used in each case. The *Deśinūmamālī*⁵¹ has the term *aṅarūho* for a coloured cloth on the head. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*⁵² we have reference to a *calanaka* with flower designs. The *Sandēśarūsaka*⁵³ also speaks of women putting on varied garments of white and red flowers in the spring season. Flower wrappers have been mentioned by Medhātithi.⁵⁴ In the *Vaijayantī agnigauca* and *vajrūmśuka* are the terms for cloth with wavy and creeper-like designs (*vakra-vallīpada*), while *rājūvarta* signifies cloth of different colours (*citra-pāṭa*).⁵⁵ In the *Samarūiccakahū*⁵⁶ we read of silk clothes bearing the beauty of a rain-bow (*indūuha-indrūyudha*). This particular type of colourful designs finds many references in the *Kūdambarī*.⁵⁷ In an early medieval painting from Nepal Śiva is depicted as wearing a silken cloth with *hamsa* decorations.⁵⁸

We have very interesting references to embroidery. Thus, the *Kṛtya-kalpātaru*⁵⁹ explains the term *kūrmika* as meaning the pleasing figures of *svastikas* and other things made on a piece of cloth with needle and thread. In the *Karṣūra-mañjarī*⁶⁰ it is said that embroidery work (*trasara viracanū*) does not look nice on the wrong side of a piece of cloth.

The art of gold embroidery is also of high antiquity being mentioned in early Jain texts.⁶¹ *Bāṇa* refers to garments embroidered with golden threads.⁶² For golden threads or strings we have the words *damḍī* and *dasero* in the *Deśinūmamālī*.⁶³ We have a definite reference to garments worked with gold in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.⁶⁴ The boorish plunderers of Harṣa's palace are said to have burnt, in their eagerness to get gold, clothes painted with gold and then anxiously to have searched the ashes.

In the works of the period we get references to the processes and implements connected with weaving. *Piñjana* is the bow or bow-shaped instrument for cleaning cotton.⁶⁵ The *Uktivyaktri-prakarāṇa* refers to the processes of ginning⁶⁶ and carding.⁶⁷ The spindle is called *tarku* and

⁵¹ I, 24.

⁵² p. 186.

⁵³ v. 202.

⁵⁴ on Manu, VIII, 321.

⁵⁵ p. 168, 11-237-8.

⁵⁶ I, p. 11, 11.8f.

⁵⁷ (Vaidya), Nos. 182, 80.

⁵⁸ *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 73, p. 55.

⁵⁹ *Vyavahāra khaṇḍa*, p. 525.

⁶⁰ p. 27.

⁶¹ Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhāratiya Veśa-bhūṣā*, p. 151.

⁶² V. S. Agrawala, *Kūdambarī*, p. 79.

⁶³ V, 33.

⁶⁴ VII, 1575.

⁶⁵ *Vaijayantī*, p. 136, 1.19.

⁶⁶ p. 45, 1.9.

⁶⁷ p. 39, 1.9.

the shuttle, *prasara*.⁶⁸ *Pūñī* is the term for a roll of cotton from which thread is drawn out in spinning.⁶⁹ A spindle with thread wound round it is called *poñiñ*.⁷⁰ The loom is called *venū* or *vānadonḍaka*,⁷¹ while the weaver's comb is known as *klapaṇa* or *karṭana*.⁷² The *Deśināmamālā* mentions *tantukkhhoḍī*⁷³ *thūri*^{73a} and *pūri*⁷⁴ as the implements used in weaving. *Makkōdo* means a heap for stringing together by a machine.⁷⁵ The *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*⁷⁶ refers to the process of warping. The *Vaijayantī*⁷⁷ gives distinct words for the process of making three-fold thread and also for twisting the thread. *Medhātithi*⁷⁸ appears to refer to these processes when he says that a weaver weaves a cloth by doubling up the threads and turning them up and so forth. Elsewhere *Medhātithi*⁷⁹ speaks of a weaver using paste made of flour for separating the yarns on the pillar. The *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*⁸⁰ refers to the starching and calendering of a piece of cloth fresh from the loom. That these detailed technical terms should appear in such texts is in keeping with the importance of the textile industry in those times.

The high technical skill of the weaver is reflected in the extremely fine fabric which he could make. *Sulaimān* mentions the cotton stuff of *Ruhmi* which was so delicate that a dress made of it could be passed through a signet ring.⁸¹ *Marco Polo*^{81a} speaks of the delicate buckrams which "look like the tissue of spider's web." This type of cloth is appropriately represented by fluttering wavy lines on the sculptural figures of *Pāla* and *Sena* periods.⁸² The *Sīsupūlavadhā*⁸³ refers to the indecent exposure of their persons by ladies wearing transparent garments. In the *Kathūkōṣa*⁸⁴ also we find a reference to a lady clothed in transparent

⁶⁸ *Vaijayantī*, p. 136, l. 17.

⁶⁹ *Deśināmamālā*, VI, 56.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, VI, 61.

⁷¹ *Vaijayantī*, p. 136, l. 16.

⁷² *Ibid.*, l. 20.

⁷³ V, 7.

^{73a} V, 28.

⁷⁴ VI, 56.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, VI, 142.

⁷⁶ p. 40, l. 16.

⁷⁷ p. 136, ll. 20-21.

⁷⁸ on *Manu*, VIII, 333—*Yathā tadēva sūtram tantuvāyahaṣṭe vāyanārtham datīam kimcid yiguṇīkriyate kimcitaparivartyate . . . ityūdisamsakārah.*

⁷⁹ on *Manu*, V, 127—*Tantūnām stambhaviś leṣanārtham yatpīṣṭamaṇḍādi dīyate, tadbhājanam ca yatra tatra bhūmau nūdiyate.*

⁸⁰ p. 43, l. 14.

⁸¹ *Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. I, p. 5.

^{81a} *Cordier, Yule's Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 391.

⁸² e.g., the figures of *Viṣṇu*, *Sūrya*, *Śiva* and *Gaṅgā*—*Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 73, pp. 55-56.

⁸³ III, 56—*Channesavpi spaṣṭataveṣu yatra svacchāni nūrikucamaṇḍāleṣu Akūṣa-sāmyam dadhuvambarāṇi na nūmath kevalamarthato'pi.*

⁸⁴ (Tr. C. H. Tawney), p. 153.

garments. The history of such fine garments goes back to an early date.⁸⁵ In the works of Bāṇa we have references to clothes resembling snake-sloughs (nirmoka) soft like the inside of a tender plantain stalk, blown even by the breath and almost invisible, so that their presence can be inferred only by touch.⁸⁶ The *nirmokapatta* has been mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa*⁸⁷ also. The almost fabulous prices of certain garments which we read of in our records were due to their extremely fine make. Thus, in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*⁸⁸ king Paramārdī is said to have presented to Jagaddeva two pieces of cloth of incomparably fine quality priced in lacs.

The development of the textile industry in this period is reflected in the *Mānasollāsa*,⁸⁹ which gives a list of the famous centres of textile manufacture. Leaving aside Mahācīna (China) and Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon) the rest of the names are to be placed in India. Thus, we have Poddālapura (Paithan) Cīrapallī (Cera kingdom or modern Chirakkal), Nāgapattana (Negapatam), Coladeśa, Allikākula (Chicacole), Aṇilāvāḍa (Anahilwad), Mūlasthāna (Multan), Toṇḍideśa (Tondimaṇḍalam), Pañcapaṭṭana (Pañcapattana on the Sutlej), Kalinga (Orissa) and Vaṅga (Bengal). Among the centres of the industry in northern India Bengal has been famous from very early times.⁹⁰ In this period also Bengal maintained its position as one of the chief centres of textile manufacture in India. Thus, Sulaimān, the Arab merchant, from his personal observation speaks of a cotton stuff made in the kingdom of Ruhmi, identified with Bengal, "which is not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet ring"⁹¹ Ibn Khurdadba also mentions cotton cloths produced by Ruhmi.⁹² This is supported by Marco Polo who refers to the lucrative trade plied by Bengal in cotton goods.⁹³ From Chau Ju-kua⁹⁴ we learn that cotton cloths were exported from Malwa. The same authority speaks of Gujarat exporting to Arabian countries large quantities of "cotton stuffs of every colour".⁹⁵ Marco Polo refers to large quantities of buckram being

⁸⁵ V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamil's Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 117; *Phāliya* mentioned *Acārāṅga*, II, 5, 1, 3-8; Pliny XII, 41 (McCrinkle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 125); Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 219.

⁸⁶ *Harṣacarita* (N. S.P., 1918), p. 143; *Kādambarī* (Vaidya), nos. 14, 201.

⁸⁷ XVI, 17.

⁸⁸ p. 114, l. 29.

⁸⁹ II, pp. 88-89, vv. 1017-21.

⁹⁰ *Arthasāstra*, II, 2.

⁹¹ Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, I, 5.

⁹² *ibid.*, 14.

⁹³ II, 115. Cf. Chinese writers Wang-Ta-Yyan, Fei Hsin and Ma Huan in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for six varieties of fine cotton stuffs manufactured in Bengal, *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 531f.

⁹⁴ p. 92.

⁹⁵ p. 93.

produced in the kingdom of Cambay and to various textile goods being distributed from Broach and Cambay over many kingdoms and provinces.⁹⁶ Abu'l Abbas al-Nuwayri (d. 1332 A.D.) informs us that the textile products of Broach and Cambay were known in the Muslim world by the names of these ports.⁹⁷ We have no references to other centres of textile manufacture mentioned in the *Mūnasollāsa*. It has, however, to be noted that Abdur-rahmān, the author of the *Sandēsanāsaka*, was a weaver of Multan, which fact may indicate the importance of Multan as a centre of the textile industry. It would appear that Banaras was also an important centre of textiles, especially of silk. In the *Uktivyakti-prakarāṇa* Dāmodara, who was associated with Banaras, refers to many processes connected with cloth-making and also to weavers weaving silk cloth.⁹⁸ In the *Deśinūmamālā*⁹⁹ *kūśiam* is the term for a fine cloth. The *Vasudevahinḍi*,¹⁰⁰ belonging to an earlier date, also mentions *kasavadhana* as a type of cloth. We may connect these terms with *Kūśī* which produced as early as the time of the *Jūtakas* a variety known as *kūśika*.¹⁰¹ From the list of presents carried by Haṃsavega to Harṣa it becomes clear that Assam was an important centre of textile manufacture.¹⁰² This would receive support from the fact that the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka¹⁰³ grant from Assam mentions many domiciles of weavers.

⁹⁶ II, 398.

⁹⁷ G. Ferrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 41.

⁹⁸ Introduction, p. 84; p. 39, ll. 8f.

⁹⁹ II, 59.

¹⁰⁰ p. 218.

¹⁰¹ (Ed. V. Fausboll), VI, 151, 450. See also IV, 352; I, 355.

¹⁰² Tr. pp. 212f.

¹⁰³ ll. 49, 54-5.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By Dr. K. V. Apte

EVEN A SUPERFICIAL reading of the Bhagavadgītā (=BG) shows some contradictions in the BG ; a close study reveals still more contradictions. And it is rather surprising that a small compass of seven hundred verses of BG should have so many discrepancies. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the verses containing contrary statements are found not only in some one part of the BG, but are found from the first to the last chapter. It is therefore worthwhile to look into these contradictions and to see whether they are apparent ones or genuine ones or satisfactorily removable ones. An attempt therefore is made in this article to consider the question of all the contradictions in the BG.

This task becomes easy when we look into the causes responsible for such incongruous elements ; and that information helps in the direction of resolving these discrepancies. The following seem to be the reasons that brought in such contradictions : 1) When BG describes Aśvattha or Brahman, on the pattern of the Upaniṣads, there have been contradictions. 2) Some contradictions are due to the peculiar sense in which BG uses certain terms. For instance, Akarma (inaction), naiṣkarmya (actionlessness), sannyāsa (renunciation of actions), etc. 3) Some discrepancies owe their origin to the various meanings in which a word is understood. For instance Ātman. 4) Some other discrepancies follow the peculiar ideas involved in them e.g. Sthitaprajna is awake when others are sleeping ; and so on. 5) Some other contradictions arise because the BG holds various views about the reality,¹ ways² to salvation, and salvation.³ 6) Contradictions in one and the same stanza seem to be deliberately indulged in perhaps to draw pointed attention to the matter under discussion. 7) The BG obtained its present form after incorporating many interpolations⁴ or later additions. These later passages have also become the source of some contradictions.

The considerations of these causes supplies to some extent the means with which these contradictions can be removed or explained : 1) The contradictions involved in the descriptions of Aśvattha and Brahman are to be removed in the same way in which we remove the Upaniṣadic ones. 2) BG's peculiar ideas or principles regarding some matter like inaction enable us to remove the discrepancies. 3) If the words are taken in different senses, many contradictions get cancelled. Sometimes we

¹ See : BG : Reality, Jivanavikas, December 1964.

² The ways of salvation are discussed in a separate article.

³ See : BG : Nature of salvation, Navabharata, April 1960.

⁴ The problem of interpolations in the BG is discussed in a separate article.

have to take into account the metaphorical meanings. 4) Other discrepancies are removed when the ideas underlying them are understood. 5) Some are removable when we take into account the views held by the BG regarding reality and so on ; while others can be removed when the statements in other parts of the BG are taken into account. 6) The contradictions deliberately indulged in are also removable with the help of 2) to 5) mentioned above. 7) But in removing some contradictions we have to bring in and employ certain considerations which are extraneous to the BG.

Now, in the following paragraphs are given these contradictions in the order in which they occur in the BG, though occasionally statements connected with one topic are placed together. Then it is shown whether and how the contradictions can be removed.

1) *Arjuna's addresses to Kṛṣṇa* :—

Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa with words⁵ like Janārdana (I. 36, 39, 44), Mādhava (I. 37), and Madhusūdana (I. 35 ; II. 4), which go to show that Arjuna even then looked upon Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But it seems that in chapter III and⁶ IV only he was vaguely aware of that fact ; and in chapter X, he fully recognised Kṛṣṇa to be the highest god (See : X. 12-14).

There are two ways of removing this confusion : *i*) For the sake of metre these words might have been used. *ii*) It is clear that the BG contains many interpolations. And one can say that the interpolator forgot that initially Arjuna did not recognise Kṛṣṇa as the highest god. Hence the discrepancy crept in.

2) *Nitya-sattvastha* :—

After saying that the Vedas deal with traiguṇya (traiguṇya-viṣaya), Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to be free from the three guṇas (nistraiguṇya) (II. 45), namely, sattva, rajas, and tamas. Further, XIV. 20 says that a religious aspirant who goes beyond the three guṇas obtains immortality (amṛta). But in XVIII. 40, no being is said to be free from these guṇas. Yet Arjuna is asked to be nitya-sattvastha in II.45. Briefly, no being can be free from the three guṇas ; but Arjuna is asked to be nistraiguṇya and also to be nitya-sattvastha.

It is true that according to BG none can be free from the three guṇas. Yet he can be free from *their influence* and become guṇātita. Otherwise ethical endeavour directed to salvation becomes meaningless.— Further, the sattva⁷ in the phrase nitya-sattvastha, it is quite clear,

⁵ Other words are : Keśava (I. 31), Govinda (I. 32).

⁶ In chapter III, Kṛṣṇa explains why he i.e. god performs actions ; and in chapter IV he explains the theory of incarnation.

⁷ Some commentators have taken sattva in the sense of courage, etc. In that

cannot stand for the *sattva-guṇa* out of the three *guṇas*. It stands for that peculiar *guṇa* which in later philosophical literature came to be called *śuddha* (pure) *sattva* which is not in the list of the three *guṇas*.

3) *Sthitaprajna* :—

In the description of the *Sthitaprajna* or the self-controlled man, it is said that he keeps awake when it is night for all other beings, and that he is asleep when others are wide awake (II. 69).

This is an apparent contradiction requiring the consideration of two different view-points. The self-controlled man is 'awake' in case of the reality with regard to which others are fast asleep ; he knows the reality of which others are ignorant ; he is aware of the reality of which ordinary persons are unaware.—Now, in Sanskrit literature the day i.e., light and night i.e., darkness stand respectively for knowledge and ignorance. And with this metaphorical meaning and attitudes of the self-controlled and common people, the so-called contradiction is removed.

4) *Karma, Karmayoga, etc.* :—

a) Action for sacrifice :—In III. 9 action for the sake of sacrifice is said to be non-binding. XVII. 11 speaks of *sāttvika* sacrifice ; and *Brahmavādina* are said to start their action for sacrifice, after uttering *Om* (XVII. 24). III. 13 says that those who enjoy the remnants of sacrifice become free from sin (and also religious merit). The actions of a man who performs them for the sake of sacrifice are destroyed (IV. 23). IV. 30 adds that the knowers of sacrifice destroy their actions with sacrifice. The knowledge that the sacrifices spring from actions leads to release (IV. 32). Further, the persons who taste the nectar in the form of the remnants of sacrifice go to eternal Brahman (IV. 31). Again, the persons desirous of salvation perform actions for sacrifice, without desire for the fruit of action (XVII. 25). As opposed to such importance of sacrifice we find : The *Traividya* people perform sacrifice and desire for heaven (IX. 20), and IX. 21 adds that these people are subject to the cycle of birth and rebirth or transmigration.—Thus the problem is :—Is the action for sacrifice binding or not ?

The discrepancy involved in the above statements is thus removable: according to BG, sacrifice, etc. are never to be discarded ; they are to be performed (XVIII. 5) ; but the most important thing, BG points out, is that they are to be performed, after casting off attachment and the fruit of actions (XVIII. 6), which latter makes the actions, even for sacrifice, non-binding. But if actions for sacrifice, as in case of *Traividya* people, are performed with desire for the fruit of actions, say heaven, they are binding ; they lead to transmigration. Thus actions performed for the

sense then there will not be any contradiction. But I think that the context does not support such a meaning.

sake of sacrifice, but without attachment and expectancy of the fruit, are not binding. b) Actionlessness and action :—BG III. 4 says that the state of actionlessness (naiṣkarmya) cannot be obtained, unless actions are begun and undertaken.—The question here is :—How can action lead to actionlessness ?

BG's idea of what is meant by action and inaction or actionlessness removes this contradiction. Normally, actionlessness is required, because actions are said to be binding ; but if actions are performed in such a way that they are not binding, that should suffice ; for, in principle, then performance of action is the same as non-performance of actions, i.e., action is the same as inaction. A person undertaking actions without attachment and desire for the fruit of actions becomes free from the bondage of actions, and is thus in principle actionless, and obtains the highest (goal) (III. 19). That is why BG in VI. 1 has said that the Karmayogin who, not depending upon the fruit of action, performs his duty is the Sannyāsīn (renouncer of actions), and not an actionless man or a man who has left the house.

Now, actionlessness is to be attained by performing actions, because actions are inevitable. Nobody can stand actionless for a single moment (III. 5) ; it is not possible for the embodied beings to renounce actions completely (XVIII. 11) ; for, in the absence of actions, even the body cannot be maintained (III. 8), and course of life cannot be continued. The guṇas of prakṛti make a man helplessly perform actions (III. 5) ; the prakṛti drives man to action (XVIII. 59) ; beings have to obey their prakṛti which cannot be restrained (III. 33). In other words, action is compulsory for embodied beings. Now then if action cannot be avoided, and yet actionlessness is to be obtained, the only way is to get it through the performance of actions. And actionlessness can be obtained through actions, if actions are performed without attachment and desire for the fruit of actions. (c) Perfection and action :—In III. 17-18 BG says :—In case of the man who is satisfied in himself and so on, there is no duty (kārya) for him, because he has nothing to get from other beings ; it is of no use to him whether he performs his actions or not. But immediately in III. 19, BG prescribes that the kārya karma is to be done.

BG's attitude towards 'duty' easily removes the difficulty. Even if a person has obtained perfection and though there is no 'ought' for him, still he is not to cast away actions or duties. The reason is that the highest god who has no 'ought', no duty, performs actions (III. 22). Further, great personalities have to perform actions as an example or lesson to the masses, in other words, for the guidance of people (laka-saṅgraha) (III. 20, 25). So the perfect person too should go on performing his duties. Moreover, there is another point : as seen already, actions cannot be wholly abandoned by embodied beings. Hence so long as a perfect person is alive he will have to do his duties or actions.

5) *Freedom of will and action* :—

BG III. 33 points out that even a wise man has to act in accordance with his own nature (prakṛti); all the beings are subject to their own prakṛti. Further, XVIII. 60 warns Arjuna that he will helplessly have to do that which he does not desire to do, due to delusion. But in XVIII. 63 Arjuna is allowed freedom of will to act as he wishes.

This contradiction can be removed in the following two ways :—

a) Though Arjuna is apparently allowed to act in accordance with his free will, it is presupposed that he will be automatically subject to his prakṛti and obey it and act accordingly, and to that extent only he has freedom of will and action. This explanation fits in with the case of Arjuna individually. b) But in case of people in general, the following will have to be mentioned :—According to BG to act in accordance with one's own⁸ nature is itself the freedom of action arising from freedom of will. Not to go against one's own nature means to exercise the freedom of will. To act in consonance with one's own nature constitutes the freedom of will and action.

6) *Karmayoga : eternal and perishable* :—

In IV. 1, BG says that the Karmayoga is eternal; but immediately in IV. 2, BG adds that this Karmayoga has perished (naṣṭa).

— This contradiction is easily removable. Here the word 'naṣṭa' is to be understood in a metaphorical sense. By the 'destruction' of Karmayoga we are not to understand that it was completely wiped⁹ off from face of the earth. The term destruction simply means falling into oblivion or disuse, or going out of vogue or currency. To that extent only Karmayoga perished. And that is why it could be revived by Kṛṣṇa.

7) *God though unborn is born* :—

In IV. 6 BG says that the highest god though unborn is born, after presiding over his own prakṛti, with the help of his own Māyā. Now, if god is unborn, how is he born?

It is easy to say, as Śāṅkarācārya has said, that such birth of god is illusory. But it is doubtful whether BG would accept such a view. So the following consideration will be sufficient to show that there is no contradiction :—In case of ordinary beings, their birth is due to action;

⁸ All beings are classified by BG as sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa; and they behave in accordance with their own nature. Now the three guṇas vie with one another for supremacy; and whosoever wins the battle becomes predominant and determines the nature. In other words, there is possibility of change in nature. Hence freedom of will and action is not extremely restricted.

⁹ Complete destruction of an existent does not seem to be possible, according to BG, because the latter says that whatever exists is not absolutely destroyed (see : II. 16).

their birth is subject to the law of action. In other words, beings have no control over their birth. But such is not the case with the god's birth. His birth is voluntary in the sense that he wants to take birth ; further, he takes his birth, with the help of his own power, after presiding over his own prakṛti. His birth is subject to no action. Actions do not control his birth. This, in other words, means that such a birth of god is as good as non-birth, as no actions are binding upon god (IV. 14), because god is really the non-agent (IV. 13), and actions do not control his birth.

8. *God and people* :—

To god none is either worthy of hate or dear (IX. 29). Yet we are told that a jñānin devotee is dear to god (VIII. 17) ; that the devotees are dear to god (XII. 14-17, 19-20) ; that god lifts his devotees from ocean-like empirical life (XII. 7). God protects the good and destroys the wicked (IV. 8). God continuously throws the demonic-natured people in demonic births (XVI. 19). So how is it that god loves some persons and punishes others ?

The solution of the contradiction lies in IV. 11 which tells us that god behaves towards the people in the same way in which they approach him. Devotees approach god for their uplift from empirical life ; so god lifts them therefrom. In the same spirit, god protects the good and destroys the wicked. Again, to a jñānin devotee (VII. 17) and to devotees in general god is dear ; they are therefore dear to god. This consideration explains some other statements in the BG, namely Arjuna is¹⁰ dear to god (XVIII. 64-65) ; god shows favour (prasāda) to the Brahmabhūta (XVIII. 56), shows sympathy (anukampā) to his devotees (X. 11), shows favour (prasāda) to those who surrender to him (XVIII. 62) and has favour for Arjuna (XVIII. 58). The demonic-natured people hate god (XVI. 18) ; they are therefore as good as god's enemies (XVI. 19). So god treats them as his foes and¹¹ punishes them accordingly (XVI. 19).

9. *God and pāpa-yoni people* :—

In IV. 13, god is said to have produced the group of four castes ; but in X. 32, god speaks of people who are pāpa-yoni (i.e. those whose source is sinful).

The question here is : who are these pāpa-yonis ? Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas cannot be so, as it appears from IX. 33. So they can be either

¹⁰ Even the person revealing the secret of devotion amongst the devotees is dearest to god (XV. 69).

¹¹ One feels here that god's such attitude is extremely strange. Again, it is curious to note that kṣamā (forgiveness) is a part of Daivī Sampad (XVI. 3) which leads to salvation (XVI. 5) ; the god's devotee is also forgiving (kṣamī) (XII. 13).

Vaiśyas or Śūdras ; or they can be either sṛṣṭyantara-jāta.¹² In any case, god produces everything (X. 8). Now, if god is the source of all, how can he be considered to be sinful source ? If so considered, god would be contaminated by sin. So how to remove the difficulty ?

The way to solve the difficulty is :—Things are good or bad from human point of view. To god, we will have to suppose, nothing is good or bad inherently. Ideas of sin and non-sin are meant for and current in the human world. But the laws working in the human world are not applicable to god. So god can be said to be the source of even pāpa-yoni, without involving the idea that god is sinful. They are pāpa-yoni from human point of view and not from god's view-point. (Here, BG seems to be echoing the social notions about some members of the society who were looked upon as pāpa-yoni).

10) *God and his actions* :—

In IV. 14 BG remarks that though in his incarnation, god performs actions, his actions are not binding upon him.

The rule that the actions are binding is applicable to ordinary beings. God is beyond the range of the law of action. Naturally, god's actions, are not binding on him. Further, in his incarnation, god assumes a human body. But even in that state, he remains outside the law of action. Moreover, in this world, actions are not binding, according to BG, if they are performed without attachment and desire for the fruit of action. And god in his incarnation has no desire for the fruit of action (IV. 14). In addition, god in his human form performs actions to set the example for other people. Due to all these reasons, god's actions are never binding upon him.

11) *Action and inaction* :—

IV. 8 declares that one who sees inaction in action and action in inaction is wise. The discrepancy here is : Action and inaction are diametrically opposite ; how can therefore one be seen in the other ?

The previous discussion under 'Actionlessness and action' is to be recalled here. According to BG complete inaction or renunciation of actions is not possible ; naturally, some action is involved even in the so-called inaction. Further, inaction is desired, because it is non-binding. But action done without attachment and desire for the fruit of action is non-binding. That is, such action, and inaction are the same as far as 'the non-binding' character is concerned. Thus a man knowing that¹³ inaction

¹² In the original creation, there are only four main jātis, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Sṛṣṭyantara-jāta refers to those born of inter-caste marriages.

¹³ This can be explained in another way too : Mere physical inaction is not real inaction, if the mind is working ; that would be only hypocrisy (mityācāra) (III. 6).

involves action and (disinterested) action involves inaction can be declared to be a wise man.

12) *Agent and non-agent* :—

IV. 20 says: A person casting off attachment for the fruit of action, though engaged in action, is really not the agent of the action.

The above-mentioned principle underlying the ideas of action and inaction removes this contradiction. As disinterested action or action without attachment to the fruit of action is the same as inaction, its agent is really non-agent, as that action is non-binding.

a) In the same light is to be understood the XVIII. 17 which states that though a man who is free from egoism and whose intellect (buddhi) is not attached, kills people, he does not kill anybody and is not bound.

Here is given the example of killing. That killing does not offset or entail evil results, as the man is not interested, because he is performing the action of killing even in a disinterested spirit. In this connection we may mention another point : As is clear from XI. 33, in the act of killing a person is a mere instrument in the hand¹⁴ of god ; so the act will not affect the mere instrument.

13) *Action not binding* :—

BG IV. 21 points out that a man doing only bodily actions is not bound by those actions.

This statement is to be understood in the context of IV. 20. Action, if goaded by attachment and fruit of action, is binding, but not otherwise. So the principle underlying action and inaction removes the contradiction. a) IV. 22 also speaks of a man who though he performs action is not bound by his actions.

This contradiction is removable in two ways: 1) The above mentioned principle of action and inaction is applicable here. 2) Secondly, IV. 22 further points out that this man has equanimity of mind for both siddhi and asiddhi. BG defines Karmayoga as equanimity to siddhi and asiddhi (II. 48). And a man practising Karmayoga, according to BG, is not bound by actions (see : II. 51, III. 19, etc.). b) V. 10 also speaks of a man who though he does actions is not besmeared with sin (as well as religious merit).

Here also the same principle is applicable. The man performs actions without attachment to the fruit of actions; he dedicates his actions to Brahman (V. 10). And when actions are dedicated to god (III. 30-31) or to Brahman, they are not binding. Hence his actions are not binding upon him.

¹⁴ It is to be remembered that god's actions are not binding upon him.

14) *Sannyāsa and Karmayoga* :—

In VI. 1 a Karmayogin is identified with a Sannyāsin (renouncer of actions), and in VI. 2 Sannyāsa (renunciation of actions) is identified with Karmayoga (performance of actions).

The idea of sannyāsa is to renounce actions, because they are binding. But if actions are performed and yet if they are non-binding, they are as good as non-performed or renounced. That is, the performance of actions that is non-binding is the same as sannyāsa, renunciation of action. Thus the principle of inaction or naiṣkarmya referred to already resolves the contradiction.

15) *Is the Ātman the enemy of man ?*

VI. 5 speaks of Ātman as the enemy of Ātman ; while III. 37 states that kāma (desire) (transforming itself into anger) is the enemy of man. Thus the problem is : Who is the enemy of man in spiritual matters?

In Sanskrit the word Ātman has got a number¹⁶ of meanings. BG has taken advantage of this fact and has used the word Ātman in different senses at different places. In VI. 5 the Ātman which is said to be the enemy is mind. Mind is one of the abodes¹⁰ of kāma. Mind well-controlled is a 'must' in spiritual matters. But a mind torn and tossed by passions and desires is a veritable enemy. Thus mind overcome by kāma is the enemy of a spiritual aspirant. BG therefore has prescribed that the kāma which is the enemy must be thrown out (III. 43).

16) *Is supra-sensual pleasure buddhi-grūhya ?*

VI. 21 speaks of the highest bliss or pleasure obtained by a yogin to be supra-sensual (atīndriya) ; yet it is said to be experienced or apprehended by the intellect (buddhi). Now, the intellect is one of the internal senses. Then how can the intellect which is an internal sense-organ enjoy what is supra-sensual ?

Just as in the phrase 'nitya-sattvastha' the word sattva meant something else, so also here the word intellect does not stand for that intellect which we ordinarily take to be the internal sense-organ, but it stands for that special organ or faculty, if it can be so-called, which is capable¹⁷ of enjoying the pleasure of Ātman or Brahman. And the same word intellect is used, in the absence of any other suitable term, to convey the idea. Now, when the word intellect is thus understood there remains no contradiction at all.

17) *Yoga and karma-phala-tyāga* :—

In VI 46 Yoga of the type of Pātāñjala yoga is declared to be superior

¹⁶ Ātman :—Soul, supreme soul, body, mind, intellect, spirit, vitality, natural temperament or disposition (Apte, *Sk. English Dict.*, p. 233).

¹⁰ Senses, mind and intellect are the abode of kāma (III. 40).

¹⁷ See Ranade, *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, pp. 340-341.

to penances, knowledge¹⁸ and actions. But in XII. 12 renunciation of the fruit of action¹⁹ (karma-phala-tyāga) is announced to be superior to mediation (dhyāna) which constitutes an important part of Yogic practices.

BG has discussed in all four ways of salvation, namely, Yoga of the type of Pātanjala yoga, Jñānayoga, Bhaktiyoga and Karmayoga. In describing each one of them BG calls it superior to others for the time being and makes others minor ones. BG upholds, in other words, ekayoga-śraiṣṭhya, 'henowayism', if I may be allowed to coin such a word. That is, a particular way of salvation is for the time being highly eulogised. In this light only the superiority of Yoga as well as Karmayoga mentioned by BG is explicable.

18) *God's identification with certain things* :—

a) In VII. 8 Kṛṣṇa or god identifies himself with Praṇava in all the Vedas ; but in X. 22 god is said to be Sāmaveda of all the Vedas.

In VII. 8 as is clear from VII. 8-9 god is speaking of the essence in all the Vedas ; while in X. 22 BG is pointing out which one Veda is the most important of all the Vedas, so that it is considered to be a vibhūti of god. Hence there is no contradiction. b) In X. 22 mind (manas) is identified with god ; but in VI. 35 it is declared that the mind is very unsteady and difficult to control, while in VI. 5 mind (= Ātman) is pronounced to be the enemy of man. Now, is mind to be regarded as identical with god ?

The apparent discord here is removable with two explanations :—
i) As we know from Chap. X, vibhūti is mere excellence, irrespective of the fact that the thing or person possessing it may be good or bad Cf. Mṛtyu — X. 34 ; Dyūta — X. 36 ; Daṇḍa — X. 38). ii) In psychological life of a man, mind is the most important. Being so, it can be taken as the vibhūti, irrespective of its nature. c) In VII. 8 god is said to be manliness (pauruṣa) in human beings ; while in X. 27 god is said to be the king (narādhipa) of the human beings.—In the former the excellence or essence in man taken individually is referred to ; while in the latter is pointed out what man is superior to or excellent among human beings. d) In VII. 11 god is said to be kāma within beings ; but in III. 37 kāma which springs from the rajoguṇa is called the enemy of man.

In this connection, two explanations are possible : i) Kāma (III.37) that is the enemy is the unbridled kāma running amuck ; while in VII. 11, it is that kāma which is not against religion or righteousness (dharma) and hence properly curbed. ii) Or we can say that in these two passages, the word kāma is used to convey two different ideas :—Kāma

¹⁸ Here it is possible to take knowledge and action in the ordinary sense, as is done by some ; but that, I think, does not fit in with the discussion of Yoga.

¹⁹ It is the very essence of Karmayoga.

in III. 37 refers to passion or desire, while in VII. 11 *kāma* refers to one of the ends of human life (*puruṣārtha*) and which does not transgress the boundary of religion. *c*) In IX. 7 god is said to be Ṛk, Sāman, and Yajus ; while in X. 22 god is said to be Sāmaveda of all the Vedas. Here the words Ṛk, Sāman and Yajuḥ cannot be taken to stand for Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda and Yajurveda ; for, then god would not be Sāmaveda only, as mentioned in X. 22. So the Ṛk and Sāman are to be understood to stand for those verses so named, and yajuḥ for the prose-formula. Thus individually god is Ṛk in Ṛgveda, Sāman in Sāmaveda and Yajuḥ in Yajurveda. But of all the Vedas taken together, god is the Sāmaveda only.

19) *A yogin is in god :—*

According to VI. 31, an accomplished Yogin, though he may be anywhere, exists in god.

Really speaking there is nothing in this universe which is without the presence of god (X. 39) ; god is immanent in the world (X. 42). The yogin has realised god ; he sees god everywhere (VI. 30). Wherever he may be, he would be always aware of god and god's presence everywhere ; he has vision of god at all places (VI. 29). Thus a yogin is in god in the sense that he has awareness of god everywhere. From another point of view, it can be said that all beings including an accomplished yogin are in god : God creates all beings and pervades them (IX. 4). At the time of destruction all beings go back to god's nature (IX. 7). In other words, all beings are to be located in god (IX. 4 and 6) at all times and places. Thus a yogin is to be located in god.

20) *Who is the creator ?*

VII. 2 declares that all the *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tūmasa*²⁰ beings spring from god ; and IX. 7 adds that god produces all beings ; controlling his *prakṛti* god produces all beings (IX. 8) ; being presided over by god, *prakṛti* produces moving and non-moving things (IX. 10). In VII. 6, all beings are said to originate from lower (*aparā*) and higher (*parā*) natures (*prakṛti*) of god ; while XIII. 26 tells that all beings, mobile and immobile, are due to contact between *kṣetra* and *kṣetrajna*. Further, XIV. 4 mentions mahad Brahman as the mother and god as the father of all corporeal things. Moreover, Brahman is also said to be the creator of all beings (XIII. 16). So the questions is : who is the creator ?

A) According to BG, the highest god has higher and lower *prakṛtis*. The higher one is conscious principle (*jīvabhūta*) (VII. 5) ; this soul or *jīva* is a part (*aṃśa*) of god (XV. 7). The lower *prakṛti* is non-conscious and creates three *guṇas*. This further suggests that the mahad Brahman

²⁰ This classification depends upon the predominance of the particular *guṇa* concerned. And the three *guṇas* are said to be born of *prakṛti* (XIV. 5).

is nothing but the lower prakṛti of god. Now, BG tells that god controls the non-conscious prakṛti and produces all beings (IX. 8) ; being presided over by the lord prakṛti produces moving and non-moving things (IX. 10). Further, one notes that the kṣetra²¹ stands for lower prakṛti of god, while kṣetrajna is god himself. Yet from ultimate point of view, god alone is the creator of everything ; is the source of everything ; all things originate from him (X. 8). Naturally, everything including sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa thing springs from god alone. *b*) Besides god as the highest reality, BG also admits Brahman²² as the highest reality. BG separately admits two realities, god and Brahman, personal god and nirguṇa Brahman (XIII. 14). And as reality Brahman is the creator of everything.

21) *God's presence and non-presence in things :—*

VII. 12 informs us that god is not in the sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa things ; IX. 4-5 add that god is not in the beings. As opposed to such statement, we find :—God is present in the human beings as gastric fire (XV. 14) ; god is said to be taste in water, light of the sun and the moon, and so on (VII. 8-11) ; while X. 20-39 are meant to show the presence of god in various things ; further, X. 39 definitely asserts that there is neither moving nor non-moving thing which is without god ; god pervades everything (IX. 4).

There is no doubt that the god is immanent in the universe. But it is to be noted at the same time that god is not exhausted in it. God pervades the entire universe with only one small part of his and remains over and above the universe (X. 42). In other words, god transcends the universe. God is both immanent and transcendent. And from the latter point of view, god is not (exhausted) in the things he has created. Thus god's immanence accounts for his presence in the things ; while his transcendence shows how god is not exhausted in the things in the universe.

22) *God's Ātman :—*

In VII. 8 a jñānin devotee is said to be the ātman of god ; in IX. 5 god's ātman is said to be the producer of beings ; while IV. 6 says that the ātman of god is indestructible (avyaya). The question is : what is this ātman of god ?

The apparent discord here is due to different meanings of the term ātman, and is removable in the following ways :—*i*) Like human beings, god cannot be said to possess a soul or ātman. So when a jñānin devotee is said to be ātman of god, what it means is that just as to a man his soul is the dearest thing, so also to god, (jñānin is the dearest person. *ii*) In

²¹ See under—'what is kṣetra and who is kṣetrajna?'

²² See : BG : Reality, Jivanavikasa, December 1964.

IX. 5, the ātman that is said to be the producer of the beings would be nothing but the prakṛti²³ of god. *iii*) In IV. 6, god is telling how he takes birth. As seen already, even in his incarnation god does not lose his godly nature—his lordship—which remains unaffected. From that point of view, ātman of god i.e., his lordly nature remains eternal, unchanged and unaffected.

23) *Is knowledge of god possible ?*

God being concealed by his Yoga-māyā is said to be non-manifest to all (VII. 25); nobody knows god (VII. 26). But these statements go against the following ones : Some people know god to be sādhibhūtādhi-daiva and sādhiyajna (VII. 30); great personalities with divine nature know god to be the source of beings (bhūtādi) and eternal (IX. 13); the wise man who knows god to be unborn, beginningless and great lord of the world is free from all sins (X. 3); god's universal form can be known and seen by a man with devotion (XI. 54); he who knows god to be puruṣottama, supreme person, is devoted to god (XV. 19); a brahmabhūta knows god (XVIII. 15).

One should remember that many general statements in the BG are only particular truths or partially true. Here the first two statements are only partially true. It is true that normally ordinary people are unable to know god; but this does not mean that none can know god; surely, there are people who know god. Further, if nobody was able to know god, the entire treatment of BG regarding Bhaktiyoga will collapse. So the contradiction is removed when the first two statements are understood as partial truths.

24) *Remembrance at the time of death :—*

A person remembering god at the time of death obtains 'god's being' (mad-bhāva-īśvara-bhāva) (VIII. 5); while a person remembering highest person (parama puruṣa) at the time of death is said to be going to the highest person (VIII. 8). Now, in BG, god and the highest person are one and the same (see: XV. 17-18). Then the question is: Are īśvarabhāva and going to highest puruṣa one and the same?

Really speaking, īśvarabhāva and going to the highest person cannot be one and the same. Yet they can be taken to stand for one and the same idea, namely, salvation, as BG uses these and other words to denote the state²⁴ of liberation. To this extent the discrepancy is removable.

25) *God in his devotees :—*

IX. 4 informs that god is not in the beings; while IX. 29 affirms that god is in his devotees.

²³ See under — 'who is the creator' ?

²⁴ See : BG : Nature of salvation, Navabharata, April 1960.

As seen already, the first statement does not mean that the god is not immanent ; what it simply means is that god is not exhausted in the world he has created. Really speaking, god is present everywhere ; god is immanent ; naturally god is in his devotees.

There is another point in saying that god is present in the devotees ; Devotees continuously speak about god and so on (IX. 14, X. 9) : they always remember god (VIII. 14). That is, the devotees are always aware of the presence of god in them. For this point of view, god is prominently present in the devotees.

26) *God and his actions :—*

IX. 9 says that god's actions of producing and destroying the world are not binding upon him.

It is already pointed out that god is beyond the law of action. Further, it was also said that the actions, if they are performed in a disinterested spirit, are not binding upon the agent. Now, god is said to perform his actions, like an indifferent (udāsīna) person (IX. 9), i.e. like a person not attached to the fruit of action. In other words, god is not attached to his actions (IX. 9) ; he is not interested in them. Naturally, his actions are never binding upon him.

27) *Enjoyment of god :—*

BG writes that god enjoys the sacrifices (IX. 24). BG adds that god enjoys things like leaf, flower, etc. offered to him with devotion (IX. 26). This suggests god's possession of human traits and it goes against the statement that god's birth and action are divine (IV. 9).

It is quite clear, as seen already, that god even in his incarnation maintains his divine or lordly nature. Further, the eating or enjoyment on the part of god can be taken in a metaphorical way : all things offered with devotion, and sacrifices reach god, and they please him. Enjoyment leads to pleasure. God is also pleased, when sacrifices, etc. reach him.

28) *God's immanence and transcendence :—*

BG says that there is nothing mobile or immobile which is free from the presence of god (X. 39) ; god pervades the entire universe with his one part (X. 42). Yet god is said to be not in all beings (IX. 4).

This is already considered. The contradiction is removed when we remember that god is both immanent and transcendent.

29) *Who sees universal form ?*

In XI. 8, Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that with his normal physical eyes he will not be able to perceive god's universal form ; so he bestows upon Arjuna divine eyes or vision, so that Arjuna may be able to see it. But from IX. 9-12 and XVIII. 77, it appears that Sañjaya was also able to see the universal form. Further, from some statements of Arjuna in

Chap. XI, it also seems that three worlds (XI. 20), gods like Rudra, etc. (XI. 22), and people (XI. 23) were also able to see the universal form.

It must be confessed that it is a curious contradiction. Though Sañjaya was given by Vyāsa 'television,' he is not said to have been given 'divine vision' which would have enabled him to perceive god's universal form. Again, Arjuna, a favourite of Kṛṣṇa (XI. 47), required to be given divine sight ; then how could²⁵ the three worlds or people in them see god's universal form, without any such aid ? This is confirmed by another statement of Kṛṣṇa that in the human world, his universal form was not seen by any other person (XI. 48). The same is true of gods. In one place Kṛṣṇa frankly asserts that even gods are always desirous of seeing the universal form (XI. 52), which implies that ordinarily and normally gods also are not able to perceive the universal form. This being the case it appears that this contradiction in BG cannot be removed.

30) *Killing the dead* :—

In the description of the universal form it is said that the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, etc., were killed in it (XI. 26-27). Further, in XI. 34 Kṛṣṇa says that he has already killed Droṇa, etc. ; all the warriors have been already destroyed by him (XI. 33). In general, people rush into the mouths of the universal form to meet their destruction (XI. 29). Yet, Arjuna is asked by Kṛṣṇa to kill "the already killed or dead" ones, to be the apparent cause (nimitta-mātra) of their death (XI. 33).—A question in this matter can be raised : why this mṛta-māraṇa (killing of dead people) ? If god has already killed all the Kauravas and other warriors, why is Arjuna's killing them required ?

The solution of this problem is as follows :—Death is predestined or predecided by god. God personally does not always kill people. Usually he has to use other means which are usually human beings. The latter are the instruments wielded by god. God works through the free will of human beings, though human beings are only the puppets in the hands of god. God controls and manipulates these puppets but at the same time he wants that human beings should voluntarily comply with what he wants to be done. The truth of this statement is confirmed by Kṛṣṇa's two other statements where he says : 'Oh Arjuna, you would be driven by your prakṛti to do that act which you do not want, due to delusion, to perform' (XVIII. 60), and, 'do as you like' (XVIII. 63).

Here some one will say that such a state of things takes away the freedom of will and action. The reply is :—To some extent it is so. And one should further remember that, as seen already, *human freedom of will* is nothing but to act in accordance with one's own nature. And

²⁵ The question becomes more complicated, if one thinks that all the warriors present on the battlefield saw the universal form of Kṛṣṇa.

when the things are predestined by god the freedom of will and action is nothing but voluntary non-resistance to and free acceptance²⁶ of god's will.

31) *Is devotee a houseless monk ?*

In XII. 15 the ideal devotee is said to be one who is not disgusted with people and one with whom people are not disgusted, thus showing that he is staying in the midst of society or leading a social life. But XII. 19 tells that the devotee is 'houseless' (aniketa), showing that he is a houseless monk.

The contradiction arises due to the word aniketa. The word aniketa need not be necessarily taken to mean a houseless ascetic. It can mean and means a person who has no attachment to his house or household. And this is proper, as BG insists not on asceticism but on performance of actions in a disinterested spirit. So the devotee is not a houseless mendicant. The word aniketa when properly understood removes the contradiction.

32) *Are the devotee and guṇātīta actionless ?*

The ideal devotee (XII. 16) and Guṇātīta (XIV. 25) are said to be abandoning all activities (sarvārambha-parityāgi). But III. 5 observes that none can remain actionless for a single moment, and XVIII. 11 adds that an embodied person cannot renounce actions completely.

The discrepancy is easily removable. As none can renounce the actions fully, neither the devotee nor the guṇātīta can renounce actions wholly. But what they do is they cast away actions mentally, i.e., they do not desire for the fruit of the action. Hence, though they perform actions they can be said to be renouncers of actions (See : XVIII. 2, 11).

33) *What is kṣetra and who is kṣetraja ?*

In XIII. 1 body is said to be kṣetra ; but in XIII. 5-6 many things besides body are included in the connotation of the term kṣetra. Further, if body is kṣetra, soul would be implicitly kṣetraja (knower of kṣetra) ; but XIII. 2 informs that god is the kṣetraja in all the kṣetras. Thus the issue of kṣetra and kṣetraja seem to be confused.

It seems that BG understands the word kṣetra in a narrow and a broad sense. In its narrow sense, the word stands for body alone, while in its broad sense, it stands for the world²⁷ including the body. Naturally,

²⁶ The only difficulty in this connection is generally human beings do not know that what god's will is, and there is no Kṛṣṇa to guide them in this matter. Hence people are carried away by their uncurbed desire.

²⁷ Really speaking, in the broad sense the word kṣetra connotes the eight-fold lower prakṛti (VII. 4) of god and also body with its internal life and external environments (XIII. 5-6). That is why, as seen already under 'who is the creator', it is said that all beings, mobile and immobile are due to contact between kṣetra and kṣetraja (XIII. 26).

in the former sense, soul would be kṣetrajna, and in the latter sense, god would be the kṣetrajna, as souls are nothing but mere parts (amīśa) of god (XV. 7). Further, god is immanent in everything. Moreover, god is also the inner self (See : XIII. 22).

34) *Description of Brahman* :—

In the description of Brahman it is said :—Brahman is within and without the beings, both mobile and immobile, both near and far (XIII. 15) ; though undifferentiated it appears as if it is divided in the beings (X.III 16) ; it is said to have hands, feet, eyes, ears, etc. on all sides and yet it is without senses (XIII. 13-14) ; though unknowable (avijneya) (XIII. 15), it is said to be jneya, knowable (XIII. 12, 17) and to be known with knowledge (jnānagamyā) (XIII. 17).

Here, BG is following the footsteps of some²⁸ Upaniṣads in describing Brahman. Brahman is the reality and it is both immanent and transcendent. It is within the beings because it is immanent in them. It is also outside them. It is further not exhausted in them and transcend them ; so it is without them. As it is in beings, it 'moves', when beings are moving ; but from real point of view it is non-moving ; so it is immobile. As it is within the beings it is very near ; but as it is not easily known, it is far away. In itself, it is one undifferentiated whole without any parts ; but from the viewpoint of its presence in different things, it only appears to be differentiated. So far as it is immanent and present in all beings, it is said to have hands, feet, etc. on all sides ; but in its real nature, it has no sense-organs. It is said to be unknowable, so far as normal means of knowledge are concerned. But there is a special faculty or buddhi or intuition which realises Brahman ; hence it is knowable.

35) *Who is in the heart ?*

Brahman is said to be in the heart of all (XIII. 17) , at the same time, god is also said to be in the heart (XV. 15 ; XVIII. 61).

It is already pointed out that BG admits god and Brahman as the realities that are immanent. Thus when god is taken as the reality, god will be present in the heart. If Brahman is taken as the reality, it will be present in the heart. (A side-issue may be raised here : Is god identical with Brahman ? Is personal god identical with nirguṇa Brahman (XIII. 14) ? Kṛṣṇa in the BG never and nowhere openly and explicitly identifies himself with Brahman. On the contrary, the function of creation of the world and so on are attributed to Brahman (XIII. 16). So we have to say : In BG they are two separate realities).

²⁸ Cf. : Tadejati tannaijali tad dūre tadvantike/Tadantarasya sarvasya tadu sarvasyāsyā bhūyataḥ Iśa Up., 5.

36) *Is knowledge binding ?*

In XIV. 6 it is said that sattva-guṇa binds the man by creating attachment to knowledge. Yet sāt̥tvika knowledge is said to be that which perceives one, non-divided, eternal essence or being (bhāva) in all different things (XVIII. 20). Moreover, in IV. 35-37 importance of knowledge for salvation is pointed out. So the question is : Is the knowledge binding or not ?

The discrepancy can be removed in two ways :—a) BG has said that one is to go beyond the three guṇas. Hence sattva-guṇa and its product sāt̥tvika knowledge are to be cast off. b) Further, the knowledge that leads to liberation is not merely theoretical or verbal knowledge, but experiential knowledge of the reality. The latter alone cannot create any attachment and bind a man to this world. Mere sāt̥tvika knowledge cannot do so, even if it may be good.

37) *Can pleasure and knowledge be rājasa and tāmasa ?*

BG says that sāt̥tvika and pure fruit follows good actions (sukṛta) (XIV. 17), i.e., sāt̥tvika actions. From XIV. 16 it appears that pleasure is the product of sattva-guṇa ; so also from XIV. 11 it seems that knowledge is the product of sattva-guṇa.—If so, how can there be rājasa and tāmasa pleasure (mentioned in XVIII. 38-39) and knowledge (mentioned in XVIII. 21-22) ?

Here we should remember that the three guṇas always coexist, but in a different proportion. Thus even in a rājasa and tāmasa person there is sattva-guṇa but in a less degree. And when sattva is there, there will be some pleasure and knowledge. And such pleasure and knowledge in case of rājasa and tāmasa people can be called rājasa and tāmasa pleasure and knowledge.

38) *Fate of a rājasa man after death :—*

When a man with rajas prominent in him dies, he is born among the people attached to actions (XIV 15) ; rājasa people are said to be staying (in their next life) in the middle (XIV 18), i.e., this mortal world. But this goes against the following :—Kāma, krodha and lobha which are products²⁹ of rajas are said to be the door of hell (XVI. 21) i.e., they lead to hell.

Though this contradiction cannot be removed, two ways to get out of the difficulty are suggested here :—a) A rājasa man slowly turns into a tāmasa person and then goes 'down' i.e., to hell (XIV. 18). b) 'Hell' is to be taken metaphorically i.e. hell stands for sorrows and miseries found in this very world, which are similar to those that are supposed to be present in hell.

²⁹ Greed (lobha) is born, when rajas is dominant (XIV. 12) ; lobha is produced by rajas (XIV. 17) ; kāma transforming itself into krodha springs from rajoguṇa (III. 37).

39) *Aśvattha tree* :—

In XV. 1, Aśvattha tree, a symbol of Saṃsāra or empirical life, is said to be eternal (avyaya) ; yet in XV. 3 it is said that it is to be cut with the weapon of non-attachment. Further, this tree is said to be with roots upwards.

Here, BG follows the Kaṭha Upaniṣad (2.3.1) in describing Aśvattha. Aśvattha is not literally eternal, as anything that is born is subject to destruction (II. 27). That is, every part of Aśvattha is *being born and destroyed*. In that case, avyayatva of saṃsāra is to be taken in the sense of pravāha-avyayatva or pravāha-nityatva, which means the stream as a whole but not its individual parts, is eternal. Again, the word ūrdhva in ūrdhva-mūla is differently interpreted by the commentators of BG :— Urdhva is Brahman (Śaṅkara, etc. or Viṣṇu (Madhva) or Puruṣottama (according to Puruṣottama) ; Veṅkaṭa Brahma takes ūrdhva in the sense of the most excellent which is nothing but highest Brahman. Vallabha's explanation is: ūrdhvam brahmaparyantam mūlam yasya; according to Rāmānuja ūrdhva means high above; and Brahmadeva who is the creator is high above the seven worlds. (Veṅkaṭanātha mentions two other views : Aśvattha stands for human body in microcosm and for the body of Hiraṇyagarbha in the macrocosm). Thus Aśvattha is ūrdhva-mūla.

40) *God's abode* :—

God's highest abode is said to be illuminated by the sun, moon and fire (XV. 6) ; yet it is said that the lustre of god himself is present in the sun, moon and fire (XV. 12). Then, how can god's lustre not illuminate his own abode ?

God's lustre is partially present in the sun, moon and fire, because god pervades the universe with a part (aṃśa) of his own (X. 40). Hence they cannot illuminate god's highest abode.

41) *Can puruṣa be mutable?*

In XV. 16 BG speaks of mutable and immutable puruṣas. The question then is : can puruṣa be mutable ?

It is to be noted here that BG has used the word puruṣa in different³⁰ senses. And when puruṣa is taken to stand for beings (bhūta), it can be declared to be mutable.

42) *Do the Vedas speak of god ?*

BG II. 45 declares that the Vedas are traiguṇya-viṣaya³¹ i.e. dealing

³⁰ In VIII. 8, 10, 22 puruṣa stands for the highest god ; in XV. 16 akṣara puruṣa is conscious principle ; in XV. 17 uttama puruṣa is supreme person.

It seems that kṣara and akṣara puruṣa respectively correspond to god's aparā and parā prakṛtis.

³¹ The word traiguṇya-viṣaya is differently interpreted by the commentators of BG. But the above-mentioned meaning is acceptable.

with this empirical life formed by the three guṇas. But it is also said that in the Veda god is known as Supreme Person (puruṣottama) (XV. 15). Now, if Vedas are traiguṇya-viṣaya, how can they speak of god ?

Veda is traditionally divided into two parts—karmakāṇḍa and jñānakāṇḍa. The first is useful in the empirical life. The other—the Upaniṣads—deals with reality; and in it god can be declared to be supreme person.

43) *Is 'daiva sarga' elaborately stated ?*

In XVI. 6 BG says that it has described the 'daiva sarga' elaborately. But actually we find that only three verses (XV. 1-3) are devoted to point out daivi sampad; while fourteen verses (XVI. 7-20) describe asuras.

This contradiction cannot be removed, unless we take Chapter IX as giving some details of daivi sampad. As far as chapter XVI is concerned, the discrepancy cannot be removed.

44) *How many causes of actions ?*

In XVIII. 15 BG mentions five causes of any action as explained in Sāṅkhya Kṛtānta, and BG approves of them, as is clear from XVIII. 16. But elsewhere BG has said : Guṇas of prakṛti perform actions (III. 27); prakṛti is the agent of kāryakaraṇa (XIII. 20); prakṛti does all actions (XIII. 29); a soul deluded by egoism thinks himself to be the agent of action (III. 27).

It is shown in my article, 'Pañcaite tasya hetavaḥ', that all the five causes are really included in two causes only, namely, prakṛti or its guṇas, and the soul deluded by egoism. Thus there is no contradiction.

* * * *

A perusal of the contradictions discussed in the above paragraphs shows that the contradictions touch upon nearly every important topic discussed in the BG, such as philosophical theory, ethical practice, the goal of philosophical endeavour or liberation, and the persons who have obtained perfection. Nevertheless, it is clear that with a few exceptions these contradictions are removable with the considerations mentioned already.

LORD CURZON AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

By V. G. Dighe

LORD CURZON'S viceroyalty forms as it were a watershed in the history of the Freedom Movement in India. The new middle class which had come into existence as a result of the impact of British rule and English education, was showing consciousness of its political rights. It had formed first, provincewise political associations and from 1885 its members were meeting on the common platform of the Indian National Congress. It asked respectfully to be closely associated with the administration and also to be consulted in matters of policy. While these demands were being put forward the leaders of the new class expressed their gratitude for benefits conferred by British rule and called on the rulers to fulfil the promises held out in the great pronouncements of the Company and of the Queen. The sentiment was that the British rule was a period of tutelage for preparing the people of India for self-Government. As education was advancing, the leaders of the new class appealed to government to liberalise its policies and admit Indians to a share of responsibility. Curzon's regime of seven years put an end to all these hopes and convinced the people of the need of a bitter struggle for gaining recognition of their political aspirations.

The period following Tilak's arrest and conviction in 1897 to the partition of Bengal in 1905 was marked by growing tension and distrust between government and the people. The prospects for the increasing number of graduates the universities were turning out, were bleak. They were finding it difficult to get employment ; if they succeeded in finding any, it was work in low paid jobs, as all higher posts in administration were the exclusive possession of the ruling race. In their own country Indian youths were finding little scope for their talents and for their advancement. To the bitterness of the educated class was added the bitterness of the masses, of the peasants and artisans, born out of hunger and wretchedness that seemed to be their perpetual lot.¹ Government was too far aloof from the people and a general conviction was spreading that there could be no satisfactory solution of famine and impoverishment without some kind of popular cooperation in the control of administration. The sullen mood of the country began expressing itself in extreme views and severe criticism of government. Government's heavy hand fell on the extremists, the bitter comments expressed by them, in press and on platform were interpreted as sedition and laws

¹ Famines were becoming a permanent feature of the Indian economy at the turn of the 19th century and form the main theme of the Congress Presidential addresses for the years 1896-1900.

were passed banning such expression. The senior leaders of the movement pleaded with the authorities for sympathetic hearing of their demand and tried to curb and control the exuberance of their colleagues and reduce the heat generated by bitter attacks. It was obvious that the country was heading towards a collision. The collision was hastened with the appearance of Lord Curzon on the scene.

This was the time of the rising tide of imperialism in England and Curzon, who became the Governor-General of India at the end of 1898, was its high priest. A new situation had been created by the unification of Germany, Italy and the United States and of their subsequent industrialization. England was meeting with stiff opposition in the world market from the newly industrialised countries. Colonies and dependencies came to be valued both as manifestation of national greatness and as sources of raw material and markets for manufactures. Disraeli had accepted the creed of imperialism for his party. In the interlude between the decline of the Liberal Party and the rise of Labour, interest in England tended to concentrate on imperial affairs. From 1895 to 1905 the Supremacy of Conservative Governments brought this spirit of imperialism into practical politics.

Lord Curzon fully subscribed to the imperialist doctrine. His extended travels had taught him to think imperially and had imbued him with a burning faith in imperial destinies of Great Britain, a faith which was founded on the economic needs of his country as well as on an unbounded belief and pride in the moral qualities of his countrymen. In one of his speeches he declared that "the continued existence of this country is bound up (not only) in the maintenance but in the extension of the empire." The main reason for his going to India was the fact that India had always appeared to him to be "the pivot and centre not the geographical, but the political and imperial centre of the British empire."² His policy was aimed at the consolidation and maintenance of this vast sprawling empire. There was no room in it for freedom of the subject people nor for the growth of democratic institutions. His sympathies towards her Majesty's Asiatic subjects were those of the feudal lord towards his serfs; British rulers being endowed with superior physical and intellectual qualities, it behoved Indian subjects well to carry out the behests of their superiors and to ever remain under their tutelage. So long as they conducted themselves loyally, they were to be protected from indignity and petty harassments. Acting on this policy Curzon took strict measures to check misconduct of European soldiers and assaults by English civilians on Indian menials. But he held firmly to the faith that India should never challenge British dominion and remain subservient to Great Britain in all respects, contributing to her greatness in military glory, in the advancement of learning and in economic prosperity.

² Raleigh, Sir Thomas, *Lord Curzon in India*, vol. 1, p. 8.

The national movement was looking to the development of liberal institutions in the country. Curzon made good and efficient government by an alien agency the watchword of his policy. On his appointment as Governor-General he declared that India was ill-equipped with the material and industrial and educational resources so necessary to her career and he would so work that she might expand to the full measures of her growth.³ There was no room here for popular association nor would he tolerate popular control of his measures. There was no common meeting ground between the ideologies of the two parties and a head on clash could no longer be avoided.

His early utterances rather deluded the people. "We endeavour to administer the government of the country (India) in the interest of the governed. Our mission there is one of obligation and not of profit. We do our humble best to retain by justice that which we may have won by the sword. May we not say that the spectacle presented by our dominion in India, is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal?"

"The East is a university in which the scholar never takes his degree. It is a temple in which the suppliant adores but never catches sight of the object of his devotion. It is a journey the goal of which is in sight but is never attained. There we are always learners, always worshippers, always pilgrims."⁴

In the first speech that he made on landing in India he assured the people that "justice and magnanimity, sympathy and prudence shall be the keynote of his administration."⁵ His dignified presence, his lofty eloquence, his choice of ringing phrases and his promises of justice and magnanimity and of holding the scales even between differing communities and interests made excellent impression on an impressionable people. No other Governor-General started under more favourable auspices. But Curzon's entire outlook made it impossible for him to give to the people what they were looking for, his arrogant manner and presumed omniscience soon drained away all the goodwill that existed for her Majesty's representative and effected a complete breach between Government and the new intelligentsia.

Calcutta Municipal Corporation Act

The first clash occurred over the Calcutta Municipal Bill. By a law passed in 1876 the Municipal administration of Calcutta had been entrusted to a Corporation of 75 members, 50 of whom were elected by the rate payers and one-third nominated by the local government. The Chairman, who was always a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, was also appointed by Government. The new administration did much

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

good. Sanitation and other municipal services like water-supply and lighting of streets had been greatly improvèd. Things went on smoothly till the ravages of plague in Bombay in 1896-97 not unnaturally started a scare in Calcutta. The European merchants saw their commerce threatened with ruin. A few sporadic cases of plague in Calcutta added to the terror. The English newspapers condemned the municipality for its inactivity and the Lt. Governor was urgent in his warnings to the corporation. The corporation took the advice in good part and large sums were voted and spent in cleansing the town.

But Government felt that the Municipality was not doing enough and at a function for laying the foundation-stone of some new drainage works, the Lt. Governor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, criticised the work of the Municipal Commissioners. He told them that their city was 'a disgrace to the empire', that the commissioners talked too much instead of working and 'there were far too many lawyers among them, whose stake in the town was small'. The Lt. Governor would not allow matter to rest but had recourse to fresh legislation clipping the wings of the Corporation. The Bill suggested wider and stronger powers for the executive to deal with insanitary conditions, but did not interfere with the composition of the corporation. Before however the bill could be enacted into law Lord Elgin had left India and Lord Curzon had taken his place as Governor General.

For Curzon this was a godsent opportunity for driving his imperial designs and uprooting of self-governing institutions which his liberal predecessors had tried to plant in India. The Governor-General, to whom the bill had been referred for approval, allowed only 50 per cent of the members to be elected thus reducing their strength from 50 to 25. He likewise changed the composition of the general committee. This committee was to consist of twelve members appointed in equal proportion by the elected commissioners, by Government nominees and by the local Government. The idea was to give a preponderance to the British element in the Corporation and make the Indian representatives altogether ineffective. When the Legislative Council passed the bill, twenty-eight Indian members of the Corporation resigned in protest. These men were mostly leading Barristers and Doctors and members of the Bengal Legislative Council respected in Indian society. Their protest was swept aside and the Corporation came to be dominated by the European community.

Local Self-Government had been instituted in India as 'a measure of political education.' Curzon in the first year of his viceroyalty swept aside all these considerations and in the name of efficiency established a Corporation dominated by Europeans. The Corporation became a sore point with the people and not a year passed when its working was not adversely criticised. Mr. R. C. Dutt who presided over the Congress session held at Lucknow in 1899 put his finger on the malady. "I do not

know if the officials of Calcutta who have done so much in the past to foster Municipal Self-Government, will contemplate with gratification the ruin of the noble edifice which they built with the labour of a quarter of a century. I do not know if the European merchants of Calcutta will like the idea to spread over the country that wherever English trade prospers, not only Indian manufactures but Indian political and Municipal rights too, must be sacrificed. I don't know if the new city fathers of Calcutta contemplate with joy their prospects of performing, without the cooperation of the people, their difficult and thankless task with a poor inadequate almost beggarly income."

Three years later an Indian journal was to remark, "that the feeling against the corporation is very bitter is a stubborn fact and the general impression is, that the corporation was placed in the hands of Europeans Commissioners so that they might lord it over the Indian rate payers and fill the Municipality with European and Eurasian employees. This impression may or may not have any foundation in fact, but there is no doubt of it that the vagaries and high-handed proceedings of the corporation have created alarm and consternation and it is seething discontent from one end of the town to the other."

University Education Reforms

Lord Curzon was nothing if not an imperialist. In the new imperialism of the day liberal ideas and representative institutions in conquered countries had no place. The grand aim of imperialism was to maintain, extend, and exploit the dependencies for the glory of the home country. It could not therefore tolerate a political movement which aimed at political equality and partnership within the empire. The leaders of the movement were the western educated men, who had gone to the new universities and colleges set up under the aegis of British authorities, drank deep at the fountain of English literature, history and political philosophy and demanded the same rights and privileges as British citizens. The growing discontent among the educated class and criticism of Government policies and measures began to be looked on by the authorities as sedition and doubts began to assail them if something was not wrong with the education that was being imparted in the new schools and colleges and if effective measures could not be pursued to stop this evil trend. Lord Hamilton, State Secretary, writing to Curzon on 18th May had suggested "exercise of greater control over education, its organization and text-books. You know this so well that I need not repeat these formulæ but with the multiplicity of your other work and objects it would be well not to lose sight of this counter-campaign."⁶

Curzon required little prompting from the home authorities. The

⁶ *Hamilton Papers*, Hamilton to Curzon, 18 May 1899.

general situation of education in India stood in need of great improvement and called for radical changes. At the Convocation address to the Calcutta University in 1900 he declared, "my desire is to revindicate on behalf of the state and its various provincial agents that responsibility which there has been a tendency to abdicate and to show that our educational system must conform to a scientific and orderly scheme."⁷

In September 1901 he convened an educational conference at Simla to discuss reforms necessary in every branch of education. The invitees, barring Dr. Miller of the Madras Christian College, were government officials, members of the Viceroy's Council and Directors of Public Instruction from the provinces. Even a warm admirer of Curzon, Lovat Fraser, was constrained to remark, "Lord Curzon had said in Calcutta that he wanted to ascertain the trend of authoritative opinion; what he heard was the trend of official opinion."⁸

The Viceroy opened the conference with a speech covering the whole field of Indian education. He spoke of the universities as "a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which like some evil phantom seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of cram." Their one aim was holding examinations. The teachers and the taught thought of nothing except examinations and percentages. But while pointing out the many defects which had crept into the system he declared that he dissociated himself from those who held that the experiment of imparting English education to an Asiatic people was a mistake. There had been blunders, but the successes were immeasurably greater and the moral and intellectual standards of the community had been raised. He did not want to disparage and pull down; for his whole object was to reconstruct⁹ and build up.

The Conference was followed by the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in January 1902 "to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the universities established in British India, to consider proposals for improving their constitution and working and to recommend measures to elevate the standard of university teaching and to promote the advancement of learning."¹⁰ The personnel¹¹ of the Commission with the exception of Gurudas Bannerji, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, was not calculated to inspire confidence. Its labours however were watched with keen interest and no pains were spared to place before the Commission the Indian point of view.

⁷ *Speeches by Lord Curzon* (1900), vol. I, p. 249.

⁸ Lovat Fraser, *India under Curzon and After* (1911), p. 185.

⁹ *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, vol. II, pp. 313-14.

¹⁰ *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902*, p. 1.

¹¹ President, T. Raleigh, Member of the Executive Council. Other members were J. P. Hewett, Secretary, Home Dept., A. Pedlar, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, A. G. Bourne, Principal, Presidency College, Madras, Revd. D. Mackickan, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay, Syed Hussain Bilgrami and Justice Gurudas Banerji

The Commission made a tour of the country, examined over a hundred and fifty witnesses and submitted its report in June 1902. The report, as is supposed, did not make a sweeping condemnation of the Indian university system. It found "that many teachers were competent and devoted to their work, and the Indian student as a class was not wanting in natural talent and industry. But it came to the conclusion that he lacked the general training which was required to fit him for the business of life, or for a further course of study."¹²

The commission made many useful suggestions for the improvement of standards and making universities seats of learning. It went into the question of subjects to be taught in Colleges, of suitable text-books, of method of conducting examinations, of affiliation of institutions, of fees to be levied by the affiliated colleges and the standards to be maintained by them, of the provision of higher teaching by the universities at post-graduate level and providing library and laboratory facilities, and of the constitution of senates and syndicates which managed the universities. There was nothing revolutionary in the suggestions; and even at this distance of time they appear to be very sensible and necessary for effecting general improvement in education. But these suggestions were made by a packed body of government officials and they became suspect in the eyes of the public. Many of the Indian colleges, especially in Calcutta, were housed in private buildings. Classes were held in small dingy rooms and were over-crowded; library and laboratory facilities were unknown; and all kinds of devices including very low fees were used to attract students. A university degree had become a passport to employment. There was a scramble for it among the new middle class, and in response to public demand colleges had sprung into existence on very flimsy foundations. When the commission suggested tightening of government control over the affiliated colleges, non-recognition of second grade colleges, "fees not being fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a university course which it was not to his real interest to undertake, talked of inflated Senates, of introducing in larger proportion European element in both the Senates and Syndicates", Indian public opinion, suspicious of government policies, became hostile and almost hysterical.

The minimum fee recommendation of the Commission had called for a minute of dissent from Justice Gurudas Banerji. "No University would be justified in imposing any restriction, such as a prohibitive fee, for the sole purpose of preventing (a poor student of but ordinary ability) from entering it, if he satisfies all other lists of fitness. Youths of ordinary ability are often found to develop considerably their mental powers later and by slow degrees. The principle of excluding students from University education by a fee limit is open to the further objection

¹² *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 5.*

that it will, on the one hand, exclude not only the undeserving but also the deserving poor students, while on the other hand, it will fail to exclude the undeserving rich students."¹³

The *Bengalee* condemned the crudity of the new policy in no uncertain terms. "If a number of persons deputed to perform an important public duty had deliberately set themselves to the task of framing revolutionary proposals, they could not have done better or worse than the university commission. The great middle class of England are wealthy and can afford the heavy educational expenses of the Public school and of the University. The middle class in India are poor To transplant the English system into their midst, without reference to existing conditions and the totally different circumstances of the countries would be a piece of political unwisdom."¹⁴ It went on to add "the recommendations of the Commission with some notable exceptions are such as are calculated to vitally injure the cause of higher university education in the country the effect of the recommendations will be to officialise the universities and deprive them of the touch with public opinion and the real life and tradition of the people."¹⁵

Government climbed down and showed its willingness to modify the two recommendations which had excited great opposition, viz., a minimum rate of fees and abolition of second grade colleges. But the remaining recommendations, stringent conditions of affiliation, creation of reformed senates and remodelling of syndicates, provision of library and laboratory facilities, recognition of schools through government agency, were accepted and a bill embodying them was introduced on November 2, 1903. Its principal features were thus explained by Curzon :

"Its main principle is to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education. What we want to do is apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges, which constitute University system, to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent expert and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the syndicates, to give statutory recognition to the elected Fellows who are now only appointed on suffrage to show the way by which our Universities which are now merely examining Boards can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions, in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham."¹⁶

The bill was warmly debated in Council. The Hon'ble Gokhale speaking

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁴ *The Bengalee*, August, 1902

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1903.

¹⁶ *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, vol. III, pp. 266-67.

for the opposition said, "the first and most obvious effect of the passing of the measure will be to increase enormously the control of Government over University matters and to make the university virtually a Department of the state."¹⁷ Replying to the charge of the Government spokesmen that higher education in India merely produced discontented graduates, Gokhale said "the truth is that the so-called discontent is no more than the natural feeling of dissatisfaction with things as they are when you have on one side a large and steadily growing educated class of the children of the soil, and on the other a close and jealously guarded monopoly of political power and high administrative office."¹⁸ He proceeded to tell the house that western education was liberating the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas and any diminution of facilities would mar this healthy development.

Gokhale's protests went unheeded. On the final day of the debate when all his amendments were rejected, Gokhale sat down, remarking 'Let those who will say what they will, this bill amounts to an emphatic condemnation, as unmerited as it was unnecessary, of the educated classes of this country.'¹⁹

The bill was passed into law as Act VIII of 1904. Some of the provisions of the Act were challenged in the Bombay High Court and a further validating Act had to be passed before Government could force through the changes. The Universities by the Act were given new powers and asked to adopt a system where the emphasis would be not so much on examination as on study of subjects under efficient instruction and supervision. The reformed Senates were to consist of not more than one hundred Fellows, and their tenure of office was to be not more than five years; the syndicates were to be remodelled, and the ultimate decision regarding the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges, and the recognition of schools, was left in the hands of the Government who would receive the recommendations of the reformed universities. Colleges were only to be eligible for affiliation if they complied with conditions laid down regarding "their governing bodies, the qualifications of their teaching staff, their financial condition, their building and accommodation, the possession of a library, facilities for practical instruction in science, and due supervision of students." Affiliated colleges were to be subject to inspection. The conditions prescribed for them were to be set forth by the senates in regulations.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 did bring about a much needed change and a healthy reform. But a good piece of legislation was spoiled by Curzon's cold and superior attitude, lack of sympathy and inability to enlist popular cooperation for his measure.

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor General*, 1903, p. 309.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 125.

The Coronation Durbar

The Coronation Durbar held on 1st January 1903 was another occasion which widened the rift between the Government and people of India. The Queen died in 1901 and was succeeded by her son Edward. His Majesty the King was crowned in England in 1902 and was as much the King and Emperor in 1903 as he was the day after the death of the Queen. But the Governor General would not miss an opportunity of impressing the Indian subjects of His Majesty with the might of the empire, with his own greatness and of striking the imagination of the orientals. While in the colonies the Durbar would be an anachronism and an absurdity, in India it was a feature of a hallowed system.²⁰ The Coronation ceremony brought the sovereign into communion with the people.²¹ 'The sense of participation in a great political system and of fellow citizenship of the British empire' which would follow from the coronation would justify any expenditure.

The Durbar was held on a vastly large scale than the imperial assemblage in 1877. The historic Mughal buildings in the Red Fort, the Diwan-i-Am and the Diwan-i-Khas easily lent themselves to the investiture ceremony, but the Durbar was held in a specially constructed amphitheatre three miles beyond the ridge. All the details from the state entry with an imposing elephant procession to a great review of 40,000 British and Indian troops, were supervised by the Governor General in person. He would not allow for the Parade service, the hymn "*Onward Christian Soldiers*" because the hymn contains a verse :

Thrones and Crowns may perish
Kingdoms rise and wane

which contradicted the impression of everlasting greatness of the British empire which the Viceroy wanted to create.

Along with formal ceremonies were held public entertainments, cricket and football matches, a polo tournament, native dances and dramatic performances. The total expenses incurred by the Imperial and provincial Governments of the functions amounted, according to the Governor General, to thirty lakhs of rupees.

To the distinguished audience that had gathered on the occasion the Viceroy said : "Should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equality and benignity of his rule. "For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy ; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges ; to

²⁰ Governor General to Secretary of State, 8 May 1901 ; *Hamilton papers*.

²¹ Speech delivered on 5th September 1902.

others it opens ever widening avenues of honourable employment ; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering ; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all”.

He added, “The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospects, or of justifiable discontent, but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country, and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the Paramount power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained than that of the British Crown.”²²

The Viceroy might delude himself with the success of the Durbar, but he was not able to delude the public at large. The Durbar was condemned in the Press in the strongest terms. It was something in the nature of a shock to the huge assemblage that a mere Irish peer should take precedence over the royal kinsman and the Duke of Connaught be thrust behind the viceregal dais. It was averred that the Durbar was perhaps the culmination of the policy that Government was pursuing, of curtailing the freedom and lowering the dignity of the Indian Princes and reducing them to the status of a hereditary aristocracy.

The elephant procession, the procession of Indian princes, the roar of guns, the blare of trumpets, the lavish display of jewels and of cloth and gold did not usher in a single fruitful idea, a single statesmanlike principle. “The people had expected that on the historic occasion there would be a pronouncement of a more generous policy towards the people of India than had been followed so far. They had expected that the people would be granted political rights and political privileges. It was a cruel joke to be told that the British Rule of India was exceedingly good and that there could be no prosperity without British rule.”²³ The Sarcasm was bruited out that it was “not coronation, but curzonation”.²⁴

The Official Secrets Act

The Indian Official Secrets (Amendment) Act of 1904 was another cause of further estrangement. The Original act passed in 1889 was intended to prevent leakage of military secrets ; the operation of the

²² Durbar Speech 1st January 1903, See *Lord Curzon in India*, vol. II, pp. 15-19.

²³ *The Bengalee*, 3 January 1903.

²⁴ *The Indian Mirror*, 11 January 1903.

amending Act was extended to Civil affairs of Government. Government, it was said, ought rather to prevent the selfish acts of officials than to make laws against the public condemnation of such acts. The term secrets, it was complained, was not clearly defined in the bill, so that the publication by a newspaper even of trivial official matters, might make the editor liable to arrest by police. A resolution was moved at the 1903 Session of Congress condemning the measures in the strongest terms. In the legislative Council Gokhale charged the bill as "calculated to Russianize the Indian administration". He pointed that the criticism of the Press was the only outward check operating on the conduct of the bureaucracy possessing absolute and uncontrolled power.²⁵ In deference to the criticisms received the bill was amended in select Committee and offences under the Act were made non-cognizable and bailable. But Curzon in his capacity of President of the Council did not forget to explain that the protection of Civil secrets is among the primary rights of a civilized state.

Employment of Indians in Higher Services:

Curzon had no faith in the fitness of subject countries to rule themselves. The Indian had no place in the commissioned rank of the Indian army; their role was that of the humble sepoy. Even in Civil employment the highest rank and all technical posts were to be held by Europeans. He explained his policy in his budget speech of 1904:

"Two general principles regulate the situation; the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this *corps d'élite* we shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country. But even this principle is qualified by the fact that in certain special departments, where scientific or technical knowledge is required or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture and sometimes even a European preponderance." He then proceeded to give figures of employment of Europeans and Indians in Civil employ. The figures showed that of the 1,370 Government servants drawing salaries higher

²⁵ *Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1903, pp. 279-81.*

than Rs. 1,000 a month, or £800 a year, 1,263 were Europeans, of the remainder 15 were Eurasians, and 92 natives. But if the ranks below Rs. 1,000 a month and between the total and Rs. 75 a month, were considered, then out of a total of 26,908 Government servants, only 5,205 were Europeans, while of the remainder 5,420 were Eurasians, and the balance, or 16,283 was native.

From the figures it was clear to the Viceroy that the British Empire employed less than 6,500 of its own countrymen, whether brought from abroad or recruited in this country, to rule over 230 millions of people ; but that for the same purpose it employed 21,800 of the inhabitants of the country itself. Below Rs. 75 a month, the disproportion for him would be overwhelming. "Will anyone tell me in the face of these figures that our administration is unduly favourable to the Europeans or grudging to the native element ? I hold, on the contrary, that it is characterised by a liberality unexampled in the world. You may search through history, and since the days of the Roman Empire, you will find no such trust."²⁸ Liberality and trust indeed, where practically all higher posts (93 per cent) in the Civil and 100 per cent in the military employment were monopolised by the Europeans, while the children of the soil had to be content with lowly jobs of clerks and chaprasis and such other crumbs from the master's table.

Convocation Address :

Two more episodes led to complete estrangement and ended the dialogue carried on between the leaders of the Indian intelligentsia and the British authorities over two decades. One was the announcement of the scheme of the partition of the fair province of Bengal and the second was the Viceroy's speech at the convocation of the Calcutta University in 1905 charging the Asiatic with lack of veracity. The partition of Bengal is a big issue and there is no need to go into the details of the scheme. Suffice it to say that it aimed at dividing the province on ground of administrative convenience, and dispersing the Bengalees, intellectually the most advanced and politically the most progressive, into two provinces where they would be submerged under other elements. The proposal gave mortal offence and provoked the wrath of the people of Bengal who were anxiously watching one measure after another of the Viceroy restricting popular liberties. Hundreds of meetings were held in the province where the proposal for partition was condemned in no uncertain terms and memorials were sent to Calcutta and London to withdraw the measure. While the people were in a sullen mood the Viceroy took upon himself to read them a homily on *Truth* : "I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. . . . Undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West

²⁸ Budget Speech, 30 March 1904 ; see *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, vol. III, p. 410.

before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "*Oriental diplomacy*", by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aims."²⁷ He advised the graduates not to flatter, slander nor impute, but turn naturally to truth as the magnet flew to the pole. The country had borne patiently with the vagaries and arrogance of the Viceroy, but the wholesale condemnation of the national character and of national literature could no longer be tolerated. There was an outcry in the press and on the platform against the aspersions upon the character of the entire people of India and the policies pursued by the Governor-General were roundly denounced. "His advice to Indians to imitate the western ideal was characterized as intolerable, offensive, unwise, impolitic, vile and vicious' and 'the opinion crystallised that Curzon's regime, was retrograde, reactionary and despotic'".²⁸

His Attitude Towards the Congress :

The publicly avowed official view about the premier political organization in the country is reflected in the following paragraph from the pen of Sir Thomas Raleigh, Legal Member of the G.G.'s Council .

"The Congress is strong in talent and in good intentions and it expresses faithfully the opinions of that section of the Hindu community which sees in the concession of political rights the main object of Indian ambition and English duty. When the Indian student has read his English history, he asks quite naturally whether the principle of self-government may not with advantage be applied to his own country. English history is indeed an object lesson in self-government, as understood by a homogenous nation. India is the least homogenous country in the world. The eloquent Bengali or Mahratta who finds his appropriate sphere of action in the Congress, is entitled to a fair hearing but he is only one of many types of Indian character and sentiment. . . . (There are other) men with a different stamp, Mohammedan gentlemen, trained at Aligarh, Chiefs of ancient lineage who cling to their (old) traditions; Hindu administrators . . . and large number of educated native gentlemen who take no part in agitation though they are keenly interested in social and industrial reform. These men are not merely factors, they are governing factors in the politics of India; and there are many of them who regard

²⁷ *Speeches by Lord Curzon in India*, vol. II, p. 222.

²⁸ Home Deptt., Public, June 1906; *Report on Bengal Newspapers for the year 1905*.

the Congress with feelings which vary from amused indifference to active disapproval.

Congress is engaged in a premature and unwise attempt to domesticate English political ideas in India. In the second place, the pretensions of the Congress are out of all proportion to its true significance; 99 per cent of the people whom it claims to represent have never heard of its existence".²⁹

These were the principles on which the Viceroy was to conduct himself towards the great political Association—The Indian National Congress—which *Modern India* had built over fifteen years. In his first speech on landing in Bombay he refused to unfold the lines of the policy he would pursue, though the emphasis on "the diverse races and creeds of the country" "a mosaic of nationalities and interests" "the manifold races and beliefs, so composite and yet so divergent" and "the talk of holding the scales even" gives an inkling into his mind. In November 1900 speaking in Bombay again he made it clear that he was not prepared to go beyond the stage of consultation. "If a ruler of India were to adopt all the wild suggestions that are made to him by the various organs of public opinions, he would bring the fabric of Government toppling down in a month. A benevolent despotism that yielded to agitation would find that in sacrificing its despotism, it had also lost its benevolence."³⁰

What deference he showed to public opinion came out in his reply to the address of the *Madras Mahajan Sabha*. He was rude enough to tell the Sabha "I should like to be quite certain for whom you speak. In your opening sentence you tell me that it is on behalf of the members of the *Mahajan Sabha* of Madras. But a little later on, your representative character would appear to have acquired a wider scope, since when you come to the subject of famine prevention, you 'crave my permission to give expression to the views of the Indian public', while when you come to an expression of your views on the subject of judicial and executive functions, you again present me with what you describe as 'the unanimous voice of the Indian public.' Now, gentlemen, the Indian public is rather a big concern. It consists, exclusive of Muhammedans, of nearly 250,000,000; inclusive of Muhammedans, of some 300,000,000 persons. I am a little sceptical as to the possibility of this huge constituency being adequately represented by an association whose membership does not, I believe, extend beyond 200, and which I gather from your rules does not require for its general meetings a quorum of more than 15; and I prefer, therefore to accept your opinions as representative of certain, and I doubt not most important, elements

²⁹ *Lord Curzon in India*, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xviii-xix.

³⁰ *Speech*, 9 November 1900.

in Hindu society in the Madras Presidency, rather than as a pronouncement from the entire Indian continent."³¹

The Viceroy felt he had administered a well-deserved rebuke to the association. "Of course the native papers made a howl," he wrote to the State Secretary. "If these agitators are pulled up in this way from time to time, it makes them more careful about their language in the future."³² The State Secretary replied in a flattering manner: "You knocked their heads well together. I am sure pouring ridicule on those parts of the Congress creed, which are fantastical, does a great deal of good and, if the Congress in the course of a year or two totally collapses, you will have the credit of being the main instrument of its extinction."³³ Curzon assured the State Secretary "that the Congress was tottering to its fall and one of his greatest ambition, while in India, was to assist it to a peaceful demise."³⁴

He felt that the Indian people should remain contented with efficient government which was "the one means of affecting the people in their homes and adding to the happiness of the masses." He took pride in the fact that reform had been carried out in every department of administration and standards raised. He did not subscribe to the view that the only benefactor of the people was he who gave them political concessions. He enlarged on the topic saying "I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are, in my view, making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued so long as they listen to the wise voices among their own leaders but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with an unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it."³⁵

Lord Curzon's views on public opinion underwent a marked change as his career developed in India. In November 1900 he had declared in Bombay, "I can see no reason why, in India as elsewhere, the official hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. Official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance

³¹ Speech of December 11th, 1900, see *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, vol. II (1902), p. 165.

³² Curzon to Hamilton, 3 January 1901.

³³ Hamilton to Curzon, 21 January 1901.

³⁴ Curzon to Hamilton, 18 November 1900.

³⁵ Budget Speech, 1904.

. . . . The opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise".³⁶ As his career was closing, he made the discovery, "public opinion in India cannot for a long time be the opinions of the public, that is of the masses, because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all. In these circumstances public opinion tends to be the opinion of the educated minority. But if it is to have weight it must be coordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community In India it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative, because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide . . . I think the great work that lies before educated India in the near future is the creation of a public opinion that shall be as far as possible representative of Native sentiment generally not of one section or fraction of it".³⁷ Lord Curzon was plainly telling the Congress that it was not truly representative of the country and he could not concede its demands.

By the time Curzon's Viceroyalty was coming to an end people in India were asking a very pertinent question. What, they asked, was the aim and object of British rule in India? Was it to be counted in material terms, was it simply expansion of trade and commerce controlled by foreign agency? Or was it to be the emancipation of a great and ancient people? They asked what had His Excellency done during his term of office to help forward the achievement of this great end? Where were the political measures which promised an accession of political rights to the people? Where was the political impulsè which would qualify the people for the higher rights of citizenship? Curzon's reforms³⁸ were, they felt, rather administrative than political; they were worthy of a departmental chief but not of the ruler of a great empire. The verdict on his regime was one of utter failure. "Curzon," wrote Surendra Nath Banerjea, "was the presiding genius of a reactionary epoch unparalleled in Indian annals. The trend of his policy had been the exclusion of the children of the soil from position of trust and responsibility and the curtailment of those popular rights which English education had taught Indians to value as dearly as life itself."³⁹

Gokhale a true liberal who, to the last, retained his faith in British connection, summed up Curzon's career very aptly in the following

³⁶ *Lord Curzon in India*, vol. I., p. 32.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 228.

³⁸ In his first Budget Speech Curzon alluded to twelve important reforms to which he would address himself. It appears he had in mind the following subjects: *Frontier Policy & Province, Reform of Leave Rules, Secretariat Reform, Currency Reform, Railway Reform and Creation of Railway Board, Irrigation Reform, Relief of Agricultural indebtedness, Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Universities Bill and Education Reform in general, Police Reform, Policy towards Native States and Chiefs.* See Raleigh, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 83.

³⁹ *The Bengalee*, 9 June, 1903.

words : "I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. The fact is that Lord Curzon came to India with certain fixed ideas. To him India was a country, where the Englishman was to monopolise for all time all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country ; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them."⁴⁰ Lord Curzon's highest ideal of statesmanship was efficiency of administration. He did not believe in the principle of liberty as a factor of human progress. He had no sympathy with popular aspirations and when he found them among a subject people he thought he was rendering their country a service by trying to put them down.

⁴⁰ Gokhale's Presidential Address, 1905. See *The Indian National Congress* (Natesan), 1917, pp. 791-92.

NĀṬYA AND NR̥TYA

AN ASPECT OF DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION*

By G. K. Bhat

I

(a) The account of the origin of the drama given in the Nāṭyasāstra (NS.) tells us that the drama was created as a "fifth Veda", the four Vedas contributing each a particular element, to wit: Ṛgveda—recitative element, Sāmaveda—the songs, Yajurveda—histrionic element, and Atharvaveda—the sentiments.¹

The NS. also gives an account of the first dramatic performance which Bharata arranged under the direction of Brahmā : This was presented on the occasion of the Indramaha festival in celebration of Indra's victory over the Dānavas and the Asuras. Before the assembly of the jubilant gods, Bharata performed the holy Nāndī (with its eight limbs) and afterwards, an Anukṛti (an imitation of a situation) 'in which the Daityas were defeated by the gods, and which represented an altercation and tumult and (sometimes) mutual cutting off and piercing (of limbs or bodies).²

Later we learn that Brahmā wrote the first play—a Samavakāra—named Amṛtamanthana, and this, as well as a Dima, named Tripuradāha, were performed on the Himālaya and presented to Śiva.³

(b) Śiva was pleased to see the dramatic performance (Nāṭya) and advised Brahmā to utilize "the dance made beautiful by Aṅghāras, consisting of different Karaṇas, in the preliminaries (Pūrvaraṅga) of a play".⁴

Now, the combined movement of hands and feet in dance is called Karaṇa ; two Karaṇas make a Māṭṛkā ; and two, three or four Māṭṛkās make up an Aṅghāra. These were given by Śiva through Taṇḍu. The advice of Śiva to utilize the dance was based on the fact that, though the dance may not have a relation to the song presented, the dance "creates beauty" and "is naturally loved by almost all people".⁵

(c) Song, both vocal and instrumental, naturally played a great part at least in the preliminaries of the drama. Svāti and his disciples were

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¹ NS. I. 16.

² NS. I. 55-58.

³ NS. IV. 3-10.

⁴ NS. IV. 11-14 ; for definitions, see, IV. 30-34

⁵ NS. IV. 267-268.

employed by Brahmā to play on musical instruments and others were employed in singing songs.⁶

Later, Nārada is mentioned to have devised the use of music based on the stringed lute, called Citravīṇā, and its seven forms, as a means of pacifying the Daityas who did not like the songs in praise of the gods : This music, called Bahirgīta in honour of the gods, and named Nirgīta, to satisfy the vanity of the Daityas, is the special contribution of Nārada to the Pūrvaraṅga. It is supposed to have the effect of enrapturing the Daityas and Rākṣasas, so that they are not provoked and do not create any obstruction in the performance.⁷

The Samavakāra and the Dima, referred to above, are heroic spectacles showing, in the main, the victory of the gods over the demons and the burning of the three demon-citadels by Śiva. It is presumable that they must have been presented mainly by mimetic art—*anukṛti*—imitating the situation of the drama and conveying the appropriate sentiments through the medium of gestures and movements. There must have been very little, if any, spoken dialogue, and that must have been improvised on the spot.

But the performance was full of music and dance, as the description in the NS. shows. Śiva himself suggested that Tāṇḍava and Lāsya forms might be utilised in the preliminaries. Besides, music, both vocal and instrumental, was used, as the part played by Nārada in the dramatic preparations indicates.

II

It is likely that the form of the early drama was, thus, mainly mimetic, the performance carried through with significant gestures and movements; it was helped and enriched by the use of Saṅgīta : It is interesting to remember that 'Saṅgīta' is a combination of vocal and instrumental music with dance (*Nṛtyam gītam ca vādyam ca trayam saṅgītam ucyate*).

When the dramatic writers took over this art, they could be assumed to have written the spoken dialogue, creating thus a written form of drama with which we are quite familiar. Yet, it appears that, in spite of the dominance of the written dialogue, the mode of dramatic representation remained closely allied to the art and science of dance. This impression results from some significant evidence found in the theory and practice of Sanskrit drama.

(a) The drama was presented with the preliminaries known as Pūrvaraṅga, which was a mixture of religious worship and musical items. The items in the Pūrvaraṅga 'behind the curtain' were performed 'with the playing of drums and stringed instruments, as well as recitals' in due

⁶ NS. I. 50-51.

⁷ NS. V. 38-44.

order. Then, in front of the curtain and in the presence of the spectators, were performed dances and recitals, with the playing of all musical instruments, and some songs were sung along with the suitable form of the Tāṇḍava dance.⁸ It is evident that these are musical and dance items in the Pūrvaraṅga.

But what is really interesting to note is the manner in which the Sūtradhāra, who presents the Pūrvaraṅga, is supposed to perform the items which now follow and which are presented before the audience. These contain, among other things, the worship of the Brahma-maṇḍala, the salutation to the deities, honour to the Jarjara, the 'walking round' (parivarta) involved in these, and the items known as Cārī and Māhācārī.

Consider the description that is given in the NS. of how these items are to be performed :

(i) The offering of the worship is done with four Parivartas (lit., 'walking round'). The first parivarta is to be performed in slow tempo (*sthita-laya*) ; the second is to be commenced in medium tempo, and at this stage the Sūtradhāra enters the stage with his two assistants.⁹

All of them should be clad in white, should look with the adbhuta glance, be in Vaiṣṇava sthāna,¹⁰ with the sauṣṭhava of the body. The assistants carry a golden pitcher and the Jarjara.

The Sūtradhāra and his assistants then are to put five steps forward, for the purpose of worshipping Brahman, by slowly placing their feet three tālas (the distance between the tip of the middle finger and the wrist) apart, raising them alternately, and again putting them down at the same distance. Then, they perform the Sūcī Cārī,¹⁰ with the left foot moved first and the right foot afterwards.

It is with these movements that the Sūtradhāra offers flowers in the Brahma-maṇḍala (which means the centre of the stage where the Deity is supposed to be present.)¹¹

(ii) In performing, next, the third parivarta, going round the Brahma-maṇḍala with Sūcī Cārī, the Sūtradhāra takes up the Jarjara.¹² In the fourth parivarta, he approaches the musical instruments.

(iii) The salutation to different Deities in their respective directions, the Sūtradhāra is to perform by going five steps in the Atikrānta Cārī.¹³

⁸ NS. V. 8-15.

⁹ NS. V. 65-67 ; 68, 69, 70.

¹⁰ NS. XI. 51-52.

¹⁰ NS. XI. 2 ; 33. Cārī is a movement with a single foot : A Kuñcita foot thrown up and brought above the knee of the other foot and then allowing it to fall on its fore part, is called Sūcī Cārī.

¹¹ NS. V. 73-74.

¹² NS. V. 77-84, 84-87.

¹³ This consists in a kuñcita foot thrown up, put forward, and caused to fall on the ground. NS. XI. 29.

The bowing to Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu is done while going forward three steps by "masculine, feminine and neuter feet in order".¹⁴

(iv) After honouring the Jarjara, the Cārī (an item in the Pūrvaraṅga) is performed: at this time the Sūtradhāra is to assume the Avahittha sthāna (posture),¹⁵ place the left hand (first) with its palm downwards on the navel, take up the Jarjara by the hand, go five steps, with his left hand showing the Pallava gesture; while going he should cover one tāla at each step and move his limbs gracefully.^{15a}

(v) The Mahācārī (the next item in the Pūrvaraṅga) is accompanied by the singing of the Dhruvā song. The Sūtradhāra is to step towards the drums, then perform the Sūcī Cārī, followed by a change of Vikṣepa.

Then he is to move his feet gracefully with a quick tempo, and keeping them three tālas apart, he is to go five steps; this is again to be followed by Sūcī Cārī, with left and right foot forward alternatively. Thus moving, he is to go backwards, face towards front, and again three steps forward in a similar manner; this is followed by Sūcī Cārī, a recitation of a couplet and the singing of a Narkuṭaka Dhruvā, to be rounded by Sūcī Cārī.¹⁶

This detailed description of the Pūrvaraṅga items should convince us that the movements (postures and gestures as well) of the Sūtradhāra in this performance are pure dance-movements and dance-steps which are related, on the one hand, to the musical time and, on the other hand, to the symbolic meaning and grace associated with dance.

(b) It is true that the elaborate Pūrvaraṅga came to be dropped in course of time, with the exception of Nāndī which was retained as an auspicious protection against possible obstructions and dangers. The Nāndī, we know, was sung; and so, the placing of musical instruments in appropriate places on the stage, as well as the seating of the musicians (which are known as Pratyāhāra and Avataraṇa, respectively, in the technique of the Pūrvaraṅga),¹⁷ can easily be assumed. Musical accompaniment to the dramatic performance is indicated here.

However, there are other details in the NS. which suggest the use of dance technique in the presentation of a drama.

There is an emphasis in the Sanskrit drama on the presentation of emotional states and sentiments. This is supposed to be the essence of the drama—to the extent that the story, characters and the dramatic styles are all to lead to the manifestation of the Rasa. It is true that Rasa (sentiments) and Bhāva (emotional states) can be conveyed both through the medium of literature and of dance. But the subordination

¹⁴ That is, 'with right foot, left foot forward, and with right foot not much raised, respectively'. NS. V. 98-100.

¹⁵ NS. XIII. 164-65.

^{15a} NS. V. 123-125.

¹⁶ NS. V. 127-137.

¹⁷ NS. V. 17.

of literary elements is a pointer to the dominating character of dance-like representation.

The dramatic writers naturally developed the drama turning it into a fine literary art. But while this accounted for the Śravya or the Kāvya element, the Dṛśya element (drama being a Dṛśya-kāvya), which is in the hands of the actors appears, to have conformed to the ancient technique hallowed further through tradition.

What is significant is Bharata's description of the Sentiments, especially in connection with their stage representation. For instance, Bharata tells us that—

“The Erotic Sentiment is light-green (*śyāma*), the Comic Sentiment white, the Pathetic ash-coloured (*kapota*), the Furious red, the Heroic light-orange (*gaura*), the Terrible black, the Odious blue, and the Marvellous yellow.”

There are presiding Deities associated with each of the Sentiments.¹⁶

This association of colours and deities with the sentiments has obviously a symbolic value which we connect particularly with mimetic and dance representation.

Bharata also prescribes the manner of presenting the Sentiments on the stage. Erotic, for instance, “should be presented on the stage by consequents (*anubhāva*) such as clever movements of eyes, eyebrows, glances, soft and delicate movements of limbs, and sweet words and similar other things.”¹⁹ Comic is represented on the stage “by . . . (*anubhāvas*, like) the throbbing of the lips, the nose and the cheek, opening the eyes wide or contracting them, perspiration, colour of the face, and taking hold of the sides.”²⁰

Bharata explains the emotional states (*Bhāva*), from which the Sentiments arise (*bhāvayanti*), as ‘pervading’ (*bhāvana*) the heart of the spectators, when the *vibhāvas* and the *anubhāvas* properly combine. The states or the *bhāvas* are so called on account of their appeal to the spectator. The inner idea of the poet-playwright pervades (*bhāvana*) the mind by means of words, gestures, colour of the face, and the representation of the temperament (*sāttvika*).²¹

It is clear that from a representational point of view, the poet's part is limited to the ‘words’ he writes ; but the conveying of it to the spectators is the business of the actor : And here the value that Bharata places on symbolism of colours, the use of gestures and the showing of the temperament, is sufficiently demonstrative of the close connection of dramatic and dance presentation.

¹⁶ NS. VI. 42-43, 44-45.

¹⁹ NS. VI. 44-45 and the following prose.

²⁰ NS. VI. 47-48 and the following prose.

²¹ NS. V. 31 and the following prose. VII. 1-2.

(c) The rules laid down by Bharata about abhinaya may be similarly considered in this connection :

(i) Abhinaya (abhi-nī), Bharata points out, means 'carrying the performance of a play (prayoga) to the point of direct ascertainment of its meaning'.²² It is of four types: the first, āṅgika, gestures, is based on the use of head, hands, lips, breast, sides and feet (the major limbs), and the eyes, eyebrows, nose, lower lip and chin (the minor limbs).

Bharata points out that Śākhā (gestures, or flourish of gesticulation preceding the words), nṛtta and aṅkura (pantomiming through the gesture, or the flourish of gesticulating following the words)—are the three aspects of abhinaya (histrionic representation) which a producer of plays should reckon.²³

(ii) The recognition of nṛtta in abhinaya is significant.

The gestures themselves are symbolic and are intended to convey particular states (bhāva): Thus, the tripatākā, for instance, is used "in representing invocation, descent, bidding good-bye, prohibition, entrance . . ." etc.²⁴ It is this suggestion of 'prohibition' that governs the use of this gesture (tripatāka-karaṇa) in the kind of dramatic speech technically known as the 'Janāntika'.

(iii) Similar is the employment of 'glances'. Thus, for instance, the kūnta glance is made by contracting the eyebrows and casting a side-long look; it has its origin in 'joy' and 'pleasure' and is used in the Śṛṅgāra rasa.²⁵

(iv) The sthānas (or the standing postures) carry a symbolic significance. Thus, the Vaiṣṇava sthāna is held with the feet two and a half tūlas apart, one foot in natural posture and another obliquely placed with toes pointing sideways and the shank bent (aṅcita) and limbs with the sauṣṭhava. From this sthāna, persons of the superior and the middling types should carry on their ordinary conversation in connection with the various duties.²⁶

The entrance of characters on the stage was preceded by the playing of drums and other musical instruments and was to be accompanied by the singing of the Dhruvā.

Playing the role of the superior or the middling type, the actor was to assume the Vaiṣṇava posture, his chest being raised sama and caturasra, shoulders at rest and not raised very much, the neck as graceful as that of a peacock, the shoulders eight aṅgulas apart from the ears, the chin

²² NS. VIII. 6-7.

²³ NS. VIII. 14-15.

²⁴ NS. IX. 26-32. The Tripatākā gesture means, the thumb and the third (or small?) finger bent, others extended. For 'Janāntika', see Daśarūpa or Sāhityadarpaṇa.

²⁵ NS. VIII. 44.

²⁶ NS. XI. 51, 52, 53.

four aṅgulas apart from the chest, the right hand at the navel and the left at the waist.²⁷

(v) The gaits appropriate for various sentiments and emotional states are prescribed in detail. Thus, the gait in ordinary love-making is to be graceful: The lover is to enter the stage with the Dūtī; act his part by means of the Sūcā (that is, convey the meaning of the speech first by temperament—sāttvika abhinaya—and gestures, and then by verbal representation)²⁸ . . . He is to walk with graceful steps in the Atikrānta Cārī, the limbs having sauṣṭhava; move with proper tempo (laya) and tāla; the hands raised, when the feet fall (and vice versa).²⁹

As another instance, consider the following prescription: The gait of 'a person riding a chariot' should consist of simple (Cūrṇa) steps. From the samapāda posture he is to make a mimicry of being carried in a chariot, taking up the bow in one hand and the pole of chariot with the other. With quick and simple steps he is to enter the stage.³⁰ The gait of a character moving through the sky is to include the aerial Cārīs, looking downwards, moving first from the samapāda posture with simple steps.

(vi) In prescribing walking postures for women, Bharata explains the Aśvakrānta posture as follows: "The sthāna in which one foot is raised and the other is resting on its fore-part and ready for Sūcī or the Āviddha Cārī is called Atikrānta. This sthāna is to be assumed in taking hold of the branch of a tree, plucking a blossom, or in the taking of rest by goddesses or women for any purposes. The posture will be maintained by a dancer till the movement begins. For, during a dance, the sthāna is at an end when the Cārī has begun."³¹

These prescriptions clearly show that the facial expressions, movements of eyes, hands and feet, the symbolic gestures of fingers (mudrā), the different postures and movements on the stage, were all to be appropriately performed so as to express the meaning of words spoken in the dialogue and the emotional content present in them. The suggestive value of this abhinaya and its fixed accepted character are related to the art and technique of dance.

We learn from the NS. that Taṇḍu, at the behest of Śiva, spoke of Aṅgahāras and Karaṇas to Bharata. The aṅgahāras consist of karaṇas; and a karaṇa is a combined movement of hands and feet in dance. The karaṇas are variations of the Mātṛkās—the latter being the application of the sthānas, the Cārīs, and the Nṛtta-hastas. The karaṇas, thus, constitute general dance.³²

²⁷ NS. XIII. 2-7.

²⁸ NS. XXIV. 43.

²⁹ NS. XIII. 41-44.

³⁰ NS. XIII. 88-92.

³¹ NS. XIII. 167-171.

³² NS. IV. 16ff.; 56-58.

It appears that the *karāṇa* or general dance was occasionally interpolated in the acting to fill up the gaps. But if the testimony of the *Agnipurāṇa* is to be considered, the dance and the dance movements were employed to embellish the representation of such events as a fight with weapons or a duel on the stage.³³

Bharata himself speaks of *abhinaya* which is realistic (*Lokadharmī*) and which is conventional or symbolic (*Nāṭyadharmī*).³⁴ This *nāṭyadharmī* *abhinaya* is as much based on the inevitable make-believe present in stage representation as on the conventional gestures, poses, movements etc. of which Bharata speaks.

If to this we add the fact that the word 'Nāṭa' comes from the root *nṛt* being prakritised into *nat*, the dependence of dramatic representation on the mode of dance and music becomes quite obvious.

(d) The rules of Bharata about the Costumes and Make-up (NS. Chapter XXIII) bear another piece of testimony on the close relation between dance and drama.

(i) Bharata prescribes that the different kinds of women—celestial, of the *Vidyādhara*, *Yakṣa* and *Nāga* classes, *Apsarasas*, daughters of sages and gods, so also of the *Siddha*, *Gandharva*, *Rākṣasa* and *Asura*, the godly monkeys and human females—are to be distinguished for their own roles by means of ornaments and costumes suited to the various states (*bhāvas*).³⁵

Thus, for instance, the *Vidyādhara* women will have their hair tied in a top-knot decorated with pearl-strings and they will be clad in complete white. The *Apsarasas* will wear jewels, their dress being white. *Gandharva* women will carry a *Vīṇā* and their dress will be of saffron colour. The dress of goddesses will be 'green like the colour of a parrot's tail'; that of the monkey-females will be of blue colour. It is with reference to the human females that Bharata prescribes a costume appropriate to their place of origin and the position they have.³⁶

(ii) In the case of males, Bharata prescribes painting of limbs with appropriate colours. Thus, the gods, *Yakṣas* and *Apsarasas* should be painted reddish yellow (*gaura*); *Himālaya* and *Gaṅgā* (when they appear in human form) should be painted white. The *Daiṭyas* etc. will be dark-blue in colour.

Human beings of *Jambudvīpa* are to be given the colour of gold generally. Kings will be of lotus colour, or dark-blue, or reddish yellow. Sages will have the colour of plum (*Badara*). Evil men etc. will be shown

³³ See Ghosh, NS., p. 49 footnote. The *Agnipurāṇa* (I. p. 96) has :

अभिनये यन्नृत्तं वक्ष्यते, अभिनयान्तरालवति छिद्रप्रच्छादनादौ तत् प्रयुज्यते,
शस्त्रादियुद्धे बाहुयुद्धे प्रयोगसौष्ठवार्थमपि तत् प्रयुज्यते ।

³⁴ NS. VI. 24.

³⁵ NS. XXIII. 45ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 48-63.

a-sita (not fair, brownish). The condition of happiness in the case of mortals is shown by reddish yellow (gaura) paint.³⁷

(iii) The colour of the dresses has a correspondence with the painting of limbs and also with emotional states.

Thus, the costumes of celestial beings will be variegated (citra, i.e. vicitra); those of Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, of kings and their officers will be white; of wandering ascetics, great sages etc. will be dark-red (kāṣāya).³⁸

(iv) In addition, Bharata prescribes the use of headdresses (masks, as others understand; the word being 'pratiśira) including 'crowns' of which three types are mentioned: The superior gods are to have the kirīṭi crown; kings normally will have the mastakī type of crown; Kañcukin, merchants, priests will wear a turban; the Senāpati and the crown-prince will wear a small crown (ardhamukūṭa).³⁹

(v) In a similar manner, various hair-styles are indicated.

For instance, married women, king's officers and foppish men will wear curling hair. The menials will have three śikhās on their head or will be clean shaven. The Vidūṣaka has the kūkapada.

These rules about the make-up of the face and limbs and about the costumes for different dramatic characters could have been understood only as general instructions intended for the guidance of actors and prompted chiefly by the desire to secure in stage representation the necessary illusion of realism. As a matter of fact, every actor takes such care to wear the make-up and dress appropriate to the dramatic role he is to play. But the symbolic value, again, that the NS. attaches to the make-up and the head-dress as well as to the colour of the costume indicates their affinity with the technique of dance: For, it is in a dance presentation that the make-up and costume carry a symbolic and suggestive meaning.

III

These theoretical prescriptions find an occasional echo in the actual writings of the classical dramatists, which confirms the impression that the dance and dance-modes were really employed in the stage performance of the Sanskrit plays.

(a) In the prelude to Bhāsa's *urubhāṅga*, the mace fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana is reported through three soldiers. In the course of the fight Duryodhana is once described as 'deliberately dwarfing his body while stepping over a place.'⁴⁰ This probably indicates a

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 84-98.

³⁸ NS. XXIII. 113-123 and ff.

³⁹ NS. XXIII. 129-139.

⁴⁰ Uru. I. 17b: 'स्थानाक्रामणवामनीकृततनुः'...

'crouching position taken while approaching': and the movement may be as realistic as it is likely to represent a certain stance. Bharata points out that the stage fights are to be carried out 'by means of gestures and postures only'.⁴¹ We may also remember the suggestion made by the *Agnipurāṇa* for the use of dance movements in the stage representation of fights and duels.

Later, Bhīma is actually described as "moving in a Cārī gait".⁴² The NS. tells us that the Cārī is mainly a movement with a single foot; but the movement of the foot naturally includes the movement of the shanks and thighs; the movement of the thighs and feet constitute together the Cārī of the feet.⁴³

Similarly, in the *Dūtavākya*, the spectacle of the whole Kuru assembly is indicated by the speech of Duryodhana alone: This involves naturally a number of Supers (unspeaking characters) and a lot of mimetic representation.

(b) Kālidāsa describes the tāṇḍava and the lāsya dances of Śiva and Umā respectively as Nāṭya. Śiva is supposed to have promulgated this nāṭya in the twin dance forms which are comprised in his own person as Ardha-nārī-ṇaṭeśvara.⁴⁴ This indicates the identity of nṛtya and nāṭya.

In *Mālavikāgnimitra*, act II, Mālavikā presents a dance item in the auditorium of the palace. It is called Madhyalayā-catuṣpadā, four songs in the middle rhythm, composed by Śarmiṣṭhā. Mālavikā first sings the song and then acts it. Paṇḍita-Kauśikī who has been appointed to judge this presentation expresses an expert opinion on this acting performance in the following words: "(Mālavikā's) limbs were eloquent as with words as it were, and expressed the sense perfectly (without the use of spoken words). Her placing of the foot (in feet movements) was in perfect accord with the musical time-beat. She was attuned mentally to the Sentiments in the song. The acting produced from the technical gestures of the arms⁴⁵ was delicate. And when she moved from one piece of acting to another, one emotion replaced the other smoothly; but the interest never flagged throughout".⁴⁶ This is a description of abhinaya, which is central in a nāṭya, in terms of the nṛtya technique. What is further interesting is that Mālavikā's preceptor, Gaṇadāsa, who taught her this song, dance and acting, is designated

⁴¹ NS. XI. 87.

⁴² Ūru. I. 19c: 'चारी गति प्रचरति'...

⁴³ NS. X. 52-53; XI. 2.

⁴⁴ Mālavikā. I. 4: 'रुद्रणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा ।'

⁴⁵ The expression is: 'शाखायोनिः मृदुः अभिनयः.' According to Bharata (NS. VIII. 15) Śūkhā is āṅgika abhinaya, i.e. gestures. Śārṅgadeva (*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, VII. 37-38) defines Śūkhā as 'Karavartanī,' flourish of the gesticulating hand preceding the speech. See, Ghosh, NS. Tr., p. 150.

⁴⁶ Mālavikā., II. 8.

as Nāṭyācārya. He is proud of his hereditary lore, Nāṭyaviyā. And Kālidāsa's drama speaks of two such preceptors who were in the employ of king Agnimitra.⁴⁷

The fourth act of *Vikramorvaṣīya* is constructed as a ballet. This longer version of the act is preserved in some editions, including the one published recently by the Sahitya Akademi. Here, Purūravas who has lost his mental balance due to the disappearance of Urvaśī moves about on the stage in search of his lost beloved. He approaches various objects, birds and animals. There are Prakrit songs introduced and the actor-hero moves about in tune with them. The stage direction tells us that he 'moves round' (parikrāmati, indicating a change of scene), or 'looks' with 'Dvipadī'. Dvipadī may mean a couplet composed in a particular metre ; in which case, it would signify a song to the accompaniment of which the actor-hero took his steps. It is equally probable, as Professor Velankar suggests, that the Dvipadī is 'a mode of walking and seeing, or in other words, it is a pose or posture of the body . . .'

The movements of Purūravas are also accompanied by Carcarī, and here the stage direction often reads "having danced" (nartitvā). This clearly indicates that the Carcarī is 'a dance, perhaps, a chorus dance', and the Carcarikā (diminutive) may then signify, 'a solo dance'. The actor-hero is represented as moving to the accompaniment of this dance and music, and four or five times he himself is shown as dancing. Professor Velankar suggests that one group of the stanzas, which describe the king's condition 'under the image of an animal or an object in Nature', 'were recited or sung by a dancing girl, or girls, who conveyed the idea about the animal or bird or the object by means of dance postures, gestures and appropriate action'. The other group of stanzas, in which the king addresses different objects, 'bear relation to the movements and actions of the king while he is on the stage. They are introduced whenever the king goes from one object to another for inquiring or whenever something new is stated by him'.⁴⁸ The stage directions, referred to above, showing that the actor-hero participated in and occasionally danced himself to the accompaniment of music, are a clear pointer to the employment of music and dance in this entire scene. A lengthy scene of the hero's mad wanderings, with a long-drawn-out monologue would have been very tiring both to the actor himself and to the spectators. And, so, Kālidāsa must have composed this whole scene as a ballet with song and dance elements. With the fine sense of dramatic values, especially in stage representation, that Kālidāsa displays, there is nothing improbable in this assumption. In fact, the plays of Kālidāsa unmistak-

⁴⁷ Mālavikā., I and II. Cf. 'स्थाने खलु'

⁴⁸ See, *Vikramorvaṣīya*, Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, 1961 ; Prof. Velankar's Introduction, Sections IV and V

ably show that he understands nṛtya in the sense of nāṭya, and his plays exhibit a close association of drama (i.e., abhinaya) and dance.

(c) In Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* (act I) there is a spectacle of Cupid's Festival. Two maids are shown here as singing a 'Dvipadī' and also as dancing.

The Vidūṣaka joins and dances between the two maids. He expresses a desire to learn the Carcarikā : It is significant that the Vidūṣaka knows this word and the maid knows the technical distinction between a Dvipadī-khaṇḍa, which, she explains, is to be recited, and the Carcarikā, which, as we have seen, signifies a dance or a solo dance.⁴⁹

(d) Yaugandharāyaṇa, in Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, while approaching Padmāvati with a request, says that he is not really a supplicant ; that he has 'not donned the tawny robe as a means of livelihood'.⁵⁰ The word is 'kāśāya', which means the tawny robe. But when we remember that Bharata prescribes this colour of the costume for "wandering ascetics",⁵¹ and that Yaugandharāyaṇa is actually appearing in the role of one (Parivrājaka-veśo), the word seems to acquire a suggestive significance in the context of the symbolic value of colour in dramatic representation.

(e) In prescribing hair-styles Bharata has 'Kākapada' for the Vidūṣaka. This word actually occurs as an epithet in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, where Śakāra describes Maitreya as 'Kākapada-sīrṣa mastaka'.⁵²

(f) It appears that, like Kālidāsa, the author of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* uses the word 'nāṭaka' in the sense of 'dance' only.⁵³

(g) The *Karṣūramāñjarī* of Rājāśekhara contains the expression, 'Saṭṭaam naccidavvam' : A similar expression occurs in the *Harivaṃśa*, 'Nāṭakam nanṛtuh'—"They danced a play".⁵⁴

Thus, the close association of dramatic presentation and dance appears to be quite certain. It is easy to understand that the dramatic speeches must have been delivered nearly much in the same way as they are done in the latter-day stage acting. But the make-up, head-dress, costume, facial expressions including the movements of the eyes and eyebrows, the gestures by hands and fingers, the postures, and the movements

⁴⁹ *Ratnāvalī*, I. Read the stage direction and the Vidūṣaka's remarks.

('चेट्योः मध्ये नृत्यन् । '... 'भवति, ... एतां चर्चरिकां मामपि शिक्षयतम् । ')

⁵⁰ SV. I. 9b : 'नाहं काषायं वृत्तिहेतोः प्रपन्नः । '

⁵¹ See, above, footnote (38).

⁵² Mṛc., I.

⁵³ *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, Gujarati translation, (Bhavanagar, saṃvat 2003), by Bhogilaj Sandesara, (date, Vikrama Saṃvat, 600) ; p. 460 ; Referred to in Śṛṅgārahāṭa, Bombay, 1960 ; Introduction by Dr. Motichandra, p. 46 : "वसुदेवहिंडी में, नाटक (नाट्य) शब्द का व्यवहार केवल नृत्य के लिए हुआ है । "

⁵⁴ Referred to by M. Ghosh, NS. English translation, Introduction p. xlii.

Note : The references to the Nāṭyaśūtra are according to the text presupposed by M. Ghosh ; the translations quoted are from the same, with minor changes.

involved in approaching or in going away from an object, place or person, as well as the presentation of such events as fights, duels, a chariot-ride and etc.—all these appear to be performed in accordance with the conventions of the dance technique. Apart from the use of dance and music in some early or later plays, the dance mode seems to be an important feature of dramatic acting. The evidence presented above shows, thus, that the Sanskrit drama, in its representational aspect, depended on a large measure on the technique of dance : In other words, the Sanskrit Nāṭya was nr̥ttāśraya.

QUATERNARY STRATIGRAPHY IN THE KĀN BASIN AT
BHĀDNE AND YESAR — RESULTS OF RECENT
PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION

By S. A. Sali

I. INTRODUCTORY

IN THE COURSE of his intensive explorations in Dhulia District of Maharashtra State the writer has collected interesting stratigraphic and Stone Age cultural data in the basins of the Tapti and its tributaries. The stratigraphic data obtained by him in the Kan basin, particularly at Bhadne and Yesar, being the most complete one so far found in the Tapti Valley, is dealt with in this paper.¹

The region under consideration forms part of the Deccan Lavas. The Banks of the river are heavily eroded and as such the area presents a 'badland' topography. On the top of the alluvium, wherever conditions favoured, dark brown to black soil has been formed, which gives the *crop chiefly of wheat and bajari*.

The river Ran, a tributary to the river Panjhra which in turn joins the Tapti, rises in the Sahyadri hills near Hanwantpara (Lat. 21°4' N. Long. 73°57'E.), the hamlet of village Chaupala, and flows towards north-east upto Malangaon Rest House. Here it sharply takes a south-easterly course to meet the Panjhra about 4 km downstream from Bhadne. Of its total 58 river km course a 45 km long stretch, from the village Amli to its confluence with the Panjhra, was examined. The river receives on its either side numerous streams; noteworthy amongst those examined from the point of view of prehistoric archaeology, being the Junnya Nala, the Uttavali Nala and the Motha Nala. Almost throughout its course the river flows through hilly region and the average gradient, as calculated at an interval of 50 ft. contour from the 1" Survey Sheets, comes to about 5 m/km or 26.4 ft/mile. About 500 m downstream from the village Chhadvel (locally known by a joint-name as Chhadvel—Pakhrun) the river flows over 60 m through a narrow deep gorge. Wherever the hard trap bed lay exposed across the course of the river, rapids were noticed at its downstream end. Such hard trap beds, as was seen, played the role of barriers, subdividing the course of the river into a number of sections. The cliff-sections were observed to be located between two such barriers. In the examined course 24 cliff-sections were detected. Of these, seven lie in the revenue limits of the village Bhadne and two of

¹ The evidence was first presented in brief before the scholars assembled on the occasion of the Seminar on Prehistory and Protohistory held late in May 1964 at the Deccan College, Poona; see also S. A. Sali, "Story of Stone Age Man in Dhulia District", SANSHODHAN, vol. 33, Dhulia, (1965).

Yesar, within a stretch of about 6 river km (see map Fig. 1). Evidence from these localities is detailed below.

2. BHADNE

A. *The Site*

The village Bhadne (Lat. $20^{\circ}59' N$. Long. $74^{\circ}19' E$. ; 1" Survey Sheet No. 46 L/5) lies on the right bank of the Kan, opposite Sakri, the taluka headquarters, which is situated about 53 km west of Dhulia. It can be approached throughout the year by road, except when the river is in floods.

B. *The Cliff-Sections*

As already said, seven cliff-sections were detected in the revenue limits of the village Bhadne. The evidence obtained is detailed below by calling them Locality I, Locality II, Locality III, etc., from the upstream to downstream. All the localities are situated on the right bank of the river. Except the localities VI and VII, which were visited twice, all the localities were visited only once. The date of visit is recorded in the bracket.

Locality I (24-2-1962)

This locality lies about 2.5 km upstream from the village near a dam. But for a small portion at its upstream end, it was found to be obscured by the talus. At the upstream end, near the canal-cutting, yellowish silt and the overlying calcareous gravel were observed to be lying against a red gravel deposit. From the yellow silt and the overlying gravel were recovered microliths on chalcedony and jasper. One rolled Early Stone Age core on trap was picked up at the base of the section which is highly calcareous.

Locality II (24-2-1962)

About 200 m downstream from the Locality I lies this locality. From the bottom upwards, it consists of the following deposits :

1. Reddish current-bedded fine gravel partly resting upon the weathered basalt.
2. Brown silty clay, yellowish in the upper levels.
3. Blackish gravel.

None of the deposits yielded archaeological remains.

Locality III (24-2-1962)

This locality lies about 200 m downstream from the village. Here on the weathered basalt rests red current-bedded fine gravel and in the topmost levels is exposed 60 cm thick medium-to-fine gravel stained

with calcium carbonate. The portion between these two exposed deposits was found to be concealed by the talus. From the red gravel were collected a fossil bone and a few lithic artifacts, all on jasper, which may be assigned to the Middle Stone Age. The topmost calcareous gravel yielded two microliths, including a core of agate and a composite tool on a flake of milky chalcedony, both serving as a hollow scraper and a burin.

Locality IV (24-2-1962)

About 400 m downstream from the Locality III is situated the Locality IV. The cliff is about 9 m high; but, only about 2 m thick current-bedded fine gravel in the lower levels was found to be exposed, the rest being obscured by the talus.

Locality V (27-2-1962)

The Locality V lies only about 75 m downstream from the above mentioned Locality IV. Though about 8 m high from the river bed, only about 2 m of its lowest levels were found to be clearly exposed and rest concealed by the talus. In the lowest portion was observed about 1 m thick gravel underlying the red calcareous clay of equal thickness. From the junction of the clay with the gravel was recovered one beautiful fish-like handaxe. Near the base of the section was observed a patch of gravel conglomerate on which were lying loose one each a cleaver and a core. Preliminary examination showed that there is an unconformity between the top of the red clay and the overlying deposit, which appears to be the current-bedded fine gravel. However, further examination is necessary to confirm this observation.

Locality VI (27-2-1962 and 14-6-1962)

This locality lies about 400 m downstream from the Locality V. The cliff is over 10 m high and 25 m long. From the bottom upwards, the following sequence of deposits was observed in the upstream portion of this section (Pl. I. ; Fig. 8).

1. Light red coarse to fine gravel, the fine gravel showing current-bedding and stained at places with coal-black matter. (Only about 60 cm thick portion of this gravel was seen exposed, the rest being concealed by the modern silt which lies as a small terrace against it).
2. Dark chocolate brown fissured clay with small kankar nodules.
3. Red current-bedded sandy fine gravel.
4. Brown clay-silt.
5. Fine gravel.
6. Yellow silt.
7. Fine gravel stained with calcium carbonate.
8. Brownish silt.

The lowest light red gravel, (1), yielded two handaxes and one rectangular cleaver in 'mint condition'. From the calcareous gravel, (7), were recovered 6 microliths including one each a core-nodule, a fluted core, a parallel-sided retouched blade, a blade-flake, an ovaloid flake and a piece, the first and the last but one on jasper and all the rest on chalcedony. The section being almost vertically exposed, detailed examination of other gravels was not possible.

Locality VII (27-2-1962 and 14-2-1962)

This locality, which is basically the part of Locality VI, being separated from the latter by a huge raingully, is the most complete section so far found (Pl. I. ; Fig. 2).

The following sequence of deposits, from the bottom upwards, was observed here.

1. Coarse rounded gravel.
2. Red clay with large kankar nodules.
3. Coarse-to-fine gravel at places stained with coal-black matter.
4. Dark chocolate brown calcareous fissured clay.
5. Red fine gravel and sand.
6. Brown clay-slit.
7. Fine gravel and sand.
8. Yellow silt with kankar pillets.
9. Fine calcareous gravel.
10. Brownish silt.

During the writer's first visit, on the 27th February, 1962, the bottom portion of the red clay, (2), was completely concealed by the talus and the lowest gravel, (1), could not be seen then. But prior to his next visit, on the 14th June, 1962, the area received rains and as a result a small portion of this gravel below the red clay was exposed.

The Gravel II is partly re-deposited. The re-deposited material is weathered and blackish in colour and the tools collected from it are heavily rolled. The undisturbed portion of the gravel is light red in colour and shows current-bedding. The collection of over a dozen Early Stone Age tools from this gravel consists of handaxes, an ovate, cleavers, a discoidal core and flakes. The other gravels were not within easy reach and hence their close examination was not possible.

3. YESAR

A. The Site

This is a deserted village, the ruins of which lie about one km downstream from Sakri on the left bank of the river Ran (Lat. 20°59' N.

Long. 74°20' E. ; 1" Survey Sheet No. 46 L/5). Two cliff-sections, called Locality I and Locality II, both on the left bank of the river, were discovered in the revenue limits of this village.

B: The Cliff-Sections

Locality I (24-2-1962)

This locality lies about 100 m downstream from the Locality V at Bhadne on the opposite bank. From the bottom upwards, it showed the following sequence of deposits (Fig. 5) :

1. Current-bedded pink fine gravel.
2. Highly calcareous clay.
- ?. About 2 m portion obscured by the talus.
3. Current-bedded reddish fine gravel.
4. Brown silt.
5. Brownish current-bedded fine gravel.

From the calcareous clay, (2), were recovered three lithic artifacts of Early Stone Age, including two cores, one each of gasper and trap, and one leaf-shaped flake of trap. The reddish current-bedded fine gravel, (3), yielded five artifacts. The collection comprises one each and irregular core, a side-scraper, and end-scraper-cum-blade on a flake with a pointed tang at the bluber end, all of gasper, and two flakes, one of jasper and the other of hard trap and rolled.

Locality II (24-2-1962)

About 200 m downstream from the above described locality, lies the Locality II (Fig. 3). This cliff is over 8 m high from the river bed but only three deposits—two gravels with the intervening highly calcareous clay—in its lowest levels were found to be clearly exposed, the upper levels being concealed by the talus. The lowest deposit here is the coarse-to-fine rounded gravel resting directly upon the basalt. This gravel is at a higher level than the corresponding one in the Locality VII at Bhadne about 60 m downstream. From this deposit were recovered four Early Stone Age artifacts, three of them being heavily rolled and the one, which is a cleaver, 'fresh'. Over this gravel lies a highly calcareous red clay the huge blocks of which have fallen at the base of the section. Over the red clay lies unconformably the second gravel which like the Gravel II in the Locality VII at Bhadne, is partly re-deposited. From the re-deposited portion were recovered heavily rolled Early Stone Age tools while from the undisturbed current-bedded red gravel portion of this deposit was obtained one large 'fresh' flake of trap.

4. STRATIGRAPHY¹*Gravel I*

This gravel is the earliest fluvial deposit of the Quaternary so far found on the Kan. It occurs as the lowest deposit lying upon the uneven surface of basalt at Bhadne, Yesar, Amoda and Bhondgaon. Its level above the present river bed varies from 60 cm to as much as 1.8 m in the Locality II at Yesar and it ranges in thickness from 20 cm to about 1 m. The deposit is yellowish to pink or light red in colour and in general consists of well rounded pebbles and gravel of coarse-to-fine grades, the finer material showing current-bedding. At Bhondgaon, on the Utavali Nala, it is composed of rock-waste. At Amoda it is highly compacted. No faunal remains have so far been found in this gravel. Early Stone Age tools were recovered from this gravel.

Red Clay

Overlying the Gravel I is the hard red clay. So far it has been observed at Bhadne, Yesar, Amoda and Bhondgaon. At Yesar and Amoda this deposit has been partly turned into calcareous tufa while at other places it contains large kankar nodules and occasionally thin kankar sheets. Its colour is pink to light red or reddish brown when water-soaked. At Amoda a huge 'fresh' core of hard trap of Early Stone Age was recovered from this clay. No faunal remains have so far been obtained from this deposit.

Unconformity

There appears to be an unconformity between the end of the deposition of the clay and the commencement of the aggradation of the overlying gravel—the Gravel II.

Gravel II

At Bhadne and Yesar the Gravel II overlies the red clay unconformably. Here it is partly re-deposited. At Dahivel a massive deposit of this gravel intercalated by hard sheets of kankar was seen exposed in a well-section (Pl. II. and Fig. 7). In a well-section at Amli its components were the rubble and sub-angular gravel and had patches of red clay. From the undisturbed portion of this deposit a large fresh flake of trap of the Early Stone Age was recovered at Yesar. The re-deposited portion at Bhadne and Yesar yielded heavily rolled bifaces.

Chocolate Fissured Clay

The chocolate fissured clay has so far been observed in the Kan basin

¹ In this section other sites in the Kan basin have also been mentioned as they help us in their own distinctive way.

at Bhadne, Sutara, Dahivel and Amli, at the last two villages in well-sections. In Locality VII at Bhadne this deposit is highly calcareous whereas at other places it contains small kankar nodules. Besides being hard and sticky, it comes out in clods. That this clay possesses a property of developing cracks on drying owing to contraction like the black cotton soil was very well demonstrated in the well-section at Dahivel (see Pl. II. and Fig. 7). The wide racks here were filled up with the overlying sandy deposit. It should be mentioned here that fissures are the most readily recognisable characteristic feature of this clay. In the Kan basin the colour of this deposit has been observed to be dark brown to chocolate. At Sutara this clay has ferruginous blotches. In the well-section at Dahivel it has lenses of ferruginous fine gravel and rubble. In this section it also yielded Early Stone Age tools.

Unconformity

The unconformity between the end of the deposition of the chocolate fissured clay and the beginning of the deposition of the overlying gravel—Gravel III—was very clearly discernible in the well-section at Dahivel.

Gravel III

Unconformably overlying the fissured clay is the red fine gravel. It is present in the Kan basin at Bhadne, Dahivel, Amli, Sutara and Amoda. It shows current-bedding and in general is poorly compacted. At Amoda Middle Stone Age tools were recovered from this gravel. It is as yet to be ascertained if the fossiliferous and implementiferous red gravel in Locality III at Bhadne and the fossiliferous gravel on a small nala at Dhabla Pada correspond to the Gravel III. A corresponding gravel on the Panjhra at Gondas has yielded the Middle Stone Age tools on jasper.

Brown Clay-Silt

The brown clay-silt overlies the Gravel III. It is present at Bhadne, Amli and Sutara. This deposit contains kankar nodules and shows small fissures on drying. The fissures in this deposit, however, are not so well-marked as in the chocolate clay. When water-soaked it is hard and sticky.

Gravel IV

So far in the Kan basin this gravel has been identified only in the Localities VI and VII at Bhadne. Although here its close examination was not possible, being not within easy reach, and hence its archaeological contents could not be known, the evidence from the cliff-section on the Panjhra at Gondas, only about 2 km south-west of these localities (see map Fig. 1), would in all probability be a pointer towards the potentialities of this gravel. Here, of the three gravels (see Fig. 6), the lowest, resting upon the water-soaked clay, yielded the Middle Stone

Age tools on jasper. The second gravel, which probably corresponds to the gravel under consideration, yielded lithic tools both on jasper and chalcedony, including fluted cores, a parallel-sided blade, a burin, scrapers and flakes. The third gravel, which, in composition, archaeological contents and stratigraphic position, is analogous to the gravel of the last aggradation in Localities I, III, VI, and VII on the Kan at Bhadne, yielded microliths ascribable to the Late Stone Age.

Being stratigraphically situated between the Gravel III and the microlith-bearing Gravel V in the Kan basin, the archaeological contents of this gravel may prove to be of great importance in that, if the evidence obtained by the writer on the Panjhra at Gondas, described above, be any guide, they might represent a distinct cultural stage following the Middle Stone Age but preceding the Late Stone Age.

Yellow Silt

Overlying the Gravel IV is the yellow silt with kankar pillets and a small proportion of sand and fine gravel. It was observed in Localities I, VI and VII at Bhadne. In Locality I, where it lies against the red gravel, it has yielded a few microliths. In Locality II at Bhadne the upper portion of the brown clay-silt is yellow in colour. This yellow deposit may perhaps represent there the yellow silt.

Gravel V

The Gravel V overlies the yellow silt in the Kan basin in Localities I, III, VI and VII at Bhadne. It is composed of mainly fine gravel though it contains a considerable proportion of gravel of medium grade and is calcareous and poorly consolidated but not loose. This gravel has yielded microliths which can be ascribed to the Late Stone Age.

Brownish Silt

The microlith-bearing gravel in Localities VI and VII on the Kan at Bhadne is covered by a thin deposit of brownish silt. The brownish colour of this deposit may perhaps be due to the growth of vegetation on its top. No archaeological remains were found in this silt.

5. EPILOGUE

The above detailed stratigraphic evidence of the Quaternary from the Kan basin at Bhadne and Yesar poses an important question : Is this evidence confined to that particular region alone? From the actual observations made on the Godavari at Gangapur near Nasik, in the Pravara basin near Sangamner (district Ahmednagar) and on the river Mutha at Poona, and because the present day climatic conditions in the region under discussion do not differ much from those in the above said river valleys and in all probability did so also in the past, the writer

is inclined to surmise that identical evidence should be found in those regions as well.

Late in January, 1962, that is, one month prior to the examination of the area around Bhadne and Yesar in the Kan basin, the writer had an opportunity to study the section on the right bank of the Godavari at Gangapur near Nasik. This section, which is situated between a waterfall and a dyke, is over 42 ft. high from the river bed. In its lower levels was observed the exposed current-bedded gravel resting unconformably upon the hard light red clay with large kankar nodules. From the top of the red clay, from its junction with the overlying gravel and from the gravel, especially from its lowest portion which is a bit coarse, were recovered advanced Acheulian handaxes, cleavers and flakes, all on dolerite, the raw material available in the above mentioned dyke, which traverses the river. From this gravel was also obtained one molluscan shell. The contact of the section with the rock was not visible, being concealed by the modern silt. The upper portion, obscured by the talus, gave, in the first instance, an impression that it is entirely composed of yellowish silt. But, when the two raingullies, one each formed in the upstream and the downstream end, were examined, it was found to be not so (see Fig. 4). In the downstream raingully higher up were observed the exposed dark chocolate coloured fissured clay underlying the light red fine gravel, which was covered by sand yellowish or pinkish in colour, fairly compacted and containing molluscan shells. The portion of the cliff higher up was obscured by the talus and thick growth of vegetation. In the upstream raingully about 20 ft. portion above the river bed, was obscured by the talus. Over this was exposed about 2 ft. of chocolate coloured fissured clay. This clay was overlain by current-bedded light red sandy fine gravel which in turn was covered by the brown clay-silt. The upper portion of the last-named is yellow in colour and contains a small proportion of fine gravel and sand. This yellow portion appears to represent a distinct deposit of yellow-silt although this observation needs to be confirmed by further examining the section. The upper portion of the cliff here was obscured by the talus and vegetation and the topmost deposit is the blackish brown soil. At the base of the section, in the modern silt, were found to be embedded massive blocks of highly consolidated fine gravel. The stratification as could be constructed here, was as follows (see also Fig. 4) :

(from the bottom upwards)

- 1) Rock.
- ?) Contact of the cliff obscured by the modern-silt and talus.
- 2) Red clay.
-) Unconformity.
- 3) Gravel with Early Stone Age tools and a molluscan shell.
- 4) Chocolate fissured clay exposed in the raingullies,

-) Unconformity
- 5) Light red fine gravel sandy in the upper levels ; exposed in the raingullies.
- 6) Brown clay-silt exposed in the upstream raingully.
- ?) About 9 ft. portion in the upstream raingully obscured by the talus.
- 7) Dark brown or blackish brown soil.

Unless the entire section from the top to bottom is exposed, complete stratification would not be known here. Yet the available stratigraphic evidence in this section is quite sufficient to disclose that the climatic records in the Upper Godavari may not be different from these in the Kan basin. It needs to be specially mentioned that the red clay and the chocolate coloured fissured clay in this section are very similar to, and, most important of all, occupy exactly the same stratigraphic position as, those in the Kan basin.

On the 27th May, 1964 the author observed fissured clay deposit intervening two gravels in a foundation trench of the Life Insurance Corporation building then under construction, near Alka Talkies at Poona, on the Mutha river. It is purplish in colour. The purplish colour of this fissured clay as against the chocolate on the Godavari and Kan may be due to local conditions. Such a purplish coloured fissured clay was also noticed by the writer in the Tapti Valley at Borda on the Ranka Nala, in the Panjhra basin and on the Vaghur at Vakod (district Jalgaon).

The brown clay-silt on the Godavari at Gangapur and that in the Kan basin closely resemble each other. The red or reddish brown clay-silt on the Mutha near Khadakvasala dam, at Dattavadi and near Lakadi bridge at Poona may perhaps correspond to the brown clay-silt in the Kan basin.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has found microliths in the loose kankary gravel of the last aggradation phase in the Godavari-Pravara valley.¹ This writer has found a microlith-bearing kankary gravel on a small feeder nala of the Pravara near Sangamner, Ahmednagar district. The composition of this gravel which is not loose, is almost similar to that of the microlith-bearing gravel in the Kan-Panjhra valley, where it also represents the last aggradation phase, is not loose and is stratified.

Thus, the evidence recorded by the writer outside the Tapti valley would suggest that the Quaternary stratigraphy as found in the Kan basin should be expected in those regions as well.

In passing, it should be mentioned that here, in the Kan basin, lies an ideal region, which, on further systematic survey, would disclose the details of various cultural stages of the Stone Age man.

¹ H. D. Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory, in India and Pakistan* (1962), p. 140.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is obliged to Shri Suresh Jadhav, Photographer of the South Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the photographs of the sections at Bhadne and Dahivel and to Shri D. Y. Joshi of the Dhulia Electric Supply Company Pvt. Ltd., Dhulia, who very kindly typed the matter of this article.

PANCAJANA

By M. V. Patwardhan

A PAPER* "A New Interpretation of the Word Varṇa" was read by me before the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists (1964), New Delhi in which it was argued that the Western interpretation of the word Varṇa as colour founded on the assumption of a white invading Āryan race defeating and enslaving a black aboriginal Dravidian race of the Indian continent is wrong because it has now been conclusively proved that the Aryans and the Dravidians are language groups and not races. Nobody has been as yet able to prove the existence of a pure Aryan race. It was also argued that Varṇa or the division of the society into only four classes of Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra is of divine origin and as such every known society of the world shall have to be divided into these four parts, knowingly or unknowingly, as soon as it begins to function. And when this law of Varṇa is applied to the society, the whole population will have to be divided into two parts. (1) A Savarṇa group of Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra, which is willing to act according to the common ideal of the society, and (2) an Avarṇa group which is against or indifferent to the common social aid. Thus every society has to be divided into five classes of Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra and Avarṇa.

All this reasoning, though based on logical and scientific background is useless if it is not supported by evidence from the Vedic scriptures. From this point of view Pañcājana and other allied words such as Pañcamānava, Pañcamānuṣa, Pañcakṣiti, Pañcakṣṭi and Pañcacarṣani (Aitreya Brāhmana III, 31; IV, 27; Ṛgveda, VIII, 9-2; III, 37-9; III, 59-8; VIII, 32-22; IX, 65-23 and 24; IX, 92-3; X 45-6, IV, 38-10; X, 60-4; X, 119-6; I, 7-9; I, 176-3; V, 35-2, VI, 46-7; VII, 75-4; VII, 79-1; V, 86-2; VII, 15-2 and 3; IX, 101-9; Atharvaveda III, 21-5; III, 24-3; XII, 1-15;) assume very great importance.

They are all translated as follows :

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Aitreya Brāhmana | : God, Men, Gandharvas and Apsaras, Snakes and Fathers. |
| Yāska | : Gandharvas, Fathers, Gods, Asuras, Rakṣhasas. |
| Aupamanyava and Sāyan | : Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśya, Śudras and Niṣādas. |
| Roth and Geldner | : I) All the people of the earth. II) Four quarters with Āryans in the middle. |
| Zimmer | : Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśās and Purus. |

* This paper (A New interpretation will be published in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute shortly.)

As the Western scholars have interpreted the origin of the word "Varṇa" as due to the conflict between the white Āryan conquering race and the black Dravidian conquered and enslaved race, the explanations of the word Pañcājana according to the Aitareya Brāhmana, Yāska, Aupamanyava and Sāyana were rejected as improbable. Roth and Geldner argued that the word Pañcājana meant all the people of the earth. Just as there are four quarters (diś), there are people at the four quarters (North, East, South, West) with the Āryan folk in the middle. Zimmer opposes this view on the ground that the inclusion of all people in one expression is not in harmony with the distinction so often made between Āryas and Dāsas; that neither 'Janāsāh' (men) as used in R̥gveda II, 12; nor 'Manuṣah' (people) as used in R̥gveda VIII, 9-2; I, 52-9; VIII, 70-11; X, 28-8; could be used for non-Āryans; that Soma is referred to as being among the five tribes (R̥gveda IX, 65-23); that five tribes are mentioned as on Saraswati (R̥gveda VI, 61-12); that Indra is Pāñcājanya belonging to five people (R̥gveda V, 32-11). He concludes that Āryans alone are meant and in particular the five tribes of the Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśās and Purus who are all mentioned together in one or perhaps two hymns of the R̥gveda (I, 108-8; VII, 18) and four of whom occur in another hymn (R̥gveda VIII, 10-5). But he admits the expression might easily be used more generally later. Hopkins has combated Zimmer's views but his objection is not probable. Pañcājana and other allied words, therefore, are now generally translated according to Zimmer's view and mean Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśās and Purus.

It has been now conclusively proved that the Āryans and Dravidians are not white and black races but are language groups. The language groups cannot be purely white or black but are generally a mixture of races of different colours and anthropological measurements. Zimmer's meaning of the word Pañcājana based on the racial theory of white Āryans and black Dravidians is no more tenable.

It is, therefore, necessary to re-open the question about the meaning of the word Pañcājana and allied words with unbiased mind.

The different meanings of the word Pañcājana can be divided into two parts: (1) traditional as those of Aitareya Brāhmana, Yāska, Aupamanyava and Sāyana and (2) otherwise as those of Roth and Geldner and Zimmer. All the Western interpretations are based on wrong assumption and inference. They, therefore, cannot be correct. The views of Roth, Geldner and Zimmer drop out of the picture. Of the three remaining, the interpretations of Aitareya Brāhmana and Yāska may be correct but until we know the real meaning of the words like Gandharvas, Apsaras, Asuras and Rākṣasas they may not be of very great use for the interpretation of the Vedas. But the interpretation of Aupamanyava and Sāyana of Pañcājana as Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra, Niṣāda tallies exactly with the division of the society into five parts according to the new interpretation of the word 'Varṇa'. Here Niṣāda means those

persons who are indifferent to the common aim of the society. This is borne out by the interpretation of Niṣāda by Yāska in Nirukta. "The Nirukta III, 8, while explaining the word Pañcajana . . . remarks that according to Aupamanyava 'the five people' are the four Varnas with Niṣāda as the fifth. . . . Nirukta further says that according to the Niruktas, the Niṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'. From this it follows that in the time of Yāska, the Niṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern Bhils. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Guha, the king of the Niṣādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Gāṅges (Ayodhya 50.33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of Niṣādas." (P. V. Kāne; History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, p. 86.) Niṣāda is mentioned as wild aboriginal tribe also in Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 2.15.

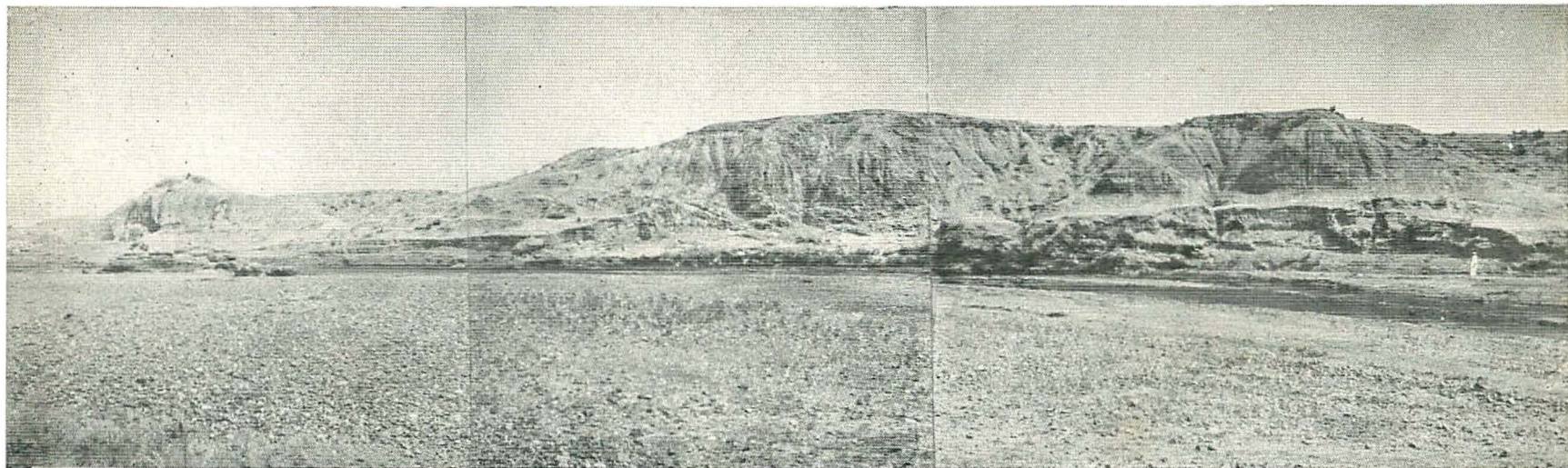
Śankara, one of the greatest exponents of Hindu philosophy, accepts the interpretations of Aupamanyava and Sāyana as one of the traditional explanations of the word Pañcajana (Brahmasutra, Śārirabhāṣya I, 4, 11-12-13). There is, therefore, every reason to accept the interpretation of the word Pañcajana as Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Niṣāda or Avarṇa as it is approved by Aupamanyava, Yāska, Śankara and Sāyana and is backed by logical and rational reasoning.

The Atharvaveda III, 24-3 mentions that these five races (Pañca Kṛṣṭayāḥ) have descended from Manu. This clearly shows that the division of the society into five classes or Jātis of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Niṣāda or Avarṇa was first effected by Manu. The practical application of the law of Varṇa to the society was done by Manu. It was he who divided the society first into five big groups or Jātis and then into innumerable necessary upa-jātis according to the division of labour for the smooth and efficient working of the society.

In the Ṛgveda the words Arya, Ārya, Dāsa and Dasyu occur very frequently. In other Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, they are replaced by Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, while mention of Dāsas and Dasyus is really made. This means that Dāsas and Dasyus are converted into Śūdras. The Dāsas and Dasyus are mentioned together in many places in the Ṛgveda (IV, 28-4, V, 30-9; X, 22, 7 etc.). The Dāsas and Dasyus also are described as 'Avrat' (I, 51-8; VI, 14-3) 'Anyavrat' (VIII, 70-11; X, 22-7); Aśiva (I, 117-3) Abrahma (IV, 16-9; Arkatu, Ayajna, Ayaju (VII, 6-3; VIII, 70-11); Adeva (VIII, 70-11) showing that they did not respect the religious observances, worship and sacrifices of the Āryas. They are also described as Mṛdhraṇvāc (Ṛgveda I, 174-2; V, 29-10; V, 32-8; VII, 6-3) meaning, thereby, that they are not able to pronounce words properly. They are called Anāś (V, 29-10) which is also interpreted by Sāyana as a person who cannot pronounce words properly. While giving the new interpretation of the word Varṇa it was asserted that Manu divided the society, first, into Savarṇas and Avarṇas. The Savarṇa part was later divided into Dvija and Śūdra, the criteria for

separation being the ability to recite the Veda. Manu, when he re-arranged the society according to the laws of Varna, divided the Dāsas and Dasyus into two parts. Those persons who were Mṛdhavāc and Anās but respected the Veda, the sacrifices and religious observances were made Śūdras and were included in the Savarna group, while the Dāsas and Dasyus who were Avrat, Aśiva, Adeva, Akratu etc. were put in the Avarṇa group together with the Niṣādas. Thus the Dāsas and Dasyus were eliminated by Manu by including them in the Śūdra and Avarṇa group. This is the simple reason why they do not appear in the Brāhmaṇas and later Vedic scriptures. The vanquishing of the Dravidians had nothing to do with it because it does not explain why the group of Avarṇas came into existence, nor does it give the reason why the Āryas should allow the Brāhmaṇas to divide their group into three graded classes and reserve the superiority for Brāhmaṇas.

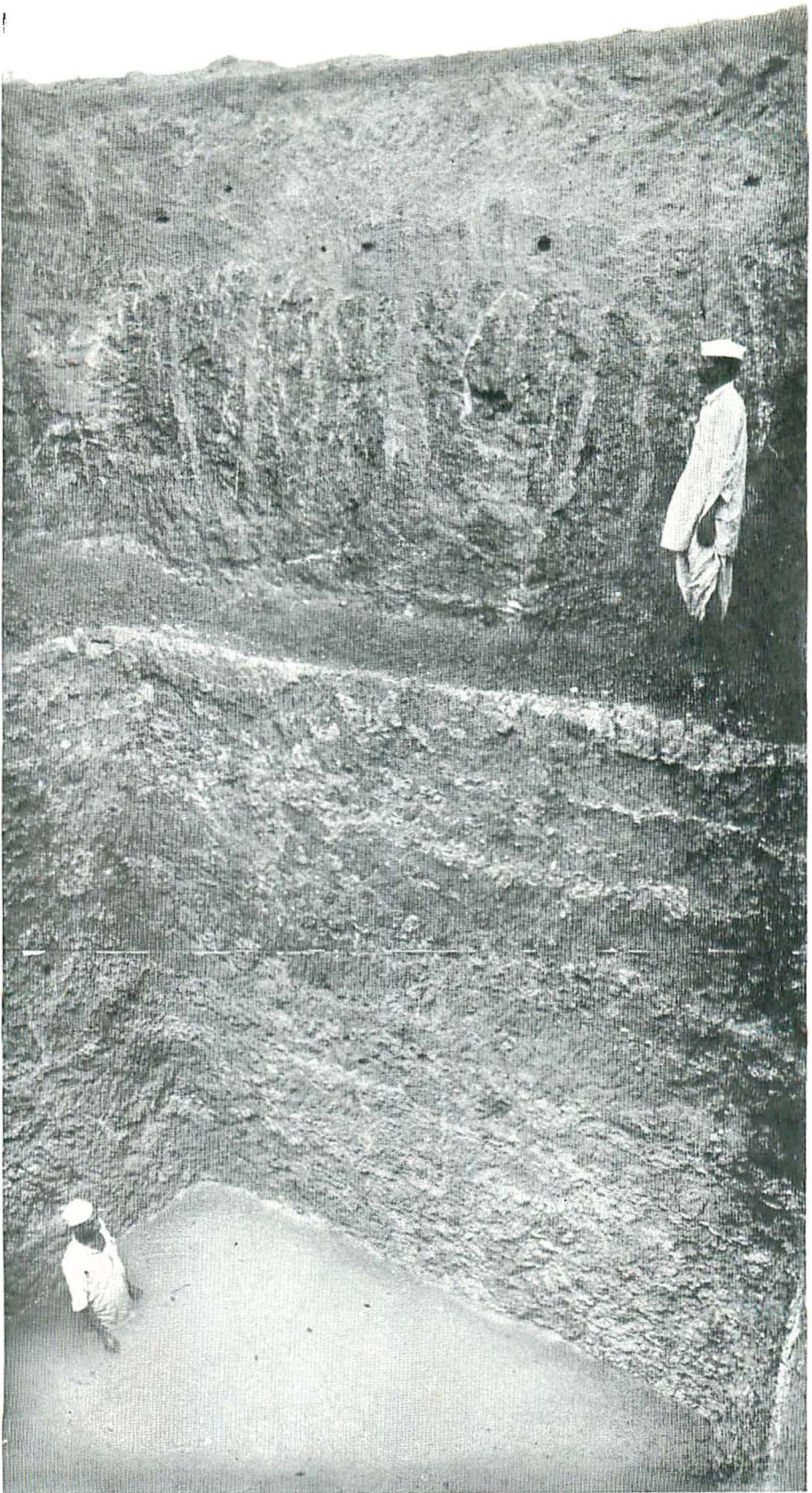
Thus the Vedic period can be divided into two parts : pre-Manu and post-Manu. In the pre-Manu period the laissez-faire principle was operative and anybody could follow any profession as well as study the Veda. Thus we find that Aitareya, Kavaṣ Ailuṣ, and Satyakāma Jābāla who were Dasiputras could, not only study Vedas but could even be Vedic Ṛṣis. Kṣatriyas like Pururavas, Māndhātā, women like Ghoṣā Kakṣivān, Yami, Urvaśi could be Vedic Ṛṣis, Gārgi, Maitreyi and Sulabhā could be brahmavādinis. But after the allotment of appropriate duties according to the division of labour to different groups by Manu, all this changed and there was an orderly arrangement of the duties for the different Jātis or castes for efficient universal employment so that every member of the society including the Avarṇas had a fixed vocation allotted to him. As this universal employment was to be maintained for an indefinite period, the division of labour had to be continuous. And if this was to go on for an indefinite period, it was absolutely essential to make the transmission of caste by heredity only. No other remedy is or was possible. The detailed picture of the social structure formulated by Manu is found in the Rāmāyaṇa, Māhābhārata, Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras and the Manusmṛtis. This social arrangement continued in its full vigour up to the advent of the Buddha. He attacked the institution of caste and succeeded, not in displacing the Brāhmaṇas from their high position, but in ousting the Kṣatriyas from their superior status. Thus from the time of Māhāpadma Nanda who was the father of Chandragupta Maurya i.e., in about two hundred years after the Buddha, the Kṣatriyas ceased to be kings. The word Pañcājana and allied words, therefore, indicate that the Āryan society was divided into five classes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Avarṇa and this division was brought into practice by Manu in the Vedic period somewhere between the final redaction of the Ṛgveda and the Samhitā of other Vedas. It was Manu who created the different Jātis and who gave them different appropriate vocations. And as he wanted this division of labour to continue



BHADNE

PLATE I

Panoramic view of Localities VI and VII (extreme left) on the river Kan at Bhadne



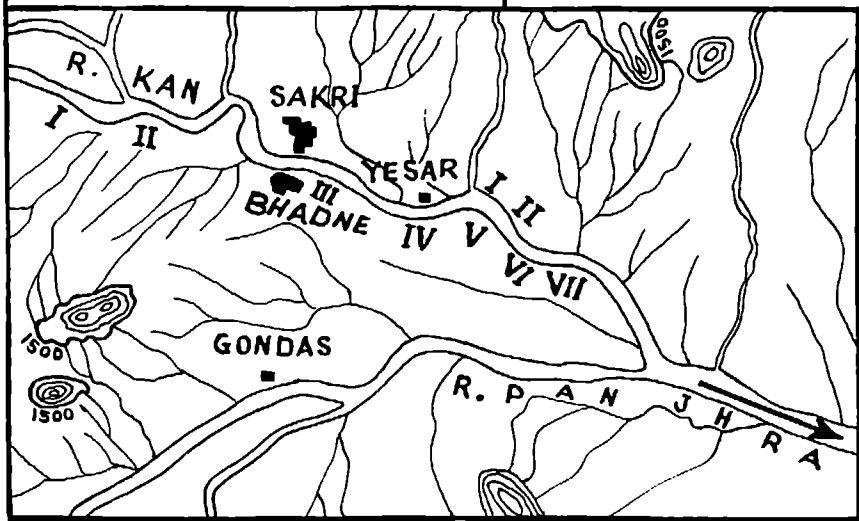
DAHIVEL

PLATE II

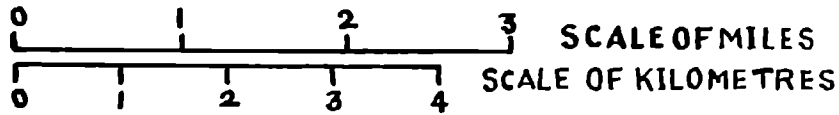
Well-section facing south, S. No. 163, Dahivel

21° 0'

74° 20'



74° 20'



**MAP OF KAN-PANJHRA
VALLEY SHOWING LOCALITIES
AROUND BHADNE AND YESAR**

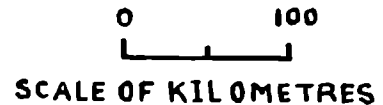
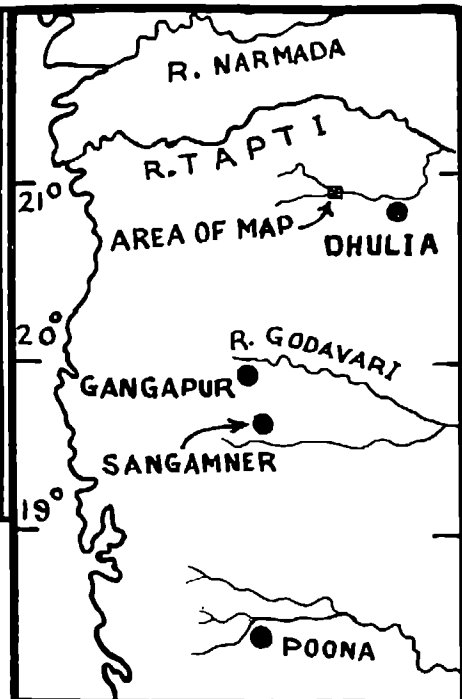


FIG. I

S.A. Sali

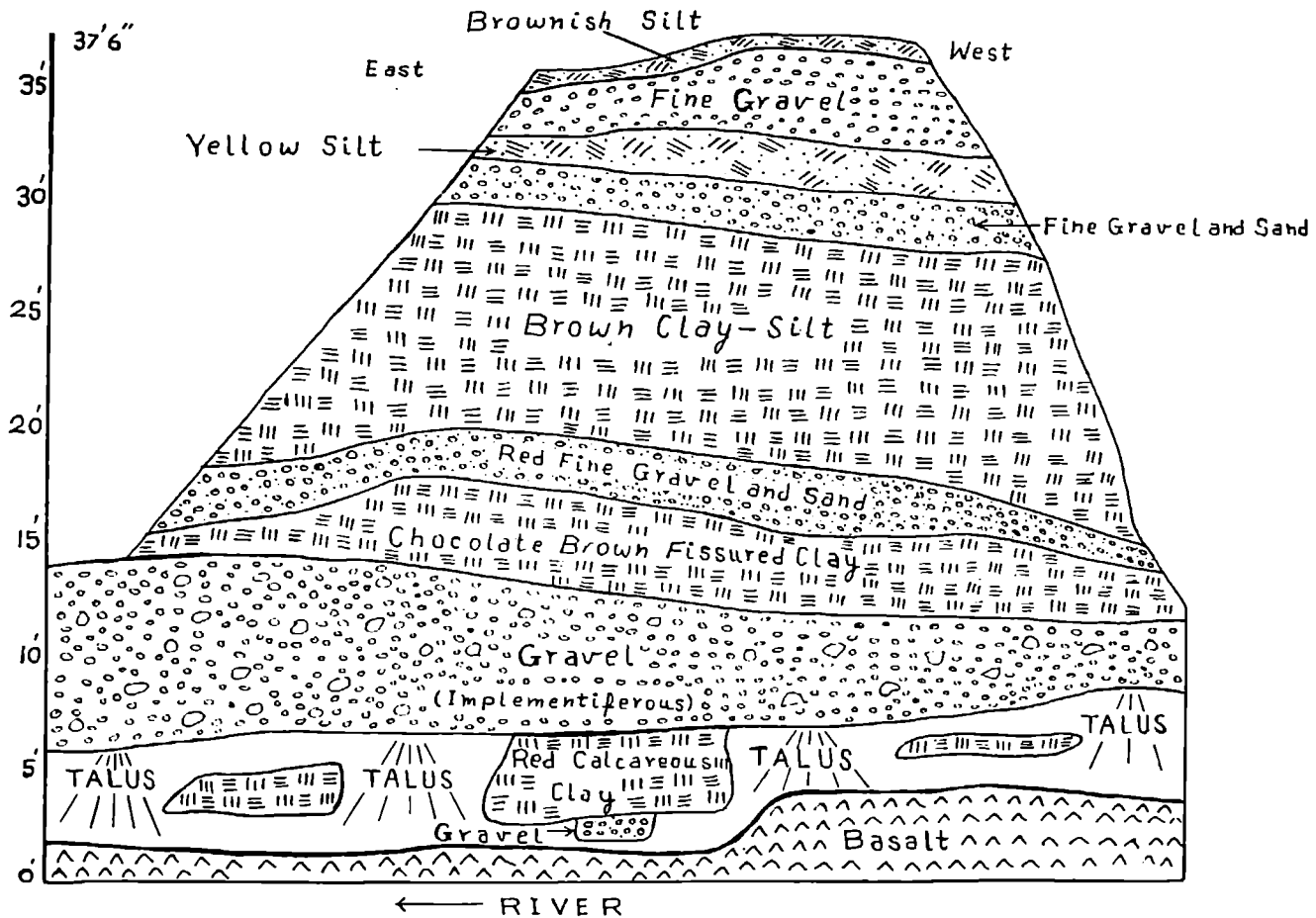


FIG. 2. LOCALITY VII ON THE KAN AT BHADNE.

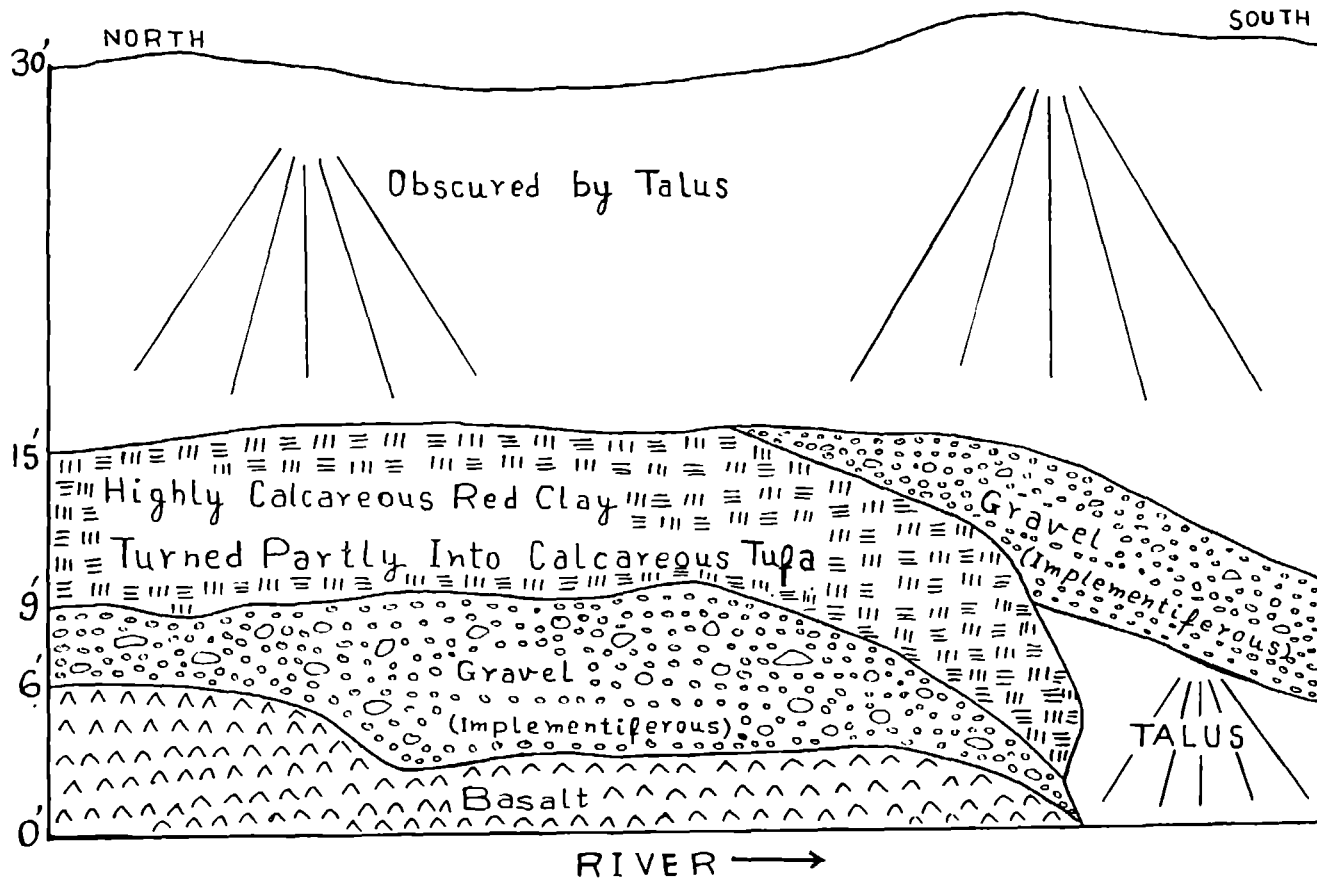


FIG. 3. DOWNSTREAM PORTION OF LOCALITY II ON THE KAN AT YESAR.

Salt
...

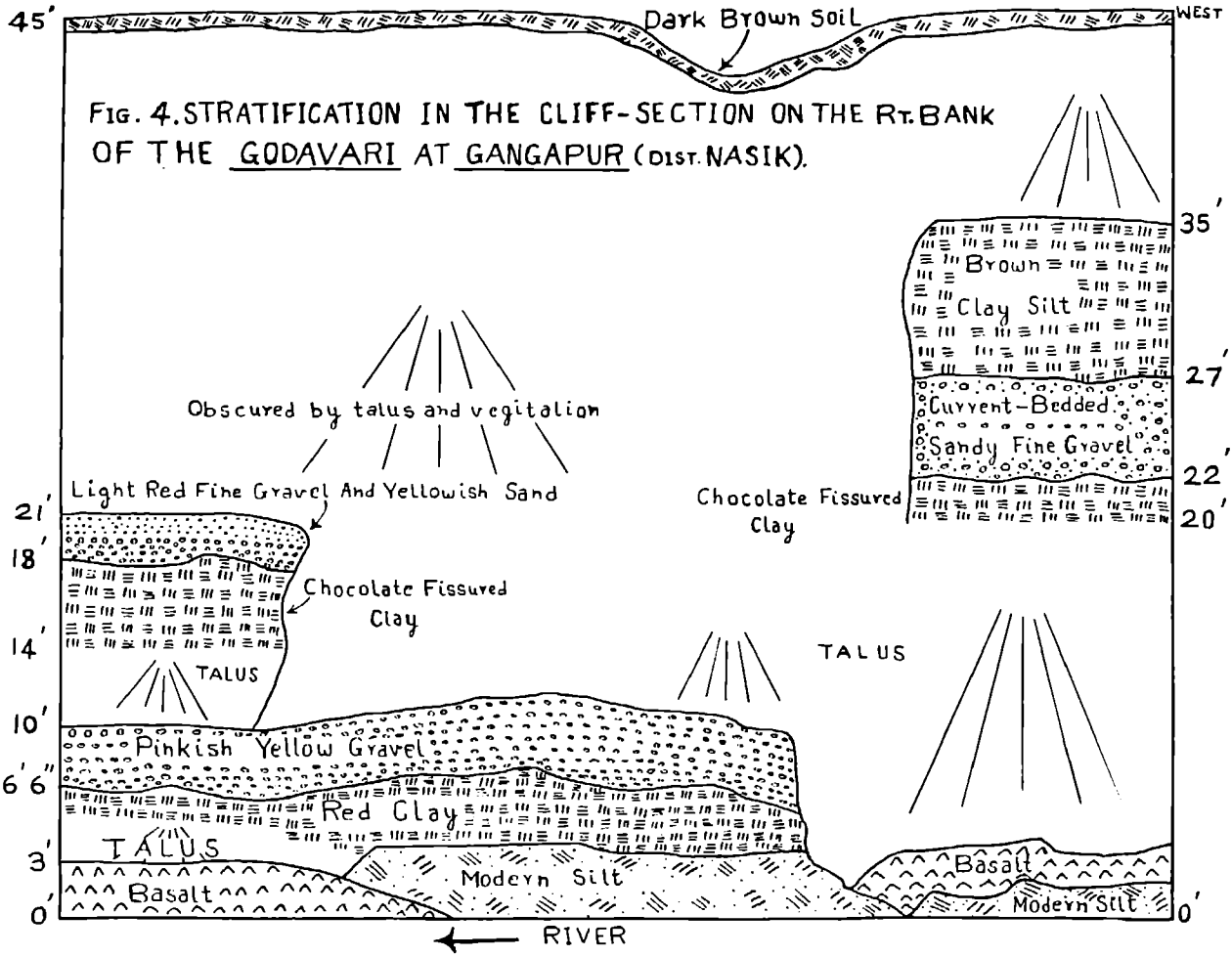


FIG. 5. LOCALITY I ON THE KAN AT YESAR

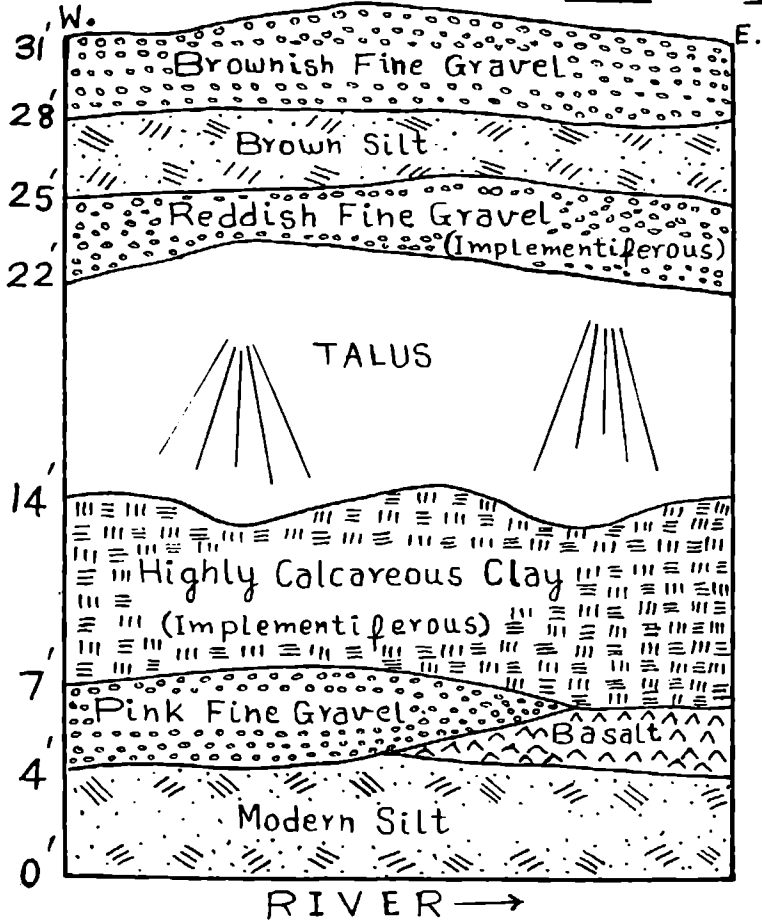
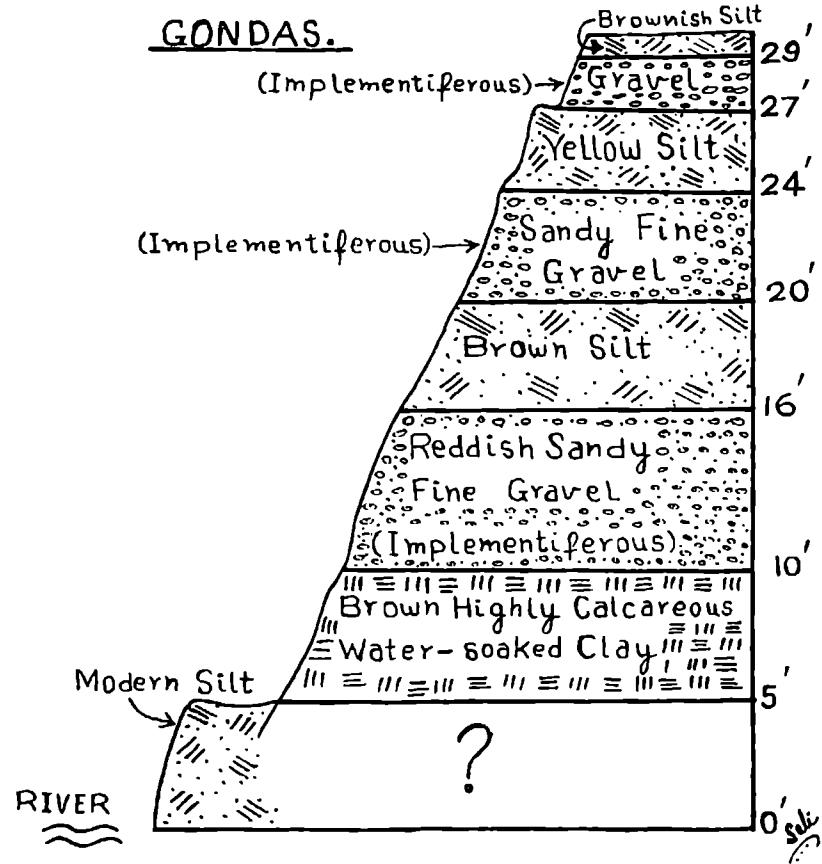


FIG. 6. CLIFF-SECTION ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE PANJHRA AT GONDAS.



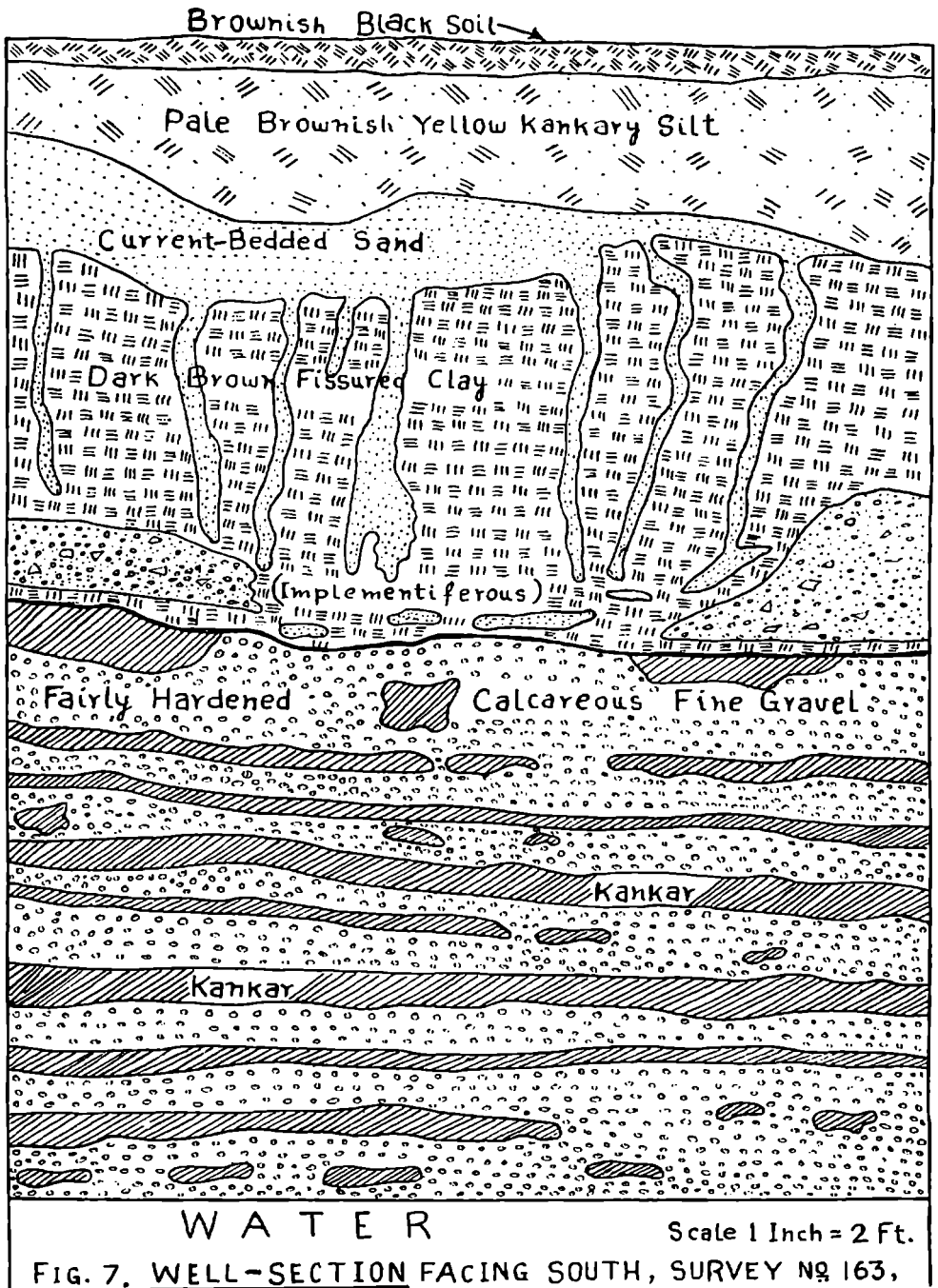


FIG. 7. WELL-SECTION FACING SOUTH, SURVEY No 163,
DAHIVEL.

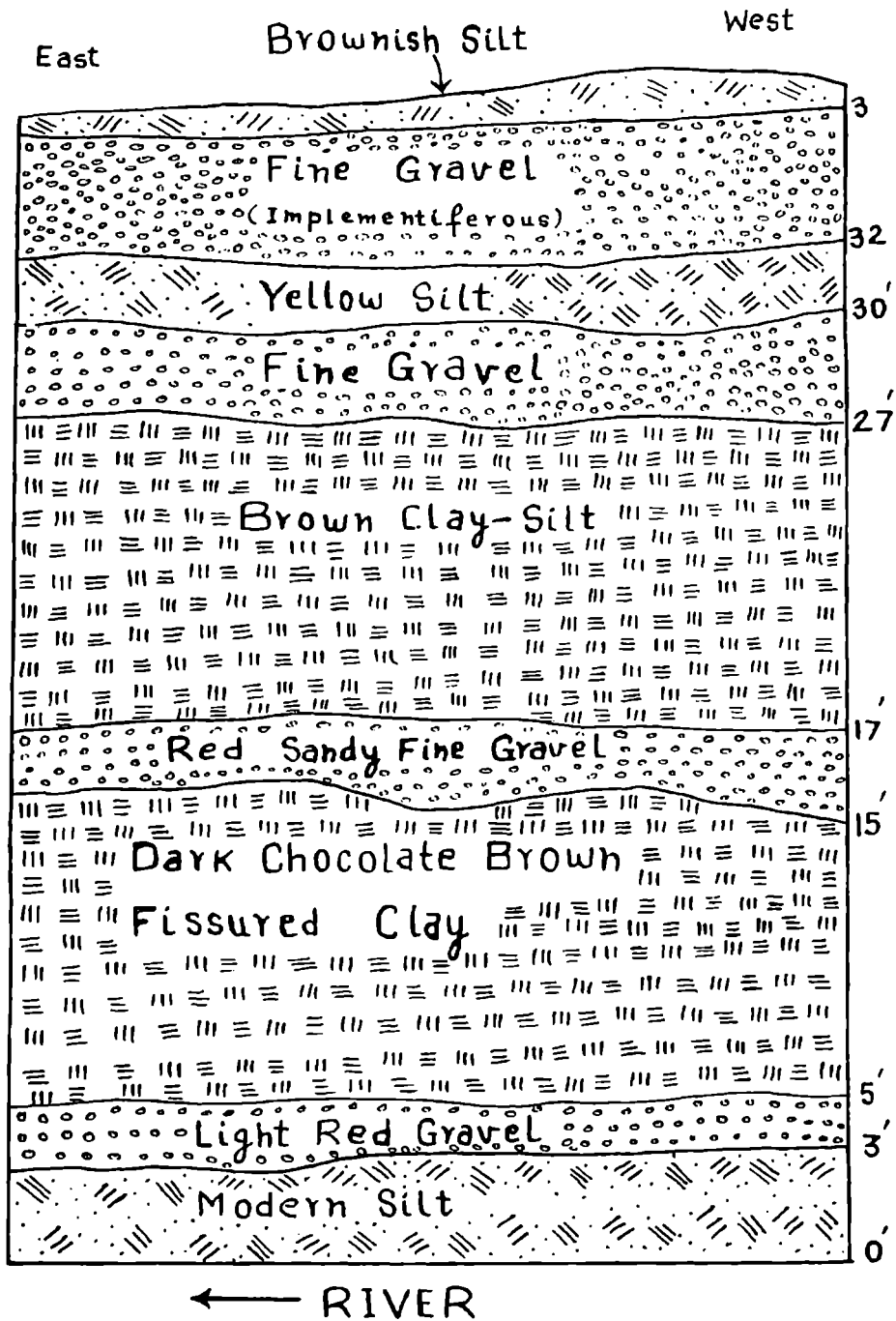


FIG. 8. LOCALITY VI ON THE KAN
AT BHADNE.

(25 FT. LONG UPSTREAM PORTION)

S. A. Sali

indefinitely he made the Jātis hereditary. He also defined the Āsrama duties for the different Varnas.

The probable picture of the social structure constructed by Manu is available in Manusmṛti. But the extant Manusmṛti is not the original one written by Manu but is by Bhṛgu. The great sanskrit scholar Bühler is of opinion that original Manusmṛti was written by Manu during the Vedic period as he is described in the Ṛgveda as Pitā Manu (Ṛgveda I, 80-16; I, 114-2; II, 33-13). The rules about the Hindu social structure which he formulated were carried as a traditional lore. It was condensed into Mānava-Dharmasutra during the Sutra period. It was later formed into Mānava-Dharma-Śūtra and then into Manusmṛti with the addition of material from the Māhābhārata. The extant Manusmṛti was written by Bhṛgu during the period 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. (Bühler; The Sacred Books of the EAST; Volume XXV; Introduction Xc). The extant Manusmṛti, therefore, contains a substantial part of the original work by Manu. The Manusmṛti shows that the Hindu society is divided into five classes and not four as has been argued up to this time. In the beginning the Mahārṣis go to Manu and ask him "Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the four chief Varnas and of the intermediate ones" (Manusmṛti I, 2). In the Manusmṛti, not only the rules and regulations for the four Varnas are described, but in the tenth chapter, those of the Avarnas also are described. This supports the contention that the five classes of the Hindu society of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Avarna was the creation of Manu.

The name of Manu can be traced from the Vedas on to the extant Manusmṛti. A Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu (Ṛgveda VIII, 30-3). Another Vedic passage says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (Ṛgveda X, 63-7). In Taittiriya Samhitā (II, 2.10.2) and Tāndya-Māhā-Brāhmaṇa (23.16.17) it is said "Whatever Manu said is medicine". Taittiriya Samhitā (II, 1-5-6) also says that "mankind is Manu's." This again may mean that Manu is the creator of the Hindu social order. The name of Svāyambhuva Manu occurs in the Nirukta of Yāska (Chapter III). Gautama-Dharma-Sutra (21.7); Āpastamba Dharmasutra (II, 7.16.1) also mention Manu. Vaśiṣṭa Dharma-Sutra refers to Manu by name in numerous places or quotes his views. Kautilya's Arthasāstra refers to the opinion of Mānavas in five places. In the Māhābhārata, Manu is mentioned in many places (Śāntiparva 21.12). P. V. Kāne is of opinion that "Manusmṛti contains an earlier and later strata". He says, "In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of Manusmṛti and Māhābhārata. . . . Long before the fourth century B.C. there was a work of Dharmasāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. . . . This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti (P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. I, pp. 136-137 and 155-156).

The clearest and most irrefutable proof that Hindu society is divided into five classes and not four is the composition of the present existing Hindu society which has five big classes or castes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra and Untouchables or Avarṇas. This division of the society into five classes or castes can be traced to the Smṛti period, the earliest being the Manusmṛti which is composed during 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The stigma of untouchability, which is the characteristic of Avarṇas during this period came into existence somewhere between 4th century A.D. (Dr. Ambedkar, *Untouchables* p. 155) and 10th century A.D. (C. V. Vaidya, *Madhyayugin Bhārat*, Part III, p. 574). If we take Cāṇḍāla, Śvapac, Kṣattā, Suta, Vaidehika Māgadha and Ayogava as representatives of Antye-vāsin or Avarṇas (Madhyamāngiras according to Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya III, 265 ; quoted by Haradatta on Gautama Dharma-Sutra, 20, 1 ; Pārāśara Smṛti Vol. II, Part I, p. 116 ; Manusmṛti X, 11-12) it is found that they are mentioned in the Dharma-sutras also (600 B.C. to 300 B.C.) "Āpastamba Dharmasūtra mentions only Cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaina. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma castes, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vaina and kukkuṭa. Vaiśiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana." (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 57). This shows that during that period also the society was divided into five classes or castes. In Pāṇini (600 B.C. to 300 B.C.) two kinds of Śudras are described : (1) Nirvasita like Cāṇḍālas and Mrutapas and (2) Anirvasita such as carpenters and blacksmiths (Pāṇini II, 4, 10). These two with Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya form the five classes or castes. In the Nirukta of Yāska (800 B.C. to 500 B.C.) the five classes of Hindu society do exist as he mentions them (Nirukta III, 8). Still earlier, in Taittiriya Saṁhitā (IV. 5.4.2) mention is made, among others, of Kṣatr and Niśūd. These also occur in Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā (16.26-28) and Kāthaka Saṁhitā (17.3). In Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III, 4.1) and the following anuvak that deals with Purusamedha, we have amongst others Suta, Māgadha, Ayogu. In Taittiriya Saṁhitā (I, 8.9 1-2) and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (5.3.1) mention is made Suta and Kṣatr ; the name of these also occur in Tāndya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4), Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā (30, 21) and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III. 4.17). Chāndogya Upaniṣad (V. 10.7) and Bṛhadāraṇya Upaniṣad (IV. 3.22) speak of Cāṇḍāla. This means that the five big castes did exist in the later Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa period. Atharvaveda mentions Rathakāra (III.5.8) Karamāra (III. 5.6) and Suta (III. 5.7). "In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the Smṛtis as antya-ja occur. We have carṁmūna (a tanner of hides?) in R̥gveda (VIII. 5.38), . . . Cāṇḍāla and Paulkasa occur in Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā. The Vapa or Vapta (barber) even in the R̥gveda. . . The Vidalkāra or Bidalkāra (corresponding to the burud of Smṛtis) occur in the Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā

and the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, Vāsūhpaḥpuli (washerwoman) corresponding to the Rajaka of the Smṛtis in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā. But there is no indication in these passages whether these, even if they formed castes, were at all untouchables." (P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 165). This goes to prove that at least during the later period of Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda also there were five big castes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Avarṇas. This again indicates that the Avarṇas were free from the stigma of untouchability at the time of the Vedas according to P. V. Kane.

In this connection the passage from Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III, 31) "ainam pancinyai Janatāyāi havino gachanti" which is translated as "to him from the fivefold folk sacrifices go who knows thus" is very important. This clearly shows that at the time of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, at least, the people were divided into five classes.

So also the words "Pāncajanyāṣu Kṛiṣṭiṣu" in Ṛgveda III, 53-16, and Pāncakṣitir Manusihī Ṛg VII, 79-1, clearly indicates that even in the Ṛgvedic period the people were divided into five classes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, and Niṣāda or Avarṇa.

The divisions of the Āryan society into, first, five big classes and later according to the division of labour into numerous hereditary castes was effected by Manu somewhere between the Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda and the Saṁhitās of other Vedas is supported by the fact that the following castes or jātis seem to have come into existence during this period. "Atharvaveda mentions rathakūra (III, 5.6) Karsmūra (III, 5.6) and Sūta (III, 5.7). In Taittiriya Saṁhitā (IV. 5.4.2) mention is made of Kṣatṛ (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), Saṁgrahitṛ (treasurer), Takṣan (carpenter) and rathakūra (maker of chariots), Kulāla (porter), Karamūra, puñjiṣṭa (fowler), Niṣāda, iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvāni (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā (16, 26-28) and these and a few more in the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā (30, 5-13) and in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (17.13). In Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III. 4.1 and the following anuvāktas that deal with (Purushamedha) we have āyogū, māgadha (bard), sūta, śailūṣa (actor), rebha, bhīmāla, rathakūra, takṣan, kavḷāla, karamūra, maṇikūra, vapa (sower or barber) iṣukūra, dhanvakūra, jyākar (maker of bow strings), rajjusarga, mṛgayu, śvāni, surākara (vintner), ayastūpa (heater of iron and copper), kitava (gambler) bidalkūra (worker in wicker work) and kaṇṭhakūra." (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 43). Most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and sub-castes for hundreds of years in the Hindu society. It is but natural to suppose that these castes came into existence from this period.

Now if Pañcājana means Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Avarṇa or Niṣāda, it is necessary to show that the Śūdras and Avarṇas are treated with as much respect as the Dvijas. Up to this time it has been

always preached that the Śudras and Avarṇas are treated very badly. As an evidence for this it is usual to quote Puruṣasukta wherein Brāhmaṇas are created from the mouth of Virāt, Kṣatriyas from the shoulder, Vaiśyas from the thighs and Śudras from the feet. This gradation puts the Śudra at the lowest level which, it is argued, is a great injustice to the Śudra. This interpretation is obviously not the only one, because it can also be shown that in the division of labour the feet are as much important to a person as the head, shoulder and thigh because without feet it will be impossible for them to do any work. In a jungle where survival of the fittest is the rule, the feet assume the pride of place because without them the head, shoulders and thighs are useless. On the contrary the hymn proves that all are equal. Moreover, the persons who put forward this argument forget that the feet from which the Śudra is created are those of God, who is holiest of the holy and purest of the pure everywhere. Suppose we have an image of gold. We take small portions from the head, shoulder, thigh and foot of this golden image and create new images from out of these, all the new images will be alike without any differences whatsoever, and nobody will be able to distinguish these images from each other.

(II) It is argued that Śudras are prevented from reciting the Vedas and thus they were kept in ignorance. This also is wrong. "Kāthaka Saṁhitā (IX, 16) indicates that all varṇas studied the Veda since it speaks of a person, not a brāhmaṇa, having studied (Vedic) lores and yet not shining by his learning." (P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 107). "In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (IV. 1-2) we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyana and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as Śudra and imparts to him the Saṁvarga (absorption) Vidyā. It appears that Jānaśruti was a Śudra to whom the Vidyā embodied in Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted." (P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 155.) This means that the Śudras were allowed to learn Vedas but they could not do so as their pronunciation was not good and their intelligence quotient was low. Moreover whatever lore was in the Vedas was made available to them in the form of Itihāsa and Purānas which they were permitted to study.

(III) The Śudras were not to consecrate Vedic fires and to perform the solemn Vedic sacrifices. This was not always so because at least one ancient teacher Badari (Jaimini Purva Mīmāṃsā Sutra VI, 1, 26) was found who advocated that even Śudras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sutra (V, 2, 8) states the opinion of some, that the Śudra can consecrate the three sacred fires. "The commentary on Kātyāyana Śrautasutra (I. 4.5) states, by way of purvapakṣa, that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Śudra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e.g., in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 1.4.12; S.B.E. vol. XII, p. 28) it is said with reference to the Haviṣkṛt call: "Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. "come hither" (chi)

in the case of Brāhmaṇa ; 'approach' (āgahi) and 'hasten hither' (ādrava) in the case of Vaiśya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādhāva) in that of a Śūdra. . . . Similarly in the Somayāga in place of payovrata (vow to drink milk only) matsu (whey) is prescribed for Śūdra, indicating, thereby, that the Śūdra could perform Somayāga." (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, p. 157.) Paijavan, a Śūdra, did perform a sacrifice without Vedic mantras (Māhābhārat, Śāntiparva, 60-39). All these go to prove that the objections raised by Zimmer against the acceptance of the traditional interpretation of Pañcajana as those of Soma sacrifice (Rigveda IX, 65-23) etc. are without foundation. "A Śūdra was entitled to perform what is called pūrtadharmā i.e. building of wells, tanks, temples, parks, distribution of food as works of charity. . . . He was allowed to perform the five daily sacrifices called Māhāyajñās in the ordinary fire, he could perform Śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter the word 'namaḥ' which was to be the only mantra in his case. . . . Manu (X. 127) prescribes that all religious rites for the Śūdra are without (Vedic) mantras." (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, pp. 157-158.) According to the Māhābhārata, Śāntiparva (60.40), "a Śūdra if he does the mental work at the time of Vedic sacrifices of other Varṇas with great faith he will acquire the merit of the sacrifice without performing the sacrifice himself."

(IV) "As to saṁskāras. . . . Manu X, 126 says the Śūdra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for saṁskāras, he has no adhikāra for (authority to perform) dharma nor is he forbidden from performing dharma. . . . Manu X, 127 allows religious Śūdras to perform all religious acts which dvijātis perform, provided they do not use Vedic mantras." (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, vol. II, pp. 158-159.)

There is one saṁskāra called samāvartana or snūna which deserves some consideration in connection with the equality of the Śūdra with other Varṇas. Samāvartana is the ceremonial bath to be taken after finishing the Vedic study and returning from the teacher's house. One of the important parts of this saṁskāra is "After having smeared his two hands with the ointment (saffron paste etc.) a Brāhmaṇa should first anoint his face with it (and then the limbs), a Rājanya his two arms first, a Vaiśya his belly first, a woman her private parts, and persons who maintain themselves by running, their thighs." Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra III, 8-9. The last person evidently is the Śūdra. This saṁskāra, not only clearly indicates the division of labour on which the Hindu society is based, but treats all Varṇas along with woman as equals as all these are members of the team for the social division of labour.

(V) The disabilities under which a Śūdra suffered is a legion. Majority of these are due to his being given the duty of serving the other three Varṇas. These are, therefore, not particular to the Hindu society but

what will be found between a master and his servant in any other societies of the world, civilized or otherwise. The following categories are of this character. "The Śudra among men and the horse among beasts, therefore these two, the horse and the Śudra, are the conveyance of beings; therefore the Śudra is not fit for sacrifice." (Taittiriya Saṁhitā VII. 1.1.6); "The Śudra is toil" (S.B.E. vol. 26, p. 4).

'The Śudra is at the beck and call of others (the three Varṇas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will" (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa; 35-3) are of this nature. Some others may be due because the Brāhmaṇas after the advent of Buddhism were afraid that the followers of the Buddha and the Jaina religion, may try to learn the Vedas under the guise of a Śudra and vitiate the purity of the Vedas which were preserved in their pristine form until now. The following disabilities may be of this nature. "If the Śudra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with molten lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be hacked" (Gautama Dharmasūtra XII. 4). "The Śudra is a moving burial ground, therefore, one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a Śudra" (Śabara on Jaimini VI. 1.38; and Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra 18. 11-12). But there are other passages where a Śudra is treated as equal with other Varṇas 'Put light (or glory) in our Brāhmaṇa, put it in our Chiefs (or Kings), (put) light in Vaiśyas and Śudras, put light in me by your light' (Taittiriya Saṁhitā V. 7.6.3-4). So also a Śudra could be a King like King Jānaśruti who was a Śudra according to Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV, 1-2.

(VI) A Śudra could not be a judge or propound what the dharma was (Manusmṛti VIII, 20, Yājñavalkya 1, 3) for the simple reason that Hindu law was based on Śruti and Smṛti which the Śudra had not the opportunity nor the intelligence to study. He was governed by his own Rudhi laws. The Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas studied the Veda. They, therefore, were allowed to be judges when a Brāhmaṇa was not available.

(VII) A Śudra was liable to higher punishment for certain offences. This differential punishment is only in cases where the Śudra assaults other Varṇas by body or speech. This was because his intelligence quotient was low and hence bodily punishment was the only punishment that he could understand. In ordinary offences such as theft, on the contrary, a Śudra thief was fined eight, a Vaiśya 16, a Kṣatriya 32, a Brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128 (Manusmṛti VIII 337-338; Gautama Dharmasūtra 21, 12-14). The punishment is highest for Brāhmaṇas and least for Śudras in such cases.

(VIII) The restrictions as to taking food from the Śudras is a very late creation, as up to the time of Yājñavalkya-smṛti (100 A.D. to 300 A.D.), a Brāhmaṇa could take food from a Śudra who was his cowherd or tilled his field, was a hereditary friend of the family, his own barber or his dāsa Gautama Dharmasūtra (XVII. 6; Manu IV, 253; Yājñaval-

kya I, 166; Pārāsara IX. 19). Āpastamba Dharma Sutra allows the Śudra to cook in the Brāhmaṇa households provided they are supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules (Āpastamba Dharma Sutra ; II. 2.3.4).

Thus it will be seen that the so-called disabilities of the Śudra are not disabilities at all, as with a little goodwill all can be satisfactorily explained.

As regards the Avarṇas, it can be said that they consisted of the following classes of people (*i*) Niṣāda or those persons who were indifferent to the formation of the society; (*ii*) the people who were opposed to the avowed aims of the societies regarding the religious observances, worship, social order and sacrifices; (*iii*) Heretics (Manu. I. 118); (*iv*) persons who were unwilling to renounce the maternal type of family, as this was against the enforcement of the law of Varṇa for the benefit of the society; and (*v*) those persons who at first promised to act according to the rules and regulations of the society but later on went against them, i.e., the persons who were married by pratiloma type and their progeny. Of these the first four were governed by their own laws. But the Pratiloma castes did believe in the Vedas and therefore deserved special considerations.

Here again, in the case of Avarṇas or untouchables, the Hindu society is condemned wholesale and looking to the present conditions of the untouchables in the Hindu society this condemnation seems to be well supported. Untouchability is considered to be the greatest stigma on the Hindu society, and it must be freely admitted that sooner we get rid of it the better for the Hindu society.

Luckily, it is freely admitted by all that untouchability is a later creation. According to B. R. Ambedkar it arose somewhere in the fourth century A.D. while according to C. V. Vaidya it arose in the tenth century A.D. (vide above). B. R. Ambedkar's view may be more correct because "the earliest occurrence of the word *asprīya* (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in Viṣṇu Dharma Sutra V. 104; Kātyāyana also uses the word in the sense." (P. V. Kūne, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 173.) Viṣṇu Dharma Sutra was written in 100 A.D. to 300 A.D. while Kātyāyana Smṛti (not yet found) is supposed to be written between 400 A.D. to 600 A.D. according to P. V. Kane. Anyhow, it is admitted by all that the stigma of untouchability did not exist in the time of the Vedas when the five big castes were created. It is, therefore, not very difficult to show that avarṇas also were given equal treatment with the other Varṇas. This is necessary if it is to be proved that they were included in the word Pañcajana.

In this connection, an *iṣṭi* offered by a Niṣāda to Rudra assumes great importance. "With reference to the *iṣṭi* offered to Rudra, a Vedic text says 'one should make a niṣādasthapati perform this *iṣṭi*'. The Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sutra (VI. 1.51-52) discusses the question whether this authorises a Niṣāda, who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of

the three higher Varnas) of Niṣādas. The established conclusion is that the iṣṭi is to be performed by a Niṣāda who is a chieftain though he is beyond the pale of the three Varnas. . . . According to the Satyāśādhā Kalpasutra (III, 1) both the Niṣāda and the rathakūra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-purnamāsa." (P. V. Kāne, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 46). This clearly proves that the Niṣāda was an Avarṇa and yet he is allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices putting him on terms of equality of the four other Varnas.

There is also other evidence to show that the Avarṇas were treated with great respect in earlier times. Marutta Avikṣit was an Ayogava king (Śatapatha, S.B.E. Vol. 44, p. 397) and Ayogava is a Pratiloma caste (vide above). Sumantra, the famous minister of Daśaratha, was a Suta (Rāmāyana; Bālakāṇḍa; 11, 13). Romaharṣana, a Suta, was taught Itihāsa and Purānas which is considered to be a fifth Veda (Bhāgavata Purāna I, 4, 21-22). When Romaharṣana was killed by Balarāma through mistake, this is described as 'brahmavadhā' or 'Brahmahatyā' (Bhāgavata Purāna. X, 78, 31-32) indicating that he was given as great a respect as a Brāhmaṇa. In practically all the Purānas Suta or his son Sauti teaches the Purānas to Śaunaka and other Brāhmaṇas. In fact as it was the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas to teach the Veda, so also it was the privilege of the Sutas, who are Avarṇas, to teach Itihāsa and Purāna. This proves that some Avarṇas were as much respected as Brāhmaṇas. Karṇa of the Māhābhārata fame was a Sutaputra, an Avarṇa, yet he was a friend of king Duryodhana and was crowned king.

There is also plenty of other evidence to show that Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra and Avarṇa were all equally treated.

I. At the time of the coronation, the king was to perform sacrifice in the houses of Ratnahavis which contained the representatives of five big groups. These Ratnahavis were (1) Senāni (2) Purohit (3) (a) King (b) Mahiṣi (the queen) (4) Suta (The court minstrel and chronicler) (5) Grāmaṇi (6) Kṣatṛ (the chamberlain) (7) Samgrahitṛ (8) Bhāgaduha (9) Akṣavapa (10) Govikartṛ (11) Pālāgala. (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V, 3, 1; Taittiriya Saṁhitā I, 8, 9; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I, 7, 3.) Here Purohita is a Brāhmaṇa, the king and his queen are Kṣatriyas, Grāmaṇi is a Vaiśya and Pālāgala, the courier, is a Śudra (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 5.2.8) while Suta (the court-minstrel) and Kṣatṛ (the chamberlain) belong to the Avarṇas.

II. In the Abhiṣecan ceremony at the time of coronation, the king-elect stands on a tiger skin and then one by one, four persons sprinkle him with holy waters. According to the Taittiriya ritual (Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I, 7, 8) they are the priest who is Brāhmaṇ, Rājanya, Vaiśya and lastly Janya who stands for the Śudra as well as the Avarṇa because he is a man of the hostile tribe as in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 26) (K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 200-201).

III. In Agnipurāna, 218, 18-20, the Abhiṣecan ceremony is done by four amātyas with waters from a gold vessel by a Brāhmaṇa amātya, silver vessel by a Kṣatriya amātya, copper vessel by a Vaiśya and earthen vessel by a Śudra amātya. Here Śudra may be taken to represent both Śudras and Avarṇas (aniravasita and niravasita).

IV. So also in Rājanīti prakāśa (pp. 49-83); Rājandharma-kaustubha (oo. 318-363); Nītimayukha (pp. 1-4) and Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāna (II, Chapter 21-22) is described the following Abhiṣecan ceremony. The four chief ministers (Mukhyāmātyacatustaya) Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra consecrate the new king with holy waters. Then the leaders (Mukhyāḥ) of each Varṇa and of the castes lower still (Śudrā-ścavarmukhyāśc) consecrate him with holy waters. So also the principal virtuous ladies, whose sons are alive, of the four Varṇas and also of the mixed castes reciting auspicious songs (except the Śudra ladies who remain silent) sprinkled the king with the waters derived from sea and other holy places. All these quotations are very important because they are from the period A.D. 600 to A.D. 1700 when the position of Śudras and Avarṇas was considered to be at the lowest. These ceremonies indicate that the Śudras also could be amātyas and as they include the Avarṇas (Avaramukhyāḥ) also, they prove that even they as well as their women were treated as equals and that their presence was necessary at the time of the coronation of a king.

V. Māhābhārata, Śāntiparva 85, proves that there was an amātyasabhā in addition to the mantris (ministers) for advising the king in all matters. The amātyasabhā consisted of four learned Brāhmaṇas, eight valiant Kṣatriyas, twenty-one rich Vaiśyas, three religious and modest Śudras and one Suta or a well-versed chronicler. This makes it clear that even Śudras and Avarṇas could become amātyas at the time of the Māhābhārata. From the democratic point of view, this amātyasabhā seems to be superior to even the modern existing Indian cabinet because it contains the representatives of the Śudras or labourers which the present Indian or any other cabinet of the most civilized countries also do not possess.

VI. The Māhābhārata (Sabhāparva XXXIII, 41) describes that at the time of the coronation of Yudhistira, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or the owners of land, Vaiśyas and respectable Śudras were invited.

VII. In the second century of the Christian era King Rudradāman states in his inscriptions that he had been 'elected by all the Varṇas to the kingship' (Epigraphiā Indica, VIII, 43).

All this evidence goes to prove that though Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra and Avarṇas are allotted different graded vocations for a perfect division of labour which must produce social inequality (as happens in any other society civilized or aboriginal), in actual social life, steps were taken to eliminate this inequality and make all of them equal. The Śudras and the Avarṇas could perform sacrifices, at least, dur-

ing the Vedic period. This shows that they were part and parcel of the Āryan society though divided into different classes for a rational division of labour. There is, therefore, every reason to consider them as Āryas and to interpret Pañcajana and the allied words as Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śudra and Avarṇa or Niṣāda as has been traditionally proposed by Aupamanyava and Sāyaṇa and approved by Yāska and Śankara instead of interpreting them as Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, Turvaśā and Puru as has been done by Zimmer, since this interpretation is based on wrong inference of a conquering white Āryan race and defeated enslaved black Dravidian race which is a myth. Nobody has been able to prove the existence of a pure Āryan race as yet.

THE DHĀRĀŚIVA CAVES — A RESURVEY

By *M. K. Dhavalikar*

THE ROCK-CUT CAVES of Dhārāśiva lie in a deep ravine about 8 miles north-east of Osmanabad, a district place of the same name in Maharashtra State. Of these, the group of four caves on the north side of the ravine, as it stands today, is attributed to the Jaina faith. The caves are in a very bad state of preservation and are almost in a ruinous condition. They are excavated in a soft rock of coarse, friable texture containing haematite which, in a large measure, is responsible for their present condition. "As to the age of the caves," observes Burgess, "it is difficult to speak with much confidence; the absence of wall sculptures and the style of pillars in all of them seem certainly to make them as of a considerable earlier type than the Elura Jaina caves and compared with the architectural features of Brahmanical and Buddhist caves, I am disposed to assign them to the middle of the 7th century of our era."¹

The caves have long since suffered at the hands of nature and man alike, and though protected formerly by the Hyderabad State and now by the Maharashtra State they are still in a bad state of preservation. They have been robbed of much of their sculptural and decorative wealth and consequently they have not received the attention they merit. However, even in their ruinous condition they do not fail to impress the student with all their pristine glory.

In the course of my explorations at Ter (Dist. Osmanabad) in 1961 I visited the caves and on a detailed study I noticed that they occupy an important place in the history of cave architecture in Western India and that the generally accepted opinions about them run counter to the available evidence.

The caves were first surveyed in 1875-76 by James Burgess whose excellent report is the only work about them.² Since then they have not been subjected to a proper study. It is therefore desirable that the structural aspects of the caves are discussed first.

The Jaina group of caves consists of six excavations; four of them lying on the north side of the ravine and two across it. Of these, the first is an unfinished excavation and does not merit serious attention. Cave 2 or the main cave is the most important of the group and deserves a detail study (Fig. 1). It consists of a hall admeasuring 80 feet square proximately, containing 32 pillars forming *navaraṅga* or *raṅga-maṇḍapa*, a feature to be noticed at Bagh and Ajanta (Cave 6). In each side wall

¹ Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India* (London 1880), p. 504.

² *Archaeological Survey of Western India*. Vol. III—*Report on the Antiquities in the Aurangabad Bidar Districts* (London, 1878), pp. 4-11, Pls. I-VIII.

are 8 cells, about 9 feet square, while in the back wall there are 6 cells, 3 on each side of the shrine in the centre. The cells are all plain and exactly of the character of those in Buddhist caves. In the shrine (19 × 15 feet) is seen a huge image of Pārśvanātha in the *dhyaṇa-mudrā*, sitting cross-legged on a *simhāsana*. The *simhāsana* has on its base at the front two deer on each side of an object, which is obliterated. Behind the image are seen the ends of a roll cushion against which he rests. The back of the throne has *vyāla-mukha* terminals behind which stand two chowric bearers, one each on either side, and over their heads are two flying Gandharvas possibly holding garlands. Over the head of Pārśvanātha is a seven-hooded snake having a small crown on each of its hoods. All the figures are completely covered with plaster and painted over with a variety of colours.

The pillars in front of the shrine are round and have square bases; they have constricted cushion capitals and their shafts are adorned with horizontal bands containing beaded patterns and festoons. The other pillars in the hall have bracket capitals; their shafts are carved with two bands of half madallions, a motif so common at Ajanta.

The pillars of the verandah are completely ruined and the facade has also fallen. The cave also has an open court, now filled in completely. At the entrance to the court is carved a sitting figure of a Jina having a halo behind his head. On his either side is a *nūga* figure. There are some other figures in the panel, but they are very indistinct.

In the west end of the verandah is a small excavation containing a cistern and there are also to be seen in it a few loose Jaina sculptures. One of them represents Pārśvanātha in the *kāyotsarga* posture and has a *nūga* behind him. The other, on a square block having on its four sides standing Jinās, one on each side, with a *chhatrāvāli* over his head. Yet one more is a slab carved with a seated Jina, possibly in the *dhyaṇa-mudrā*. These pieces are rather of crude workmanship and appear to be of a comparatively later date. They cannot be earlier than 9th century and may even belong to 10th century.

The plan of the cave together with its arrangement of cells, the pillar order and the composition of figures in the shrine bears a striking similarity to those in some of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta. However, the rock-cut court and the figures carved on its entrance do not simply fit in with the original plan of the cave and they, therefore, appear to be later additions.

Another cave in the east, next to the main cave and numbered 3 in the group, is also interesting (Fig. 2). Its verandah has six plain, octagonal columns in the front with bracket capitals. The carvings on the frieze over the pillar are now totally destroyed but one that is now preserved in the drawings made by Burgess³ shows a principal member.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. III, fig. 5.

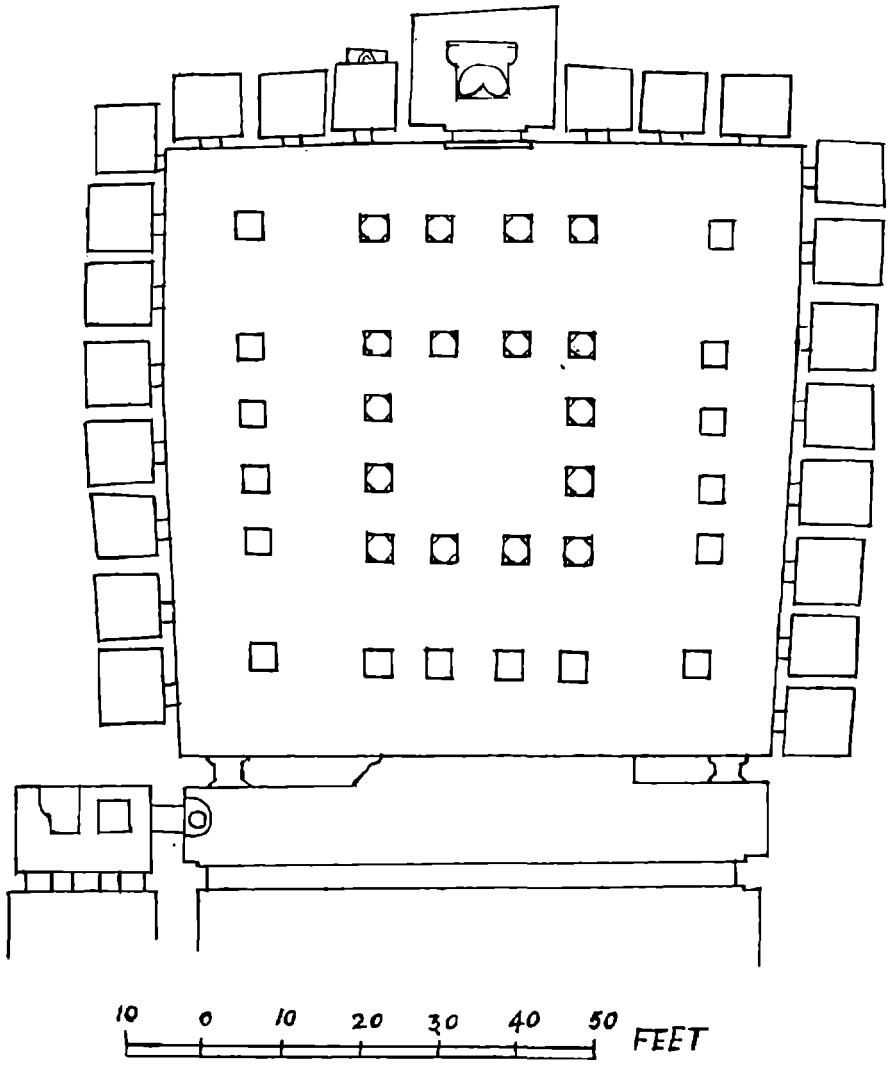


Fig. 1—Plan of Cave 2

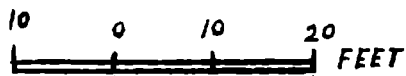
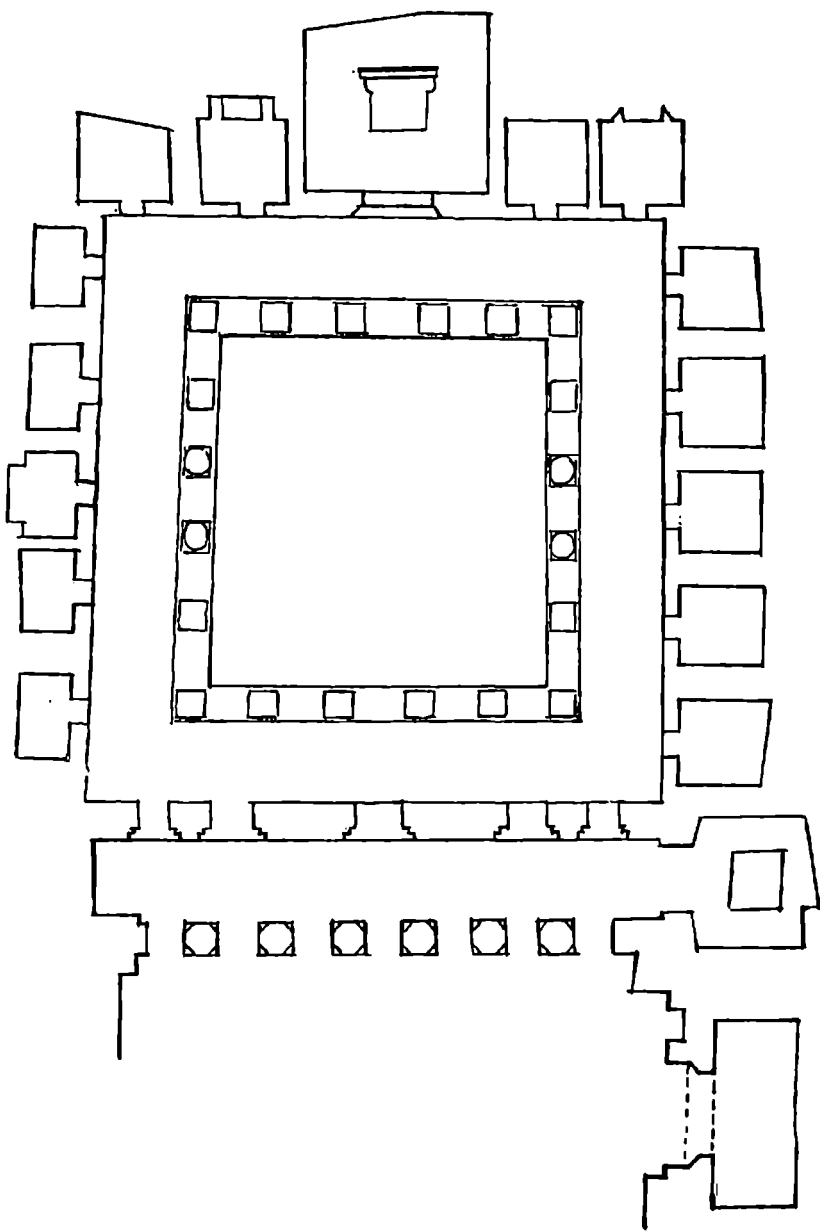


Fig. 2—Plan of Cave 3

supported by elephant heads with floral scrolls between and carved with *chaitya* window motifs crowned by a *kalasa*. On the left of the *chaitya* window is seen a flying Gandharva.

The hall of the cave, about 59 feet square, is supported by 20 pillars. In each side of the walls are 5 cells each and four in the back wall, two on either side of the shrine. The shrine (19 x 18 feet) contains an image similar to that in the main cave and the *dharma-chakra* on the throne can be distinctly seen. This cave too, along with its ground plan, the arrangement of cells and the pillar order, is identical with the later group of Ajanta caves.

Cave 4 in this group comprises a hall of 28 feet square, supported by four pillars. It does not seem to have a verandah. There is one cell at each side of the hall near the front and there were two cells in the back wall. The shrine containing a Jina image is now ruined in its entirety. The pillar capitals are identical with those in Cave 3 and the cave may therefore be contemporaneous with the preceding two caves.

The foregoing account of the caves together with their architectural peculiarities amply makes it clear that stylistically they are more akin to the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta and appear therefore more or less contemporary with the latter. This, however, would indicate that the artistic activity of the Jainas started pretty early in this region than has hitherto been supposed. Can we therefore assume that the Jainism had made quite a headway in the northern Deccan at such an early date? But the art history of the Deccan shows that Buddhism was a flourishing religion during 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and later, till 9th century Hinduism dominated. It was only in the 9th century and afterwards that Jainism flourished when it received considerable royal patronage, more particularly under the Śilāhāras. Thus the art evidence, coupled with the stylistic evidence from the Dhārāsiva caves, make their attribution to the Jaina faith rather doubtful. Moreover, these caves also appear to be more Buddhist than Jaina. This contention is further supported by the literary evidence furnished by a Jaina text which was discovered by Prof. Hiralal Jain in 1924. The text viz., the *Karakaṇḍa-charita* by Muni Kanakāmara⁴ is an 11th century work in Apabhraṁśa, describing the exploits of a certain king, Karakaṇḍa by name. It mentions the existence of a certain cave-temple in the vicinity of Terāpura (modern Ter in Osmanabad District) which Prof. Jain has rightly identified with the main cave No. 2) of the Jaina group at Dhārāsiva. It also further records that the cave was originally excavated by two Vidyādhara brothers Nīla and Mahānīla. The king Karakaṇḍa is said to have visited the cave, worshipped the Jina and also excavated two caves at that place. This account of Kanakāmara has led Prof.

⁴ Ed. by Hiralal Jain (Karanja Jaina Series, 1934). Chapters IV and V of this work contain description of the cave and Karakaṇḍa's visit to it.

Jain to conclude that the cave originally belonged to the Jaina faith and that it was caused to be excavated by some early, yet unknown, prince of the Śilāhāra dynasty.⁵

The account of the Jaina cave together with its location and description as given in the text leaves no doubt whatsoever about its identification with the main cave at Dhārāsiva. But the conclusion that it was originally a Jaina cave, and that too owing to the piety of an unknown Śilāhāra prince is open to question since the architectural evidence from the cave and the literary evidence furnished by the *Karakaṇḍa-chariu* run counter to the generally accepted conclusions. It becomes all the more clear if we thoroughly ransack the available evidence that the caves could not have originally belonged to the Jaina faith and that their attribution to some unknown Śilāhāra prince is a myth.

It is now necessary to critically analyse the evidence furnished by the *Karakaṇḍa-chariu*. According to Kanakēmara, the king Karakaṇḍa was encamping to the south of Terāpura, in deep forest. Here he was visited by Śiva, the king of Terāpura, who informed him of the existence of a cave-temple, "beautiful to the eye" and "supported by a thousand pillars", and containing in its shrine a Jina image—that of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd *Tīrthāṅkara*—at the foot of the hill. Karakaṇḍa visited the cave, worshipped the image and is also said to have *renewed* (or built a new cave) and installed in it yet another image of Pārśvanātha, which he found on the top of the hill, buried in an ant-hill. He is further credited with the excavation of two more caves at the site on the upper side of the existing cave.⁶

From the point of view of our study the most important part of the text is the statement that the king visited the cave, worshipped the image and renewed the cave (or built a new one) and installed in it yet another image of Pārśvanātha which he found on the top of the hill. If we take it for granted that he built a new cave we would then have to credit Karakaṇḍa with the excavation of three caves, that too of the Jaina faith, at the site. As already discussed, all the four caves are the products of a well-conceived plan and consequently they are all contemporaneous. It is therefore most unlikely that any of them is a later addition. It can, therefore, be said that all the caves existed at the time of Karakaṇḍa's visit. The statement that he excavated two more caves on the upper side can be considered later. At the moment we can safely presume that the king renewed the main cave. However, this act on the part of the king, instead of being helpful in providing a solution to the problem, makes it all the more complicated and has therefore to be considered in a greater detail.

⁵ "Fresh Light on the Dhārāsiva Caves and the Origin of Śilāhāra Dynasty", *ABORI*, Vol. XVI, 1934-35, pp. 1-11.

⁶ *Karakaṇḍa-chariu*, p. 42.

Karakaṇḍa, during his visit to the place thus worshipped the image in the cave and renewed it by installing in it another image of Pārśvanātha which he found on the top of the hill. This act of Karakaṇḍa poses a problem as to why he renewed the cave when there already existed one image in its shrine. This is all the more intriguing since we are told that he worshipped the Jina image that existed there. In that case it would certainly have been a sacrilegious act on the part of Karakaṇḍa to instal a new image. It could have been possible only if the existing image would have been in a mutilated or damaged condition. This would be perfectly admissible for there are innumerable instances of renovating the shrine which contained mutilated or defaced images. But we know for certain that this was not the case at Dhārāsiva for the king would certainly have worshipped it only if it would have been in a perfect state. All this would lead to show that Karakaṇḍa probably mistook the existing image in the shrine for that of a Jina. In that case the only possibility is that he mistook a Buddha image for that of a Jina. This is all the more possible since we have already seen that the caves appear to be more akin to the contemporary Buddhist excavations at Ajanta. What remains now is only to examine the possibility of the Jina image in the shrine of formerly being that of the Buddha.

We have already discussed the figures in the shrine and also observed that they at once remind one of similar compositions at Ajanta. The only object that may prove to be enigmatic is the seven-hooded *nūga* over the head of the main figure. But it should be noted in this connection that representations showing *nūga*-hoods over the Buddha's head are not wanting in Buddhist art; in fact it is an oft-repeated motif at Nagarjunakonda, one of the most important Buddhist establishments in South India where we find an exactly similar representation of the Buddha in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and with a seven-hooded *nūga* over his head.⁷ The seven hoods represent the *nūga* king Muchalinda who would himself round the body of the *Tathāgata* to protect him from storm.

Another important object that deserves serious consideration is the one, now missing, between the two deer on the throne. Even Burgess has observed without hesitation, that this object must have been a wheel⁸—the *dharma-chakra*. It should be recalled here that the *dharma-chakra* is quite distinct on the throne in Cave 3. We may therefore surmise, with a reasonable amount of certitude, that the image in the shrine could very well have been that of the Buddha.

It now necessarily follows that Karakaṇḍa very possibly worshipped the Buddha image by mistake. This need not surprise us for even today it requires a trained eye to distinguish between a Jina and a Buddha

⁷ A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda, Madras Presidency (MASI, No. 54, Delhi, 1938)*, p. 62, Pl. XXIII, B.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

image ; the common man can very often confuse and even Cunningham committed the same mistake at Khajuraho. But Karakaṇḍa perhaps realized the mistake and hence he renewed the cave by installing in it another image of Pārśvanātha. It should be borne in mind that it would have been difficult—well-nigh impossible—for anyone to instal a new image in the place of one that already existed simply because the latter was carved out of the living rock and was not a loose piece which could be removed at will. The best possible course, therefore, was to remove certain Buddhist elements from the existing image and in this case the easiest was to destroy the *dharmachakra* which, being depicted in profile, was projecting out. Mutilation on a larger scale was not possible and desirable as well, and the result is what we see today. The crude plastering and the hideous colouring preclude any attempt at dating ; plastering may perhaps be the work of Karakaṇḍa while the colouring, more particularly the brush-work, showing the contours of the body and the face, appears to be quite of a recent date.

The alterations in the shrine do not constitute the only renewal (?) work done by Karakaṇḍa ; his contribution to the cave is much more. We have already observed that the rock-cut court along with its entrance does not simply fit in with the original plan of the cave and may therefore be a later addition. This is also supported by the style of carvings on the entrance which are undoubtedly of a late period. Karakaṇḍa can therefore be credited with the addition of this court to the cave which is very similar to those found in the Jaina excavations at Ellora. This addition can be said to have been made sometime in the 9th century. Further, the conversion of the caves into Jaina shrines was quite possible in the 9th century when Jainism was a flourishing religion receiving considerable royal patronage under the Śilāhāras, and it is only during this period that the artistic activity of the Jainas reached its zenith with its centre possibly at Ellora where we find a magnificent series of rock-cut temples, not only adorned with exquisite sculptures but also embellished with dainty paintings, attesting to their high artistic achievements.

We may now consider the statement of the text crediting Karakaṇḍa with the excavation of two caves at the site. As already observed all the four caves on the north of the ravine form a single homogenous whole. We have therefore to look across the ravine where Cave 5 and 6 are located. Of them, Cave 5 never appears to have been finished while Cave 6, though finished, is of crude workmanship. The latter is a Jaina shrine which along with Cave 5 may be the work of Karakaṇḍa.

The foregoing analysis of the literary and architectural evidence amply demonstrates that the caves were originally Buddhist excavations, ascribable to the middle of the 7th century. They appear to be the creations of the same artistic activity which gave us the Mahāyāna caves of Ajanta, Ghatotkach, Ellora and Aurangabad. Since the Dhārā-

śiva caves are closely related to the late group of Ajanta caves it is necessary to mention here that the chronology of the latter is rather controversial and they are all assigned to a period ranging from 5th to 8th centuries A.D. But very recently they have been subjected to a proper, painstaking study and placed on a sound, surer chronological footing. Prof. Walter M. Spink, who has thoroughly studied the architectural peculiarities of the later Ajanta caves along with those of Ghatotkach caves, has convincingly shown that they are the work of a couple of generations, executed during A.D. 460 to 500, thus demonstrating that the Mahayana phase of Ajanta was one of extremely rapid growth and also of sudden decline.⁹ If Spink's dating is to be accepted, the Dhārāsiva caves can also be dated to about A.D. 500 and in that case it is not unlikely that they were caused to be excavated by some feudatory of the Vākātakas of the Vatsagulma branch who held sway over this region. It would therefore be absurd to credit an unknown Śilāhāra prince with the excavation of Dhārāsiva caves at such an early date when the house of the Śilāhāra was not even founded. We can at best concede that the conversion of the caves into Jaina shrines probably took place under the Śilāhāras who were known for their patronage to Jainism.

⁹ "History from Art History: Monuments of the Deccan", *Summary of Papers, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 1964* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 243.

HEROES IN SANSKRIT PLAYS KĀLIDĀSA PLAYS AND MṚCCHAKAṬĪKA

By S. N. Gajendragadkar

SANSKRIT LITERATURE is vast and varied. Various writers have enriched the language by original contributions in the fields of poetry, Drama, Campukavya and scientific works, some of whom have earned everlasting fame.

This is particularly true of Sanskrit drama. A large number of dramatists, using this form of literature, each in his own way, have given to it a richness and variety which can be a source of envy to other forms. Side by side, the science of dramaturgy also grew and prospered. We have, as a result, a literature touching on all aspects of life and scientific works on the same, discussing in detail the different forms and varieties. These works on dramaturgy, we however notice, have a very scholastic approach. Maybe as a result of our fondness for analysis and insistence on exactness, the science tended to be too rigid and formal. It was turned into a kind of technicality. Detailed rules in the matter of plot construction, characterization, treatment of Rasa etc., came to be formed. Since all this pertained to the formal aspect of the drama, the aesthetic approach and a keen desire to read the writer's mind were often lost sight of.

The above is particularly applicable to the 'Hero'. He is considered to be one of the main constituents of the drama. It is therefore natural that in all works on Sanskrit dramaturgy, there are detailed discussions regarding his nature, characteristics etc. As a result, for every type of drama precise definite rules are laid down. What is true of a Netā applies to other characters also. There is no doubt at all that such a scheme of things destroyed originality to a great extent and crippled the initiative of the dramatist. These rules were often framed on the basis of dramas deemed to be great and popular. But the consequence was that the characters tended to be stereotyped, wooden, lifeless. Fortunately there are exceptions to this. It is refreshing to find dramatists who have shown the necessary courage to ignore, at times even to defy these rules and conventions. It is also a matter of pride that in spite of these rules and conventions, plays of repute came to be written which were original, interesting, effective on the stage and a source of joy.

An attempt is now being made to examine the heroes in Sanskrit dramas from the aesthetic point of view, also taking into consideration the existing rules and conventions in this regard. In this article, Kālidāsa and Śudraka are the two dramatists taken for such an examination.

Before taking for consideration the hero from each play, it might be advantageous for our discussion if certain common features of Kālidāsa-heroes are first noticed. (1) It is useful to remember at the outset that

Kālidāsa primarily was an artist. His purpose in writing dramas was not to moralise or teach but to give an artistic representation of life. He employed for all his plays the sentiment of Eros and through them suggested *three gradual progressive stages of love*. This was primarily and naturally done through the delineation of the hero and heroine, particularly the former because in his plays, as in life, it is the heroes who take an active part if not the initiative in this game of love. The heroes are mainly depicted as lovers, their other qualities/characteristics being introduced either to heighten the effect or to raise them in the eyes of the audience and the readers.

(2) All his heroes are polygamous. This is a fact which he inherits from the plots chosen and had possibly no say in the matter. Then again it was a fairly common practice then, at least among the rich i.e. those who could afford the luxury. No artist, much less a dramatist, can afford to stay in an ivory tower. He has to take the society as it is and then represent it through the form he has chosen. Kālidāsa therefore accepted the polygamy of his heroes and then developed the theme, particularly his treatment of love. In the given situation, it was inevitable that awkward situations should arise and the skill lies either in avoiding such situations or toning them down in such a way that the hero's character does not much suffer.

(3) The first play is based on history. This has certain disadvantages and does cramp the style. He therefore turned to mythology for his later dramas. Mythology affords good scope to imagination while history is bound to put reins on them. Changes in incidents to suit the dramatic purpose, exploitation of the supernatural element of course without taxing the credulity of the audience too much and shaping of the material are possible in plays based on mythology and Kālidāsa made ample and clever use of this.

(4) Kālidāsa's plays conform to the form in another direction also. Like many Sanskrit plays, his dramas are concerned with court life, royal personages and love intrigues in the atmosphere of court. That all his heroes are kings is in conformity with the views of Bharata and Abhinavagupta. The latter in fact cautions us against a contemporary king being chosen as a hero. It is in this sense that Kālidāsa took a deliberate risk in choosing a hero, not much separated in time from him. Even then, the skill that he has shown in the interpretation of them has made his plays original and works of art.

Mālavikāgnimitra :—This is generally considered to be his first play. We do notice here a young dramatist, rather diffident, trying his hand at this form for the first time. The play deals with the delineation of love between Agnimitra and Mālavikā. All the other characters move round this central theme and as a result they all suffer from lack of all-round development. Then again this is primarily a drama of action where we notice a concentration of dramatic incidents arising from

men and women of different stations and temperaments. It is this concentration of incidents and situations which was responsible for the poor delineation of different characters. Agnimitra, the hero of the play, is a historical figure. He is the son of Puṣyamitra and was serving as the Viceroy of Vidiśā. This was in consonance with a practice then very common to appoint a son to look after a part of the kingdom, and the son was for all practical purposes the king of the area.

Technically speaking, Agnimitra is a धीरललित type of a hero. दशरूप defines धीरललित as निश्चिन्तो धीरललितः कलासक्तः सुखी मृदु । and the definition fits him. The drama makes two allusions to Agnimitra as a ruler and these bring out two of his qualities. The first one where he orders a military expedition shows that he is quick in judgment, firm in decision and lays great store by self-respect.

The other in the last act shows that he can be truly generous in success. Kālidāsa certainly cannot be accused of being generous in awarding Agnimitra regal qualities or even personal ones which will mark him as great. The rest of the drama points Agnimitra as a lover. The adjective निश्चिन्त from the definition explained as सचिवादिविहितयोगक्षमत्वात् चिन्तारहितः fits him well. He is also depicted as interested in fine arts and is given to a life of ease and enjoyment.

The drama primarily deals with the depiction of love developed between the hero and the heroine. Here because of the very choice of characters, Kālidāsa suffers from an initial drawback in that the propriety of love of the hero for the heroine can be legitimately questioned. He is a king, middle-aged, with two wives and a son grown up enough to fight a war and win it. He accidentally sees a photo of a faultlessly beautiful girl and is so much smitten by the proverbial arrows of the god of love that he thinks of nothing else and does nothing else but moan over her. The impropriety is not so much in the matter of age because one can perhaps argue that age is no bar either for passion or love so long as one attempts to satisfy it within the limits of decorum. It is so because of the difference in stations of life. The lady of his love is a maid-servant and that too an attendant of his senior queen. In days when caste distinctions were very rigid, his fascination for a maid-servant, his defiance of the two queens and the machinations of his friend Vidūṣaka to secure her for him certainly bring no credit to the hero. One could argue that the picture is realistic in that such things were common in high society then and that Kālidāsa was not out to preach. Still a common thing does not necessarily become proper and Kālidāsa's choice therefore can be reasonably questioned. Apart from this impropriety, even in the matter of pursuit of love, Agnimitra does not acquit himself very creditably. Maybe his love for Mālavikā is sincere and his conception of love noble. He does say once that it is much better to have loved and lost rather than be tied to a person whom you do not love. But of such nobility of love, this is a solitary instance in the play. In fact one may

not like to use the word love for the passion he has for Mālavikā. There is no doubt at all that in his love for Mālavikā, physical attraction for a young virgin beauty is the main or the only feature. True he wanted to marry her only if she is willing. Then again he could have married her having secured her love. He does not do it. Maybe he wants to spare the feelings of his queens. (Cf. केवलं धारिण्याः चित्रं रक्षन् आत्मनः प्रभुत्वं न दर्शयति।). Actually his hypocritical speeches and behaviour, the tricks and frauds employed by his friend infuriated his wives much more and one feels that a better and certainly honester way of respecting their feelings would have been to marry Mālavikā openly. Maybe, he did not pursue this course because he could not gather enough courage to do it, afraid of the possible post-marriage consequences in the harem. Men in high positions and in mortal fear of their wives are not an uncommon sight. It is equally possible that Mālavikā also would not have agreed to this for similar reasons. The result any way is very depressing since it leads to an excessive display of gallantry which seems to be his main characteristic and of which he is very proud. (Cf. दाक्षिण्यं नाम विम्बोष्ठि वैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम्।). Various definitions of दाक्षिण्यं are available. दाक्षिण्यं चेष्टया वाचा परचित्तानुवर्तनम् । सा. क. VI-188, or अनेकासु नायिकांसु अवैपम्येण स्नेहानुवर्ति दक्षिणो नायकः । प्रतापरुद्रिय. It generally implies a courteous behaviour on the part of a person with a wife, expressing sentiments of love where none exists since he is now drawn towards another woman. This is a quality the practical wisdom of which it is difficult to contest. Practiced with moderation and without undue sacrifice of self-respect it is effective. But in the given situation in a Sanskrit drama, particularly of Kālidāsa, it is likely to be over-used. This is precisely what happened in this first play. Number of embarrassing situations have developed where Agnimitra is caught 'red handed' or nearly so by his wife and unable to make a candid expression of love, is made to resort to दाक्षिण्य even to a humiliating length. His attempts at pacifying the enraged queen not only by words, honeyed but insincere, but also by falling at her feet, do a great damage to the hero. But to describe this behaviour as constant hypocrisy and treacherous conduct is rather going far if we remember the period of the play, the social conditions of the times and the intrigues prevalent in palaces. Agnimitra technically is a धीरललित type but धीरत्व he has none. He has no control over his mind and is indecently impatient for the consummation of love. Another striking drawback of the hero is his utter dependence on his friend to secure for him the love of Mālavikā and even the consent of the queens. The lover takes no initiative at all and looks as if he is waiting for Vidūṣaka to bring him Mālavikā's love and the consent of the queens on a silver salver. The only defence perhaps could be that Kālidāsa's interest in situations made him feel that this active role to Vidūṣaka may sustain the interest of the audience. Vidūṣaka alone could create humorous situations while the kings produce only embarrassing ones. Little did the dramatist realise that in so doing

he was lowering the character of a hero. One does feel that the dramatist was rather unfair to him. The hero was sacrificed on the altar of situations and incidents. Thereby hangs the tale of this feeble hero.

The next drama is *Vikramorvaśyam*. Here Kālidāsa has switched over to mythology which enabled him to exploit the supernatural element for character development. The very introduction of the hero brings this out prominently. The king is just returning from his daily worship of the sun. This shows that he is capable of moving in the sky and that he is of a religious bent of mind. Apsarās on the stage, visible as well as invisible, the heroine being transformed into a creeper and back into human form are other instances of this supernatural element in the play.

Unlike his first play, Kālidāsa here is mainly interested in the character-development. In respect of action, the drama is weaker than the first but in richness of poetry and characterization, it is a distinct improvement. Cutting *Vidūṣaka* to his proper size and reducing the undue importance given to him in the first drama is a definite gain in characterization. *Purūravas*, the hero, is a mythological figure with a romantic halo round him. The *Urvaśi*—*Purūravas* episode is current in literature from Vedic times.

Technically speaking, he, also like *Agnimitra*, is a धीरललित type. Though a king, except for the mention of punishing the vulture in V act, there is no reference to his performance of royal duties. It is obvious that the adjective निश्चिन्त truly applies to him. Even *Agnimitra* is shown to be more interested in royal duties than *Purūravas*. His characterization, however, does not suffer much because of his personal qualities. He is a demi-God, endowed with a handsome personality, graceful in speech and dignity. He is capable of quick decisions and has confidence in his own power, he is truly modest. He is a great hero. There are many references to his bravery. The gods depend on him in their fights against demons, an honour denied to *Agnimitra*. In fact, permission was given to *Urvaśi* to stay on earth with *Purūravas* only because *Indra* wanted to be on the right side of *Purūravas*. This incidentally is a very artificial way of having an unhappy ending. One would have preferred intensity of love as the reason. Possibly Kālidāsa wanted to emphasize his heroism and raise him in the eyes of the audience. His first introduction to *Urvaśi* was due to his bravery and what a fine romantic introduction. Coming to the rescue of a beautiful young damsel in distress is a very poetic, forceful and effective way of introducing the hero to the heroine. This is a distinct gain on the first meeting in the first play or even over the first meeting of *Duṣyanta* with *Śakuntalā* where the king rushes so heroically to protect *Śakuntalā* from the unwanted attentions of a bee. There is no doubt that *Purūravas* sincerely loves *Urvaśi*. There is equally no gainsaying the fact that what attracts him is her matchless beauty and charm. It is physical attraction than anything else and even his lamentations in IV act betray this. This however

does not smack of impropriety and for many reasons. In the first place, there is no rude reference to his age, either through his son as in the last drama or independently. Actually he has no son though this is not very forcefully brought to our notice as is done in Śakuntalā. The heroine is an *apsarā* supposed to be eternally young and human canons of propriety do not apply to her. In spite of this sincere love for Urvaśī, it is rather strange that he is shown as gazing at another young beautiful girl during the early period of his association with Urvaśī. No other hero in the Sanskrit drama is shown to be so fickle. This was done by Kālidāsa because this was the surest way of arousing Urvaśī's ire. A woman in love can tolerate anything else but this. This is an insult to her charms. True this anger on Urvaśī's part was necessary for the development of the plot but all the same it is a blot on Purūravas's character. On the whole, he is shown to have a better control over himself than Agnimitra. In love he behaves with more dignity and talks with restraint. This, of course, he gives up totally in act IV. Separated from Urvaśī, he loses control over himself. This does show his intense love for Urvaśī. A hero reaching such a mental condition in separation is not foreign to Sanskrit drama. Instance of the great Dāśarathi Rāma in *Uttarāmacarita* comes to our mind though the situation, characterization and the general effect are totally different in the two plays. Purūravas shows a better control in Vth act when he agrees to Urvaśī's going back to heaven.

Can it be that his passion for her ends when he sees a son? His desire for a son is now fulfilled and the loss of wife is compensated for by the gain of a son. He must have felt that a father's love is also something to be equally cherished. It may not be possible to attribute this willingness to his growing age for age is not known to be a great bar to the intensity of love. The portrayal of Purūravas is an improvement on Agnimitra in another way. He is required to indulge in *दक्षिण्य* much less. In the first place instead of two queens, that too of different temperaments, here the hero has to deal with one only, and that too a generous and an understanding one. The embarrassing occasions are fewer and the initiative in love rests not so much with him as with Urvaśī. If Kālidāsa was not fair to Agnimitra, here he has positively helped Purūravas by avoiding embarrassing situations and by portraying queen Auś'inari as a dignified queen who knows how to take a defeat in good grace. Thereby he has paved the way for Śakuntala where love is presented with better understanding, nobility and grace.

Śakuntala :—When we turn to this drama, the picture changes completely. Of course the outer setting is similar. Here too we have a hero from a famous royal family, already married twice, falling in love with a young charming girl and marrying her. The paints are the same but the painting is done with delicate brushes and with restraint and deep understanding of human nature. Then again, we are not in a royal

courtyard all the time. The love springs in a tranquil, holy, hermitage and the final union takes place away from the earth on a mountain where even the dust is pure and the atmosphere is of complete content, serene. Here too as in Vikramorvaśiyam, there are two unions with a long separation in between. But the two unions are absolutely differently drawn, bringing out in a sharp focus the essentially noble qualities of both the hero and the heroine. The separation period also is cleverly exploited for the development of the plot. It enables Kālidāsa to show how the love depicted here is different from the one in the two earlier plays. The love of Agnimitra for Mālavikā is just improper, not even romantic. Love depicted in the second play has the touch of a gallant chevalier rescuing a beautiful damsel in distress with the inevitable results following. The one shown in Śākuntala has a great sincerity, a religious purpose, a gradual transformation of an attraction into a love based on understanding and chastened by a long period of suffering.

In Mālavikāgnimitra, Kālidāsa was mainly concerned with depicting a series of incidents and provoking laughter through Vidūṣaka. In the second, he was interested in depicting the love of a mortal, well-gifted in personal qualities, with an apsarā. Action here was much in the background and delineation of emotions was his main concern. In Śākuntala he has concentrated on both. The changes introduced by him are an eloquent testimony to his dramatic sense while the skill displayed in presenting varied characters shows his knowledge of human mind.

Like the two heroes, Duṣyanta also is a धीरललित type. Enough indications there are to show that he is interested in five arts (कलासक्त). It is also pretty clear that he is given to pleasures (भोगप्रवण). Apart from this, the rest of his characterization is substantially different from the first two dramas and that too for the better. Duṣyanta is Kālidāsa's 'best royal portrait' in the given situation. An ideal king, devoted to the protection of his people and looking after their needs. Compliments paid to him by the ascetics, who have no need to flatter him, as well as the panegyrics of the bards bring out this abundantly. In spite of this, he is conscious of his failings. His respect for the ascetics is brought to our notice repeatedly. He is also richly endowed with personal qualities. A cultivated king, handsome in appearance and a delightful conversationalist, he easily impresses those who come into contact with him. Kālidāsa has similarly taken great pains to bring out his heroism. Equally prominent is his modesty—cf. the embarrassment he feels at the unprecedented honour done to him by Indra. His pride in the Puru family, and his interest in the manly games are also some of the pleasing touches to his character. His portrayal as a king, therefore, is much better than either of Agnimitra or Purūravas.

This, I believe, is the background for Duṣyanta as a lover. As said earlier, certain features are common between this drama and the first two. He is already married. In the matter of love, he proceeds the same

way as the other two. This, in fact, is the way love starts treading. One is attracted by a work of beauty and charm and is irresistibly drawn towards it. It is a physical attraction to begin with. No apology is needed for this. Same is the case with Duṣyanta. For him perhaps there was an added reason. As against the cultivated beauty he was used to observe and admire, this was an untutored natural forest beauty. There is certainly more than a grain of truth in the remarks of Vidūṣaka in II act (यथा पिण्डखजुरैरुद्वेजितस्य तित्तिप्यामभिलाषो भवेत् तथा अर्ष्यथना). But the main point is how does Kālidāsa develop this love after the seeds are sown. Is it gradual, practiced with decorum and restraint? How does the hero as a lover come out of this experience? If he throws all discretion to the wind, takes leave of his duties and obligations and moons over the heroine, then he is not entitled to the title of a hero. Duṣyanta however is put in a mould as would deserve our respect. The treatment of love also is very much different from the one in the earlier two plays.

The depiction of Duṣyanta as a lover began with the usual handicaps. He has wives, a fact which is known to all concerned, but still is attracted by the beauty of a young unsophisticated girl from the penance grove. It is equally true that Kālidāsa has deliberately used the symbol of a bee to show his romantic spirit. But still the delineation of love positively shows that the dramatist here has a different theme in mind. Duṣyanta's love for Śakuntalā is not sudden, not even at first sight. It has not the naked passion of Agnimitra nor the intensity and hurry caused by the charms of a trained courtesan. It begins slowly. In the first act, Kālidāsa very delicately shows how his mind goes through the different stages of curiosity, observation of beauty, interest and sympathy before the dye is cast. Once he is struck, he is struck badly.

One could object to this attraction on the ground that such repeated performances are a license. Agnimitra's passion for Mālavikā can be so described. But not here. This is because Kālidāsa makes deliberate efforts to make it palatable to the audience. His main excuse is that Duṣyanta has no son. Even today the poignancy of people who have no issue must be seen to be realised. Even today husband and wife, with no issue, consider their life to be a failure. Therefore in Kālidāsa's times, the audience would look upon this as a legitimate ground for a second marriage. Moreover avoidance of embarrassing situations, no jealousy tantrums by the queens and no false chivalry make Duṣyanta's action reasonable and cultured. His subsequent behaviour, again, is laudable and does credit to him, a virtue denied to earlier heroes. The love is ardent, desire for her is keen but even in the earlier stages, he is actuated by noble intentions. He does not give free reins to his desire but controls it and would proceed on the path only if it will materialise in a proper legal union. He seeks nothing illicit nor unlawful. True, he is an experienced lover and knows well the tricks of the trade. He has noticed

that this inexperienced girl is charmed by his talk, personality and manners. But he does not want to trick her. He has patience and control over himself, qualities you cannot accuse the two earlier heroes of. The दशरूपक epithet 'धीर' does apply to him. Then again, in spite of his परिग्रहबहुत्व his love for Śakuntalā creates no bad impression. Firstly because his behaviour is more dignified and controlled, and secondly his condition of being sonless is very deliberately and repeatedly brought to our notice. The reference to पुत्रपिण्डपालनोपवास in II, the verse—परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य मे । the pourings of the suffering heart in VI and the meeting with his son first and *then* with the wife in VII make this clear.

So then if marriage between the two was appropriate and even justifiable, why does the drama not end here? In other words, why a separation for a period of six years and then union again. Different theories have been proposed. It is impossible to believe that Kālidāsa wanted to decry the गांधर्वविवाह. It has the sanction of scriptures, was in vogue and it is inconceivable that a man of such balanced and healthy views on life would ever want to suggest it through such a delightful play. Another theory suggests that Kālidāsa wants to show that true love overrides all misfortunes and ultimately wins. This, I feel, does not explain the contrast intended to be shown in the two unions. The gradually nobler treatment of love through the three plays also cannot be explained by this interpretation. According to a commonly accepted view, the central theme in the drama was to depict the development of earthly love into divine. The first union, according to this view, was based on pure physical love and was selfish. This being something not very desirable was turned into love, unselfish, heavenly, shorn of its sensual character. To bring this about, it is said, suffering on the part of both the parties was necessary. One does not know whether this was intended by Kālidāsa. In the first place, it is doubtful whether suffering ennobles our character. It is quite likely that it makes the person bitter, cynical and perhaps more cruel. Then again there are not enough indications to show that Śakuntalā has undergone a severe tapasyā. The ostensible cause of this all is the absent-mindedness of Śakuntalā when Durvāsa arrived. Now is it very objectionable for a young newly wedded wife to be absent-minded when her husband has left tapovana the same morning and that too so immediately after the union. If it is so, the only legitimate conclusion would be that Kālidāsa did not know human mind and was unnecessarily cruel. More than all this, a more basic objection can be raised against this theory. There is nothing in the play which warrants the belief that Kālidāsa considered physical attraction as something bad, inferior, selfish and therefore to be discarded. As an uninhibited normal person, he would certainly not decry that which is natural and even desirable if under control and within limits. Let us not read more than what is intended. What Kāli-

dāsa wants to advocate is a balanced healthy life, free of too much addiction to bodily pleasures or complete denial of it. This is in line with the Hindu way of life. It is true that in the second union the hero and the heroine gain each other truly. The depth and serenity thus gained is not at the cost of physical love but the result of the healthy fulfilment of it. The fulfilment of marital love through a son was only hinted in the second play but is developed here fully. What has happened here is what happens in every normal healthy married life. It is expected that original physical attraction should after marriage blossom into a deep abiding love, mutual respect and understanding as a result of living together and sharing life's joys and sorrows. Children make a union complete and full. Normally this transformation takes place by staying together, by jointly going through the hardships of life. Here it comes about by a long suffering. Kālidāsa did not show this in his earlier two plays.

We thus notice that Kālidāsa has depicted a gradual development of love in the three plays. The first is a case of a mere sensuous attraction on the part of a hero who is very miserly depicted as a king, and the attraction remains at that level itself till the end. The second depicts the love of a valiant king for a heavenly nymph introduced to him by an accident, and the love receives the fruition through a son. This changes the complexion a little but the dramatist has not fully exploited the situation. In Śākuntalā, the theme is developed on the background of Duśyanta as an ideal king. His attraction and consequent love for Śākuntalā is gradual, his behaviour till marriage restrained and dignified, and intentions very noble. The initially natural physical attraction transforms itself into a mature deep love, complete mutual understanding and blossomed into an abiding bond through a son. This is done delicately and with deft hands.

The next dramatist we take for consideration is Śūdraka. His play Mṛcchakaṭīka is unique in ways more than one. It is a plebeian play, discards the conventional background of the Sanskrit dramas and moves in a sphere previously foreign to it. It is possibly the most enjoyable play because of its humour. He employs a large number of characters from lower society and his heroine is no princess by birth though fully entitled to the title by her beauty and virtues. The story is neither historical nor mythological. This also is a love play depicting the romance between a very poor learned Brahmin, generous to a fault and a highly talented charming courtesan. Technically speaking, this drama comes into the category of a Prakaraṇa which means that this is a drama in ten acts based on worldly life with a plot invented by a dramatist. According to the conventions, the hero should be a Brahmin fallen on bad days but still ready to do good turn to others. (cf अमात्यविप्रवणिजामेकं कुर्याच्च नायकम् ॥ 139; धरिप्रशान्तं-सापायं धर्मकामार्थं तत्परम् । 40 ।) It is obvious that Chārudatta, the hero, fulfills in ample measure the requirements

of the hero of a prakaraṇa. दशरूप mentions him under the category of धीरशान्त possessing qualities like modesty, leadership etc. The दशरूप definition of धीरोदात्त would be suitable to him but as the foregoing analysis would indicate, शान्त is a better description of Chārudatta than उदात्त.

There is no doubt that Chārudatta is an uncommonly attractive personality deserving a place with the highest. This Brahmin merchant was blessed with beauty and learning. He had inherited a large fortune but gave it all in charity and thus was reduced to penury. Charity was not his second but first nature so that when he has nothing to give, he even donated the cloak he was wearing. He was an embellishment to Ujjayini and his virtues are extolled by all, friends and foes alike. His was a cultivated and refined personality. He had a love for books and music. He was a god-fearing soul and guarded his name like a cobra, the hidden treasure. He had a high sense of honour. It is, therefore, natural that a beautiful courtesan, accustomed to meeting people far separated from such nobility, is attracted by him. He is kind and true to his words. He is no rebel but still courts treason and helps a revolutionary to escape because of the word given. In spite of this, I am inclined to feel that the character of Chārudatta is uninteresting and at times boring. One may respect him, admire him but not love him.

As an individual he has a long string of good qualities but still because of some basic weaknesses, *he is neither impressive nor interesting*. One may admire such a person, respect him but not like to imitate him. His character, in my judgment, suffers particularly as a lover. He appears to be a passive lover disinclined to take any initiative in matter of love. He is truly impressed by the utter sincerity of Vasantasenā's love, the depth of her feeling and her uncommon charm and falls in love with her, of course in his own way. One expected that he would love with more enthusiasm. But surprisingly he is not moved to action, takes no initiative. He is a hero very much different from the heroes of Kālidāsa. The love of the heroes of Kālidāsa is rooted in physical attraction. In Śākuntala it is joined with sincerity, depth, a sense of companionship. They love truly, sincerely and are prepared to take the necessary steps for achieving it and even face the consequences. Here the hero is in a different mould. He loves Vasantasenā passively, almost reluctantly. It is interesting in this connection to note the remarks of दशरूप—सामान्य-गुणयवत्स्तु धीरशान्तो द्विजान्तिकः ।-विप्रादीनां शान्तैर्न लालित्यं यथा मालतीमाधव-मृच्छकटिकादौ माधव चारूदत्तादिः ॥ How else can you explain his conduct in V act? Here the young beautiful beloved expectantly comes to meet him in spite of the inclement weather, rains, lightening and thunder. Rather than speak to her endearing sweet words of love, Chārudatta talks of his poverty. The most beautiful courtesan of Ujjayini, rolling in wealth, attracted by Chārudatta's beauty and magnanimity, sincerely falls in love with him without any gross designs of wealth. What she gets in

return is affection, respect. He calls her देवतोपस्थानयोग्या. I am quite sure that what she wanted from him was not a pedestal from where she could be worshipped but love with passion and ardour. He does not seem to be moved by the stroke of good fortune—a fortune which would make even the gods envy him and gives an impression that he only allows himself to be loved. Who said "Faint heart never won a fair lady"? He actually insults Vasantasenā's love when he indicated in the court that he looks upon the episode as a blot on his character (cf. मया कथमीदृशं वक्तव्यम् यथा गणिका मम मित्रमिति । अथवा यौवनमत्रा पराध्यति न चारित्र्यम् ।) If he felt that his love for Vasantasenā did not go well with his family name, personal character or social conventions, the honester course would have been to refuse the love. This is indeed a case of fortune favouring the undeserving. Let us now look at the other noble trait of his, the unbounded generosity. The whole drama impresses this on us. There is no doubt that he possesses this in an abundant measure so that a very rich man is now reduced to penury. Here too the effect on the audience is not what the dramatist intended. All the good impression intended to be created is lost because in and out of season all through the play, Chārudatta goes on bemoaning his poverty. True, what troubles him now is not the loss of wealth but the inability to practice generosity further but even then these constant lamentations are bound to irritate the audience and tempt them to say "then sir, why did you do it?" Similarly his constant laments over the desertion of his friends and relatives are not only a sentimental exaggeration but are blatantly false. I believe the dramatist made him do this because of the normal rule of the world that a poor man stands alone deserted by all, including friends and near ones. My complaint here is that Chārudatta had no occasion to say this. There are any number of references to show that in spite of his poverty and even sometimes because of it, people from all stations of life, friends and foes alike, respect him and are prepared to stand by him. Therefore this talk of desertion is sheer ingratitude. More than all this, even in poverty he has been able to secure the love of a gifted lady of matchless beauty. What more does he want? If respect, honour, love—things which are the salt of life—do not satisfy him, I do not know what will.

The same can be said of another good quality—pride. He is of course blessed with all that makes a man proud: birth in a good family, personal qualities, scholarship. It is this pride which prompts him to give and not take. He is willing to sacrifice even his name for his reputation. But what is needed is a sense of proportion. And this, I am inclined to feel, is just what he does not show. Even a virtue can intoxicate like opium. This is perhaps why, at the time when his character was at stake and when the wife came to his rescue, he was reluctant to accept the gift from her. Rather than thanking his lot for having such a devoted wife, he remarks कथं ब्राम्हणी मामनुकम्पते । कष्टम् इदानीमस्मि दरिद्रः ।

आत्मभाग्यक्षतद्रव्यः स्त्रीद्रव्येणानुकम्पितः । It does not please him that he has a wife who is prepared to rescue him from ignominy even when temporarily at least his behaviour towards her was not what it should be. What hurts him is that he becomes an object of pity to his wife. Then again it is this pride which partly explains his conduct in the court. At the time of the trial, he offers no defence, abuses Śakāra, surprisingly enough he abuses even the judges, who so unmistakably and so untruly to the robes they wear, are positively partial to him. He seems to feel that his fame alone is enough to declare him innocent and if he were to give the facts, he would be going back on the promise given to Āryaka.

When all this is said and done, he is a lucky hero. A loving son, a dutiful wife are prepared to stand by him as also a host of sincere friends. More than all this, fortune specially blessed him in that Vasantsenā, the jewel amongst the beauties of Ujjayini, offered at his feet her love and life.

ENGLISH DRAMA ON THE BOMBAY STAGE TOWARDS
THE TURN OF THE CENTURY—1880-1900*

By *Kumud A. Mehta*

IN HIS REMINISCENCES of the Bombay of the 1860s and the early 1870s and of the theatres and actors of his times, D. E. Wacha writes that Bombay then possessed 'mere apologies for theatres by way of huge ill-constructed sheds of corrugated iron and glaring paint, with curtains and dropscenes as execrable as the outside of the ugly structures'.¹ He further goes on to say :

'... these were more or less concentrated in Grant or Falkland Road, amidst surroundings which had better remain undescribed.'²

And in his opinion the Gaiety Theatre situated 'in an eligible place at the north-east corner of Waudby Road' was the 'first really good theatre with anything akin to a modern house of drama'.³

Almost the entire credit for erecting the Theatre goes to the leading Parsi actor-manager of the time, C. S. Nazir. He was its first proprietor and his efforts to bring out a Comedy and Burlesque company from England for the Theatre's opening season were reinforced by a popular amateur-actor of the English stage in Bombay, Major H. Cowper. The Government of Bombay, and the Governor, Sir Richard Temple, had helped the furtherance of this project and on his Benefit Night on April 13, 1880, Nazir publicly acknowledged his debt of gratitude to the Government for the site.⁴ Official backing and the support of men of standing from among the English residents of the city stamped the entire scheme 'with the seal of fashion and respectability'.⁵

The Theatre opened on December 6, 1879 but long before the actual date of the inauguration, the English dailies commenced to publicize the event. From August onwards they carried announcements proffering their readers all the relevant information relating to ticket-rates, prospectus as well as other details of the performance. The whole season was scheduled to last twenty weeks. Transferable season tickets were available for forty performances. The rates advertised for the season tickets were Rs. 680 for a Stage-Box to hold six persons, Rs. 480 for a Private or Orchestra Box to hold four persons and Rs. 100 for a seat in

* Being Chapt. VI of the thesis approved for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Bombay.

¹ D. E. Wacha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

The present day Capital Cinema opposite the Victoria Terminus is what used to be the Gaiety Theatre.

⁴ *Times of India*, April 15, 1880.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the Orchestra Stalls. The ticket arrangements were entrusted to Soundy and Co., and patrons were requested to pay their cheques to the Chartered Mercantile Bank for Credit of Theatre Subscription.⁶ A week prior to the opening, the newspapers published the names of all the members of the company along with a brief mention of their dramatic careers and of the theatres in which they had performed before. The names of the Stage Manager, the Musical Director, the Scenic Artist and the Machinist were also published. The rates of the daily tickets were notified.⁷

On December 8, 1879 the *Bombay Gazette* devoted an entire editorial to the Theatre. Nazir was lauded as a 'public benefactor' and Campbell, the architect, was congratulated for having designed a building so 'admirably suited to the requirements of the Bombay climate.'⁸ The editorial described the Theatre's interior :

'The ground-floor, which slopes gradually upwards from the stage has four divisions—orchestra stalls, pit stalls, pit, and amphitheatre. . . .

The orchestra stalls are luxurious easy chairs'.⁹

It nevertheless, enumerated some of the defects in the structure. There was no Gallery above the Boxes and the roof of the Theatre came close down to the cross-beam of the Proscenium and thus dwarfed the building. The projecting shoulder of the partition between every two Boxes shut off a view of the stage from all but the occupants of the chairs in the front row. Admittedly there were these shortcomings. For instance the authors of a Marathi book on Bombay, *Mumbaichā Vṛttānta* noted one drawback which the Theatre had in common with other theatres in Bombay. Its Gallery, being semi-circular in shape, those among the audience who were seated at the two corners found it difficult to secure a full view of the stage. The Marathi writers also remarked on the arrangements in the green-rooms and particularly on the provision of water-taps in them, as well as on the installation of gas in the whole theatre.¹⁰ Generally, it seems there was agreement that with the limited resources at the disposal of the architect, the comfort of audiences had been ensured.

There is a further account of the Theatre's interior in Aubrey's *Letters from Bombay*. Aubrey mentions his visit to the Theatre in early June 1883, three and a half years after the Theatre opened. He went to witness the representation of a Gujarati play, 'Savitri' by Parsi amateurs and recorded his impressions :

'We have stalls and a pit here as in England, but only two tiers of seats encircle the arena ; the upper tier forms a gallery, the lower tier is exclusively devoted to boxes'.¹¹

⁶ *B. Gazette*, Aug. 12, 1879.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1879.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1879.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ B. B. Acharya and M. V. Shingne, *Mumbaichā Vṛttānta*, Bombay, 1889, p. 320.

¹¹ D. Aubrey, *Letters from Bombay*, London, 1884, p. 121.

These boxes were hung with red and white curtains, looped up in festoons, and cane bottomed chairs replaced the luxurious padded seats of a London theatre. In a sense, Aubrey missed the plush and velvet of the West, though he found the uniform white and blue with which the house was painted 'a relief after the excessive gilded mouldings and cornices of an English metropolitan theatre'.¹²

THE STAGE

In its editorial on December 8, 1879, the *Bombay Gazette* described the stage of the Gaiety Theatre concisely. It was 'unusually deep and wide for so small a theatre'.¹³ The authors of *Mumbaichā Vṛttānta* were more precise in their observations. They remarked that the entire stage was seventy feet broad and thirty-one feet wide at the curtain-line and that the curtains rose twenty-two feet above the level of the stage floor.¹⁴

The Drop-scene used on the opening day of the performance was a little too loud, in the words of the *Bombay Gazette*, 'what our American cousins emphatically call "a caution"'.¹⁵ A month later a new Drop-scene, 'painted from an original sketch by, and under the personal direction' of Sir Richard Temple¹⁶ was substituted in its place. This new Drop-scene presented a view of Backbay, with the new public buildings, the High Court, the Clock Tower and the Secretariat from the Malabar Point. It depicted fishing boats afloat on the waters of the little bay and a glimpse of the harbour with a background of the hills.¹⁷ Referring to the performance of January 6, 1880 when the Drop-scene was displayed for the first time, the *Bombay Gazette* told its readers that the Governor was present on the occasion and then added with a slight touch of malice that it would have been fair to presume that he was much more interested in the Drop-scene than in the performance.¹⁸ Aubrey recalls being told that this 'very superior' curtain was 'never allowed to be used for native performances'.¹⁹ The Drop-scene for the performance of 'Savitri' represented 'the usual classical temple in ruins with a volcano in the distance, and a lake studded with boats of Neopolitan build in the foreground'.²⁰

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹³ *B. Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1879.

¹⁴ Acharya and Shingne, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

¹⁵ *B. Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1879.

It supplemented this remark further :

'Such a combination of glaring colours has never been seen before—out of an exhibition of oil paintings by amateur artists'.

¹⁶ *Times of India*, Jan. 5, 1880.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1880.

¹⁸ *B. Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1880

¹⁹ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

THE GAIETY THEATRE AS THE HOME OF THE ENGLISH DRAMA IN BOMBAY

What Nazir and his colleagues expressed was that with an eligible site, a comfortable interior and adequate stage appointments, the Gaiety Theatre would really become the home of the English drama in Bombay. On June 13, 1880 the *Native Opinion* mentioned that generally it was 'white' artistes who performed on its boards²¹ and Aubrey, though he went to the Theatre to witness a Gujarati play by Parsi amateurs still chose to call it 'our European Theatre'.²² But the Theatre did not long remain the monopoly of English companies. Nazir himself appeared on its stage on his Benefit Night playing the Duke in Tobin's *The Honey Moon*,²³ and in July 1881 an advertisement in the *Times of India* said that the Gaiety Theatre would be 'now AVAILABLE for EUROPEAN or NATIVE PERFORMANCES'.²⁴

Judging by the reviews in the newspapers, the standards of acting of the touring companies who played during these years on the boards of the Gaiety Theatre were without doubt mediocre. What took place during and after Nazir's Benefit Performance of April 13, 1880, reveals the state of affairs behind the curtain. After the play was over, Nazir, addressing the large audience assembled in the auditorium detailed the difficulties he had to face in bringing out a company from England, and thanked profusely all those who had afforded support to the project. He then went on to tell his listeners that he had instructed his agent in London to pay particular regard to the personal appearance of the artists he selected'.²⁵ He had to admit that he was himself very disappointed on that score. Moreover the artists selected were accustomed to rehearsing a play for a fortnight and the playing it for six months afterwards. But in Bombay a fresh piece was required at least twice a week and he found the company incapable of getting up pieces in so short a time. The *Bombay Gazette*, which considered this latter part of the address *outré*, reported that the remarks about the artists were received with hisses and groans from the auditorium.²⁶ In the two performances which followed, the artists retaliated. As the *Bombay Gazette* reported: 'Where the dialogue permitted, the unlortunate expression used by Mr. Nazir about "personal appearance" was put in with emphasis'.²⁷ Those among the audience who saw the point of the reference applauded the performers. Later Nazir had to withdraw these remarks and to apologise publicly to the members of the company.²⁸

Whether Nazir's strictures of the artists were justified or not, what is

²¹ *Native Opinion*, June 13, 1880.

²² Aubrey, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

²³ *B. Gazette*, April 15, 1880.

²⁴ *Times of India*, July 2, 1881.

²⁵ *B. Gazette*, April 15, 1880. ²⁶ *Ibid.* ²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1880. Letter from C. S. Nazir.

relevant is that he could not help expressing his disappointment in a troupe, he had himself imported with so much effort. Quite apart from Nazir's own unfavourable estimate of the calibre of its members, there is the adverse criticism of their performances appearing in the columns of the *Times of India*, a full two months before this incident which occurred on the Benefit Night. A few of the actors had actually sent a letter of protest to the *Bombay Gazette* against the attitude of the *Times of India*, whose disparaging remarks, they argued, were calculated to do them 'a professional injury'.²⁹ As Proprietor of the Theatre Nazir had at that time supported their complaint and observed that the 'unfair critical notices' in the *Times of India* had thoroughly disheartened the company.³⁰ Even the *Bombay Gazette* which tried hard to overlook the limitations of the troupe had sometimes to speak out against the unmistakable failings of the artists. Reviewing their production of *She Stoops to Conquer*, it wrote :

'They acted with gaiety and effect, yet one was never quite sure that they would not give genteel comedy the go by and lead off with a burlesque dance. But if ladies are burlesque heroines five nights a week, what wonder ?'.³¹

The reviewers were more intolerant about the lapses of the male members of a troupe. During the opening season, Mr. Cartwright, the 'heavy' man of the company, was rudely censured for over-doing his part.³² In a review of *Checkmate* the *Times of India* deplored the performances of his two colleagues :

'Mr. Tapping was a little too much like Mr. Tapping, and Mr. Sievier a little too much like a galvanised frog—his gestures indicated severe bodily pain in the abdominal region'.³³

The reviews in the dailies in addition to displaying their dissatisfaction with the incompetent acting, also found frequent fault with the choice of plays. *Pink Dominoes* with which the season began in 1879 was according to the *Bombay Gazette* more of an extended farce than a comedy.³⁴

²⁹ *B. Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1880. Letter signed H. R. Teesdale, A. B. Tapping, Edith Wilson, Madge Antoniette. ³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *B. Gazette*, March 25, 1880.

The *Bombay Gazette* was even more plain-spoken in its review of a production staged under Norville's management. It warned that if the company did not introduce some change into the order of things they had been observing of late, their efforts would result in a wretched failure. *B. Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1880.

³² *Times of India*, Jan. 12, 1880.

'He walks across the stage like Mr. Irving in *Hamlet* Moreover, he makes too much of his eyebrows. The human eyebrow is not designed for climbing up the fore-head like a snail up a wall'.

³³ *Times of India*, Jan. 19, 1880.

³⁴ *B. Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1879.

The review added further that the play comprised a 'rapid succession of grossly improbable situations, enacted by a series of characters as fictitious, unreal, and unnatural as the harlequin or pantaloon of a pantomime'.

The *Times of India* wrote down the comedy of *A Lesson in Love* :

'*A Lesson in Love* has no consistent plot, no beginning, no middle, though, thank heaven ! it has an end !'.³⁵ It had almost a similar opinion of H. J. Byron's comedietta *Not Such a Fool as He Looks*, for it considered its plot 'too slight and common-place to admit repeating'.³⁶

The *Bombay Gazette* was categorical in its preference for standard plays upon which precedent popularity had set its mark. It was convinced that the taste of the greater number of Bombay theatre-goers inclined more to good comedy than melodrama or burlesque.³⁷ The *Times of India* reproducing the same line of thought averred that Bombay playgoers worked hard during the day and that the city contained 'no dilettante residents among its Europeans'. Its advice to stage-managers was :

'We are afraid that no piece will be popular here that is unrelieved by comedy'.³⁸

On July 7, 1881 a letter signed 'Fin Beq' was published in the *Times of India*. The letter reviewed the experience of the two companies which had performed at the Gaiety and concluded that both had proved failures. In the letter-writer's view what Bombay needed was a company competent to play comedy, burlesque and *opera bouffe*, possessing a small repertoire of pieces thoroughly rehearsed, and added to this, a stage-manager who would not inflict 'murdered classics and sickly melodramas' upon the audience.³⁹

In the 1880s the internal set-up of the touring companies had not changed perceptibly since the mid-century years, with the one exception that now their organization was slightly more elaborate than in the previous years. The members of a troupe rarely exceeded fifteen in number. Actors and actresses of one company would depart to join hands with another troupe or to take a fling at forming their own dramatic group. In May 1880 Miss Agnes Birchenough left the company performing at the Gaiety to work for Mr. Norville's "Our Boys' Company".⁴⁰ After a little more than a year, in August 1881 there was a news item that she contemplated forming her own troupe of six actresses and four actors and playing a short season of ten weeks.⁴¹ But since the funds she needed were not forthcoming, she had to abandon this project.⁴² In September of the same year Miss Edith Wilson, one of Miss Birchenough's

³⁵ *Times of India*, Feb. 6, 1880.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1880.

³⁷ *B. Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1880.

³⁸ *Times of India*, Jan. 16, 1880.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1881. Letter signed 'Fin Beq'.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1880.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1881.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1881.

former colleagues in the company, which had inaugurated the season at the Gaiety in December 1879, announced the organization of a new troupe as well as her full engagements.⁴³

From among the older companies Dave Carson's troupe continued to visit Bombay more or less regularly and to entertain audiences with his 'more particular line of "variety entertainment".'⁴⁴ He too, made common cause with other troupes to present a more diversified programme. In collaboration with Miss Clara Stanley and Miss Bertha Hctor, he presented Donizetti and Lecocq.⁴⁵ With Hudson's Surprise Party, which like him specialised in comic sketches, he effected a 'Grand combination' so as to be assured of fuller houses.⁴⁶ In 1883 he introduced Miss Louise Pomeroy of Australia to Bombay's playgoers.⁴⁷ Her repertoire was of a different order. She included in a season's programme Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, as well as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. In her representation of *Hamlet*, she played Hamlet herself and the *Times of India*, finding the idea unpalatable, remonstrated that this was only one of the numerous evidences of the universal craving for something new.⁴⁸ But, on the whole, she received good notices and in another article the *Times of India* expressed regret that she had not been given better support in Bombay.⁴⁹

Most of the touring companies of the time stopped in Bombay just to play a short season. Then they departed either to perform in some other city in India or else they boarded a ship bound for the Far East or for Europe. Norville's Our Boys' Company; the Loftus Troupe, the Willard Opera Company were among the many who played their limited repertoire and went their way. Based on what they considered an intimate acquaintance with conditions which would 'conduce to the success of a theatrical venture in India'⁵⁰ they adhered to one set principle—that the taste of playgoers in the East did not lie in the direction of heavy drama.

In their Theatre Prospectus for the season, the Proprietors of the 'Our Boys' Dramatic Company announced that new members would be 'specially selected for their attainments in modern comedy, burlesques and light musical pieces'.⁵¹ Sometimes Robertson or Boucicault would be staged.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1881.

Ibid., Oct. 5, 1881.

⁴⁴ *B. Gazette*, May 10, 1880.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, May 12, 15, 1880.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1880.

⁴⁷ *Times of India*, March 22, 1883.

See also John Kardoss, *A Brief History of the Australian Theatre*, Sydney, 1955, p. 38.

⁴⁸ *Times of India*, April 19, 1883.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1883.

⁵⁰ *B. Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1880.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1880.

But more and more the touring companies came to depend upon the Savoy operas to supply the bulk of their season's output. *Trial by Jury*, *The Pirates of Penzance*, *H. M. S. Pinafore*, *Pygmalion* and *Galatee* and a little later, *The Mikado* formed the backbone of the programme.

In presenting the Savoy operas the maximum effort was expended towards advertising some connection with the original production in London or on stressing how much the Bombay production approximated to it. For instance *H.M.S. Pinafore* was scheduled to be performed on April 20, 1880. It was Music Director Levey's Benefit Night. The *Bombay Gazette* spoke of all the difficulties Mr. Levey had faced in 'licking into shape' such crude material as a band of Bombay Portuguese instrumental performers and of his success in creating 'a very fair orchestra'.⁵² Supplying a few of his biographical particulars, the *Times of India* mentioned that he had travelled for six months with well-known theatrical companies in England, who played *H.M.S. Pinafore* and *The Sorcerer* and further, it added that his engagement in Bombay was mainly due to the recommendation of Arthur Sullivan.⁵³ An announcement of *The Pirates of Penzance* stressed that the 'correct' costumes, and scenery had been prepared from models and diagrams received from London.⁵⁴

The Bandmann Company was among the very few troupes which departed from the unchanging tenet that only light burlesques and comedies would satisfy playgoers in India. Bandmann struck out a new line with heavy melodrama as an opening and his advertisements indicate a wide range of plays.⁵⁵ In Bombay though he concentrated on the Shakespearean tragedies, he also presented Boucicault as well as the Savoy operas.⁵⁶

On March 27, 1882 the *Times of India* published an account of Bandmann's dramatic career.⁵⁷ Born at Cassel, he made his stage debut at the age of eighteen. At first he had performed in various towns in Germany and in Vienna. Subsequently, he worked in American theatres for five years and so there was a more noticeable trace of American rather than German inflexion in his accent. Bandmann was surprised at the excellent response he received in Calcutta from the Indian community and expected that the same thing would happen in Bombay. He was not altogether disappointed. Parsi students of the Grant Medical College filled 'one

⁵² *Ibid.*, April 20, 1880.

⁵³ *Times of India*, April 20, 1880.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1881.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1882.

Ibid., Nov. 6, 1882.

⁵⁶ A review of his production of *Patience* mentioned that it was being presented in Bombay within a reasonable time of its representation in London. *Times of India*, Nov. 25, 1882.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, March 27, 1882.

or two of the principal parts and several minor characters' when he presented *Hamlet* on April 6, 1882,⁵⁸ and the notices for most of his Shakespearean productions observed that his audience consisted 'largely of native students' who followed the performance with intelligent interest.⁵⁹

Apart from the 'Season's' performance by touring companies, a few amateur troupes continued to produce English plays. But their efforts formed a small part of the total volume of theatre activity. As before, college students performed before select gatherings. Production of English plays by amateurs often came to be geared to some charitable cause. The English dailies announced dramatic performances in aid of orphanages, hospitals and high schools. The Bombay Amateur Dramatic Club formed in 1889 busied itself with raising funds for Parsi charities.⁶⁰ In their zeal for what they called the 'confirmed cultivation of literae humaniores', its members even attempted in addition to recitations, readings and representations of scenes from Shakespeare, a short piece called *A Sudden Arrival* in the original French.⁶¹ From 1894 to 1896, the Thespian Club and the Orphean Dramatic Club gave a series of performances in aid of various charities.⁶² Among amateur actors, the most active personality was Major H. Cowper. The Directory included in Maclean's *Guide to Bombay* gives his designation as that of Presidency Paymaster.⁶³ Major Cowper had assisted Nazir in tiding over the initial difficulties he faced in constructing the Gaiety Theatre and in bringing over a troupe from England. As an actor, Cowper was very much in demand and even professional companies sought his aid on several occasions. When he was scheduled to appear in any of their productions, they billed his name with some prominence, hoping to attract his admirers in Bombay for their shows.⁶⁴

The touring companies performed their English plays for a 'cultured or, at any rate, well-dined audience'⁶⁵ in the theatres in the Fort. The amateur groups harnessed dramatic entertainments to philanthropic objectives or enlisted the services of theatricals as an aid to the study

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1882.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, April 3, 7, 1882.

Ibid., Nov. 27, 1882.

Ibid., Dec. 2, 1882.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1891, publishes a report of the Club's activities during the preceding two years along with a list of the institutions which benefited from the Club's efforts.

⁶¹ *Times of India*, Aug. 21, 1893.

⁶² *Times of India*, Nov. 29, 1895, published an account of the annual meeting of the Thespian Club with a report of its activities during the year.

Times of India Feb. 19, 1896 published a similar account of the Orphean Dramatic Club.

⁶³ Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay*, 6th ed., Directory Section, p. 11.

⁶⁴ *Times of India*, Feb. 5, 7, 1880.

⁶⁵ C. J. Sisson, *Shakespeare in India*, London, 1926, p. 20.

of Shakespeare or of English dramatic literature. But the most important segment of dramatic activity was now in the hands of Indian professional companies. Their productions of Marathi, Gujarati and Hindustani plays could now count on large audiences. In 1880, during its first visit to Bombay, Annasaheb Kirloskar's Company had engaged the Victoria Theatre and presented *Sangeet Shakuntala* to an audience which included Maharashtra's educated élite.⁶⁶ Kirloskar's biographer and colleague writes that the boxes in front were occupied among others by Justice K. T. Telang, Prof. Bhandarkar, B. M. Wagle and Shantaram Narayan.⁶⁷ In 1882 when it visited Bombay for the third time, the Company was in a position to engage what was then 'the best' theatre in Bombay, the Gaiety Theatre.⁶⁸ Commentators on Kirloskar's dramatic technique are agreed that he aimed at modelling his plays on Western operatic forms, and that he had been impressed by their adaptation by Parsi dramatic companies.⁶⁹ Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, after witnessing *Sangeet Shakuntala*, remarked in particular that while the music in the productions of the Parsi companies tended to be monotonous, Kirloskar's musical score was excellent.⁷⁰ A summary of the Company's receipts for nine performances during the period from August 13 to September 11, 1885 indicates the measure of its financial success.⁷¹ Other companies were formed, which strove to emulate Kirloskar's emphasis on the musical features of his repertoire.

The Parsi professional troupes were in a sense even more prosperous than the Marathi companies. The Proprietor of the Victoria Theatrical Company, C. Baliwalla and D. F. Mogul, could by 1887 raise enough funds to build a new theatre opposite the Victoria Terminus—the Novelty Theatre. This Company had toured India several times with its repertoire of Hindustani and Gujarati plays. Its members had even visited England in 1884 'to reap, as they thought, a rich harvest by giving theatrical performances in the different vernacular languages'.⁷² From a purely financial angle, their trip to England had been a failure. But they were able to observe the workings of foreign dramatic companies, and in the words of the *Times of India*,

'.....They returned to Bombay poorer in money though richer in histrionic talent'.⁷³

Plays which had scored big successes on the English boards were freely adapted for local use. For instance, Boucicalut's *The Colleen*

⁶⁶ S. B. Muzumdar, *Annāsāheb Kirloskar Yañchem Charitra*, Poona, 1904, p. 74.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁷² *Times of India*, March 1, 1888.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Bawn was transformed into *Bholee Jan* for Indian audiences.⁷⁴ Hindustani songs were set to 'several very familiar English tunes'.⁷⁵ On March 22, 1887 the *Times of India* mentioned an entertainment held in honour of Lord and Lady Reay where Mr. and Mrs. K. N. Kabraji presented 'English melodies translated into various native languages'.⁷⁶ A playbill of the N. D. Apyakhtiar Parsi Opera Concert and Burlesque Company of Indian Music printed on yellow satin announces an entire evening's programme which includes among other musical items such entertainments as an Ethiopian Ballet, an Overture from Rossini and songs in Indian *ragas* like *yaman bhairavi* and *jogiya*.⁷⁷

Borrowing English melodies for Indian songs or simply incorporating Western musical pieces in an evening's programme of entertainment was only part of the influence of foreign models on the styles of entertainment adopted by Indian companies. It was really in the realm of scenic display that they accented their imitation of the transfer scenery, the lime-light effects employed in the West.⁷⁸

An announcement for *Sangin Bakavali* on June 4, 1887 emphasized the 'elaborately finished English style Scenic Effects Never produced in India before'.⁷⁹ Aubrey, describing the decor for *Savitri*, observed that 'the same European scenery did service for all three acts'.⁸⁰

Reviewers in the dailies were now more attentive to the mounting of plays and impatient of slovenliness in technique. A review of the performances of the Loftus Troupe made it a point to mention 'the farm yard scene in which such objects as a horse, a dog and poultry were introduced on the stage in a most natural manner'.⁸¹ When Harry Stanley's Juvenile Opera Bouffe Company staged a pantomime during 'tropical mid-summer', the pictorial effects created by 'The Flying Fairy' caught the eye of the reviewer.⁸² In an announcement of *Patience*, some of the attractions of the production, such as 'A Cascade of Real Water, Lime Light Effects, Properties, Dragon Costumes, etc., etc., from Designs by the Author' were conspicuously advertised.⁸³ The background used for *Checkmate* was ridiculed in a review by the *Times of India* for it resembled 'a badly-made Mayonnaise with bits of beetroot stuck all over it'.⁸⁴ And on yet another occasion, referring to the imper-

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1887.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1888.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1887.

⁷⁷ This deserves a separate treatment.

⁷⁸ *Native Opinion*, June 19, 1887.

⁷⁹ *Times of India*, June 4, 1887.

⁸⁰ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁸¹ *Times of India*, Feb. 12, 1883.

⁸² *Ibid.*, May 22, 1886.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1883.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1880.

fect scenery it wrote, 'The moonlight was moonshine regarded as moonlight. When it shone, it shone like a blue-light and it went out like a candle injudiciously snuffed'.⁸⁵

Any attempt at improving scenic accessories received a whole-hearted welcome. Maurice Freyberger's new Drop-scene displayed at the Gaiety Theatre on November 20, 1880 evoked the approval of both the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Times of India*.⁸⁶ It has been taken from Clarkson Stanfield's 'The Happy Days of Charles I'. It depicted huge buildings with a view of ships, barges and swams on a river and under gaslight it gave the impression of an oil painting. On November 18, 1886, the *Times of India* expressed satisfaction that a piece produced at the Gaiety Theatre had been well-mounted and that a 'tastefully-furnished room' was presented in place of the 'beggarly three chairs, two sofas and a carpet' which usually did service at the Gaiety for a drawing-room. It remarked that it was impossible for good acting to be effective 'without the aid of good stage appointments'.⁸⁷

Aubrey found the theatrical properties used in the Gaiety Theatre 'as elsewhere in native theatres in Bombay. . . . similar to those of England and France'. Thunder was made 'with a sheet of tin, the wind with a barrel, the hail by rattling parched peas in a caisson'.⁸⁸

He was amused to discover the 'native *coiffeur*' employing many of the cosmetic preparations in vogue in London and he noted :

'The hare's foot and camel brush has penetrated out here'.⁸⁹

In 1890 the *Times of India* carried an advertisement for make-up boxes beneath the caption 'THEATRICAL SUNDRIES'. Priced at Rs. 20 these boxes were reported to contain 'everything necessary for making up the face'.⁹⁰

COSTUMES

With costumes the story was somewhat different. The dresses used by the touring companies were designed mostly for the *opera bouffe* and a small company sometimes experienced 'a paucity of wardrobe for the subordinate parts' of its plays.⁹¹

On the other hand, Indian companies dressed the characters of their historical and mythological plays in gorgeous costumes. Names of

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1880.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1880.

B. Gazette, Nov. 22, 1880.

⁸⁷ *Times of India*, Nov. 18, 1886.

⁸⁸ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Times of India*, Aug. 29, 1890.

The box included among other items 'Rouge pearl powder, whiting . . . Burnt umber, Camel-hair Brushes, Hare's Foot'.

⁹¹ *Times of India*, May 7, 1880.

Indian firms like Calian Motec and Company started to appear in the advertisements of performances as suppliers of theatrical dresses.⁹²

In 1880 the *Macmillan's Magazine* published an account of a representation in Baroda of the Marathi version of *Cymbeline*. The writer noted that 'the scenery and stage accessories were of the simplest description' and the scene being laid in India, 'the costumes were strictly Oriental'. He was fascinated by the gold and velvet textures and the rich colours used for the dresses :

'Imogen wore the ordinary 'full dress' of a Maratha lady dark green *sari* with gold edges, golden armlets and ear-rings. Her face was fair as any English maiden's and her cheeks bloomed with very conspicuous rouge. Unfortunately, she had not taken the precaution of whitening her arms to match her face'.⁹³

Most actors were tempted to over-dress. On December 17, 1885, Parsi amateurs assisted Miss Crawford in staging *Hamlet*. In its review of the performance, the *Times of India* counselled sobriety in dress :

'We would like to see the King (as is done better abroad) dressed more like the courtiers about him and at least partly in mourning. It is impossible for an actor . . . to be sufficiently impressive, when dressed like a red Chinese Bonze. Except that he remains covered, the King should dress like the rest in doublet and hose . . . The ghost must get rid of that helmet and cover his elastic side boots with tinfoil'.⁹⁴

LIGHTING

With the other technical advances of the two decades came electricity. On November 6, 1882, the *Times of India* reported that an innovation had been introduced in the Gaiety Theatre, 'the lighting of the theatre by means of electricity'.⁹⁵ Two electric lamps of about two thousand candle power had been utilised. One was suspended on a tree outside the Theatre and the other was hung inside, in place of the gas chandelier. The second lamp flickered unsteadily during the performance and thus, in addition to the 'peculiar hissing sound' caused by the carbon consumption, distracted the audience. The lessee of the Theatre claimed electricity to be an improvement on gaslighting because it was cooler and in every respect more suitable. The reviewer of the *Times of India* held a different view. He thought spectators might prefer the old system of gas lamps until some improvements were made in the electric lights.⁹⁶ But an innovation was not so easy to combat. On April 24, 1883 a news item in the *Times of India* reported that the first public installation of

⁹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1890.

⁹³ A. Littledale, "Cymbeline in a Hindoo Playhouse", *Macmillan's Magazine*, London, 1880, p. 65.

⁹⁴ *Times of India*, Dec. 19, 1885.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1882.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

incandescent lighting had been inaugurated the previous night by the Eastern Electric Company.⁹⁷ On October 3, 1883 a 'Notice' in the *Times of India* announced that the Gaiety Theatre would be illuminated with the incandescent Electric Light 'as used at the Savoy Theatre, London'. A special line was added to the 'Notice',

'The Lights give out NO HEAT'.⁹⁸

But gas-lighting was not immediately discarded⁹⁹ and continued side by side with electricity for a few years.

It was now possible to introduce into the Gaiety and into the newly-built Novelty Theatre a few of the technical innovations and scenic effects which both playgoers and producers had hoped to witness in the old theatres around Grant Road. These two theatres were larger, better equipped. The Novelty Theatre was built to seat fourteen hundred persons. Its stage was ninety feet broad and sixty-five feet long. Its dome could accommodate five dozen sun-burners.¹⁰⁰ To keep in step with the times the theatres in Grant Road had to don a new look. In January 1880 the Grant Road Theatre was re-decorated completely.¹⁰¹ In 1881 new scenery by the Italian artist Signor Rua was displayed at the Elphinstone Theatre and advertised as being 'the best yet seen in any theatre in Bombay not excepting even the Gaiety'.¹⁰²

For all the claims of their proprietors the Bombay playhouses of the time were inadequate structures. On June 5, 1880 a heavy downpour of rain caused leakages in several parts of the Gaiety Theatre building. The stage was saturated and the water in the dressing rooms was ankle-deep. The incident created quite a panic among the audience and the Proprietor had to insert a notice in the *Bombay Gazette* stating that the building would be 'thoroughly attended to, and the auditorium made properly weather-proof'.¹⁰³ In 1895 some of the letters appearing in the correspondence columns of the *Times of India* discussed whether the channels of escape in the theatres of Bombay were adequate to meet the contingency of fire.¹⁰⁴

The proprietors and lessees of the Gaiety and the Novelty Theatres sought to enhance the prestige of these theatres and to claim as fashionable an audience for them as possible. On their part there was keenness 'to do things in a seemly manner'.¹⁰⁵ And the newspapers as well as

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1883.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1883.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1883.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1887.

¹⁰¹ *B. Gazette*, Jan. 19, 23, 1880.

¹⁰² *Times of India*, June 4, 1881.

¹⁰³ *B. Gazette*, June 7, 1880.

Times of India, June 7, 1880.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 6, 1895.

¹⁰⁵ *B. Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1880.

a few interested playgoers tried to help by coming forward with suggestions for better arrangements at the refreshment stall,¹⁰⁶ for a more intelligible printing of programmes,¹⁰⁷ for some way of lessening the noise of carriages at the entrance of theatres.¹⁰⁸

At these theatres the audiences were quite well-mannered. Except for the slight disturbance caused by noisy late comers¹⁰⁹ or by playgoers who insisted on elaborate explanations 'in a voice of thunder to adjacent ladies'¹¹⁰ or by soldiers and sailors who hailed each other far too loudly,¹¹¹ the atmosphere in the auditorium usually remained tame and restrained.

The real and serious difficulty facing the English theatre in Bombay during these last two decades of the nineteenth century was the gradual dwindling away of patronage from Indian audiences and the poor support from the European community. The opening night of a new season, a special Benefit Night, or a pantomime programme at Christmas sometimes attracted full houses. But, as a whole, English dramatic performances were no longer much of a draw. For instance in January 1886, the *Times of India* complained of the poor attendance at the Gaiety Theatre for even such an able artist as Miss Louise Crawford.¹¹² A representation of Byron's *Our Girls* on January 26, 1886 was so thinly attended that the *Times of India* wrote that it was doubtful whether the night's receipts paid for the cost of lighting.¹¹³ The references to the English stage in Bombay in successive editions of Maclean's *Guide to Bombay* confirm this lack of encouragement and support. Maclean was associated with the *Bombay Gazette* for nearly two decades and was well-acquainted with Bombay's cultural climate. In 1877, when the Gaiety Theatre had not yet been built his *Guide* said :

'Bombay has, in fact, outgrown amateur acting without attaining to the dignity of keeping a company of regular actors'.¹¹⁴

The Gaiety Theatre was intended as a partial remedy for this situation and it was hoped that dramatic companies would frequently be brought out from England. In 1887 in its twelfth edition the *Guide* remarked that the Theatre was rarely engaged and of little use.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁶ *Times of India*, Jan. 16, 1880.

... Might we recommend Rogers and Company's soda-water instead of the bottled Thames Water with smoke in it which is supplied to us and would it not be as well that the whisky should contain at least some alcohol? See also *Times of India*, Jan. 19, 1880, and Nov. 22, 1880.

¹⁰⁷ *Times of India*, Nov. 22, 1880.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1880. Letter signed 'Pil'

¹⁰⁹ *B. Gazette*, Nov. 26, 1880.

¹¹⁰ *Times of India*, Jan. 19, 1880.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1880.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 16, 1886.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1886.

¹¹⁴ Maclean, *op. cit.*, 3rd ed., 1877, p. 252.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12th ed., Bombay, 1887, p. 303.

Later in 1899, Maclean hazarded an explanation for the neglect of the English stage in the city :

'...here a stranger generally finds the theatre in the place either unoccupied or else given up to native performances. Dramatic companies did come out from England, and were brought out by subscriptions, but they are generally of the second class order, and seldom attractive. The main cause of the lack of theatrical amusements is the comparative smallness of the European population. It is thus difficult to fill the theatre, and no company, even a second-rate one, will play to an empty house'.¹¹⁶

Moreover, this comparatively small European society was unresponsive to new trends in drama in England, and the English press in Bombay was hardly interested in popularising them. Newspapers restricted their reportage to a resumé of the plot of a play and to judging the capabilities of actors. An occasional difference of opinion might arise between the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Times of India*¹¹⁷ about the merits of particular performances. But essentially the nature of their dramatic criticism was the same. It fought shy of discussing the idea of a play. The reviews appearing in the *Times of India* during the visit of the Achurch Charrington Company are an illustration. Miss Janet Achurch and Charles Charrington were among the *avant-garde* which had introduced Ibsen's plays to English audience.¹¹⁸ In 1889, they had put on *The Doll's House* at the Novelty Theatre in London. In 1892 after a tour of Australia on their way back to England they played a season in Bombay. The *Times of India* published a lengthy account of Miss Achurch's background in the theatre, of her effective portrayal of the 'doll-wife' and of Charles Charrington's experience of stage management.¹¹⁹ On their opening night in Bombay they faced a thin house and the *Times of India* wrote in distress :

'Bombay is a notoriously slow city, theatrically speaking'.¹²⁰

Later on the company had better audiences. The *Times of India*, though it acclaimed the acting, refused resolutely to enter into what it called the

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24th ed., Bombay, 1899, p. 338.

¹¹⁷ See *Times of India*, Feb. 23, 1880.

¹¹⁸ Shaw, paying a tribute to this 'small but inquisitive and influential body of enthusiasts' wrote in 1895 :

'The real history of the drama for the last ten years is not the history of the prosperous enterprises of Mr. Hare, Mr. Irving and the established West-end theatres, but of the forlorn hopes led by Mr. Vernon, Mr. Charrington, Mr. Grein, Messrs. Henly and Stevenson, Miss Achurch, Miss Robins and Miss Lea, Miss Farr and the rest of the Impossibilists'.

As quoted in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Late Nineteenth Century Drama, 1850-1900*, p. 61.

¹¹⁹ *Times of India*, Feb. 18, 1892.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1892.

"Ibsenism" controversy.¹²¹ It called *The Doll's House* 'Ibsen's peculiar play',¹²² and was content to advertise it as :

'The Play that has caused more discussion and general controversy than any dramatic production of the century'.¹²³

When *Camille* was presented the *Times of India* felt, that as far as the acting went, the expectations of the audience were 'more than fully realised'.¹²⁴ But, the play itself, it considered 'slightly *risqué* as are most of the French plays'.¹²⁵ On February 26, the Company was to have produced *Hedda Gabler* but instead, at the last moment the management decided to stage in its place 'the latest London success', Mark Grunton's *In his Power*.¹²⁶ When the amateurs of the Thespian Club staged Pinero's *The Magistrate* the *Times of India* reviewed the performance favourably and then referring to some of Pinero's other works, it had occasion to speak of 'the unpleasant flavour which can hardly be omitted from the after-effects of a representation of one of the problem plays'.¹²⁷ It made also no secret of the fact that it expected drama to proffer entertainment and entertainment alone.

THE INDIAN THEATRE SCENE

In the world of Indian dramatics the situation was altogether different. Educated Indians still make it a point to be present at English dramas, and in particular, Shakespearean productions. When artists like Miss Pomeroy or Herr Bandmann were scheduled to appear, Indians comprised a good part of the auditorium.¹²⁸ Aubrey wrote that it was 'the fashion with the Parsees to bring their families to see English performances'.¹²⁹ Then he supplemented this statement with a shrewd observation about a young Parsi lady in the auditorium.

'... but I heard her thanking her stars she would at least see something she could comprehend to-night, and 'not Madame *Angot* or *Olivette*, unintelligible to her as Don Giovanni to a New Zealander'.¹³⁰

Apart from the difficulties of language, there was also the problem of the higher ticket rates charged by the foreign companies for their shows. They stuck to the older pricing system of Rs. 4 for a seat in the Boxes, Rs. 3 for the Stalls, Rs. 2 for the Gallery and Re. 1 for the

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1892.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1892.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1892.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1892.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1892.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1898.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1883.

Ibid., April 3, 7, 1882.

¹²⁹ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Pit. Sometimes to ensure fuller houses, they brought down the rates or offered tickets at concessional rates to soldiers in uniform or to students. The Indian companies priced their tickets lower. Both the Indian and foreign troupes began the evening's entertainments around nine o'clock. But the European residents disliked late hours,¹³¹ and advertisements often carried a notice informing playgoers that carriages should be ordered at eleven-fifteen.¹³² This was partly some sort of a reassurance that the performance was not likely to drag on too long. On the other hand, Indian actors guaranteed patrons their full money's worth and a performance often continued into the early hours of the morning.

Indian dramatic companies with a repertoire of plays, possessing the accompanying attractions of music and spectacle, were now decidedly the vogue. Another and more significant feature of the Indian theatre-scene was the gearing of Indian drama to national and social strivings.

The process had begun two decades earlier in Bengal with the staging of *Nil Darpan* a play by the Bengali dramatist Dinabandhu Mitra depicting the oppressive behaviour of indigo planters. The subject matter of the play had made both Indian public opinion and English officials sharply aware of drama as a force for national awakening. In 1876 an incident connected with the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta precipitated the passing of the Dramatic Performances Act of 1876. The Act extended to the whole of India and by the powers it conferred on the Local Governments, it could stop the performance of and suppress or forfeit any drama which in its opinion was 'seditious obscene or defamatory'.¹³³

Something of the official attitude is suggested in an extract from the *Pioneer* published in the *Times of India* on September 21, 1885. The writer declared that there was a limit beyond which the political propaganda of the footlights would be intolerable in any state. He expressed the view that 'the permissible margin should be narrowed in proportion to the ignorance and prejudices of the audience'¹³⁴ and that any piece likely to provoke or influence sedition should not be permitted for an instant. He further affirmed,

'So in India we should not object to the recent drama in one of the Bombay theatres, depicting the evils of widow seclusion; but would draw the line at any production likely to influence native ignorance against European authority'.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *B. Gazette*, Nov. 26, 1880.

¹³² *Ibid.*, April 20, 1880.

¹³³ A detailed treatment of the background and provisions of the Act is to be found in Hemandra Nath Das Gupta, vol. II, Ch. IV, pp. 91-101, Ch. XI, pp. 243-288.

¹³⁴ *Times of India*, Sept. 21, 1885.

See extract 'The Native Drama and Politics'.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

Dramatic writing particularly in Marathi concerned itself more and more with contemporary social controversies such as widow re-marriage, female education or with current political events. Perhaps many of the plays of the time were unable to transcend the limitation that their intense topicality imposed on them and only a few like Deval's *Sharada* continue to hold the interest of the modern playgoer. But their themes were important enough for the audiences of the time. In the domain of English dramatics Dave Carson could discuss 'Local Self-Government' facetiously by advertising that he would 'also make dilation with the prognostical effusion, and pragmatism distension upon Local Self-Government'.¹³⁶ But a Marathi playwright, Shankar Moro Ranade, undertook the task of writing full-length-plays on the problem of Local Self-Government and on Ilbert's Jurisdiction Bill.¹³⁷ Plays coloured by immediate political or social themes did not dominate the Marathi dramatic scene too long.

By the end of the last century and in the early years of the century Marathi playwrights were able to create plays of intrinsic dramatic merit. The interest in various forms of dramatic writing was both earnest and sustained. Periodicals such as the *Nātyakathārnava*, *Nātyamālā*, *Nātyakalā*, *Nāṭaki*,¹³⁸ gave single minded attention to the drama. The contents of the journal *Rangbhūmi* were characterized by an attitude of dedication to all problems connected with the stage.¹³⁹ Articles discussed not just the literary aspects of a play or the relative merits of different translations of a Shakespearean drama, but also dealt with the particular problems of the Indian stage. A more objective and discriminating note entered into the accounts of English performances. For instance a letter in the *Rangbhūmi* described at length a performance of the Bandmann Company. The account included every aspect of the production, and made a careful comparison with the stage practice of Indian companies. It discussed the methods of advertising, the styles of printing in the handbills and in the programmes. It pointed to the negative aspects of the English production, the long intervals, the confusion in the auditorium, which it believed was no less than in an Indian playhouse. The correspondent was genuinely impressed by the economic yet effective use of scenery, the restrained gestures and the natural intonation employed by the actors. This article appeared in the *Rangbhūmi* in 1910, and so it falls outside the period of this study. Yet, it illustrates the contours of things to come.

More than a century ago British settlers had introduced into Bombay the theatre practice of the West. The Bombay Amateur Theatre was

¹³⁶ *Times of India*, April 21, 1883.

¹³⁷ S. B. Muzumdar, *Mahārāshṭriya Nāṭakār*, p. 86.

¹³⁸ A few files of these periodicals are available in the Library of the Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay.

¹³⁹ See *Rangbhūmi*, vol. 3, 1909-10.

created partly as a cure for their *ennui* and partly it expressed their own homesickness and nostalgia. In Bombay these were the beginnings of a theatre tradition based on foreign models. Now, a century later, Indian dramatic effort in Western India had matured sufficiently to produce independent works of its own, to assess the suitability and relevance of foreign theatre conventions to its needs. At the close of the century, added to the severe competition which it faced from Indian dramatic companies, the English stage had to contend with yet another force.

On December 7, 1895, the *Times of India* published a small advertisement about 'Edison's Wonder,' the Kinetoscope. 1896 was a year when the whole city's attention was riveted upon the serious effects of plague and famine. In July of that year the Lumière brothers brought their cinematographic machine to Bombay.¹⁴⁰ The Novelty Theatre was one of the venues they selected for their display of animated photo-pictures.¹⁴¹

With all such adverse factors operating against it, the English stage seemed to be waging a lost battle. The political atmosphere was now different. With the extension of educational facilities and with the increase in Indian visitors to the West, European achievements in theatrical production could be studied first hand. Theatre groups producing in English were not always indispensable as a liaison-force interpreting this experience to Indian playgoers. Whether the English stage could show signs of revival or vigour under these conditions during the first decades of our century is, however, a new and different subject of study.

¹⁴⁰ *Times of India*, July 7, 1896.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1896.

GENEALOGY OF THE DIPAMALA

By M. S. Mate

AMONG THE SEVERAL characteristic features of the temple complexes of the Deccan is to be counted the graceful lamp-tree known as the *dīpamālā*. This is a very common adjunct of the late Medieval or Maratha shrines. It is usually situated within the temple courtyard, on either side of the main gateway, or might be outside the gateway, directly in front of the deity. As far as could be ascertained, no other part of India has this type of a *dīpamālā* in such large numbers.¹

A *dīpamālā* is usually a tapering column of stone masonry not more than fifteen to twenty feet high, the height exceeding this normal limit in a few cases. Sometimes it is also of brick masonry. Along the body of the column at two or three stages horizontal astragal-like mouldings girdle it. Very often they are so subdued as to escape attention. The point is, they mark stages in the elevation of the column. From this column a number of *hastas* or brackets project forth. They are shaped like the letter S horizontally laid. These brackets are supposed to carry lamps and they are arranged, both vertically and horizontally, in such a manner that no overlap occurs. (See Fig. 4). Later examples of the lamp-trees tend to have the shape of a cypress tree, with the lower part bulbous, gradually tapering upwards. A slightly curvilinear outline is produced. On the top is a plain circular abacus with two or three mouldings to help the transition. The octagonal plan is the more preferred one in still later times. The pedestal is often moulded. Brackets also became slightly more fanciful, some being shaped like birds. The forepart of the bird's body projects forth from the column and it looks as if it is peering out of its nest. In its beak hangs a rosary and on its head is a circular receptacle for the lamp. A rather rare variety is a *dīpamālā* cum minaret or tower. It would have a spiral staircase within the masonry shell and a few niches in the outer wall carry the lamps. A monolith, or a single pillar of wood, might sometimes serve the purpose. In such cases, the pillar would be designed after the pillars of the main temple, generally octagonal and square portions alternating vertically ;

¹ The only exception would be the 'north-western part of the Presidency of Madras' as Acharya, quoting Rea states. (In the South (of India) it is usually a high monolith, with an iron lamp bracket on the top. In the North-West of the Madras Presidency, such pillars are sometimes constructed in course, with lamp brackets in the joints. Rea A., *Chalukyan Architecture*, ASI., N.S., vol. XXI, p. 38, pl. CIX; Acharya, P.K., *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, p. 226. However, Cousens writing on Chalukyan Architecture makes no reference to such branched pillars, though he describes the monolithic ones in detail. Cousens H., *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Calcutta, 1926. (ASI., NS., vol. XLII).

On its top of course, is a square abacus on which a lamp is placed. This type of a *dīpamālā* or *dīpa-stambhā* is more common in southern Maharashtra, viz., the areas bordering on Karnatak.² In the latter area single columns are universally prevalent, the multiple branched *dīpamālā* is rare in the extreme. ACHARYA quoting REA states that branched *dīpamālās* are to be found in the north-western part of the Madras Presidency. So also there are certain examples from the old Mysore state. However, they are not original to that region as indicated below.³ It can, therefore, be stated with a certain amount of certainty that this type was a characteristic of western Deccan in general and Maharashtra in particular.

The *mālās* were erected as a pious act. In Maharashtra there are certain other customs also. The *dīpamālā* was originally attached to a *devī* temple. Later on it came to be associated with *Śiva* and *Khandobū* temples. It was a common practice in Khandoba temples, as seen at Jejuri, to erect a *dīpamālā* if certain desire was fulfilled by the god. In fact, a vow to that effect was taken before that god. The Jejuri hill on which the Khandoba temple stands has more than three hundred and fifty *dīpamālās*.

* * *

The widespread occurrence of this feature meant, at least apparently, that it must have formed a part and parcel of temple architecture and ritual practices of a much larger area. It could not be peculiar to only one area; such an isolation in the field of our traditional religious architecture could not be easily visualised. Curiously enough, that is precisely the case. From what the author has seen and from information he has been able to gather from various sources, it seems that this type was a speciality of this region. Geographical distribution was one line of investigation, chronology and tradition were others. As for the former it seems fairly certain that the earliest examples of *dīpamālās* could not be dated back to beyond the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is to be borne in mind that this date pertains to the lamp-tree (*dīpamālā*) and not to *dīpa-stambhā*.

Next, what are the architectural antecedents of this lamp-tree, if at all any? The more well-known are the pillars or columns of the

² Acharya, *op. cit.*

³ *Annual Report*, Archaeology Department, Mysore State, 1919, pl. III. The method of construction in this case speaks a lot. It shows that the craftsman was essentially a sculptor, thinking in sculptural terms rather than architectural. He brings about the effect through ready-made carved discs, placed one upon the other; he has not constructed the stambha through masonry. This shows that it was an attempt on the part of the craftsman to create something with which he was not familiar. Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-566.

Maurys, known as the 'lāts'. Still earlier, but known more through literature than archaeology were the *Yupas*,⁴ sacrificial columns. These were, from literary descriptions, often of considerable size and very well claim to be the fore-fathers of the Mauryan lats, at least in concept. The Mauryan monoliths were heraldic columns or *dhvaja-stambhas*, bearing the symbols of a religion or a deity. Thus the Sarnath pillar had, at its top, a *dharmacakra*,⁵ a wheel of law. Later are to be found *Garuda-stambhas*, as mentioned in Heliodorus Besnagar inscription⁶ or the *triśūla* pillars as before the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. These pillars were generally used for carving inscriptions, those of Aśoka and Samudragupta being the more famous ones.

In medieval times, their size probably decreased but their variety increased at least so far as South India was concerned. In Northern temple architectural schemes there is very little place for an independent monumental pillar, the flag-staff having attained greater importance. In fact, the *Vāstu-śāstras* go on to say that no structure, town, fort, house, temple or even a well should be without a flag. And for a temple it is of course, a must, otherwise evil spirits are likely to catch hold of the divine house. The place of the flag-staff and its dimensions etc. are also meticulously recorded. In South India, the temples do display even today a monolith or at least a single pillar as the *dipadāna* or *dipa-stambha* or *dipa-mālū*. These had a square abacus to carry the lamp and more often than not had small images of the *vāhanās* of the deity concerned as well as small inscriptions recording their donation. Thus the heraldic column of old was combined with the lamp-bearing

⁴ These were the handiworks of specially trained craftsmen. The circumference was so big that even an adult could embrace the column with both hands.

द्वावेव तत्र विहितौ बाहुन्यस्त परिग्रहौ ॥२॥

कारिताः सर्व एवेते शास्त्रैर्यज्ञोविदैः ।

शोभार्थं तस्य यज्ञस्य काञ्चनलङ्कृताभवन् ॥२३॥

विन्यस्ता विधिवत्सर्वैः शिल्पिभिः सुकृता दृढा ।

अष्टास्रयः सर्व एव श्लक्ष्णरूपसमन्विता ॥२५॥

Rāmāyaṇa, I. 14. 23-25

⁵ *Archaeology in India*, (1950), New Delhi, pp. 138-9

⁶ Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalkar, A. D., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, "The Age of Imperial Unity", 115. Bombay, 1953.

पुरे च नगरे कोटे रथे राजगृहे तथा ।

वापीकूपतडागेषु ध्वजाः कार्याः सुशोभनाः ॥

निष्पन्नं शिखरं दृष्ट्वा ध्वजहीने सुरालये ।

असुरा वासमिच्छन्ति ध्वजहीनं न कारयेत् ॥

Prāsādmandana, 4.47-48.

pillar.⁸ The ritual theme—donation of eternal light before the god is common to both, the Canarese as well as Maratha *dīpamālās*. Their name is also the same. However, there is one basic difference; the Kanarese variety is a *stambha*, providing for one lamp, the Maratha structures are lamp-trees, columns with several branches to carry a number of lamps. The difference is already explained in footnote number 3.

Yet another field that could be profitably looked into is that of lighting, public lighting as distinct from festival illumination. In ancient times several types of lamps were used. For household lighting terracotta or brass lamps were used with cotton wicks and seed oils. Excavation reports of various ancient sites illustrate a number of terracotta lamps and some very artistic terracotta lamps are used for illumination on festive occasions even today. Of the large and interesting range of brass and metal lamps KELKAR⁹ gives a nice glimpse. For public lighting the 'torch' was a common and perhaps the only mode. If a big hall or an open area was to be illuminated a combination of these torches was used; a number of them were stuck to a wooden post that was known as *Dīpa-vṛkṣa*. This is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ and its use continued right upto the last century. This *dīpa-vṛkṣa* as far as lighting goes, comes nearest to the *dīpamālā*, especially its multiple branches are a point of similarity. But there it ends. The idea of a column with multiple lights on it was in existence. However, structurally it was far different from the *dīpamālā*, it was a single piece of wood or stone, it was not a masonry column. Its aim was lighting not illumination.

Thus the association of a single column carrying a light on it, with a temple complex, was there. A single column bearing a number of torches was there. Is the present *dīpamālā* to be considered a development of these two? As far as the idea was concerned, it could be, but the actual manifestation could not be so considered. There are no intervening stages that would explain the transition from a purely sculptural monument¹¹ to an architectural one.

⁸ The varieties spoken of in various inscriptions and mentioned by Acharya (*op. cit.*, pp. 545-566) are amazing. There are the *yupas*, *dhvaja-stambhas*, *kīrti* or *māna stambhas*, *raja-stambhas*, *sati-stambhas*, *nagar-stambhas*, boundary pillars and so on. However, from available information they were single sculptured pillars not masonry columns.

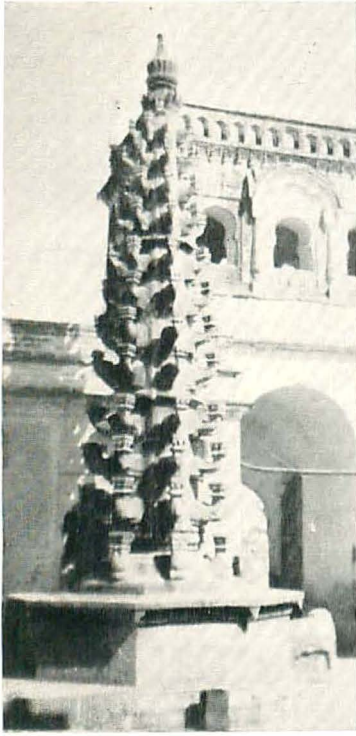
⁹ Kelkar, D. G., *Lamps of India*, New Delhi, 1961.

¹⁰ प्रकाशीकरणार्थं च निशागमनशङ्कया । दीपवृक्षास्तथा चक्रुर्नुरथ्यासु सर्वशः ॥

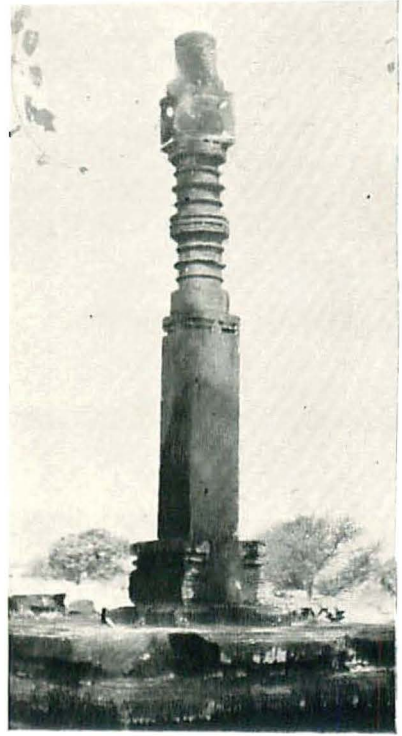
Rāmāyaṇa, 2.6.18

¹¹ Fergusson's contention that 'the absence of built monumental pillars of ancient date now standing in India' can be accounted for by the ease with which they could be thrown down and their materials removed is not convincing. The Hindu-Buddhist tradition revolves round the pillar—a single element affair rather than a structural column.

Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Far Eastern Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 60-61, London, 1910.



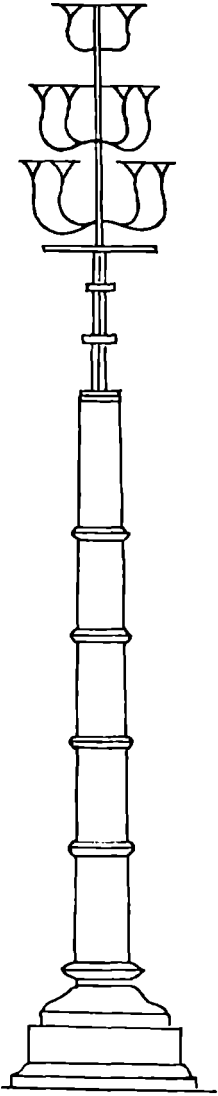
Highly Ornate Dipamala, Morgaon
(Dist. Poona)



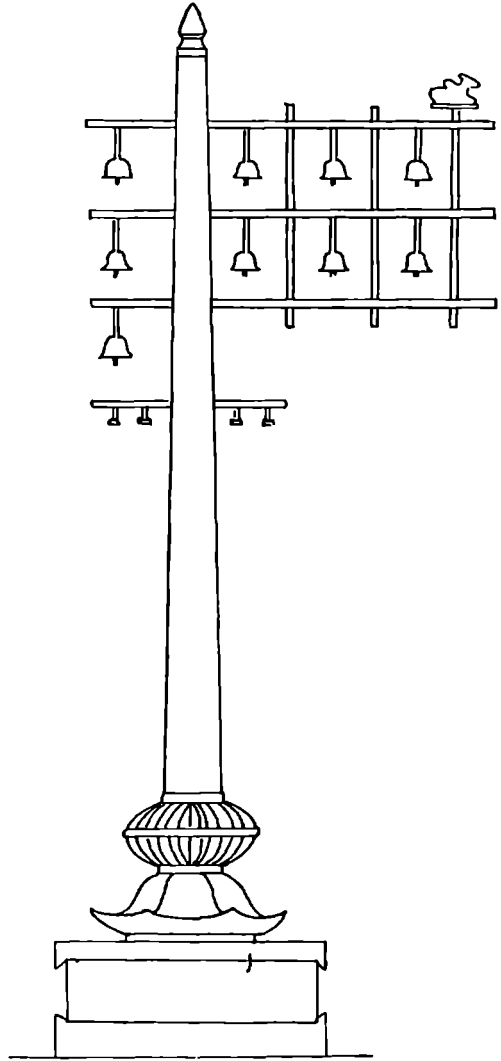
Dipa-stambha
(Dist. Satara)



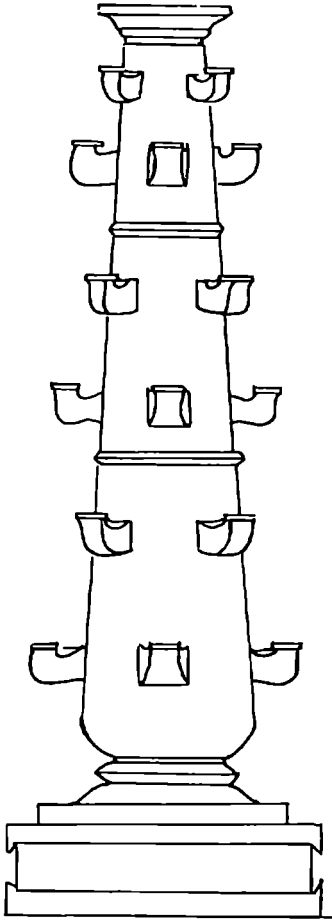
View of Jejuri hill showing some of the three hundred and fifty dipa-malas
(Dist. Poona)



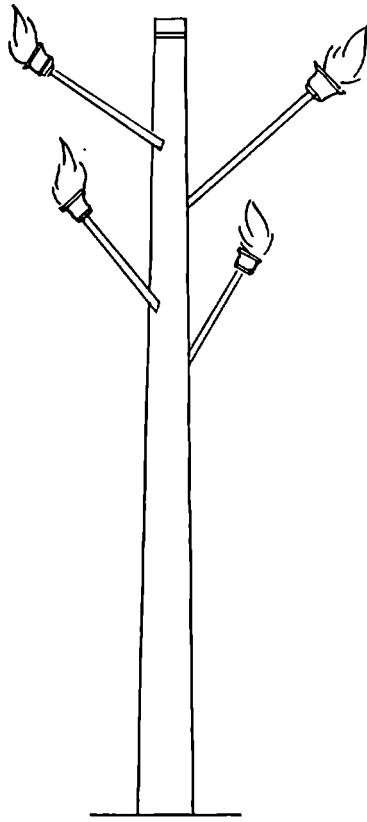
Canarese dipa-stambha



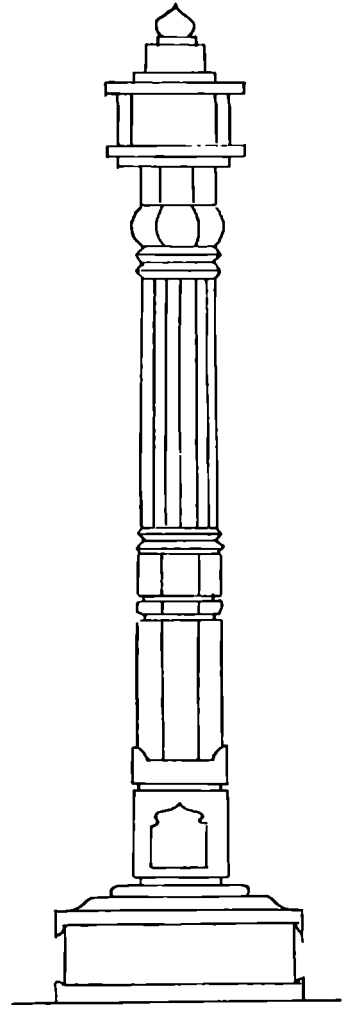
Dravidian Dhvaj-stambha



Dipamala from Maharashtra,
the common pattern



Conjectural drawing
of a dipa-vriksha



S. Indian Mana-stambha
cum dhvaj-stambha

This transition could be explained if two peculiarities of the *dīpamālā* are properly noted. First comes the circular plan and staged construction of the structure. These are typical of the minarets that were erected during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at Bidar and Gulburga.¹² These might have served as models. Next the cypress shape is significant. The late Maratha structures used the cypress pillar in all sorts of construction and it would not at all be unlikely that it was copied for the *dīpamālā* column by a more imaginative mason. The shape of the brackets, with its affinities to South Indian temples—and later mosque and tomb structures—tends to support this conjecture. That is, the brackets came not directly from South India but via the Bahmani and Bijapur monuments. The earlier *stambhas* are more or less sculptural, carved out of single stones if possible, the monolith mentality being always present. The Maratha *dīpamālā* is architectural, based on structural models and older ideas.

The *dīpamālā* then would serve as an interesting example of how a number of ritual, practical and architectural ideas from different periods and sources have been fused together to bring about a *delightful structure*.

¹² Mate, M. S., "Islamic Architecture of the Deccan," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. XXII, p. 43, pl. XXII, Poona, 1962.

AN ARMY ON THE MARCH

By G. V. Bapat

1) LOVE AND HATE are deep-seated, powerful emotions which have always stirred men to action. The whole edifice of the history of civilization is, in a sense, based upon these two emotions. The interplay of these emotions forms the theme of many a poem. War and love are thus recurring themes in both history and literature.

2) The great epics of India, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, uphold the heroic spirit, glorify the individual hero and sing, among other things, of war. The heroes in these epics are, however, not mere war-mongers; on the contrary, they try to avoid war as far as possible. They take up arms only when it becomes necessary for them to do so.

3) Once, however, amicable settlement of disputes is found impossible, the heroes in these epics proceed with the business of war. The poets of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa provide the reader with glowing accounts of battles, single combats, and deeds of valour; however, the poets provide the reader with scanty information regarding the actual business of war. The management of the forces, provision of supplies, movements of troops, war-strategy are details with which the poets do not deal in detail, but it would be too much to expect the poets to deal with all the details since the epic is not intended to be a treatise on war.

4) Still, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa describes, in Sargas 3 and 4 of the Yuddhakāṇḍa, the movement of an invading army. Scrappy though the information is, it provides some matter for thought and shows that in the poet's day, there was some accepted technique of war. It is necessary to read between the lines and to form conjectures (some of which would prove to be incorrect) in trying to comprehend the passages. Some of the terms used by the poet convey little specific information to the present-day reader though, perhaps, they were well understood in the poet's day. It is proposed to discuss the two Sargas in this paper leading to a few conjectures regarding the movement of an army which aimed at laying a siege to the capital of the enemy. Whether the Rāmāyaṇa is a historical work or not does not make any difference. Since the poet writes of certain details regarding an army on the march, he must have had at least a rough idea as to how such movements were organized in his day. The inferences one might draw from the poet's treatment would, therefore, apply to movements of troops in the poet's day if not

The Rāmāyaṇa with Tilaka commentary: 3rd Ed. Nirnayasagara, Bombay, 1909.

The Rāmāyaṇa, Text only, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1st ed. Samvat 2017.

The references to the ślokas are with the Gita Press Edition.

in the days of Rāmāchandra, if Rāmāchandra was really one of the Kings of Ayodhya.

5) It is apparent from the poet's treatment that Rāma (or the poet who created Rāma) had a definite plan for the conduct of the whole affair. The plan comprises 1) massing of the troops 2) movement of the troops from Kishkiṅḍha to the sea-shore 3) crossing the sea, 4) laying a seige to Lanka, the capital of the enemy 5) if necessary, giving battle (this to include both defensive and offensive measures) 6) annihilating resistance 7) capturing the city. For the purposes of this paper 2) above is of importance.

6) Rāma proceeds with the business with great care and discretion. His own position is that of a friend of the king of the Vānaras. He does not, therefore, place himself in actual command of the forces though he directs the operations generally. This a discreet step. Care demands that before setting out, he should obtain full information regarding the enemy's position and he gets it from Hanumān who has already paid a visit to Lanka.

7) The questions that Rāma puts to Hanumān are very significant. Rāma wishes to know 1) the various ways in which the city is fortified 2) the size of the army stationed there 3) the way the gates are protected 4) the machines which are mounted on the walls.¹

8) Hanuman's reply to Rama is, in fact, a detailed report which does him credit. His first observation is as regards the attitude of Rāvaṇa's subjects to their king. Hanumān pointedly says that the subjects are happy and pleased, the state is prosperous. This is a shrewd observation since it would be more difficult for Rāma to capture the city than it would have been if the subjects had been displeased with their ruler and had been suffering from privations.² Hanumān also warns Rāma that though Rāvaṇa is powerful and inclined to fight, he is not to be caught off-guard since he is vigilant.³

9) Hanumān's description of Lanka points to a mountain fort;⁴ perhaps the line of fortifications began from the base of the mountain and was continued as one proceeded up its slopes. The city was surrounded by a wall with four gateways, one facing each of the quarters, east, west, north and south.⁵ The gates were firmly built and were provided with stout bolts and bars. On the walls near the gateways were mounted machines from which arrows and stones could be discharged at an approaching enemy.⁶ Near the gateways were also mounted

¹ 6-3-3 and 4.

² 6-3-10.

³ 6-3-19.

⁴ 6-3-20 and 22.

⁵ 6-3-11 and 14 ; the four quarters are suggested by references later in the same *Kāṇḍa*.

⁶ 6-3-12.

Shatāghnis,⁷ weapons made of iron and capable of killing a hundred men at one stroke as the name suggests.

10) Outside the wall ran a deep moat in the cool waters of which lived fish and crocodiles. The idea of using crocodiles⁸ as a means of self-defence may seem diabolical but is certainly ingenious. In front of the gateways and across the moats were erected bridges in the form of wooden platforms supported by columns. Of the four, one seems to have been immovable and firm. By implication, the other three would seem to have been drawbridges. All the four were protected by machines mounted in special shelters along the walls.⁹ In short, as Hanumān observes, the place was well fortified in four ways, i.e., by taking advantage of a) streams b) forests c) mountains or the nature of the terrain d) man-made constructions.¹⁰ In addition, it was surrounded by the sea there being no way of reaching the city by means of boats.¹¹

11) Having obtained the necessary information, Rāma turns his attention to the movement of the troops. From the poet's description it is clear that there was definitely some thought given to the problem in the poet's day. Rāma's directions pertain to 1) the precautions, 2) food and drink 3) the formation 4) the camp by the sea-shore.

12) To begin with, we shall deal with the formation. Though there is no indication as to the way in which the soldiers organized themselves, whether they marched in twos or in single file, it is quite clear that 1) the entire army was commanded by a commander-in-chief,¹² 2) it was divided into smaller units each commanded by an officer, 3) the different units were so placed as to form a) the path-finders and path-makers b) the vanguard, c) the middle, d) the flanks, e) the rearguard.¹³ Sugrīva, the king, his nephew Aṅgada, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma himself were with the main body in the middle and were well-protected on all sides.¹⁴ We are also told that the commander-in-chief controlled the entire army¹⁵ and protected it. That the leading unit entrusted with finding the path through forests is clear from the references to the activities—which could not have been purposeless—of the Vānaras. They are said to have pulled down trees and creepers and removed stones and boulders (literally, mountains).¹⁶ Incidentally, it may be mentioned

⁷ 6-3-13.

⁸ 6-3-15.

⁹ 6-3-15 and 16.

¹⁰ 6-3-20; here I have chosen वान्यम् Gita Press Ed. in preference to चान्यम् in the Nirnayasagara ed.

¹¹ 6-3-21.

¹² 6-4-9 and 35.

¹³ 6-4-15, 16, 17, 20, 30, 33, 34.

¹⁴ 6-4-18, 19, 31, 34.

¹⁵ 6-4-32 and 35.

¹⁶ The line in question runs as follows :

'विधमन्तो गिरिवरान् प्रययुः प्लवगर्षभाः' Compare this with 2-80-8 where road-

that the army had to make its way over or across *a*) streams and lakes, (*b*) hills overgrown with trees, *c*) plains and *d*) forests. The poet significantly summarises the way the troops proceeded to overcome these obstacles : they went right through as, for instance, by fording streams, or skirted the obstacle concerned, or went in a crooked manner (does it suggest a stooping posture ?) or pushed their way underneath the obstacle as, by marching under the trees in a forest.¹⁷

13) The supplies do not seem to have worried the Vānaras as they seem to have lived on fruits, roots, honey and water.¹⁸ It was, as it would seem, an army not much encumbered with provisions.

14) Rāma's directions to the Commander-in-Chief regarding the precautions to be taken while on the march are quite clear and significant. He asks the Commander-in-Chief to find a way through forests and to avoid towns and their environs as well as settlements in the country.¹⁹ Rāma also wishes that fruits, roots, cool water and honey should be available on the way. It is also clear that Rāma wishes to march on with celerity.²⁰ Further he warns the Commander that Rākshasas, or enemy agents, might poison water, fruits and roots and enjoins the commander to be diligent in avoiding such dangers and to be alert.²¹ Rāma wishes his men to be on the look-out for enemy forces concealed in low-lying areas (like ravines?), places rendered difficult of approach on account of surrounding forests (like clearings in the heart of the jungle?) and forests difficult to penetrate.²² Further, Rāma specifically lays down that all those who are not physically quite fit and, therefore, too weak to undertake the rigours of the journey and the war at the end of it, should be left behind.²³

15) There seem to have been no skirmishes on the way. The poet's description of the Vānaras on the march would indicate that they were full of high spirits.²⁴ On their way they had to cross streams. The poet's description is brief but vivid. As they forded rivers, the waters seemed to flow towards the source, that is, in a direction contrary to the normal one. This indicates not only the magnitude of the force crossing the various streams since such an effect can be produced only by a large number of people.²⁵ Another reference is quite interesting. The poet

making is specifically referred to and the verb form used is विद्यमन्ति. The verb ध्मा is used with reference to शब्दाग्निसंयोगयोः which may lead to an interesting question : Did the Vānavas "blow up" big rocks ?

¹⁷ 6-4-59, 60.

¹⁸ 6-4-27, 86, 88, 90, 91.

¹⁹ 6-4-38, 39.

²⁰ 6-4-10.

²¹ 6-4-11.

²² 6-4-12.

²³ 6-4-13.

²⁴ 6-4-26, 28, 63, 64.

²⁵ 6-4-58, 59.

says that the Vānaras drank the water of the streams, bathed and sported in the water.²⁶ The actions of bathing and splashing about in water are quite contrary to the behaviour of monkeys if vānara is interpreted as a monkey ; but this is a mere detail. The marching was done during the day as well as the night.²⁷ There are certain references to stars, planets and constellations from which Rāmachandra, the commentator concludes, called a halt in four different places.²⁸

16) On arrival near the sea-shore too, the army would seem to have been competently managed. We are told that Rāma ordered a camp to be set up on the shore, the reason being that deliberations regarding ways and means of crossing the sea were necessary. We are told that the army was divided into three parts (or, perhaps, so arranged that the encampment formed three concentric circles). The officers in command of the various units were warned that there would be hidden danger (since they were in the vicinity of the enemy's stronghold), and so they were not to wander from their posts.²⁹ Two officers moved about in order to ensure safety.³⁰

17) It would now be in order to indicate a few conclusions which one may arrive at from the details given in the text of the Rāmāyaṇa.

A) From para 6, it follows that some definite plan of organising an army was thought of. That an army was, in the past, placed under the command of an experienced general is also quite clear. It would seem that the principle of devolution of power was known and adopted. Thus the entire body of the army comprised smaller divisions, each of these being placed under the command of an officer.

B) From the details discussed in para 12, it follows that some specific order in which the troops moved was thought out beforehand. A section of the army marched ahead of the main body, found, and made a path for the following divisions. There seems to have been a clear idea regarding getting over different types of obstacles and, perhaps, of different types of camouflage to be adopted in different environments. Co-ordination between the parts of an army would also seem to have been thought of. (Cf. Special Note below).

C) The value of competent espionage seems to have been appreciated as is clear from paras 7 to 10 and 14.

D) Food supplies have not been spoken of in detail but it seems that the army was capable of subsisting on forest-produce, at least for some time.

E) Rāma's directions regarding keeping well away from towns and settlement in the country indicate (i) the desire to maintain secrecy

²⁶ 6-4-86.

²⁷ 6-4-68.

²⁸ 6-4-86.

²⁹ 6-4-100, 101, 102, 107.

³⁰ 6-5-2.

regarding movements of troops and, *ii*) the desire to avoid wanton destruction as far as possible. (Para. 14). If the second surmise is correct, it would show that even in the past war was considered as an evil and further show that the poet at least was influenced by humanitarian considerations.

F) Poisoning sources of water etc., seems to have been a common practice in war. (Para 14).

G) That definite ideas regarding camping and maintaining discipline in camp had been formed and were followed is clear from Para 16 and the word विधिवत् in 6-5-1.

H) From Para 14 it follows by implication that Rāma was leading his army through an area which was not entirely covered by a thick forest, but was dotted with towns and villages. Rāma, on his side, is aware that enemy agents would hold some of these places, and therefore, he issues orders accordingly. The enemy, on the other hand, would have troops stationed in various areas. Not only that, but the troops were capable of taking advantage of the forests, ravines etc., for concealment and protection.

I) Para 6 would indicate that there was some protocol to be observed by two princes regarding the conduct of military operations when the effort was a joint one.

J) Para 8 indicates that the socio-economic factor, at least in its broad aspect, was duly considered in judging the changes of victory. Such information was, perhaps, obtained to determine the method to be adopted in approaching the problem. For example, if the subjects of a king were found dissatisfied with their ruler, it would be easy for the invader to turn them against their king.

K) Hanumān's description of the fortifications would point to the ways adopted in order to protect a city from the invader. The description is quite vivid and points to a city like those in mediaeval, and indeed quite recent times, or to be more explicit, times before air-raids became possible. It is also clear that the architects of the poet's day well knew how to turn the natural lay of the land to their advantage from the military point of view. A query may be raised here : would it be proper to take the 'modern' character of the fortifications as evidence to support a conjecture that the Sarga describing Lanka is a later addition ?

L) On the whole, the description contained in the Sargas under consideration would show that forces which were led on a campaign in the poet's day were not a mere disorderly crowd, but formed a fairly well-disciplined group, that the leaders had clear ideas regarding management of a campaign and could well comprehend the different aspects of the business in hand. Efficiency, shrewdness, regard for protocol, espionage, stratagems to undermine the advancing army's strength, consideration of the socio-economic aspect, are some of the prominent

features to which due attention seems to have been paid even in the remote past much in the same manner as it is done in the present day. It could, therefore, safely be maintained that conduct of a military campaign was a subject of careful study at the time of the composition of the Sargas in question.

*A NOTE ON ṚGVEDA 10.93.5

By K. P. Jog

1. *Vṛṣaṇvasū* is an epithet particularly used of the *Āśvins*. It occurs in 10.93.5 and has led to various interpretations of the mantra.¹ Further the mantra becomes more problematic inasmuch as the following two mantras (i.e. 10.93.6 and 7) are directly addressed to the *Āśvins* and thus appear to form an *Āśvina Trīca* together with the verse in question. The hymn is addressed to *Viśve-Devas*, and the confusion is worse confounded. In this paper the mantras in *Viśve-Deva* hymns are generally not connected together. It is proposed to offer an interpretation of the problematic mantras.

Let me, however, begin with the statement and examination of the views of other Vedic scholars.

2. *Sāyaṇācārya* takes *vṛṣaṇvasū* as an epithet of the *Āśvins* and understands the mantra as an address to the twin-gods.² He further goes to supply a verb *ūruṣyatam* from the next mantra and translates the mantra in question thus :

“(Further) us, O *Āśvins*, by night (and by day) together with these gods who are connected with the waters ; the Sun and the Moon having common treasures and *Ahīrbudhnyā* who resides in the clouds in their company.”

He has left out the word *sādhanāya*.

3. *Grassmann* in his *Wörterbuch* explains *sādhanāya* as companions or comrades, he derives it from *sadh√nīI* ‘to lead together’;³ *apām* is connected with *sādhanāya* in the sense of ‘for the lying down (or sleep)’ of waters; *eṣām* in *c* is understood by him as standing for the gods in *a* and thus *eṣām budhnéṣu* etc is taken for “in the base of them where the *Ahi* has his seat.” *Vṛṣaṇvasū* is according to him an epithet of *Sūryāmāsā*. His translation is then as follows :

“These are joyful kings of the treasure of the immortal, *Āryaman*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, (and) the Wanderer. Are they not also (likewise), *Rudra* who is praised by men, the *Maruts*, *Pūṣan* and *Bhaga* ?

“And are not also their two companions, mighty like bulls, the Sun

* Paper read at the A.I.O.C. XXII at Gauhati in January, 1965.

¹ *te ghā rājāno amṛtasya mandrā aryamā mitró varuṇaḥ pariḥmā; kadrudro nṛṇām stutó marútaḥ pūṣaṇo bhagaḥ. uta no naktamapūm vṛṣaṇvasū sūryāmāsā sadanāya sadhanyā; sacā yat sādya eṣām ahir budhnyeṣu budhnyah.*

² *Ṛgveda Samhitā (Vaidika Samśodhana Maṇḍala)*, Poona, vol. IV, 1946

³ *Wörterbuch Zum Rig-Veda: Grassmann*, 3. Unveränderte Auflage, 1955, Wiesbaden.

and the Moon, companions for residence (i.e. for the drinking of (Soma) when the Dragon of the Deep has sat down likewise in the base of them ?”

4. Griffith, who appears to have taken into view the earlier writers’ interpretations, gives us the following translation:⁴

“Come also to our dwelling, lords of ample wealth, common partakers of our waters, Sun and Moon. When the great Dragon the Deep hath settled down upon their floors.”

He adds in his footnotes that the waters (in *a*) are the libations of the Soma juice ; and following Ludwig asserts that *n a k t á m* is a shortened form of *n a k ṣ a t a m* : ‘Come ye.’ ‘Upon their floors’ as the translation of *á* is supported by him with a citation from Wilson’s translation. “In their company in the firmamental (clouds)” — this we can observe is a paraphrase of Sāyaṇācārya’s view. Finally he remarks, “The meaning is obscure.”

5. Oldenberg doesn’t rule out the connection of *á p ā m* with *s á d a n ā y a* or *s á d h a n y ā*, yet in view of Rv. 1.122.3b (*m a m a t t u v á t o a p á m v ṛ ṣ á ṅ v ā n*) considers the close relation between *a p á m* and *v ṛ ṣ a ṅ v a s ū*.⁵ He further comments that the accent (i.e. the vocative) doesn’t offer any difficulty in doing this. He also notices the possible construing of *a p á m* with *n a k t á m* as it is supported by Rv. 2.30.1.⁶ He supplies in *ab* a verb ‘protect’ in view of Rv. 1.98.2 ; 7.15.15 ; 8.18.6 ; 8.25.11 ; 8.61.17. He remarks that *s á d h a n y ā* is a probable predicative, only a connective, he says, is wanting. He rejects any possible acceptance of *n a k t á m* as a verbal form and also Ludwig’s emendation of it to *n a k ṣ a t a m*. He then offers his translation of *ab* :

“And (protect) us by night, you both lords of the Waters, rich in bulls, Sun and Moon, to our seat accompanying us.”

He leaves *ca* untranslated.

6. Geldner has suggested a slight emendation.⁷ *n a k t á m* is according to him misread or misunderstood for *n á p ā t a m*. He shows the close relation between *a p á m n á p ā t* and *á h i r b u d h n y a* on the basis of Rv. 2.31.6 ; 1.186.5 and 7.35.13. He translates the mantra :

“And (bring) us, O gods rich in treasures, the Apām Napāt (?) the Sun and the Moon as sharers of the sitting down. In their company may sit the Dragon of the Deep, in the depths.”

7. Renou gives the following translation of the mantra :⁸

“And yet how well are we protected by Night (the son of the Waters), by Ásvins’ riches and powerful wealth ; the Sun and the Moon our associates, so that we obtain a protection at the moment when we are

⁴ *The Hymns of the Rgveda*, R. T. H. Griffith, 2nd Ed., 1897, vol. II.

⁵ *Rgveda - Text kritische und exegetische, Noten* (7-10), Oldenberg, Berlin, 1912.

⁶ *‘a h a r a h a r y ā t y a k t ū r a p ā m’*.

⁷ *Der Rig Veda* : Geldner, H.O.S. 35, 1951.

⁸ *Etudes Vedique et. Pūṇiceennes*, L. Renou, tome V, 1959.

with them. The serpent of the abyss ; who reigns over the unfathomable abyss."

8. It may thus be observed now that Sāyana, Geldner and Renou find in the problematic mantra a reference to the Aśvins. Oldenberg, Grassmann and others don't refer to them. As such, the problem we have to solve is, whether the mantra goes to form together with the following two mantras an Āśvina Tṛca or whether it is independent of any other mantra in the hymn. I propose to show the connection of the mantra with the immediately preceding mantra, of course, after giving with reasons an interpretation of the same.

(a) All the mantras wherein Ahirbudhnya is mentioned are (except Rv. 7.38) in the Viśve-Deva hymns.⁹ In all the hymns other than the one in question Ahirbudhnya does not have any direct or indirect relation to the Aśvins though the latter are mentioned in some of these Viśve-Deva hymns. Hence we can say that in 10.93.5 also Ahirbudhnya doesn't have any relation to the Aśvins. Therefore, *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* doesn't refer to them.

(b) The epithet *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* in majority of the places, refers to the Aśvins, nevertheless, passages are not wanting where it refers to others, not to the Aśvins. Thus at Rv. 1.11.1 it qualifies Harī and at 4.50.10 to Indrā-Bṛhaspatī. It is, therefore, possible to take *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* as an epithet of some gods other than the Aśvins.

(c) Oldenberg's contention regarding a possible relation of *a p á m* and *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* is worth considering ; so also the idea of Apām Napāt suggested by Geldner. It is wellnigh probable that the poet did intend to connect together Apām Napāt and Vāta (who is at 1.122.3 called Apām Vṛṣanvān) and express elliptically as *a p á m v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū*. A difficulty of the accent is certainly felt. Of the two words *a p á m* and *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* the latter is unaccented and as such a form of the vocative. If the words *a p á m* and *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* were together to be an address to the gods this accent goes against the same. The difficulty can be solved thus : The words *a p á m v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* coming together give us an idea of the Apām Napāt and Vāta as 'a p á m v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū' and the unaccented *v ṛ ṣ a ṇ v a s ū* as a vocative form makes the mantra a direct address quite explicit, the nominative form is very obviously understandable. Such constructions are not wanting in Rgvedic hymns.¹⁰

(d) The idea of Apām Napāt suggests itself to us because of his close association with Ahirbudhnya. Ahirbudhnya does really belong to a certain group of gods who are together with him mentioned in many Viśve-Deva hymns. These are : Apām Napāt, Aja Ekapāt, Ṛbhukṣan,

⁹ Ahirbudhnya is mentioned at Rv. 1.186.5 ; 2.31.6 ; 4.55.6 ; 5.41.6 ; 6.49.14 ; 50.14 ; 7.34.17 ; 35.13 ; 38.5 ; 10.64.5 ; 66.11 ; 92.12 ; 93.5.

¹⁰ cf. Rv. 7.48.1 ; 66.12.

Savitr, Maruts, Bhaga, Purandhi, Prithivī, Samudra etc. Some of these gods are here mentioned in our mantra and the one immediately preceding it. Thus the syntactical unity of the two can be established.

(e) L. Renou's translation of *n a k t ā m* is Night. We may go a step further and say that *n a k t ā m* suggests the idea of *Uṣas* since *n a k t o ṣ ā s ā* are at many places mentioned together. The translation of the two mantras is then as follows :—

“Indeed those kings of immortality, the delightful (gods), Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, (and) the Wanderer,¹¹ (are praised by men),¹² is not Rudra praised by men ?¹³ Maruts, Pūṣan,¹⁴ and Bhaga (are also praised by men).”

“And also the *Naktoṣāsā*, the *Apām*, *Napāt* and *Vāta*, O you two gods rich in mighty treasures, (you are praised). The Sun and the Moon our companions for resting together (are praised), and the god *Ahribudhnya* of the deep when he is seated with these¹⁵ (all)—(is also praised).”

(f) Now it remains to say how the word *uta* occurring in the beginning of mantras 5, 6 and 7 doesn't knit them together. *u t a* in mantra 5 has as shown above connected it with mantra 4. Mantras 6 and 7 form a connected pair, the connective *u t a* occurring at the beginning of both of them. In this respect this Vedic use of *u t a* can be compared with the later classical use of *v ā* which is used in both the sentences and connected by it ; the only difference, however, is in the use of *u t a* at the beginning of each of the clauses connected together. Such mantras are observed in the *Ṛgveda* in some places,¹⁶ as such it should not be argued that *u t a* in mantra 5 goes with mantras 6 and 7 ; they have an independent syntactical unity, the syntactical unity of 4 and 5 has been already discussed.

¹¹ *p a r i j m ā* is at times translated as 'the Wanderer' and it refers to *Vāta*. Yet since *Vāta* is understood in the next mantra it is redundant here to refer to him. There are places where '*v a r u ṇ a ḥ p a r i j m ā*' is an oft-occurring combination. Hence the translation.

¹² *st u t a ḥ* in *c* suggests this. Also cf. *Rv.* 8.30.2 ; '*t i s t u t a s o a s a t h a r i ś ā d a s ó y e s t h a t r a y a ś c a t r i ṃ ś a c c a ; m a n o r d e v ā y a j - ñ i y ā s a ḥ*'.

¹³ A rhetorical question. It means, 'indeed he also is praised'.

¹⁴ *p ū ṣ a n o* : a nominative singular form from an extended base on account of *b h a g a ḥ* in proximity.

¹⁵ *e ṣ ā m* offered a difficulty in other interpretations, here it refers to the gods mentioned in 4 and 5 together.

¹⁶ *Rv.* 7.41.4 ; 74.6.

DIALECT ATLAS OF MARATHI — A DIRECTION*

By G. M. Patil

THE DIALECT atlases form an important stage in the study of a language, so far as the thorough and the perfect presentation of that particular language is concerned. The grammar formulated on the basis of the analysis of either the standard spoken variety of a language or the written norm thereof tends many a time to mislead a fresh student of that language, and to that extent is imperfect and incomplete. Even to the native speaker of one dialect of the standard Marathi the grammar and grammatical forms of standard Marathi are a revelation and sometimes produce a repulsive attitude, as such forms are never to be found in his speech variety even though, according to the general acceptance, Marathi is his mother tongue. Such grammars are imperfect. Though perfection can be said to be an ideal, very rarely to be achieved, still the defective picture can possibly be avoided and an attempt to near the perfection is possible. Hence the real nature of a language in all its aspects and varieties is an essential factor in the understanding of that language. This can better be achieved by the dialect atlases which present a clear picture of the language as a whole including its dialects. The dialect studies tend to broaden the outlook towards the language as well as its material and provide elaborate data for the perfection of the comprehensive grammar of that language. But the individual dialect studies are independent units by themselves. The dialect atlases represent at a glance the various aspects of the dialect variations and present to the reader the manifold changes which occur amongst the dialects viz., lexical, morphological, morphophonemical, phonetic, phonemic and sometimes semantic and even syntactical.

The present paper is an attempt to represent a few aspects of these variations in the different (not necessarily all) dialects of Marathi. It is a foregone conclusion that the perfect representation cannot be thoroughly stated until an all-pervading and exhaustive survey of all the different dialects of the Marathi language is completed. But that is sure to take some time, as it is not the work of one individual nor of a short period. It might be stated that such dialect atlas cannot be undertaken till then. But a primary attempt may bring to the notice of a beginner, the various fields of investigation in the dialect survey. Isoglosses cannot be definitely traced at this juncture as the wide-spread investigation of the various dialects and their specific areas have not been well-defined, though a general and rough idea of the extent of some of the dialects can be stated. For want of an exhaustive data collected by the trained field-workers,

* The paper was presented and read at XXII A.I.O. Conference, Gauhati, 1965.

the various details such as the focal area, the transition area and the relic area of a certain item in the dialects cannot be finally identified. Still the present paper has a very humble aim of indicating through the dialect atlases, how the different variations can be marked and to what extent they exist in the different dialects of Marathi.

Starting with the phonetic change, we find that certain items are represented by slightly different phonetic forms in various dialects. The meaning of the word remains unchanged but the phonetic form changes. But this phonetic form does not indicate the phonemic change. The change is simply the interchange between two or more phonemes. This can be illustrated by the genitive masc. form of *mi* "I", Bombay-Poona will have *maza* "my", while Vidarbha will have *maha* "my" and Wāḍwāl dialect of Western Thana Dist. will have *maa*. Here it is not suggested that *z* of Bombay is changed to *h* in Vidarbha in all the occurrences and that the phoneme *z* is lost either in Vidarbha or in Wāḍwāl dialect. The phoneme still exists in both the dialects as can be seen from items such as *zēga* "frock", *zoli* "cradle" and similar others. This is represented as a phonetic change only. Whether *z* occurs as *h* in all non-initial positions and hence forms an allophone of the phoneme *z* is a matter of further investigation in details of these and other dialects.

This is illustrated by a few items in Map No. 1. There, along with the item given in the preceding paragraph, some other item representing the phonetic change are mapped. Cf. *bḍndhu* > *bḍndu* "brother" (Poona-kunḍi) *sakhḍr* > *hakḍr* "sugar" (Wāḍwāl); *akḍi* > *akri* "hooked stick" (Sonkoḷi), *laḍke* > *larke* "O dear" (Sonkoḷi).

The Phonemic change takes place in many dialects and takes various shapes. It happens that a certain phoneme present in the standard colloquial or in written form of the language or in one dialect of the same language is absent totally in the other variety. The distinction between the phonetic and the phonemic change need not be explained for the students of linguistics. In the former case though the particular phoneme does not occur in any one specific item or situation, still it is present in the dialect and occurs in some other items in some other situation. For example, *dh* is changed to *d* in the instance *bḍndhu* > *bḍndu*, given in the preceding paragraph, in the non-initial position, but both of them occur in the initial position in the same dialect even in a minimal pair. Cf. *dhar* "edge" and *dar* "door". But in phonemic change, the phoneme present in one variety of speech is totally absent in the other and does not occur in any situation. Cf. *paḷḷa* "cradle" (standard Marathi) is found as *paḷḷa* in Ahirāṇi, a dialect in West Khandesh District. The sound is completely absent in ahirāṇi as can be seen from some other instances: *ḍola* > *doya* "eye"; *piḷli* > *piḷyi* "yellow" (f.); *mul* > *muy* "root" etc. This *ḷ* is lost in Varhādi dialect and is replaced by *r*. Cf. *dḍlaṇ* (st. Mar.) > *dḍrḍṇ* "grinding, *abhalat* (st. Mar.) > *abharat* "in the sky"; *pataḷca* > *patarca* "Of the under world". Similar is the case of *c* as com-

pared with *s* in Wādwaḷ dialect. The phoneme *c* found in most of the other dialects of Marathi in one item or the other in all possible situations is nonexistent in Wādwaḷ dialect, and is represented invariably by *s* there. Cf. *caḱḱṛ* > *saḱḱṛ* "servant", *cuk* > *suk* "nail", *cor* > *sor* "thief"; *cḱṛwi* > *sḱṛwi* "a small vessel"; *cḱuṭhi* > *sḱuṭi* "fourth" (f.), *cḱmca* > *sḱmsa* "spoon" *tumca* > *tumsa* "yours" etc. The occurrence of *ṛ* in all places of *ṛ* in some dialects is another example of phonemic change.

Coming to the morphological change, we find that a particular morph is represented by various forms in different dialects having no formal similarity either in phonetic or phonemic shape and yet indicating the same meaning. Map No. 2 shows this variation. There the item of the dative singular suffix is marked with its location so far as the various synonyms are concerned. *-la* and *-s* are most common and are found not only in the standard speech but often are traced in many other dialects. The map represents the variations of this standard morph. We come across *-le* in Ahiraṇi, in Khandesh and in most parts of Vidarbha. Cf. *mḱla* > *mḱle* "to me". Ahiraṇi sometimes has *-ṛ* also and gets the form *mḱṛ* "to me" in place of *mḱla*-. In some variety of Vidarbha dialect even *-ṣi* is used instead *mḱṣi de* "give to me". This is more common with the Kuṇbis of that region. Bombay fishermen (Sonkoli) dialect has *-na* as a suffix in place of *-la* in such forms as *mḱna*, "to me," *tuna* "to you". The Sāmvedi Brahmins of Basscin Taluka (Thana Dist.) usually use the Suffixes *-do* and *-te* in conversation amongst themselves though otherwise they may use *-la* also. The Konkani dialect together with Kuḱaḱi and other varieties on the coastal line of Maharashtra often have *-ka* ~ *k* as Dative Sing. suffixes, e.g. *maka* "to me", *tuka* "to you", *tyak* "to him", *ramak* "to Rama" etc. The Kuṇbis, round about, Poona and North-East Maharashtra, have *-sni* in their speech in place of *-la*. Cf. *masni* "to me", *ramasni* "to Ram". Some high-flown speech of Nagpur City has *-j* affixed as dative sing. suffix in first and second person sing. pronouns, as *mḱj* "to me", *tuj* "to you". These forms, though not common colloquially, are found in the literary standard Marathi especially in poetry in other parts of Maharashtra.

Morphonemic variations also differ in dialects of Marathi: *mḱla* may be *mala* in some dialects, while *gharala* will be uttered as *ghḱṛla* in some other variety. The Sonkoli of Bombay have their Instrumental Singular form of *bapus* "father" as *bapan* > *bapsan* > *bapasni* which appears to be strange with the usual oblique forms available in the situation. cf. *cḱḱṛḱbhagat* in place of *chandrebbhaget* in Standard Marathi, and *sitala* for *sitela* and *kacaci* for *kacaci* all found in Ahiraṇi.

The lexical variations offer a vast field for a research student. There are such wide ranges of lexical items available in the various dialects of Marathi that a lexicon of synonyms can be very well composed out of this stock. Sometimes they have got finer shades of meaning and limitations for use in particular context only. Only one item meaning

“much, many” has been considered for this purpose in this paper and the words with the same meaning available in various forms in the dialects of Marathi all over Maharashtra offer a very interesting picture for the student of language. The following list is to be incorporated in the map for the purpose of the atlas :—

gḍhīrḍ (cf. Skt. *gḍbhīrḍ*) (East Khandesh), *gḍnj* (West Khandesh), *puṣkḍl*, *phar*, *khūb* (Bombay City and Suburban area); *mhop* (South-West coastal line); *ghḍḅa*, *-i*, *-ḍ* (North-West Coastal line) (Cf. *ghḍḅu*) (Gujarati); (*beja*, *bhḍllḍ*, *lḍy*, *bu* (cf. Skt. *bḍhu*) (Vidarbha and Nagpur) (Sometimes *bhai* for *bhari* is also used); *ley* (*-i*), *gḍnj*, *mḍs* (South-East Maharashtra), *mayndḍl*, *rḍggḍḍ*, *bḍggḍl* (—*bḍggḍr* — *bḍkkḍl*) (Central East Maharashtra). Apart from these, words like *cikkar*, *bhḍrḍpur*, *bhḍyḍ'ykḍr ḍmaḍ*, *umḍ*, *khḍccum*, *bhḍrghos*, *ḍisḍḍis*, *ḍtonat*, *bhḍremsat* *wiḍḍut*, *mḍhamur* and many more, are also to be found in stray remarks here and there, but their exact location indicating the focal, transition and relic areas cannot be well defined for want of exact information.

It can be remarked here that semantic and syntactical variations and such other formations as metathesis, haplology, prothesis etc. are not unlikely. Unfortunately the present writer has not definite and enough material to present the same for the present.

NOTES ON ANCIENT MARATHI POEMS

By J. S. Deshpande

IN THE COURSE of compilation of the anthology 'Nave Navnit' published in 1959, I came across many unpublished ancient Marathi poems and thought of publishing them. The Mumbai Marathi Granthsangrahalaya undertook this task and till now it has published 'Prachin Marathi Kavita Vol. I in 1962 and Volume II recently in 1964. Brief notes on the poems and their authors included in them are given below :—

Prachin Marathi Kavita, Vol. I.

(1) 'Rasakrida' by Vithal Kalpurkar :—This poem consisted of 236 Ślokas. A few Ślokas from the beginning and the end were published by Rajwade in Saraswati Mandir Magazine in 1909. The poem was then complete. Unhappily some pages are now missing in the manuscript available at Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandir, Dhulia. The poem was composed in Śaka 1536, and as seen from the ending portion in Saraswati Mandir the manuscript was of Śaka 1551. The author hails from Vidarbha. One is reminded of Gitagovind while reading this poem. Vithal Kalpurkar is different from Vithal Bidkar. The poem is fairly good so far as poetry is concerned, and it is important as one of the very old Śloka poems in Marathi.

(2) Chandrahāsyakathā by Nama Pathak :—The descendants of Nama Pathak are at Kendur in Poona District. According to the available genealogy, Kanho Pathak, a disciple of Nagnath, is the grandfather of the poet. As Nagnath's date is about 1400 A.D., Nama Pathak's date would be about 1450 A.D. About a hundred years back the ancestral house of Pathak family was destroyed by fire and the household manuscripts were lost. This poetry being of a puranic type seems to have been in wide circulation and various versions differ so much that it is not possible to prepare a standard version giving all variations.

Chandrahasyakathā, the story of King Chandrahāsa, was once very popular. It is evident that this Kathā by Nama Pathak was known to Shridhar. An abridged version of it given in Vol II ascribes the authorship twice to Vishnudas Nama and once to 'Nama Pathak. However this story forms part of a large work called 'Asvamedh' and it is undoubtedly the work of Nama Pathak. However a similar mixup is found elsewhere also. Hanumant Garud Akhyana is found to have been appearing under the name of both these authors and the same situation is found in some Parvas of Mahabharata of Vishnudas Nama. If the words Pathak and Vishnudas were merely used as adjectives, their works would obviously get mixed up with those of Namdeo also.

The version used in Vol. I is from Tanjore and that in Vol. II, from Dhulia.

(3) 'Draupadi Svayamvara' by an anonymous author :—These are fragments of a poem from Tanjore Collections. The poem was of 238 Kadavis. Only the end portion is available. The poem seems to belong to the Eknath period and the poem is to be recited according to rhythm, which reminds one of 'Dhavale' poetry of the Mahanubhav poetess Mahadanba.

(4) Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa of Vishwanath :—This is a fragmentary piece from Samarth Vagdevta Mandir, Dhulia, (No. 867) consisting of Ovis. Its language reminds one of Ushaharan of Chombha, and it contains similarly forms of words in common use as distinct from those used in writing.

(5) Pages of Ushaharan of Chombha :—Chombha is an old poet of the 14th century. Fragments of his Ushaharan were published by Rajwade in 1911 and these pages are in addition.

Prachin Marathi Kavita, Vol. II.

This volume contains miscellaneous poems of Nama Pathak, viz. (1) Miscellaneous Padas (2) Vastraharan Padas, (3) Sudam Charitra, (4) abridged version of Chandrahāsakathā, (5) Vastraharan Ovis, (6) Nāmaratnamāla, (7) Hanumant Garuḍa Ākhynā, (8) Draupadiche Birade. (9) Chendufali, (10) Bhārat Bhet, (11) A piece ascribed to Nama Pathak.

(1) Contains three Ślokas in Malini metre and one in Śārdulvikridita metre. These are presumably the oldest Ślokas excepting those of Mahānubhāv poets. The Vastraharan Kathā seems to have formed part of some Sabhāparva and probably Muktesvar knew it. Bhārat Bhet was probably part of a Rāmāyaṇa. 'Draupadiche Birade' also seems to have formed part of a larger work. The main works are now probably lost.

The 'Aswamedha' of Nama Pathak is a voluminous work and will need separate notes.

SOME ASPECTS OF TREE AND PILLAR WORSHIP

By R. A. Jairazbhoy

Sacred Trees

In Sumerian myth the sacred willow tree cut down by Gilgamesh is used for making the throne and couch of the goddess Inanna. The hero makes two instruments from the Huluppu tree with which he intends to recall the dead to life.¹ The life-restoring tree is encountered again much later in Mesopotamia. In a letter to Ashurbanipal the dying sender says that the king gave us life by placing the Plant of Life under our nostrils.²

In Babylonia, the cedar is described as the holy tree under Gudea (c. 2340 B.C.).³ Ezekiel's panegyric on the cedar (XXXI, 3-9) suggests why it is that the tree might have been regarded as sacred.

Finally there is the *Kiskamu* tree at Eridu, which an incantation text describes as casting "a shadow like a forest, and none dare enter."⁴ This black *Kiskamu* tree, with its aspect of brilliant lapis lazuli, grows in a pure place. It is the holy dwelling place of Ea on earth, while in its bosom are the gods Utu and Dumuzi (the Semitic Shamas and Tammuz) residing at the mouth of the two rivers.⁵ Ea's connection with the Tree of Life is repeatedly encountered as on a cylinder seal where it stands behind Ea's throne, or where a plant grows from his over-flowing vase.⁶ There are also the priests of Ea in fish cloaks who flank decked out and braided ceremonial trees. In some Assyrian seals the god Ashur floats in a winged disk above the tree,⁷ but in others the god must be Ea since a fish (Ea's emblem) leaps from his foot toward the sacred tree.⁸

The god Ningizzida's name has been interpreted as the "Lord of the tree of truth", while Dumuzi is held to be "tree of life", and the two gods regarded as "the custodians of the two magic trees, or as themselves embodiments of the trees".⁹ It may in fact be these two gods who are represented on the celebrated Babylonian seal, once mistakenly

¹ S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 30.

² L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, vol. II, p. 41.

³ G. Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," *Ars Islamica*, vol. LV, 1937, p. 381.

⁴ R. C. Thompson, *A dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 1949, p. 288.

⁵ E. Dhorme, *Choix de textes religieux assyro-babyloniens*, 1907, p. 98; S. Langdon, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1928, pp. 845-48.

⁶ E. D. Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase, and the God with Streams*, 1933, p. 44f.

⁷ Ward, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, fig. 681.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 680.

⁹ Dhorme, "L'arbre de verité et l'arbre de vic," *Revue Biblique*, vol. IV, 1907, pp. 271-74; S. Langdon, *Tammuz*, p. 117; and Van Buren, *Iraq*, vol. I, 1932, pp. 66-67

thought to represent Adam and Eve. The two seated figures, one horned and the other beardless, face a seven-branched sacred tree with hanging clusters of fruit, while a serpent rears behind one of the figures. The identification is strengthened by the Sumerian text which describes these two gods as companions.¹⁰ If it is true that these two gods epitomize two kinds of symbolic trees, the tree of life and the tree of truth, then we are led to recall the two Biblical trees—that is to say the Tree of Life which stands in the midst of Paradise (Genesis I, 3), and the Tree of Knowledge, which higher criticism contends was introduced in the 9th century B.C. in order to explain the first sin.¹¹ Hebrew literature seems to allude to the Babylonian tree of life in the Apocryphal Book of Enoch (XXIV, 25) where it is stated that at the south of the world there exist seven mounds built with precious stones on whose centre stands the tree of life, for this seems to be a reference to the 7-staged multi-coloured ziggurat with the *gigunu* or leafy bower on top of it.

Assyrian seals have representations of artificial trees decked out and braided and portrayed in connection with a cult. The deity present in these functions as an instrument which fructifies the tree and causes it to flourish.¹² The two kneeling figures on an Assyrian bas relief¹³ actually manipulate the solar globe above the palm tree so as to hasten the ripening of dates. It has been suggested that the Assyrian sacred tree is nothing but a composite of useful plants such as date palms, grapevines, pine, cedar and pomegranate, sometimes sanctified by the addition of grafted horns.¹⁴ Lucin has described (*De dea Syr.*, p. 49) a cultic rite involving trees at Hierapolis in Syria. Trees laden with attributes and ornaments were carried each year in springtime, as symbols of life, and burned in the court of the temple of 'Atar-'Ate (Atargatis).¹⁵ Moreover Eusebius confirms that the Phoenicians offered libations and sacrifices to plants which they deified and worshipped.¹⁶ The tree cult appears also to have had a vogue further west for on a Minoan gem a woman inclines before an altar (rising over a crescent) which bears a 3-branched tree.¹⁷

Sometimes the tree being symbolic of a fertility god was depicted

¹⁰ S. Langdon, *The Mythology of all Races, V, Semitic*, 1931, pp. 77, 162.

¹¹ A. Wunsche, "Die sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenwasser," *Ex Oriente Lux*, vol. I, 1905, p. 4; G. Lechler, *op. cit.*, p. 373; and Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

¹² E. B. Tylor, "Winged figures of the Assyrian and other Ancient Monuments," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 1890.

¹³ Layard, *Monument of Nineveh*, pl. 59A.

¹⁴ E. Bonavia, *The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments*, 1894.

¹⁵ See further H. Danthine, *Le Palmier dattier et les arbres sacres*, 1937, p. 152f.

¹⁶ *Praeparatio Evangelica*, I, 9; Goblet E. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1894, pp. 140-41.

¹⁷ G. Wilke, *Kulturbeziehungen Zwischen Indien Orient und Europa*, 1913, fig. 160b.

in an anthropomorphic form.¹⁸ In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (ch 63a) a cult tree growing from the midst of a pool has a hand rising from its branches which pours the water of life from a pitcher for a seated devotee holding a bowl. A 19th Dynasty wall painting of this scene confirms that this is the hand of Isis.¹⁹

Lastly we may point out one conventional manner in which tree veneration was portrayed. On a bas relief from Nineveh a frieze of alternating winged bulls bow on one knee before the sacred trees.²⁰ This inevitably recalls Ezekiel's description of the Temple of Jerusalem (Ezek. XLI, 8) as having a ceiling with plam trees alternating with cherubim, which were fabulous winged animals. Often griffins were represented guarding the sacred tree as on a Phoenician bowl,²¹ on a capital from the Temple of Athene at Priene,²² and much later in the medieval period on a slab at the Cathedral of Athens.²³

Sacred Pillars

Among the earliest references to the pillar cult is that in the Rigveda (V, 11, 7) to sacrificial posts which stood before the altar. It is on the other hand more surprising to learn that at about this time the Hebrew Patriarch Moses, who taught the worship of Yahweh, should have erected 12 *masseboth*s at the foot of the mountain beside or around the altar (Ex. XXIV, 4). Elijah likewise set up 12 stones at Carmel (1 Kings XVIII, 31f.), not to mention the great stone set up by Joshua at Shechem (Josh. XXIV, 26), and at Ebenezer by Samuel (1 Sam. VII, 12). Suddenly in the 7th century B.C. a curb was put on the practice, and the moral decline of the Northern Kingdom was attributed to this (idolatrous) habit of the Israelites of building *masseboth* and *asherim* "on every high hill" (2 Kings XVII, 10). As part of King Josiah's reform the *asherah* were removed from the Temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem (2 Kings XXIII, 6). The reform movement must have recognized this practice as not only idolatrous, but also as pagan in origin. In the Canaanite city of Gezer were excavated a row of sacred pillars or obelisks (*masseboth*).²⁴ Since in this shrine were found male emblems in limestone as well as terracotta reliefs of the mother goddess together with the bones of still born babies under its floor, it is assumed that the shrine was dedicated to fertility deities.²⁵ That such posts were phallic in meaning is now less

¹⁸ Ward, *op. cit.*, no. 374.

¹⁹ H. Wirth, *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit*, 1931-35, pl. 165, fig. 5.

²⁰ Layard, *op. cit.*, 22nd. ser., pl. XLV, fig. 3.

²¹ M. Clermont-Ganneau, *L'Imagerie Phénicienne*, 1880, pl. IV.

²² Goblet E. d'Alviella, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. c.

²³ L. M. R. Cattaneo, *L'architecture en Italie*, 1891, fig. 165.

²⁴ R. A. S. Macalister, *Bible Sidelights from the mound of Gezer*, 1906, pp. 57-67, 73-75.

²⁵ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. I, 1936, pp. 108-09.

favoured than that they were abodes for the deity,²⁶ or token of its presence.²⁷ Such aniconic pillars survived in north-west Arabia (e.g., at Medain Salih) until pre-Islamic times.²⁸ Even in Central Arabia rude columnar images (*wathan*) were the prevailing type, until the carved image (*sanam*) was introduced from Syria to Mecca shortly before the time of Muhammad.²⁹

One type of cultic pillar had unmistakable solar connections. In ancient Mesopotamia a post surmounted by a sun-disk (*šurinnu*) stood at the entrance to a temple, or city gate.³⁰ This is represented on cylinder seals.³¹ On an Assyrian altar of c. 900 B.C. there is a relief of priests of the sun god (they wear sun wheels on their helmets) bearing posts surmounted with 8-spoked wheels, these priests flank an adoring king.³² In the Near East too there appears to have been a pillar connected with the sun cult. Hiram of Tyre, the friend of King Solomon, had a golden column erected in the Temple of Ba'al.³³ Ezekiel in the 7th century refers to the *hammānīm* or sun pillar associated with the altars of Ba'al. The worship of Ba'al-hammān flourished particularly in Carthage and in Phoenicia,³⁴ and the word *hammānā* is inscribed on a Palmyrene altar of A.D. 48 dedicated to the Sun.³⁵ It would seem that the sun wheel on pillar migrated to India, where it is found for example on a pilaster in the inner enclosure of the Buddhist stupa of Amaravati.³⁶

²⁶ G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed., T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, vol. III, p. 2982.

²⁷ L. R. Farnell, in *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. V, p. 397. See also Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed, 1897, p. 101f.

²⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. I, pp. 121, 187.

²⁹ Ibn Hisham, *Sira* 27; O'Laery, *Arabia before Muhammad*, 1927, p. 197.

³⁰ E. D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, 1945, pp. 92-95.

³¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, no. 413.

³² O. Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden*, 1907, fig. 1300.

³³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, VIII, 5, citing Menander of Tyre.

³⁴ W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1894, p. 93.

³⁵ M. de Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*, no. 123a; cf. J. Starcky, in *Syria*, vol. XXVI, p. 51.

³⁶ J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873, pl. XCVIII, p. 237; cf. pl. LXXXIX and Sanchi pl. XLII.

DEVGERI INSCRIPTION OF JAGADEKAMALLA II

By M. S. Nagaraja Rao

DEVGERI, anciently known as 'Devamgēri' in inscriptions, is a small village about 5 miles north of Haveri in the Dharwar district. It formed the *manneya* or seigniorship of *Bāsavūr* 140 along with the neighbouring villages of *Kōḷūr* and *Kuḷēnūr*. It is already famous for its temples, sculptures and epigraphs.¹

The lithic record edited here was discovered by the writer. It was used as a ceiling slab of the Paraśurāma temple in the compound of the local Yallamma temple. According to the local information, it is supposed to have been brought from the *Śāntiśvara Basadi*, a jaina temple now in ruins on a cultivated piece of land to the west of the village. This is confirmed from the contents of the record which registers a grant to it. The inscribed area of the slab is about 4' 6" × 1' 6". The characters and the language are old Kannada of the 12th century A.D. The letters are about 1/2" in height.

According to the practice prevalent in this period the cursive and normal forms of *ma* and *va* are both used simultaneously (e.g. lines, 3, 8, 12, 13, 19, 20, 35, 44, 49, 51, 52 and 54 respectively). The cerebral *ṇa* when doubled has dental *na* added below it (egs. Baṇṇisu, Kaṇṇamagere, yenṇe in lines 28, 48 and 51 respectively).

U, the form of vowel, common to old Kannada and Telugu characters is still retained here (line 29).

The new Kannada locative suffix *alli* is added on to words *Koṇeyalli* (line 48), *Tūrokkalalli*, (line 50), *Gūṇadalli* (line 51) and *Mūḍidalli* (line 41) which is absent in the period to which it belongs.

The above instances show that the old practice is giving way to the new Kannada method of simplification and the use of both old and new Kannada characters and forms add further proof to the fact that this was a transitional period.

The document after referring to the reign of Jagadekamalla II (A.D. 1137-38 to 1151) mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Hoysaḷadēva as administering *Noṇambavūdi*, *Banavūsi* and *Hānṇungal* 500. The latter's name is not quite clear as the line in which it occurs seems to have been tampered with. However, he could be identified as Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvarḍhana who is usually referred to as Tribhuvanamalla-deva, in other epigraphs.² Many inscriptions show him reigning in

¹ Nagaraja Rao, M. S., and Jamkhedkar, A. P., *BDCRI*, vol. XXIV, pp. 26-27
Barnet, L. D., *EI*, vol. XIX, No. 29, pp. 179-197.

² *EC*, vol. V, CN. 169, AK. 87.

central and western Mysore, but always as a vassal of the Western Chalukyan king.³

The record then extols the great qualities of *Mahāsāmanta* Kaliyamarasa, *Tantrapāla* Bāchaṇa, who was also the borther-in-law of Kaliyamarasa, and *Mantri* Recharasa. Kaliyamarasa is said to belong to the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana and of Khachara family. He is *mahāsāmanta* ruling the *Bāsavūr* 140. Evidently he belongs to the *Silahara* family.⁴ Dr. Desai has discussed the several branches of the *Silaharas*. Of these, there was one family ruling from *Bāsavūr* 140. The first known member of this branch, Kaliyamma, is referred to in an epigraph of Rāshtrakūta Amoghavarsha from Devgeri.⁵ He is said to have held the post of *Nālgū-muṇḍu*. Under the later chalukyas, the members of this family held the post of *mahāsāmantas*,⁶ and under the Yādavas, their position was elevated to that of *Mahūmaṇḍalēśvaras*.⁷ They were the followers of Jainism. Kaliyamarasa of the present record was the *Mahāsāmanta* under Sōmesvara III and continued to hold the same post under Jagadekamalla II.

The date given in the record (11. 39-41) is the 53rd regnal year of chalukya Jagadekamalla year, the cyclic year *Saddhārthi*, *chaitra*, *śuddha daśami* (10th), monday. The cyclic year *siddhārthi* falls in A.D. 1139-40, the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of the king. Jagadekamalla II is supposed to have ruled only for 14 years from 1137-38 to 1151 A.D. So the mistake may of the scribe who instead of writing 3 has written 53. The third regnal year corresponds to A.D. 1139-40. But the king referred to is certainly Jagadekamalla II known from two other records of the region, viz., of Devihosūr which belongs to the 10th regnal year in which mention is made of both Kaliyamarasa and Recharasa of the present record; and of Niralgi which is also dated in the 10th regnal year and records the construction of a jaina *basadi* dedicated to Mallinātha at Niralgi.

The place names mentioned in the record are : *Noṇambavūḍi*, *Banavūsi*, *Hānṅallu* and *Bāsavūr*.

The *Noṇambavūḍi* 32,000 province was one of the principal divisions of Central and South India. The principal cities of this province were Ucchangidurga, Henjeru (Hem āvati in Pavagada taluka) and Chitradurga. It consisted of Bellary, Anantapur, Salem and parts of North Arcot districts. *Banavūsi* is the present town with the same name in the Sirsi taluka of north Kanara district. *Hānṅallu* is the present Hangal, a taluka place in the Dharwar district. *Bāsavūr* could be identified with Hirebasur in the Byadgi taluka of Dharwar district. All these places figure commonly in the records of the period and region.

³ *Ibid.*, AK. 105, Hn. 114.

⁴ *EI*, vol. XXVII, No. 15, pp. 67-70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70, and B.K. No. 24, of 1932-33, p. 94.

⁶ *EI*, vol. XIX, No. 29, pp. 180, 187, 184, 189, 191.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

TEXT¹

1. @Śrīmatparama-gaṁbhīra-śchādvādā² āmōgha³ lāṁchhanaṁ jī-
yātraīḷō⁴
2. kya nāthasya śāsanaṁ jina śāsanaṁ || Śrīvardhdhēṁdu prabhā-
śvattanuru⁵
3. chi vibhavaṁ chāru kaivalyabōdhaṁ Dēvēṁdrānarghya chūdā-
maṇi ghaṭi
4. ta pedam⁶ mukti Lakṣmīsanāthaṁ bhāvōdbhūta pramatta
dvipa
5. vīdaḷana kaṇṭhīravam māḍutirkkintivārddhi brāta samavēṣṭita
dhiarege lasatsāntiyam⁷
6. Śāntināthaṁ || Savasti samasta bhuvanāśreyam⁸ śrī prithvīvalla-
bham⁹ mahārājā-
7. dhirājam paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśreyakuḷa-
tiḷakaṁ¹⁰ chālukyā-
8. bharaṇam Śrīmajjagadēkamalladeva vijeya¹¹ rājyamuttarētta-
rābhividdhi¹²
9. pravarddhamānamāchāindrārkkā tārambaraṁ saluttamire || tatpā-
clapa-
10. dmōpajīvi || Svasti Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍaleśvaraṁ Tribhuvana-
11. malla Hoysaḷadevaru Noṇambavāḍi Banavāsi Hanuṁ-
12. gallaynūrumam sukhadimḍāḷuttire || Śrīmatu khacharāṅva-
13. yanenipā mahārājāṁgavesava¹³ Lachchāmbikegaṁ yī mahi-
mōnnata lakṣmī prēmam

¹ From the original impressions

² read syā

³ ā repeated

⁴ read ttraī

⁵ read sva

⁶ read pa

⁷ read ccha

⁸ read śra

⁹ read pṛ

¹⁰ read śra

¹¹ read ja

¹² read vr

¹³ read ge

14. kali ka'ligabhūpanudecyamgeyda¹⁴ || Vāchāḷa biruda manneya
15. kīchaka beya¹⁵ Bhīmanadaṭa manneyachaya gōtrāchaḷakuḷi-
16. śam negarḍam khecharakuḷatilakanuddhataṁ Kaliga nrīpa¹⁶ ||
Malevaripu
17. bhūmipāḷara taleyanurū berasukirttu tōḷuvaladiṁ-
18. da kalahāṁgaṇadoḷagadaṭiṁ kaliganripam¹⁷ kharggalakshmiyam
pūjisuva ||
19. @ Savsti samadhigata paṁcha mahāśabda mahāsāmantam
vijeya¹⁸ lakshmikāntam sa-
20. masta vasunatīḷakhyātam jīmūtavāhanānvayaprasūtam baṁ-
dhu-
21. jana kamaḷinī rājahaṁsam khachara vaṁsōttaṁsam¹⁹ padmā-
vatīlabdhava-
22. raprasādam tyāgavinōdam birudamanneya madanivāraṇam am-
mma-²⁰
23. nagaṁdhavāraṇam nāmādi prasasti sahitam śrīmanmahāsāmanta
Ka-
24. liyamarasaru Bāsayūra²¹ nūraṇūlvattumam sukha saṁkhā-²²
25. tā²³ vinōdam rājyam geyuttamire || virtta²⁴ || patihitanuddhata[m]
26. prabaḷanāhavadhīranudagra vairi bhūpatigaḷanayde tūḷdi
27. Kaliga kshītipāḷanakkapīṁda śāsvatamene²⁵ saṁda rājya padevī²⁶
28. pati māḷīdudondu²⁷ sauryyadunnatiyane dhātri baṁnisu-
29. tamirppudu Bāchaṇa tamtrapāḷana || urāde kali Ka-

¹⁴ read da

¹⁵ read bhā

¹⁶ read nr

¹⁷ read nr

¹⁸ read ja

¹⁹ read śū

²⁰ delete m

²¹ read vū

²² read ka

²³ read tha

²⁴ read vṛ

²⁵ read śva

²⁶ read da

²⁷ read śau

30. liga bhūpaṃgeṛagada ripu nripa²⁸ siramanaveyavadim-²⁹
31. daṃ karuim khagakuḷa durgenegeṛagisuvam subhaṭa-
32. namama maiduna Bācha || Sogayipa rūdhivetta Kaligakshi-
33. tipāḷana bāhukharggeyasṭige mone pempinindavesavāvanipāḷana-
34. dondu rājyalakshṃige posa jauvanam vineyadim negarddānri-
panāḷuti-³⁰
35. rppa bhūmige paḍeditṭa rakkeyene pōlvanāvanō mantri Rēchiya ||
36. vineyada³¹ bittu satyada tavarmmane sadguṇadikkedāṇa peṃpina
kaṇi
37. śauchadāgara vivēkanidhānada pākāsāsanam jinapadapadma³²
saṭcharaṇa³³
38. vūrjita puṃṇyanenalkē namma Rāyaṇanavadātta kirttivaraneṃ-
bu-
39. du pēḷpeṛatondaneṃbude || yintenisirdda Rāyaṇam savasti śrī-
machchā-
40. lukya Jagadēkamalla variśada³⁴ 53 neya siddhārtha saṃvat-
sarada³⁵ chaitra
41. suddha³⁶ daśami sōmavūradandu deśigagaṇada vakragat-
sada³⁷
42. Śrī Śāntināthadēvaram praṭiṣṭeyam māḷḷidalli || Śrīmanma-
mahā-³⁸
43. Sāmanṃta Kaliyamarasarum tantrapāḷa Bāchaṇarum sama-
44. sta parigrahamum dēvara pūje punaskārakkam Bāḷachandra
siddhām-
45. nta dēvara kālam karchi dhārāpūrbbakam māḷḷi biṭṭa dharmma
ye-

²⁸ read nṛ

²⁹ read śi

³⁰ read nṛ

³¹ read na

³² read ṣa

³³ ra is inserted in between

³⁴ read ṣa

³⁵ ra written below the line

³⁶ read śu

³⁷ read chichha

³⁸ ma repeated

³⁹ read vva

46. ntemoḍe huliveṭṭadiṁ baḍaga Bhojangeśvara⁴⁰ dēvara keyim teiṁ
47. ka ere mattaruyondu toṛeya⁴¹ baḷiya ālugana koṇe
48. yalli mogemattaruyondu⁴² Kaṇnamagereya yoḷage⁴³ gardde
49. kamma hattumam biṭṭaru alliya prabhu gāmvaṇḍugaḷum samasta pra-
50. javum yiṛdu dēvara pūjisuvā kaṁntiyargge tārakkalalli
51. koḷagavaiydu⁴⁴ binugu arddha dānagāṇadalli sollage eṇneyam koṭṭaru ||
52. intī dharmmamam pratipāḷisidargge vāraṇasi⁴⁵ gurukṣetra⁴⁶ yarghyatīrtha⁴⁷
53. dalli sāsira kavileyam sāsira brāhaṇargge koṭṭa phalamakku yi
54. danaḷidavam sahasra kavilevuma sāsira brāmaṇarumam
55. koṇda pancha māhāpātakanakku⁴⁸ ||

TRANSLATION

Lines

- 1-2. May the laws of Jina, the ruler of the three worlds, the Laws which are marked by the unfailing, glorious and profound Syādvāda, be victorious.
- 2-6. May Śāntinātha, whose greatness lay in his body, shining like the full moon, who has gained the knowledge of Kaivalya, whose feet are touched by the invaluable crest-jewels of Dēvēndra's crown, who is always endowed with the splendour of Mukti, who is a lion in supressing the intoxicated elephant-like desires, arousing out of the mind, grant beneficial peace to this world surrounded by innumerable oceans (or miseries).

⁴⁰ read śva

⁴¹ Tare means river. The river Varadā flows about a mile north of the village

⁴² read vo

⁴³

⁴⁴ Koḷaga is still a measure in vogue in the old Mysore state and is equal to five scers

⁴⁵ read ṇū

⁴⁶ read ku

⁴⁷ read a

⁴⁸ read ma

- 6-9. Hail! when the glorious Jagadēkamalla, the sole support of the whole world, the favourite of fortune and Earth, Supreme lord, Supreme master of the subordinate kings, the scion of the Satyāśraya lineage, was ruling over the kingdom which was ever expanding and growing till the moon, sun, stars and the universe lasts!
- 9-12. Dependant upon his lotus feet! Hail! While the overlord, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Hoysala dēva was happily administering Nōṅambavāḍi, Banavāsi and Hānungal 500!
- 12-14. The heroic Kaliga, who was loved by the goddess of Greatness was born of the fair Lacchāmbike and the overlord of the royal Khacharas!
- 14-18. The noble Kaliga, the best of the Khachara family (was glorified) as a terrible Bhīma to the Kīchaka-like, jealous seignors, a thunder-bolt to the mountain-like families of seignors, (King Kaliga) through his valour in the battle-field worships the goddess of glory of Khaga family, with the heads and hearts of the recalcitrant enemy kings, plucked by the strength of his own arms!
- 18-25. While Mahāsāmanta Kaliyammarasa, with the titles, one who has obtained the five (musical) sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, born in the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana, a royal swan in the lotus pond of relatives, an ornament of the Khachara, recipient of the grace of boons from the Goddess Padmāvati, taking delight in liberality, deprived of the vanity of the titled seignors a male elephant to his own father, was happily governing the Bāsavūr 140—
- 25-29. The world is extolling the greatness and the valour of Bāchaṇa, the chief executive adviser (tantrapāla) to king Kaliga,—as one who is interested in the welfare of his master, proud, powerful, terrible in the battle-field, thorough destroyer of the foremost enemies, who obtained the right of his royal position permanently through the favour and love of king Kaliga!
- 29-32. Oh! the heroism of Bācha! The brother-in-law of Kaliga, who mercilessly compels the enemy kings who do not yield to Kaliga to bow their heads without any delay, to the fortress of the Khaga family (Kaliga).
- 32-35. Who can compare himself to the minister Rēchi, who is the top supporting pole-like arm to the Khaga family of king Kaliga, who is happily famed, who is a fresh youth to the goddess of his master's kingdom, attractive on account of her greatness,

who has a protection mark (Rakshe), fortunately secured for the kingdom, ruled over by that king, famed for his humility ?

- 35-39. Can Rāyaṇa, who is the sprout of humility, the parental house of truth, the abode of virtue, mine of greatness, store-house of purity, source of discretion, Indra himself, and one who has earned merit by being a bee at the lotus feet of Jina, be described otherwise ?
- 39-42. Hail ! When Rāyaṇa, thus praised, consecrated (the image of) Śāntinātha of Vakragaccha and dēśigagaṇa, on monday the 10th in the bright half of the month Chaitra, in the cyclic year Siddhārtha, in the 53 (regnal) year of Jagadēkamalla of Chālukya family.
- 42-46. Mahāsāmanta Kaliyamarasa and the chief executive adviser Bāchana, along with their retinue made an endowment, after washing the feet of Bālachandra Siddhāntadēva, and with pouring water, for the worshipping of the god, (Śāntinātha).
- 46-49. the details of the grant being— one mattar of Black-soil to the north of the Hulibeṭṭa (Tiger-hill) and to the south of the field assigned to the god Bhujangēśvara, one moge-mattar of land in the locality called 'Āluganakōṇe' near the 'Toṛe'*, ten kammas of wet-land lying below the tank called 'Kaṇnamageṛe'.
- 49-51. The land-lords (Prabhus) and the heads of the place (gāmuṇḍa) granted to the Kamtis (jaina Numo ?) who worship the god, one sollage (a measure) of oil from the donated-oil mill and five 'kolagas'** and half binugu, in the settlement (vokkalu) called 'Tārokkalu'.
- 51-55. He who maintains this grant will obtain the benefit of having donated one thousand cows to one thousand Brahmins at (the sacred places) Vāraṇāsi, Kurukshetra and arghya tirthas. He who destroys this gift will be deemed a sinner of the five great sins of having killed one thousand cows and one thousand Brahmins.

[My grateful thanks are due to Dr. P. B. Desai, Director, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, for going through the manuscript and guiding me with valuable suggestions and to Shri K. V. Ramesh of Epigraphist's office, Ootacamund for valuable discussions — M.S.N.]

* Tore means river. The river Varda flows about a mile to the north of the village.

** Kolaga is still a measure in vogue in old Mysore state and is equal to 5 seers (measuring).

REVIEWS

The Iconography of the Buddhist sculptures of Ellora. By Dr. R. S. Gupte. Aurangabad : Marathwada University, 1964.

With the increasing number of foreign tourists, especially the Americans, the caves of Ajanta and Ellora are becoming more or less a popular project for observation under the guidance of one who knows them. As the project is commercially lucrative, writings such as plain guides, journalistic pamphlets and monographs on different special aspects and periods, both scholarly and un-scholarly, are coming out quite in numbers.

To the university men the success of Stella Kramrisch holds a promise and also a challenge for further researches. Much has been done by the masters. Yet much more is to be done. Griffith, Fergusson etc. are no more in the market just because their books are out of print. Iconography instead of pure architectural studies, which requires a mastery on the study of art, yields better fruits to the average academic historian with less trouble. Dr. Gupte's book can be safely ranked among these lesser type of researches, which earns an esteem for the author in the contemporary world of the Indian universities.

The work is not to be compared with the work of the masters of Indian architecture and iconography. It suffers from faults of both commission and omission; e.g., Dr. Gupte claims that he has found the mythology of Vajrayāna-Mantrayāna—portrayed in the Ellora caves and this from the early Hinayāna was a 'far-cry'. This is the thesis in the book. Dr. Gupte, however, is not prepared to accept the fact established by the older scholars that their mythology belonged to the Mahāyāna sect. We would like to know if the Vajrayāna is not included in the Mahāyāna. Besides, the Vajrayāna traits are no speciality of the Ellora Buddhist mythology. Even in the earlier Buddhist caves of Kanheri the Vajrayāna traces are perceptible.

Another great flaw in the book is the way symbology is treated. As a matter of fact Dr. Gupte has not been able to treat it at all. He has no doubt given a number of pictures about different symbols such as are actually found in the caves. He also has numbered them in a neat manner. But he has nowhere deciphered them. On page 116 he gives the meanings of some symbols which are too obvious in Mahāyāna Buddhism, i.e., the Chaitya is the symbol of Maitreya, Jambāla, Cunda and some time Tārā. The Campā flower (and the Nāgakesar flower) are the symbols of Maitreya. He gives a general description of these symbols, seventeen symbols, in a cursory way. Symbology in Buddhism, and especially Vajrayāna, is extremely complex and intricate. Its simplification to this level is misguiding. So, except giving the reader an elementary idea of those symbols, which the old masters also had done in a different context, Dr. Gupte has added nothing new to the subject.

D. N. B.

History of Prakrit Literature. By Jagadish Chandra Jain. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan, 1961.

This is a history of Prakrit literature written by Dr. Jagadishchandra Jain, a well-known Hindi scholar. The author claims this work to be the first treatise on the history of the Prakrit literature. He is not quite correct; he has taken no notice of 'Apabhraṃśa-sāhitya' by Harivamsha Kochhad, published in 1958. That work uses almost all the sources used by Dr. Jain more neatly and ably. Barring the review of the Prakrit literature by Winternitz incorporated in this history of the Indian *Literature*, no other work is available on the subject. However, Winternitz has used discretion in not mixing the Jain literature with the rest of the Prakrit literature though the linguistic substratum is the same in both: as a matter of fact he treats religious literature of the Buddhist and the Jains as separate categories. Dr. Jain also keeps up the demarcation but the results of the two works are entirely different. No comments which a critic or historian of language is expected to make are found in the present work. The tone is throughout monotonous and the beauty of much of the material gets lost on account of prosaic translations of even the most poetic passages. The work is full of citations. As a matter of fact it is mostly citations without ability for selection. One does not get any idea about the development of the Prakrit literature, the reactions and conflicts of ideas etc., from the illustrations. When one thinks of Sanskrit literature, one can feel the homogeneity in it; one would not now think of mixing the classical literature either with the Vedic or Puranic or Epic. One can get a clear picture of the development of style, an idea of the flourishing age, and the decadent period as well while studying Sanskrit classical literature. One gets no such feel while reading this book; because the bulk of the book, over five hundred pages, is devoted to Jain literature alone. The author does not draw a line between the literature containing doctrine and the pure story material. He has cited many story-collections, but they are illustrative only of the Jain doctrine and can in no way be compared to Kathāsaritsāgara.

The non-Jain, or the classical literature, gets very little space and even poorer treatment; e.g. the chapter on the Prakrit of the edicts will suffice to show it. As for *Gāthāsaptasatī* the author mentions the text and translation (in Marathi) of Shri S. A. Jogalekar who is not known to be a scholar; this translation is in no way different from the commentary attached to the Nirnayasaagara edition. Dr. Jain overlooks another older and more important source in Marathi viz. '*Prakrit Bhaṣeṇī Vicikitsā*' by the late Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat in which the author repudiates many of the interpretations given by the commentator as one-sided (or sexy) and gives his own interpretations. In the light of an older commentary which is available now many of these interpretations will be found correct. Rajaram Shastri had expressed his views about

the Prakrit in the Wilson Philological Lectures as well. Dr. Jain has not availed himself of this material.

In short his book seems to be more like an examination guide—written for students rather than for scholars.

D. N. B.

Villages, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India. By Amita Ray. Calcutta : F. K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1964.

The book is a dissertation submitted and approved for the D.Phil. degree of the University of Calcutta (1957). As the title itself suggests the book deals with the secular aspect of ancient Indian architecture between c. 150 B.C.—c. 350 A.D.

Ancient Indian secular architecture has been a somewhat sealed book. Dr. A. K. Coomarsvamy first tried to find a key to this sealed book, in his paper—"Early Indian Architecture." As the author says, the present thesis is inspired by this paper of Coomarsvamy ; yet, it tries to widen the scope of and to fill in the gaps in that paper. Thus the present work covers the same ground as traversed by Coomarsvamy, but it also adds something. For instance, it tries to explain all types and forms of secular achitecture of ancient India and attempts to relate them with aboriginal and indigeneous achitectural activities. Further, the dissertation is based on the foundation of archaeology ; of course, the archaeological evidence is restricted to the period between 150 B.C.—350 A.D.

The book is divided into eight chapters (pp. 1-123). In chapter I, the tribal and rural settlement patterns and house-types are discussed ; chapter II deals with *grāmasanniveśa* or village types, etc. ; chapter III speaks of *grahasanniveśa* or homestead plans, etc. ; chapter IV treats of *nagara-sanniveśa* or town-planning, etc. ; and also refers to ancient cities like Rājagṛha, Śrāvasti, Takṣaśilā, Kauśāmbī, etc. ; chapter V discusses *durga-sanniveśa*, fortified places, etc. ; chapter VI has in view *prāsāda-vinyāsa*, mentioning various types of buildings in the cities ; chapter VII gives a glimpse into the materials, methods and techniques in the building activities ; chapter VIII enumerates the rites and rituals employed in the building activities. Then there is an Appendix (pp. 124-136) on the recent archaeological evidence. The Appendix is followed by Sketches and Drawings (pp. 137-146) with necessary description. There are in all 101 figures representing the various types.

In the course of the discussion the author has referred to a variety of books ranging from literary to scientific and in various languages like Sanskrit, Pali and Ardhamagadi.

The book is a valuable source of information for a student interested in ancient Indian secular architecture.

A few repetitions, misprints and a discrepancy in the explanation of the word 'vimāna' (p. 80 and p. 96) could have been easily avoided. Yet one can say that it is to the credit of the author that much information about ancient Indian secular architecture has been brought together in this book.

K. V. APTE

SUPPLEMENT

TO

DR. JOSÉ GERSON DA CUNHA

MEMORIAL VOLUME

In Commemoration of

THE LATE SHANKAR GANESH DATE

A Distinguished Marathi Bibliographer

SHANKAR GANESH DATE

If a person has an unflinching and constant devotion for an ideal and he dedicates himself wholeheartedly and unflinchingly to its attainment, he achieves sometimes such success as is generally thought extraordinary under normal circumstances. The late Shri Shankar Ganesh Date is a fine example of this.



Date's unique achievement is his monumental bibliography of Marathi literature from 1800 to 1910. No Indian language other than Marathi has such a bibliography to its credit. The work encompasses the scientific classification of about thirty-five thousand books. At the age of thirty Date took up the work and for over two decades he carried it on single-handed, facing every kind of difficulty. No institution nor government agency supported him. All students of

Marathi language and literature will be ever grateful to him for this monumental work.

Date was not even a graduate. He left college when he was in the B.A. class, in 1927, with a view to find out if an undergraduate was capable of producing any work of great distinction and merit on his own.

Influenced by Rajwade, Sane, and Dattopant Apte, he was much taken with historical studies. He started collecting historical documents as early as 1926. But being disappointed, having sought expert guidance in vain for the decipherment of certain manuscripts, he turned to another field of research, viz., collection and interpretation of the Folklore of Maharashtra. He produced two small books of his collections. But here also another disappointment, not very different from the first one, awaited him and he was compelled to give up this work also with much financial loss.

It was then that Date felt the want of a comprehensive bibliography of Marathi literature and started his work in that field in 1934. The first volume of his monumental work, *Marathi Grantha Suchi* was published in 1943 and was followed by the second in 1961.

Another memorable service rendered to the cause of learning by Date were the efforts he made, as soon as the first popular ministry came into existence in the then Bombay State under the late Shri Bal Gangadhar Kher, for the establishment of the Regional Library at Poona. Here he persuaded the State Government to arrange for procuring and preserving every publication in Marathi, new or old, and to make it available to scholars.

Date undertook another bibliography, viz., an index of articles in Marathi periodicals up to 1950. The first volume of this work was nearing completion when cancer siezed him. Date bravely fought with the disease and carried on his work as best he could. But within a few months he came to be bedridden and breathed his last on the 10th of December, 1964 at the age of sixty.

मराठी ग्रंथसूचिकार शंकर गणेश दाते

जन्म : १७ ऑगस्ट १९०५

मृत्यु : १० डिसेंबर १९६४

[गं. दे. खानोलकर]

कोणत्याही एका विषयावद्दल अखण्ड तळमळ, तो तडीस नेण्याचा अदम्य निधारी, त्यांत पूर्ण यश मिळविण्यासाठी स्वतःचें सारें जीवित त्यागपूर्वक अर्पण करण्याची तयारी, हीं एखाद्या व्यक्तींत असलीं तर तिजकडून, सामान्यपणें असामान्य वाटणारें कार्य कसें घडू शकतें, ह्याचे प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण म्हणजे शंकर गणेश दाते हे होत. मराठी भाषेंत इ. स. १८०० ते इ. स. १९५० ह्या दीडशें वर्षांच्या काळांत प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या सुमारें पस्तीस हजार ग्रंथांची शास्त्रशुद्ध पद्धतीनें वर्णनात्मक सूचि तयार करण्याचें साहस ह्या व्यक्तीनें, वयाच्या तिसाव्या वर्षीं सुरू केलें आणि सतत दोन तपें अनंत अडचणींना तोंड देत, केवळ स्वतःच्या बळावर तें पूर्ण केलें. प्रादेशिक भाषेंतील ग्रंथांची एवढी विस्तृत अनुभव्य सूचिनिर्माण करण्याचें कार्य आजवर भारतांत झालें नव्हतें. दाते ह्यांनीं तें जिद्दीनें उभें करून, यशस्वी रितीनें पार पाडून दाखविलें. मराठी भाषिकांना ज्याच्यावद्दल सदैव अभिमान व कृतज्ञता वाटत राहिल, असें हें शाश्वत स्वरूपाचें थोर कार्य आहे.

शंकरराव दाते हे कोणी बडे पदवीधर नव्हते किंवा प्रकांड पंडितहि नव्हते ; धनी किंवा साहित्यक्षेत्रांत झळकणारे कोणी मानकरीहि नव्हते. वी. ए. पर्यंत त्यांचें शिक्षण झालें होतें. परंतु परीक्षेस न बसल्यामुळे त्यांना पदवी मिळाली नव्हती. ती मिळविण्याची हीसहि, काहीं कारणांमुळे, त्यांना राहिली नव्हती. पुण्यास सर परशुरामभाऊ कॉलेजमध्ये ते शिकत असत. १९२७ सालीं ते परीक्षेस वास्तविक बसावयाचे, पण बसले नाहीत. 'पदवी न संपादन करतां हि, जगांत काहीं कर्तव्यगारी करतां येणें शक्य नाही काय ?' असें ते स्वतःला विचारू लागले. आणि एक दिवस त्यांनीं कॉलेजला रामराम ठोकला.

इतिहासाभ्यास व ऐतिहासिक साधनांचें संशोधन ह्यांकडे त्यांचा विशेष ओढा होता. आपले भावी आयुष्य त्यांतच वेचलें जावें, असें त्यांना प्रारंभी फार वाटे. राजवाडे, साने, खरे, दत्तोपंत आपटे ह्यांचा आदर्श आपल्यापुढें ठेवून त्यांच्या मार्गानें आपणास जातां येईल तर आपलें जीवन धन्य होईल, असें त्यांच्या तरुण मनाला वाटे. आणि नशा आयुष्यक्रमाला लायक वनण्याचा प्रयत्न, त्यांनीं महाविद्यालयांतील काळांत, नेटानें चालविला. इतिहासविषयक वाचन त्यांनीं खूप केलें. इतिहास संशोधनक्षेत्रातील मंडळीशींही त्यांनीं बराच सहवास साधला. १९२६ सालीं कोकणांत ते गेले असतां, जुनी कागदपत्रें हुडकण्याचा त्यांनीं प्रयोगहि करून पाहिला. योगायोगानें त्यांना एका ब्राम्हणाच्या घरीं एक जुनी पोथी सांपडली. रात्र-भर जागून त्यांनीं ती तपासली. प्रत्येक पानाच्या एका आंगावर देवनागरींत, तर दुसऱ्या आंगावर फार्सींत मजकूर असलेला त्यांना आढळला. त्यांना आश्चर्य वाटलें. देवनागरीतील मजकूर त्यांना विशेष महत्त्वाचा वाटला नाही. पण प्रत्येक पानाच्या पाठीमागें फार्सी मजकूर कां असावा ह्याचें त्यांना कोडें उलगडेना. स्वतःला फार्सी येत नसल्यामुळे त्यावेळेस तें उलगडणेंहि शक्य नव्हतें. त्या ब्राम्हणाकडून, त्यानें मागितली तेवढी किंमत देऊन, ती पोथी त्यांनीं विकत घेतली. ती ते पुण्यास घेऊन आले व त्यांतील फार्सी मजकुराचें वाचन करवून घेण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. पण त्या बाबतींत निराशा पदरीं पडल्यामुळे त्यांनीं तो नाद सोडून दिला.

दाते ह्यांनीं इतिहास संशोधनक्षेत्रांत पडावयाचें असें जेव्हां ठरविलें, तेव्हां इतिहासाचीं अस्सल साधनें जमवून त्यांच्यासंबंधींचें टीकात्मक लेखन, 'टीकापत्रक' नांवाची एक मासिक पत्रिका काढून करावयाचें, असा त्यांनीं विचार केला होता. पण, अशा स्वरूपाच्या पत्रिका-प्रकाशनांतील धोके व अडचणी ह्यांचा अनुभव असलेल्या काहीं मंडळींनीं 'तुम्ही ह्या फंदांत न

पडतां, केवळ इतिहासाभ्यास व संशोधन ह्यांतच मन गुंतविलेले बरे,' असा आग्रहपूर्वक सल्ला दिल्यामुळे, त्यांनी आपला तो विचार पुढे रद्द केला.

'टीकापत्रक' प्रसिद्ध करण्याचा विचार रहित झाल्यावर दाते ह्यांनी स्वतःच स्वतःचा गुरु वनून, लोककथा गोळा करून त्यांचे शास्त्रशुद्ध रीतीने संपादन व प्रकाशन करण्याची योजना पक्की केली. आणि ते जोराने कामास लागले. महाराष्ट्रांत अनेक गांवीं हिंडून लोककथा, लोकगीते, लोकभ्रम, दैवतकथा, म्हणी, वाळगाणीं, वाळखेळ वगैरे मिळविण्याचा उद्योग त्यांनीं सुरू केला. त्यांनीं जमविलेल्या ह्या साहित्यापैकीं कांहीं, 'लोककथा' ह्या नांवानें तें दोन भागांत १९२९ व १९३० सालीं प्रसिद्ध केलें. लोकवाङ्मय गोळा करून तें पद्धतशीर रीतीनें प्रसिद्ध करण्याचा प्रयत्न करणारे दाते हे पहिले महाराष्ट्रीय होत. त्यांनीं हें वाङ्मय बरेच गोळा केलें होतें व त्याचे आणखी कांहीं भाग प्रसिद्ध करण्याचा त्यांचा विचार होता. परंतु ज्या एका प्रसिद्ध संशोधकाकडे त्यावरून 'नजर फिरविण्यासाठीं' म्हणून तें दिले होतें त्याजकडून, तें 'हरवले' असें सांगण्यांत येऊन, परत हातीं आलें नाहीं. त्यामुळे तो विचार त्यांना कायमच रद्द करावा लागला. ह्या हरवलेल्या साहित्यासंबंधीं कधीं गोष्ट निघाली कीं त्यांच्या चित्ताचा भडका उडे अन् अति तळमळून अन् चिडून ते बोलू लागत.

'लोककथा' गोळा करण्याचे काम चालू असतां, आपल्या साऱ्या आयुष्यभर पुरेल व मराठी भाषिकांच्या दृष्टीनेंहि उपयुक्त ठरेल असा एखादा निश्चित स्वरूपाचा उद्योग सुरू करण्यासंबंधीचें विचार त्यांच्या मनांत घोळ लागले. मुंबईस शालेय शिक्षण घेत असतां ते, अवांतर वाचन करण्यासाठीं, नित्य मुंबई मराठी ग्रंथसंग्रहालयांत जात असत. तेथें त्यांना असें आढळून येई कीं, कोणा एखाद्यास कांहीं विषयावर कोणकोणते ग्रंथ झाले आहेत किंवा विशिष्ट ग्रंथकारांनीं कोणकोणते ग्रंथ लिहिले आहेत ह्याची माहिती हवी असल्यास ती चट-दिशीं संपूर्ण मिळणें कठिण पडे. तें पाहून तशी माहिती सहजपणें उपलब्ध करून देणारा कोश-सदृश असा ग्रंथ रचला गेल्यास वाचकाची अन् अभ्यासकाची चांगली सोय होण्यासारखी आहे, ह्यासाठीं 'कोणीतरी हें काम हातीं घ्यावे,' असें त्यांस वारंवार वाटे. महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञान-कोशांन १९१९ सालीं 'वाङ्मयसूचि' प्रसिद्ध करून ह्या स्वरूपाचा थोडासा प्रयत्न केला होता. पण तो असावा तितका शास्त्रशुद्ध व पूर्ण नव्हता. १९३१ सालीं, दाते जेव्हां पुढील आयुष्यांत करावयाच्या कामाचा विचार करूं लागले तेव्हां, 'हें काम कोणीतरी करावें' असें न म्हणतां, 'स्वतःच तें कां हातीं घेऊं नये,' असें त्यांस वाटू लागलें. पुढें त्यांनीं तें स्वतः घेतलेंहि. १९३४ सालीं त्यांनीं ह्या कामास प्रारंभ केला.

दाते ह्यांनीं ग्रंथसूचीचें काम सुरू केलें, त्यावेळेस 'सूचिशस्त्र' नांवाचें एक स्वतंत्रच शास्त्र बनलेलें आहे, ह्याची त्यांस कांहींहि कल्पना नव्हती. ती त्यांना पुढें आली. वर्गीकरणशास्त्र व ग्रंथवर्णनशास्त्र ह्यावरील पाश्चिमात्यांचे ग्रंथ त्यांच्या नजरेस पडले. पण त्यांचा शास्त्रोक्त अभ्यास करण्याची सोय महाराष्ट्रांत नव्हती. तेव्हां ग्रंथांनांच गुरु करून त्यांनीं ह्या शास्त्राचा अभ्यास केला व स्वतःच्या सूचिग्रंथासाठीं स्वतःच एक पद्धति निर्माण केली. त्यासंबंधींचा इतिहास त्यांनीं 'ग्रंथसूची'च्या पहिल्या खण्डाच्या प्रस्तावनेंत विस्तृत वर्णन केला आहे, तो वाचकांनीं अवश्य पाहावा. त्यावरून अशा तऱ्हेचें कार्य हातीं घेणाऱ्या व्यक्तीला, 'संन्याशाच्या लग्नाला शेंडीपासून सुरुवात करावी लागवी' त्याप्रमाणें कशी करावी लागते, किती प्रचण्ड परिश्रम करावे लागतात, ह्याची यथार्थ कल्पना येऊं शकेल.

दाते ह्यांना सूचीसाठीं पुस्तकांच्या याद्या तयार करण्यासाठीं महाराष्ट्रांतील त्याच-प्रमाणें महाराष्ट्राबाहेरील अनेक शहरांतील ग्रंथालये धुंडाळावीं लागलीं. गेल्या दीडशें वर्षांत मराठी भाषेंत जें ग्रंथ छापून निघाले त्या सर्वांचा संग्रह असलेलें महाराष्ट्रांत एकहि ग्रंथालय नसल्यामुळे त्यांना जी यातायात पडली असेल त्याची कल्पनाहि करवत नाहीं. ते लिहितात : "मराठी ग्रंथसूचीचें काम चालू असतां आम्हांला हा प्रश्न विशेष तीव्रतेनें जाणवू लागला. प्रत्येक ग्रंथ प्रत्यक्ष पाहून मगच त्याची नोंद करावयाची, असें कठोर व्रत आम्हीं स्वीकारले असल्यामुळे ग्रंथांची आम्हांला वारंवार गरज पडे. ग्रंथशोधनासाठीं हजारों मैल प्रवास करावा

लागला ; शेंकडें रुपये खर्च झाले ; पांच वर्षे खर्ची पडली ; तरी समग्र मराठी ग्रंथांचा शोध लागला असें आमच्यानें अद्यापि म्हणवत नाहीं." वास्तविक, अशा कामासाठीं, जेथें हे ग्रंथ हुकमी पाहावयास मिळू शकले असते अशा लंडनमधील ब्रिटिश म्युझियम व इंडिया ऑफिस ह्या ठिकाणीं दाते ह्यांस काम करावयास मिळण्याची तजवीज व्हावयाला हवी होती. सरकारच ती करू शकलें असतें. पण त्याला ह्या कामाची काय किंमत ! संस्कृत वाङ्मयाच्या संशोधनासाठीं व संस्कृत हस्तलिखितांचा संग्रह करण्यासाठीं दरसाल हजारों रुपये, त्यावेळेस खर्च करणारें मुंबई सरकार मराठी वाङ्मय व भाषा ह्यांच्यासाठीं एक कपदिकहि खर्च करण्यास तयार नव्हतें. अशा ह्या प्रतिकूल परिस्थितीतहि दाते ह्यांनीं नेटानें अन् निर्धारानें काम चालू ठेवून, ग्रंथसूचीचा पहिला खण्ड १९४३ सालीं व दुसरा खण्ड १९६१ सालीं प्रसिद्ध करून, हातीं घेतलेलें काम केवळ स्वतः एकट्याच्याच जबाबदारीवर पूर्ण केलें. ग्रंथसमाप्तीच्या पूर्वीं काहीं काळ, महाराष्ट्र राज्य सरकारचीहि दृष्टि त्यांजकडे वळली होती. त्यांजकडून त्यांस थोडेसें आर्थिक साहाय्य झालें. पण दाते ह्यांनीं त्यांच्यासाठीं जी झीज सोसली ती विशेषी भरून घेण्यासारखी नव्हती. 'ग्रंथसूचीच्या निमित्तीसाठीं मी माझ्या संसाराची होळी केली,' असे उद्गार दाते ह्यांच्या तोंडून कित्येकदा निघत असत, ते अगदीं सत्य होते ! त्यांच्या कार्याचा सरकार व लोक ह्यांनीं शाब्दिक गौरव खूप केला खरा, पण त्यांच्या संसाराची होळी ज्या आर्थिक कारणामुळें झाली त्याचा विचार करून त्यांना पुढील काळांत तरी स्वास्थ्य लाभावें ह्यासाठीं काहीं करावें, असें सरकार किंवा लोक ह्यांना वाटलेलें फारसें आढळलें नाहीं. पण त्याची क्षिती दाते ह्यांनीं कधीच बाळगली नाहीं.

ग्रंथसूचीचें काम संपतांच, त्यांनीं तशाच स्वरूपाचें दुसरें एक काम लगेच हातीं घेतलें. ग्रंथप्रमाणेंच मराठीत १९५० पर्यंत प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या मासिकांची व त्यांत आलेल्या लेखांची सूचि तयार करण्याचा उद्योग त्यांनीं आरंभिला. ही सूचि दोन भागांत प्रसिद्ध व्हावयाची होती. पहिल्या भागांत जवळजवळ एक हजार मासिकांची नोंद व दुसऱ्या भागांत त्यांत आलेल्या लेखांची वर्गीकृत माहिती यावयाची होती. पहिल्या भागाची रचना पूर्ण करून दुसऱ्या भागाच्या रचनेस त्यांनीं प्रारंभहि केला होता. पण त्याच सुमारास कर्करोगासारख्या दुर्धर रोगानें त्यांना ग्रसिलें.

मासिकांच्या सूचीचें काम चालू असतां दुसऱ्या आणखी दोन कामांची योजना त्यांनीं आंखली होती. पहिले : ग्रंथसूचीत ज्या ग्रंथांचें निर्देश यावयाचे राहून गेले अशा सुमारें ५०० ग्रंथांच्या पुरवणी-सूचीचें व दुसरें : भारतासंबंधींच्या निरनिराळ्या विषयांवरील अनेक भाषांतील ग्रंथांची संदर्भसूचि तयार करण्याचें. ही दुसरी सूचि त्यांजकडून तयार झाली असती तर त्यांजकडून एक फार महत्त्वाचें व त्यांस आंतरप्रांतीय त्याचप्रमाणें आंतर-राष्ट्रीय कीर्तीचा लाभ करून देणारें शाश्वत स्वरूपाचें कार्य घडून आलें असतें. परंतु तो योग जुळून यावयाचा नव्हता.

'सूचि'प्रमाणेंच दाते ह्यांनीं आणखी एक केलेलें महत्त्वाचें काम म्हणजे ग्रंथांच्या वर्गीकरणासाठीं त्यांनीं 'द्विविदुवर्गीकरण पद्धतीत' सुचविलेली सुधारणा व तिचें केलेलें सुट-सुटीत नागरीकरण, हें होय. मद्रासचे ग्रंथालयशास्त्रज्ञ रंगनाथन् ह्यांनीं निर्माण केलेल्या 'द्विविदुवर्गीकरणपद्धतीत' हिदुस्थानांत ती अनुसरण्याचा दृष्टीनें त्यांनीं बराच काळ चिंतन करून, आपली स्वतःची अशी, रोमी, व अरबी वर्णांकचिन्हांच्या जागीं बालबोध चिन्हांचा उपयोग करण्याची योजना शोधून काढली व तिजसंबंधीं एक स्वतंत्र निबंध लिहून तो १९४६ सालीं त्यांनीं प्रसिद्ध केला. ह्या कामगिरीमुळें 'ग्रंथालयशास्त्रातील एक मामिक संशोधक' म्हणून साऱ्या भारतभर त्यांचा लौकिक पसरला.

दाते ह्यांनीं मराठी भाषेच्या व वाङ्मयाच्या वावतीत वजावलेल्या ह्या कामगिरी-इतकीच आणखी दुसरी एक महत्त्वाची कामगिरी म्हणजे, मुंबई राज्यांत वाळू गंगाधर खेर ह्यांचें पहिलें मंत्रिमंडळ अस्तित्वांत येतांच त्यांनीं त्यांजकडून पुणें येथें स्थापन करविलेलें 'प्रादेशिक ग्रंथालय' हें होय. ह्या ग्रंथालयांत, मराठीत प्रसिद्ध झालेलें प्रत्येक जुनें अन् नवें प्रकाशन जतन करून ठेवविण्याची व तें अभ्यासकांस उपलब्ध करून देवविण्याची त्यांनीं

राज्यसरकारकडून व्यवस्था करविली. बाळासाहेब खेर ह्यांच्या आग्रहावरून दाते ह्यांनी मंग्रहालयाची काही काळ व्यवस्थाहि पाहिली व त्याला शिस्त लावून दिली.

दाते ह्यांच्या शरीरावर ज्या व्याधीने आक्रमण केले होते तिची प्रखरता १९६४ च्या उत्तरार्धात फार वाढली. त्यांना स्वतःला तिची कल्पना नव्हती. तशा व्याधिग्रस्त स्थितीतहि त्यांनी आपले काम चालू ठेवले होते. प्रतिकूल परिस्थिति किंवा व्यक्ति ह्यांची पर्वा न बाळगतां स्व-तंत्राने आपल्या ध्येयमार्गावरून प्रवास करण्याची हिम्मत बाळगणा-या दात्यांचीं पावले ह्या व्याधीनें मागे ओढलीं. १० डिसेंबर १९६४ रोजी, वयाच्या साठ्याव्या वर्षी, त्यांचा देहपात झाला. एका अपूर्व जिद्दीनें चालविलेल्या ध्येयार्पित जीवनाचा अंत झाला.

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
FOLKLORE OF MAHARASHTRA

(1806 - 1950)

By Durga Bhagwat

Introduction : The tradition of collecting myths, legends and historical anecdotes is very ancient in India. It started from the times of the *Br̥hmaṇas* when the word 'itihāsa' came in vogue. This word cannot be exactly translated as 'history' as it is often done. It means a myth, a true story, a legend, a sacred tale, and much more than that which cannot be expressed in words. The earliest collection of such 'itihāsas' is the *Bṛahaddeatū* of Śaunaka. It gives a compilation of various anecdotes in the Ṛgveda. This book, according to A. A. Macdonell who translated and edited it (1904), precedes the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bṛahaddeatū* has not influenced the general story-tradition of the country as the epics and especially as the *Mahābhārata* has done. It is in the *Mahābhārata* that the art of story-telling is found in all its aspects. For the first time we find the technique of story-telling perfectly accomplished. It laid down that very complex pattern of the frame-story, which has since become a model of the oriental classical art of story-telling. It gives legends, fables and anecdotes and long, beautifully knitted single tales, as well as riddle-stories. For each of this type it has created a standard. No traditional story in India has technically anything new to offer other than what the *Mahābhārata* has once laid down. However, as the *Mahābhārata* deals chiefly with the story of the Kuru battle it is more or less regarded as a sacred book and a historical treatise as its author claims it to be; and hence the collection of stories becomes its secondary character.

The same can be said about the second epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Jātakas* also are collection of stories (without the technique of the frame). Innumerable are the stories recorded in the Jain scriptures and in the various *Kathūkoṣas*. But the Buddhist and Jain story-material has a religious and moral context. Even the *Hitopadeṣa* and the *Pañcatantra* collections of fables have a moral purpose to accomplish.

A collection of stories, whether myths, legends or historical anecdotes and fables, which has no religious or moral purpose to serve, is the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Though this collection of stories claims to have also the divine-human (divya-mānuṣa) character of the heroes and heroines, one can make out that this is only the outward garb and only a pale imitation of the epic characteristics. The technique of *Bṛhat-*

kathā is the frame-story and its character is eminently secular. Fairies and the Nāgas have a prominent place as in all the fairy-tales of the world but it has certainly no religious background like the epics. It is religious in the sense that it belongs to the Hindu tradition and demarcates itself from the Buddhist and Jain traditions. The author's 'lineage' is that of the great legendary historian, Vyāsa, and hence Guṇāḍhya regard the *Mahābhārata* as his model. In size and spirit Guṇāḍhya tried to copy this prototype though in the unrevered Paisācī language, the lowest of the Prakrits. Guṇāḍhya was born in Supratiṣṭha or Pratiṣṭhāna on the banks of the Godavari when king Sātavāhana was ruling the country of Maharashtra, then known as Kuntala or Āsmaka. According to Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Guṇāḍhya was born in Supratiṣṭha, which is the modern Pothra in Vidarbha, and later joined the royal court at Pratiṣṭhāna which is the modern Paithan in Marathvada.

Guṇāḍhya's work belongs to about the 3rd century B.C. The original *Brhathkathā*, a gigantic collection of stories picked up from the forest-people residing in the Vindhya mountains and narrated in the Paisācī language, is no more extant. Guṇāḍhya himself destroyed the major portion of it because king Sātavāhana refused patronage to the work written in the Paisācī language with blood. A one sixth portion only was saved by the repentant monarch from falling into the flames. This fraction of the original *Brhathkathā*, is partially available to us now in the *Kathāsaritsūgara* by Somadeva, a Kashmiri poet (11th century A.D.), in an abridged form. Another still more abridged version is the *Brhathkathā-māñjarī* by Kṣemendra (13th century). Had it not been for the *Kathāsaritsūgara*, there would have been no clue to gauge the contents and the spirit of the work. It is indeed a marvel of story collection in the whole world. The source material of almost all folktales collections in the world can, to some degree, be traced back to it, as Tawny's and Penzer's painstaking researches amply prove.

King Sātavāhana is supposed to have vanquished the great Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjayini, and married his daughter Madayanti. Sātavāhana's relationship with Vikramāditya gives us a clue to the migration of the legends of king Vikrama to Maharashtra and their popularity among the masses. The *Śanimāhātmya*, a religious exposition of the power of the planet Saturn, will suffice to show how the misfortunes of the king got incorporated in the local religious cults. The remarks of Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat about this work are worth consideration. He revered the work because it was written in the language of the people who were outside the pale of the Vedic Brahmins and their country, Āryāvarta. Says the Shastri, "The language which was honoured by Guṇāḍhya was not the language of the sacrifice-loving Brahmins or their śāstras,—doctrinal texts. The country in which *Brhathkathā* was compiled was a country that was at the southern end of the Vindhya range and hence outside the Āryāvarta. The period in

which the *Bṛhatkathā* was compiled was not the period in which the Brahmins flourished. Moreover, the book contained the legends and histories of the Vidyādharas, Piśacas (fairies, goblins etc.), who hated the institution of sacrifice and had no reverence for the Brahmins. It is therefore natural that in the beginning the Brahmins did not respect and even hated *Bṛhatkathā*. After the lapse of centuries in about the tenth century of the Śālivāhana era Somadeva and Kṣemendra deleted some stories and inserted some new ones and then re-related the entire story in Sanskrit in a unique form. It is after this that the Brahmins came to appreciate it and in Bengal Govardhana wrote his famous line 'श्रीरामायणभारतवृहत्कथानां कवीन्नमस्कुर्मः' (we bow to the poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata* and *Bṛhatkathā*)." Rajaram Shastri wrote this in 1885 in a Marathi Magazine *Vividhajuāna-vistār*, in his famous series called *Vicāramūdhukari*, and in the article यदुभेत्र कोणतें व त्यांत ब्राह्मण आले केव्हां?—what is the Yadukṣetra and when did the Brahmins come there.

Guṇādhyā acquired fame as he deserved and was equaled with Vyāsa and Vālmiki. He, however, was conscious that his collection of stories was romantic and unrealistic like fairy-tales. He calls *Bṛhatkathā* 'adbūtārthā'—marvellous and mysterious, and 'citrarasa-mīrbharā'—having romantic flavour. These are exactly the qualities which characterise fairy-tales and demarcate them from ordinary tales or fiction.

In the following pages I have arranged the material in two sections. The first section represents literature in English. The second section comprises literature in Marathi. In both the sections, not only books but articles in periodicals also are taken into consideration. The first section comprises two divisions: The first division is based on (a) the review of books, both translations and compilations and the second on (b) bibliography of folk-literature from English periodicals.

SECTION I

LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

(a) Books

I. The first book on the tales of king Vikrama of Ujjain is a translation of the work of Haridāsa (in Prākṛit) by Raghoba Moroba in 1855 (Bombay).

The title of the book is *Adventures of Vikramadetta*. This contains stories of the *Vetāla pañcavimsati* and two more tales.

II. Mary Frere : *Old Deccan Days*, London, 1868.

Mary Frere is pioneer collector of folk-tales in India. *Old Deccan*

Days is the first representative collection of Indian folk-tales and it gives us much material by which we now can analyse the folk-tales of Maharashtra. The robust romanticism of the nineteenth century folklorist pioneers is visible in this work also. The introduction and notes by Sir Bartle, the preface by Mary Frere and her enthusiasm in putting the 'Narrator's (Anna's)' Narrative with her photo amply proves it. This narrative is the most fascinating feature that was ever added to a collection of folk-tales that I have ever come across. It shows the awareness of the importance of such collections as well as a sense of responsibility and gratitude on the part of the Freres. It is an indication of conscientiousness which is so essential for folklore compilations of every kind.

Sir Bartle was no folklorist nor was Mary. But Sir Bartle had a gift to understand human affairs and it is in this light that he has written the introduction. The burden of the various points he has tackled in the introduction is such :

"Of the inner life of the people past or present, of their social peculiarities and popular beliefs, even less is known or procurable in any published form with the exception of a few graphic and characteristic notices of shrewd observers like Munro, little regarding them is to be found in the writings of any author likely to come in the way of ordinary readers.

"But this is not from want of materials ; a good deal has been published in India, though with the common fate of Indian publications—the books containing information are often rare in English collections, and difficult to meet with in England, except in a few public libraries. Of unpublished material there must be a vast amount, collected not only by our Government servants, but by missionaries and others residing in the country, who have peculiar opportunities for observation, and for collecting information not readily to be obtained by a stranger or an official. Collections of this kind are specially desirable as regards the popular non-Brahmanical superstitions of the lower orders". This will suffice to prove the motive of Sir Bartle Frere when he encouraged folklore-collections.

Sir Bartle Frere and many others who followed in his wake took the facts of popular culture from among the humbler strata of the Hindu society as evidences of a secret revolt against the Brahmin orthodoxy. They believed that these facts were in no way concurrent with the cults of the Brahmins. Nay, they were even directly in opposition to them. Here unlike Max Müller and other Vedic Indologists Brahmanism meant to most of the European students of Indian culture something very exclusive, arrogant and ultimately harmful to the general interest of the society. These people often confounded Vedic Brahmanism with the present Hinduism and criticised both as sectarian cultures dominated by the Brahmin caste. Sir Bartle also seems to be one of those who were led by this popular interpretation of Brahmanism

or the Aryan creed when he said: "Few, even of those who have lived many years in India and made some inquiry regarding the external religion of its inhabitants, are aware how little the popular belief of the humbler classes has in common with Hindooism of the Brahmins and how much it differs in different provinces and in different races and classes in the same province." Sir Bartle obviously has not been able to see the unity of the Indian culture despite all types of diversities—diversities that have been since times immemorial acknowledged and even sanctioned by tradition. He has not been able to grasp the spirit underneath the tradition and hence misses its homogeneity.

About the stories in the collection, Sir Bartle makes the following observation :

"With the exception of two or three, which will be recognised as substantially identified with stories of Pilpai or other well-known Hindoo fabulists, I never before heard any of these tales among the Mahrattas, in that part of the Deccan where the Narrator and her family have lived for the last two generations ; and it is probable that most of the stories were brought from among the Lingaets of Southern India, the tribe or rather the sect, to which Anna de Souza tells us her family belonged before their conversion to Christianity". Sir Bartle obviously does not take the collection as representative of Marathi folk-tales and suggests the Lingaet, South Indian origin of the tale, barring those which are found in the *Pañcatantra*.

On the scrutiny of these tales in the light of other folk-tale collections in Maharashtra, I have come to the conclusion that though all the twenty-four stories in the collection cannot be accepted as representative of the Marathi folk-tales, yet majority of the tales have affinity with Marathi tales and even the obviously South Indian tale like Chandra's Vengeance has been influenced what with Marathi linguistic peculiarities. Sir Bartle, though a sociable person and a popular governor, was not conversant enough with the popular stock of old tales that are found in the vicinity of Poona itself.

Marathi tales are mixed up in this collection along with others; so much so that one can say that these are South Indian variants of the Marathi tales or vice versa. A general analysis can prove the affinity of many tales with tales current in Maharashtra. As for instance, one can own the story—'The selfish sparrow and the houseless crow' (No. 15) as a tale from Maharashtra. This tale is not found in any other folk-tale collection of India. In Maharashtra however, it is a typical nursery tale popular in all the strata of society with some variations here and there. The motif of the tale is current in Maharashtra from the time of Jnaneshvara (14th Century) and a variant is found in the earlier literature of the Mahānubhāvas. Similarly, 'The Alligator and the Jackal' (No. 24) is a tale which is found all over Maharashtra irrespective of caste and locality. It is found in verse form among the Kunbis of the Konkan.

There is no doubt that this tale must have been current in Maharashtra for centuries. There are many tales about the jackal's trickiness all over India, but this particular motif of the enmity between the jackal and the alligator and the victory of the jackal over her (for the animal is represented as a female in Maharashtra folklore) is very popular in Maharashtra.

I have heard the tale—'The Rakshas' palace' (No. 17)—with its variants at least in four districts of Maharashtra, viz. Poona, Ahmednagar, Ratnagiri and Thana.

The variant of the tale 'A Funny Story' (No. 2) is found in the collection of tales from Ahmednagar from Smt. Sulochana Saptarshi, published in the *Lokasāhitya-mālā* of the Maharashtra Government (Poona, 1956). I have come across a variant of the tale in Nasik and Thana as well.

The tale, 'the Jackal, the Barber, and the Brahman who had seven daughters' (No. 12), is found among the Kunbis of the Konkan. I found a variant of the tale—'Punchkin' (No. 1) in the Song-tales of Maharashtra from the Konkan.

The tale, 'The Brahman, Tiger and the six Judges' (No. 14), is a universal tale. It has variants in all the parts of Maharashtra and in all the provinces of India.

The tale, 'The Valiant Chattee-maker' (No. 16), is popular all over Maharashtra. The same is true of 'The Blind man, the Deaf man and the Donkey' (No. 18). 'Truth's Triumph' (No. 4) and 'How the three clever men outwitted the Demon' (No. 23) are also found in variants.

The tales, 'Ram and Luxman' (No. 5), 'Panchphul-rani' (No. 9) and 'Brave Sevantibai' (No. 3), are current in Maharashtra in variants. The tale 'How the Sun, the Moon and the Wind went out to dinner' is current in Maharashtra. A variant is found in the Marathi folk-tales collection of Shankar Ganesh Date.

The tale of 'Vikram Maharajah' (No. 7) has come to Maharashtra, as to South India, from the medieval stock of legends from Northern India. It is not a South Indian tale at all.

The only authentic South Indian tale in this collection is the tale 'Chandra's Vengeance' (No. 22). It is the story of Kannaki (Kannagi) which is very famous all over Southern India. It found its way in the oldest Tamil epic '*Silappādikaram*' and the ballad '*Kovalan Kadāi*'. The story was current in Kerala in the second century A.D. Since Anna lived in Maharashtra from her birth, she perhaps has made certain alterations in the names, especially in the etymology of names according to the Marathi bent. From Anna's narration we know that her grandmother had told her many stories and when her own memory is dimmed with age and sorrow, she is relating them to her English mistress. So such changes are but natural. In short, though this collection cannot be taken to be an authentic collection of the folk-tales of Maharashtra (or the Deccan) as Lal Bihari Day's *Tales from Bengal* or Flora Steel's *Wide Awake Stories*

are representative story-collections of Bengal and the Punjab, it however must be noted that this book is very useful in the study of the variants of Marathi tales, as the foregoing analysis shows. Sir Bartle, not being a folklorist, his introduction cannot be compared with the brilliant introduction and notes that Sir Richard Temple wrote to Flora Steel's Punjab-tales. It is for the first time that one comes across a detailed analysis and motif-index of all the collections of Indian folk-tales available then (1884). Among these collections Temple includes the *Old Deccan Days* also.

Another important information we get from Mary Frere's preface to the third edition of the book (1881) is that it was translated into German and Hungarian and in parts into the Danish language. In India it was translated into Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati. I have not yet come across the Marathi translation or any other information about its existence.

III. James Campbell: *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom* (1885).

James Campbell is the forerunner of Crawford Jackson, Enthoven and the rest of the ethnologists who showed an active interest in folklore. James Campbell compiled these notes, after the completion of the *Bombay Gazetteers* in 1882. These notes or articles appeared serially in the *Indian Antiquary* and afterwards were published in a volume for limited circulation. Famous though the book is for its pioneering efforts, folklorists on the whole have not done much justice to it either by way of review or making use of the rich information contained in it, as they should have done. Especially the Marathi folklorists have not at all shown any awareness of the invaluable material contained in the book which forms the basis of understanding the various traditions and superstitions in the province. They have been more respectful to Manwaring, Jackson and Enthoven who came much later on the scene. The reason for this may be that the works of the latter were more easily available than the rare work of Campbell. The dazzling popularity of the *Gazetteers*, which were compiled under the guidance of Campbell, attracted a bigger number of students of the humanities, folklore included. To many, as far as I know, this work seemed to be of a secondary importance, and as a mere appendage to the notes contained in the *Gazetteers*. Besides, Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* was more recent and had made use of Campbell's notes wherever necessary and was comprehensive. This might have been a reason for the receding of Campbell's superb work into the background, though not into oblivion. Campbell obviously belongs to that early pioneering class of sociologists and anthropologists like Spencer and Tylor, who were influenced by Darwin's doctrine of evolution. Tylor gave an experimental trial to the physical evolution by Darwin, in the field of anthropology viz. the culture of the aboriginals in the Pacific. Spencer furthered the doctrine and Campbell often quotes Spencer as far as the customs and beliefs of the distant

aboriginals are concerned. His model in Indian ethnology was Dalton. He has great regard for the researches of Monier Williams, Ward's work on the religious life of the Hindus and also for Hislop who had written about the religion and mythology of the Gonds. *The Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom* is a unique book, which has an encyclopaedic character and only Crooke's work *Notes on the Religion and Folklore of Northern India* can be compared with it for its neatness and information. The contents of the book can be summed up as follows :

Religion : (1) Spirit worship. (2) Classes of Spirits. (3) Spirit-possession. (4) Stone-worship. (5) Tree and plant-worship. (6) Animal-worship. (7) Man-worship. (8) Classes of gods. (9) Priestly classes. (10) Offerings. (11) Object of ritual.

Customs : (1) Birth. (2) Marriage, (3) Womanhood. (4) Pregnancy. (5) Funeral.

Campbell's information is not restricted to Maharashtra alone. Karnatak, Gujarat and Sindh, as parts of the Bombay Presidency, were also included therein. Campbell has based this research on comparison ; and for this purpose he cites Indian examples not only from the provinces outside Bombay Presidency but from any part of the world. He quotes from ancient Greece and Rome as well as from Africa, Australia and Europe. It is true that he has concentrated more on Maharashtra, chiefly because it was the largest portion of the Presidency and perhaps because he got better assistance in collecting information here than in any other Province. Mr. P. B. Joshi's name is often quoted in this book as an informant. In the Section on marriage, the marriage customs in Maharashtra take most of the space.

It is for this reason that I have selected a passage from that section for scrutiny. The following passage shows how the eminent ethnologist used folklore-material for explaining the sources of certain trends in tradition.

The passage is as follows :

"A trace of a former practice of wife-stealing perhaps remains in the Marathi wedding songs. A common Konkan Maratha song runs: 'From a grove of mango trees in our courtyard a bridegroom came as a thief and stole our daughter. Run, father run ; she is taken from your hands, to whom, she really belongs.'¹

¹ The original song as given by Campbell is as under :

दारीं होती आंबेराई
तेथून आले चोर जांवई
चोरून नेली वाळावाई
धांवा धांवा दादा व्याही
ज्याच्या हातीं त्यानें नेली वाळावाई

“The early experience of the robber bridegroom is perhaps the origin of the practice recorded in the Pathare Prabhus, the Karhada Brahmans and the Somavanshi Kshatris or Vadvals of the Konkan ; of the bridegroom stealing an ornament either his wife's or mother-in-law's and with it makes off to his father's house, and the Karhada and Somavanshi Kshatri bridegroom on the wedding night steals his wife's anklet. Among the Gopal Kalas, a division of Belgaum Shimpis, after the marriage is over, the boy goes to the bride's, steals one of the house-gods, and takes it to his house.”

Though Campbell has explained the ceremonial stealing correctly, his interpretation of the last two lines of the song is incorrect. It is because he has taken down the last line wrongly, it affects not only the general implication but the very significance of the symbolism of stealing. This symbolism is obvious in the first three lines of the song, and the last two lines are an antithesis of the former symbolism. This contradiction, viz., the thief as the rightful owner of the stolen property is popular in Indian social tradition. The idea is sanctified by custom and belief about the bride being the property of her husband, right from her birth. The father is only the custodian of this treasure which belongs to the son-in-law, who snatches it from him, almost unawares. This stealing symbolises the pangs of separation when the bride parts from her parents. The event though expected appears to be sudden and shocking to the parents who suffer the loss of their daughter ; it is as if the father loses a jewel which this unknown robber steals away. As a matter of fact the ritual of the bridegroom stealing the wife's or her mother's ornament is symbolical of the old practice of bride-stealing. This image, however, is mixed up with another concept which is very ancient and even sanctified. This concept is that the bride really speaking is the property of the bridegroom and the father is destined to keep her in his house till the real owner comes and claims her. This idea has been most poetically expressed by Kalidāsa in the *Śākuntala*, when Śakuntalā leaves the aged father Kanva and goes to her husband's place, in his immortal verse ‘अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव’.

The line which is misquoted by Campbell is :

ज्याच्या हातीं त्यानें नेली बाळाबाई

Even grammatically the line is incorrect. It makes no sense. It should be :

ज्याची होती त्यानें नेली बाळाबाई

This means,

‘The girl has been taken away by that man to whom she belonged.’

I have collected quite a few variants of the song and I found that the line which I have quoted forms the burden of each and every one of them.

In the light of this correction, the previous line as it is interpreted by Campbell also needs correction. It should be “Now you have no right over her.”

IV. Rev. A. Manwaring : *Marathi Proverbs* (Oxford, 1899)

This is an authentic, comprehensive and representative collection of Marathi proverbs, known to the English readers. As Manwaring says "As far as I am aware, no English translation of Marathi proverbs has been published hitherto, nor is there very complete list to be found in vernacular. The only excuse which can be offered for the issue of this work is the importance of preserving as far as possible all proverbial expressions, which depict the thought and the character of the people, before they pass out of use altogether." No one will disagree with the latter half of the statement about the value of the book in its achievement of preservation of the traditional sayings of the Marathi people. Yet the claim of the author that this work is the first collection and translation of Marathi proverbs is not correct. The collections of proverbs outnumbered any other publications in folklore right from the early times of the British rule. As an educational policy such collections were encouraged by the government. The first collection of proverbs in Marathi was brought out by the Jnanasindhu Press in Bombay in 1842. The translation of Marathi proverbs into English was brought out by Narayan Damodar Chhatre in 1870.

It is true, however, that Manwaring's book is far superior in quality and quantity to its hesitating predecessors.

V. Arthur Crawford : *Legends of the Konkan* (Allahabad, 1909).

This is a unique collection of legends of the Konkan, which is a curious mixture of extremely old and archaic myths and also modern legends connected with the Maratha rule of Shivaji, the Peshwas and the British as well. Crawford heard these legends in Marathi from Raghoba Mahadevrao, a Chitpavan Brahmin, who taught Crawford Sanskrit and Marathi. As he narrated the legends from an old manuscript, Crawford took them down in notes and then translated them into English. It is a pity that the Marathi original work narration will never be available to us. Some tales and even hints of songs such as the book contains are extremely important and it would have been a boon to linguistics, folklorists and social historians if the original narration had been transmitted to writing. However, Crawford has kept many vernacular words and phrases intact even in his translation, and so one can catch the atmosphere of the legends as they are narrated. The book gives the following mythical and historical legends : 1. The legend of the Hart-lot Ghat. 2. The Chitpavan legend. 3. How Parsuram cursed the Konkan. 4. The legend of Raigad. 5. The legend of Vasota. 6. The white tigers. 7. The legend of Mahipatgad fort. 8. The legend of Risalgad, Somalgad and Mandangad. 9. Treasure legends. 10. The legend of Jaigad. 11. The legend of Dabhol. 12. The legend of Ratnagiri. 13. The Mahant Swami of Nepani at Chiplun. 14. The legend of Bhyrvogad. 15. The legend of Sindhudurg. 16. The legend of Vijayadurg (Gheria) and Phonda

Ghat. (17) The legend of Dhopeshtar. 18. My Cousin the convict. 19. The kidnapping Nawab. 20. A true tale of a persecuted Mussulman official. 21. A terrible tale of the Sea.

About the Chitpavan legend which gives the origin of the Chitpavan Brahmins, Crawford has made an interesting observation in the introduction, which is as follows :

“*The True Chitpavan Legend :*

It was printed by a Poona Deshast Brahmin in (or about) the year 1812 A.D. but, inasmuch as it traced the origin of Chitpavans to the miraculous creation by Purūṣurāma (Maha-Indra) from the Corpses of Arab Sailors stranded by the tide or samudra, whereas their claim that the deity created them from the spume of the ocean, the Peishwa Baji Rao, (himself a Chitpavan) was so enraged that he ordered all the copies to be called in and burnt by Mhangs, decreeing that any person thereafter found to be possessing a copy should be hanged, a sentence which was actually suffered subsequently by one Deshast Brahmin.”

VI. B. A. Gupte : *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonies*, with dissertations on origin, folklore and symbols. (Calcutta, 1910).

The book describes various rites and rituals, feasts, fasts and festivals current in Maharashtra among the caste-Hindus. The author has translated many a myth which is connected with particular religious observances that are popular in Maharashtra. These myths are called ‘kahānis’, in Marathi. Most of them pertain to the rites and rituals that Hindu women-folk observe in the sacred month of Śrāvaṇa. These myths are not given in any of the *Purānas* or even in the *Vrataraja* of Hemadri which follows the puranic tradition. They are local sacred tales. These myths illustrate well the religious principle which Durkheim propounded in his book, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, viz., ‘deep down, no religion is false. . . . Each in its own way is true, for each answers given conditions of human life.’

The contents of the book are as follows : The myths of Āditya Rāṇubāī and the ritual of Śrāvaṇā Sundays. 2. The ritual of Aje-padva. 3. The ritual of Caitragouri. 4. The ritual of Campā-Saṣṭhī ; the myth of Khaṇḍobā and Banai. 5. The myth of Gopadma of ‘Cows-feet’ ritual. 6. Devācī couth. 7. Divalī festival. 8. Divyācī Āvasa or the Āmāvāsya of the lamps. 9. The Mahālakṣmī—ritual and myth. 10. The ritual or Vrata of Somavār (Monday) and the myth of Somavatī ; myth of Monday in Śrāvaṇa, myth of Śivāmuṭh or the worship of Śiva with handfuls of grain ; another myth of Monday in Śrāvaṇa ; myth of the sixteen Mondays and their ritual. 11. The Mangalāgour-varta or ritual of the newly married women on Tuesdays in Śrāvaṇa, and its myth. 12. Nāgpañcamī-ritual and myth. 13. Piṭhori Āmāvāsya and its myth. 14. Saṃapat Śanivār or the last Saturday in Śrāvaṇa ; its ritual and

myth. 15. Śivaratra fast and its myth. 16. Śaṣṭhīpūjā or the worship of the goddess Śaṣṭhī on the fifth or sixth day after childbirth and its myth. 17. Śīrālset festival. 18 Śīla saptamī ritual and myth. 19. Varṇa-śaṣṭhī's myth or the myth of the Śaṣṭhī goddess.

It is to be noted that this book is not only a precursor of Rigvedi's (ऋग्वेदी) *Āryāncyū Saṅgāncū Itihasa* (आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास) which has gone into several editions for giving almost the same information, but is also superior in quality to the latter and hence to be valued. It is also a forerunner to Kincaid's book "*Deccan Nursery-tales.*"

VII. C. A. Kincaid : *Deccan Nursery Tales*. (Oxford, 1914).

Kincaid has retold many tales from the Purāṇas and medieval legends and local stories. It was Kincaid who published a collection of *Tales of King Vikrama* in Marathi. His story collections *Tales of the Tulsi Plant and other Stories* (1908) brought him fame as a narrator of Indian tales. Then came his famous *Deccan Nursery Tales* (Oxford, 1914). From the works of Kincaid, it appears that he is no adept folklorist but a popular narrator of tales. The *Deccan Nursery Tales* were published in the Times of India before they were published in a book-form. These tales are not the real nursery tales as are still told to the children in Maharashtra (Maharashtra being almost invariably called Deccan by the British authors), but are translations of the old mythic tales pertaining to rituals which are narrated by Gupte in his book. A collection of the Marathi nursery tales is yet lacking in English. Kincaid's book had undoubtedly an appeal to children, not only because of his charming style and simple narration, but the inherent quality of these tales themselves. These Marathi Kahāṇīs or ritual-tales have a simple rhythmic diction, and they are told in such a way that the impact they make on the listener is tremendous. Even the tales in the Purāṇas are not so convincing. Besides, their appeal is so universal that though they are meant for adult women who practise the vows, they have for ages amused the old and young alike. Kincaid made use of their entertaining quality and universal appeal, and adapted them as nursery tales. He has dedicated the book to his son.

The stories as they appear in this book are : 1. The Sunday story. 2. Monday. 3. Tuesday. 4. Wednesday and Thursday. 5. Friday. 6. Saturday. 7. Mahalaxmi and the two queens. 8. The Island palace. 9. Nēgobā the snake-king. 10. Pārvatī and the Brahman. 11. Somā the washer-woman. 12. The lamps and the king's daughter-in-law. 13. The Rishi and the Brahman. 14. The King and the water-goddess. 15. The King and the sacred casket. 16. The Brahman's wife and her seven sons. 17. The Golden temple.

An interesting thing to be noted about Kincaid's *Deccan Nursery Tales* is that they were translated into Bengali in 1948 by Mrs. Amitakumari Basu. The book is called *Maharashtriya Upakathā* or The folk-

tales of Maharashtra. It was published in 1937 (Calcutta). Its popularity was unquestionable. The third edition of the book came out in 1945. Mrs. Basu has used Kincaid's work as the main source, yet she has not spared the trouble of consulting women in Maharashtra and understood the spirit of the rituals in the correct manner. This book can be taken as a model of the popular translation of ritualistic tales.

VIII. A. M. T. Jackson and R. E. Enthoven : *Folk-lore of the Konkan* (Bombay, 1915) and *Folk-lore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924).

It is through Enthoven that Jackson's work came to be known to the readers. These two books have a common background. Enthoven in the introduction to *Folk-lore of Bombay* says : "Sir James Campbell has recorded a series of very valuable notes on this subject in papers contributed by him to the *Indian Antiquary* under the heading of the "Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom". One of his fellow-workers, the late A.M.T. Jackson, an oriental scholar, whose promising career was cut short at Nasik in the year 1904 by the hand of a political assassin, evolved a scheme for collecting further information on the folk-lore of the Presidency by circulating to all masters of primary schools a list of questions drawn up by well-known folk-lore experts. At the time of his death some interesting materials had been secured in this way.

At the request of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I undertook to supervise the translation from the vernacular of the replies and to issue the result in two volumes, *Folk-lore Notes of Gujarat and Folk-lore Notes of the Konkan* (1914 and 1915.)

The two volumes, hurriedly compiled in the scanty leisure available while I was the Secretary to the Government of India, contained much that needed revision. It was the desire of the Society that they should be completed by adding the results of similar inquiries in the remaining portions of the Presidency, i.e., the Deccan and the Kanarese country. I was able with the valuable assistance of the educational authorities, to complete the notes by collecting the hitherto untapped sources. These though in many ways inferior in interest to the original notes contained much new matter. The present work is a compilation of the whole of the materials thus collected. In effect, it is an attempt to carry out Jackson's design of work dealing with the folk-lore of Bombay."

The contents of the *Folk-lore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924) are as follows :

1. Worship of nature objects, which includes the worship of the elements, Sun, Moon and the Stars.
2. Tree and Snake worship. (It is to be noted that since Fergusson's book, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, came out, the title and the subject became identical for many authors that followed and thus tree-worship was associated with snake-worship and vice versa).
3. Worship of ancestors, holy men and saints.
4. Totemism and animal-worship.
5. Evil eye and avoidance, witchcraft and magic.

6. Dreams and omens. 7. Disease deities and curing of disease in human beings. 8. Women's rites. 9. Village, field and other rites.

As far as theory is concerned, Enthoven says in the introduction that he is supporting Campbell's theory of the spirit basis of the rites practised by the Hindus at the time of pregnancy, birth, adolescence, marriage and death.

IX. Wilfred E. Dexter : *Marathi Folk Tales* (London, 1938).

This collection, though it goes by the name of folk-tales, because the translator Wilfred E. Dexter has called so, is really not one of folk-tales. I hereby wish to give a friendly warning to folklorists not to include this book as representative of Marathi folk-tales or any other folk-tales known in India.

Dexter's 'Foreword' is plain enough to give us a clue to their imagined authenticity as folk-tales. The tales are translations, which 'in their original form' appear in *Anand*—'a Marathi Monthly for juveniles—and kindered publications.'

There are altogether fifty two tales in the collection out of which one—His tail for a song—is a real folk-tale. It is the story of a rat which is very popular with children and which should have appeared in Mary Frere's collection. This story has numerous variants all over India.

The stories about animals form the majority ; they, however, are no fables but ordinary moral tales, quite modern, specially written to educate and amuse children, after the pattern of Aesop and Viṣṇusarman, the author of the Pañcatantra. For instance, the following is the gist of the tale, 'Four crows' : Four crows are friends. They get tired of playing. They see a worm wriggling on the earth. They go near and find out that it is not a worm but the tail of a cat that is moving. 'How Chintu was cured' is a moral tale to cure bragging and falsehood. 'Keshavrao' is a modern story about a miser. 'Ganu's mistake' is also a story specially written for correcting a child's morals. Some stories as they appeared in *Anand* were adaptations of tales and stories in English children's magazines and books, which Dexter has retranslated in English. And hence this book cannot be accepted as an authentic collection of Marathi folk-tales.

X. A. S. Agarkar : *Folk-dances of Maharashtra*. (Bombay, 1950).

This book is the first exposition on the subject in English. The author, however, has incorporated very little material in it and his treatment of the meagre material is sketchy and uncertain. Authentic information is lacking and the style is also poor.

(b) *Bibliography of Folk-literature from English Periodicals*

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal of (New Series).

(1) Vol. 7, 1911.

B. A. Gupte—(1) Folklore of the Origin of the Constellation of Mrigashirsha (p. 93). (2) Note on the Dark Monday *Soṃavati* (p. 631).

2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Great Britain and Ireland (1) Vol. I. Stevenson, D. D.—(1) On the Anti-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus in the Dekhan : *Diwali Festival* and the worship of *Vetal* (pp. 189, 195).
John Wilson—A note on the Worship of *Vetal* (p. 196).

3. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch.

(1) Vol. IX, 1867-70.

V. N. Mandlik—(1) *Serpent Worship in Western India* (p. 109).

(2) Shrine of the River Krishna at the village of Mahableshwara (p. 250).

(2) Vol. X, 1871-1874.

V. N. Mandlik—Notes on the Shrine of Mahableshwara (p. 1)

(3) Vol. XI, 1874-1875.

V. N. Mandlik—*Sangameshwara Mahatmya and Linga Worship* (p. 99).

(4) Vol. XII, 1876.

J. Gerson da Cunha—Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul (p. 1).

(5) Vol. XXI, 1901-1908.

Macmillan, M.—*Matheran Folk-songs* (p. 517).

(6) Centenary volume, 1905. Justin Abbot—*The Katkari Language* (p. 78).

In this long article Abbot gives some songs, riddles and folktales of the Katkaris.

4. *Indian Antiquary*.

(1) Vol. I, 1872.

J. Beams—*A Lake Legend of the Central Provinces* (p. 143).

(2) Vol. XVI, 1887.

G. F. D'Penha—*Folklore of Salsette* (p. 327).

(3) Vol. XVII, 1888 (pp. 13, 50, 104).

(4) Vol. XIX, 1890 (p. 314).

(5) Vol. XX, 1891 (pp. 29, 80, 111, 142, 183, 192, 332).

(6) Vol. XXI, 1892 (pp. 23, 45, 312, 374).

(7) Vol. XXII, 1893. (pp. 53, 243, 276, 306).

(8) Vol. XXIII, 1894 (p. 134)

(9) Vol. XXVI, 1897 (p. 333).

(10) Vol. XXVII, 1898 (pp. 54, 82, 304).

(These are, in all, 24 tales on the Christian community in Salsette)

Pandita Ramabai, (R.D.M.) *Four Religious Tales* (pp. 154, 261, 288, 291).

(Tales of *Tulsi Rahu*, *Kali* and *Astik* with Puranic origin but Commonly established in Maharashtra.)

5. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

(1) Vol. I. 1886, 1888.

T. B. Joshi—*On the Evil Eye in the Konkan* (p. 120).

K. Raghunathjee—*On the Pitar or Tank* (p. 363).

Gerson da Cunha—*On Amulets*. (p. 378).

K. R. Kirtikar—*On the Ceremonies Observed among Hindus during Pregnancy and parturition* (p. 394).

E. J. Gunthrope—*On the Bhende Kochars* (p. 409).

(2) Vol. II. 1889-1891.

P. B. Joshi—(1) *On the Household and Village Gods of Maharashtra* (p. 202).

W. Dymock—*On Pithori Worship among the Hindus* (p. 207).

(3) Vol. III. 1892-1894.

J. J. Modi—(1) *A Few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a Few Superstitions Based on these Beliefs* (p. 346).

- (2) The Dhangars and Dhavars in Maharashtra (p. 471).
 (4) Vol. IV. 1895-1899. (Part III).
 Fardunji Dadabhai Mulla—Stynology of the Name of Khandesh (p. 449).
 (5) Vol. V. 1899-1901.
 J. J. Modi—The Thakurs of Matheran (p. 458).
 (6) Vol. VII. 1904-1907.
 Bomanji Byramjee Patel—A Few Dreams and their interpretations among the Natives of Bombay (p. 155).
 J. J. Modi—Notes on the Kolis of Bassein (p. 521).
 (7) Vol. IX. 1910-1912.
 K. R. Kirtikar—Some Forms of Bombay Amulets (p. 55).
 Otto Rothfeld—The Sonkolis and the Agri Caste of Kolaba District (p. 179).
 J. J. Modi—The Vadaris of the Villages round Deolali Camp (p. 307).
 J. A. Saldhana—Savantwadi Village Gods and Ghosts (344, 480).
 (8) Vol. X. 1913-1916.
 J. A. Saldhana—Folklore of Savantwadi Gods and Ghosts of the village Matand (p. 178).
 R. P. Masani (1) Folklore of Bombay Wells (p. 708).
 (9) Vol. XIII. 1921-1927.
 R. E. Enthoven—(1) Devaks in the Deccan and Konkan (pp. 1, 649).
 R. P. Chavan—(1) Folklore and Tale (p. 438).
 (2) Proverbs in Konkani Language (p. 497).
 E. Hedberg—Proverbs and Riddles Current among the Bhils of Khandesh (p. 851).

6. Man in India.

- (1) Vol. XXIII. 1943.
 Mary Fuller—Maher (p. 111)—Ovi-songs of the Grinding Wheel.
 Durga Bhagvat—Premarital Puberty Rites of Girls in Western Maharashtra.
 (2) Vol. XXIV. 1944.
 Mary Fuller—Nagpanchami.

7. Journal of the University of Bombay. (New Series).

- (1) Vol. I. 1932-33.
 Iravati Karve—The Parashurama Myth (p. 115).
 (2) Vol. X. 1942-44, Part I.
 Anasuya Bhagvat:—Maharashtrian Folk-songs on the Grind-mill. (Part I, p. 134); Part IV (Part 2, p. 105).
 (3) Vol. XV. 1946-47, Part IV.
 V. D. Rao—The Pathare Prabhu Folklore (p. 47).
 (4) Vol. XVII. 1949-59. Part I.
 D. P. Khanapurkar—Rani Paraj Proverbs (p. 9).
 (5) Vol. XIX. 1951.
 D. P. Khanapurkar—Bombay Villages through Folk-song (p. 27).

8. Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

- Vol. I—1939-40.
 Iravati Karve:—Folk-songs of Maharashtra (p. 79). (2) Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages of the Maratha Country. (There are many verses in this).

9. Journal of the American Oriental Society, Boston.

- Vol. XXV. 1905.
 Lucia C. G. Greive—Folk-stories but Ramdas, the Last of Sages (p. 185).

10. New Review, Calcutta.

Vol. XI, 1940.

Mary Fuller—Marathi Grinding Songs (pp. 382, 508).

SECTION II

MARATHI LITERATURE

(1806 — 1950)

The Section of Marathi literature is to be divided into three periods. The first period is the early period starting from the British advent. I call it the formative period. The second is the Rajwade period and the third is the Sane Guruji period. In the first period the translation policy of the British for educational purposes laid the foundation of translations of stories from Sanskrit and other Indian languages. The spread of literacy was the main object of the British and with the help of the native writers they accomplished the task. The second period is the period of national awakening and revolt and the third is but the extension of the second. But the special characteristic of the third or the modern period is the literary consciousness which is lacking in the Rajwade period. It is the period of expansion. In the third period a number of books on fasts and festivals were brought out. An exhaustive list of them is found in Date's *Bibliography of Marathi Books* vol. I. But as most of them are nothing but pamphlets, I have dropped them and given, the important ones.

I. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

(a) Books

Translations of Sanskrit Books :

Sinhāsānadvātrimśati

1. *Sinhāsānabattīśī* was the translation of the thirty two tales of king Vikrama by Vaijanath Shivram Kanpade, not from the Sanskrit original or from Haridasa's old poetic version of it but translation of Bengali translation by Mrityunjaya Vidyānkar. The translation was published in Shrirampur Press in Bengal in 1814.

2. *Hitopadeśa* : Vaijanath Shivram Kanpade translated the Hitopadeśu in the same manner, from the Bengali translation of Mrityunjaya Vidyānkar in 1815.¹

¹ This information is given to me by Shri G. D. Khanolkar.

3. *Vetālapañcaviśī* (वेताळपंचविशी) by Sadashive Kashinath Chhatre, Poona 1830.

4. *Pancopākhyāna* (पंचोपाख्यान). Poona, 1936. This is a translation of the *Pañcatantra* by an unknown author.

5. *Śukabahūtārī* (शुकबहात्तरी). Bombay, 1852. This is a translation of the seventy-two tales of the parrot, known as *Śukasaptati* in Sanskrit. These stories were treated as historical records and called 'bakhar' by the translators. Date gives the following list of these works.

6. *Candrahāsyācī Bakhar* (चंद्रहास्याची बखर). Poona, 1946. The name of the translator is not known. It is the translation of the story of Candrahāsa as it is given in some Purāṇas.

7. *Bhūgavalūcī Bakhar* (भागवताची बखर). Poona, 1847. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, condensed. Author not mentioned.

8. *Śālivāhanācī Bakhar* (शालीवाहनाची बखर). Indore, 1849. This Śālivāhana is the 'Same as the Sātavāhana mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara. In spite of the publications of his legends, the stories did not gain popularity as the tales of Vikrama did. Author not mentioned.

9. *Nandarājūcī Goṣṭa* (नंदराजाची गोष्ट). Indore, 1851. Legend of the Nanda, king of Magadha. Author not known.

10. *Nalarājūcī Bakhar* (नलराजाची बखर). Poona, 1851 by Ramachandra Shastri. This is the story of Nala, the king of the Niśādha, as given in the Mahābhārata.

11. *Bakāsūrūcī Bakhar* (बकासुराची बखर). Poona, 1858 by Ramchandra Shastri. This is the story of Bakāsura from the Mahābhārata.

12. *Lavakuśūkhyaṇa Bakhar* (लवकुशाख्यान बखर). Poona, 1861 by Naro Appaji Godbole. This is the story of Lava and Kuśa from the Rāmāyaṇa.

13. *Virāṭa Parvūcī Bakhar* (विराटपर्वाची बखर). Bombay, 1862 by Chintamanshastri Tatte and Gajananshastri Dongre.

This is the adaptation of the Virāṭa-parvan from the Mahābhārata.

14. *Nilakantharājūcī Bakhar* (नीलकंठराजाची बखर). Poona, 1863. This is the story of the king Nilakantha. So far this is the only current folk-tale, a variant of which I have found in the story of Nilakantha and Jivanavanti, narrated by a Mahar woman. Author not mentioned.

15. *Draupadi-Vastra haraṇūcī Bakhar* (द्रौपदी वस्त्रहरणाची बखर). Poona, 1869 by Ramchandrashastri. This is the story of the attempting to denude Draupadi in the royal assembly by the Kauravas.

16. *Kathāsaritsāgara* : The translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara was made by Vāman Shastri Islampurkar in five volumes under the name '*Bṛhathkathā-sāgara*' (बृहत्कथासागर). Bombay, 1888-1895. This is a very satisfactory translation.

17. *Bhoj and Kūlidāsa* : The tales about king Bhoja and Kūlidāsa as given in the *Bhoja-prabandha* were first translated by Naro Appaji Godbole (Poona, 1865-6) in three volumes. The title of the book was

'*Camatkārika Goṣṭī, Bhoj Kalidāsa Vagairencyā*' wonderful tales about Bhoj and Kālidāsa, (चमत्कारिक गोष्टी भोज कालिदास वगैरेंच्या).

Books on omens about the house lizard: In Sanskrit there are short works on good and bad omens about the falling of the household lizard on a particular part of the body. The works are in stanzas, which are called 'kārikās'. In Marathi this literature was freely translated and adapted. The superstitions about the lizards, both in the homehold and outside, are nowhere recorded in the vast mass of literature on folklore which we have come across. This is the only literature in which they are still locked up.

Books on Omens and Portents :

Date has recorded the following publications in his bibliography:

1. *Pallipatana-Kārikā* (पल्लीपतन कारिका) published by Ganpat Krishanji in Bombay in Śaka 1766 (1844).

2. *Pallipatana va Sartārohaṇa yāncī Śubhaśubha phalē*, (पल्लीपतन व सर्तारोहण यांची शुभाशुभफलें,—Good and bad omens of the following of the household lizard and the climbing of the outside lizard) by Vinayak Vitthal Ranade (Poona, 1888).

3. *Upayukta-Kārikā-Saṅgraha* (उपयुक्त कारिका संग्रह) by Sakharam Govind Bagve and Raghoji Tatuji Bhagve Desai Masurekar (Bombay, 1888).

4. *Pālicī Kārikā* (पालिचि कारिका) by Sitaram Bapu Mayekar (Malvan, 1887).

5. *Navina Palicī Kārikā* (नवीन पालिची कारिका) by Abaji Ramachandra Savant. (Belgaum, 1895).

6. *Pālicī Kārikā* (पालिची कारिका). Bombay, 1912. There are books also on the omens about sneezing, e.g., *Sinkasakun* (omens about sneezing, Bombay, 1912).

Books on Astronomy and Astrology (based on superstitions).

The most famous is the *Sahadeva-Bhūḍalī matē* (सहदेव भाडळी मतें) or the Dogmas of Sahadeo and Bhūḍalī (Bombay, 1919). This book is the Marathi counter-part of the Ghāg and Bhaḍḍra traditional love about weather, agriculture and omens. There are books again like *Sacitra Navagraha Kathā-rasa* (सचित्र नवग्रह कथारस) pictorial stories about the nine planets) by Ramachandra Narayan Karlekar. This type of literature is found on the foot-paths of any big city. They keep old beliefs and superstitions current among the people.

Collections of Proverbs :

Collections of proverbs and idioms were brought out to improve education in schools. The Jnūnasindhu Press in Bombay brought out the first collection of proverbs called *Phurḍuk Vahī* in 1842. The first collection of Marathi proverbs with English translation was brought out

by Narayan Damodar Chhatre in 1870, as we have already seen. A big compilation of proverbs was brought out by Ganesh Narayan Deshpande in 1900. There are many small collections of proverbs given by Date in his bibliography till 1925 ; but I have purposely omitted them as they are insignificant. In 1947 Y. R. Date and S. G. Karve brought out a big dictionary of proverbs and idioms, called *Mahārāshṭra-Vāksaṅ-pradāyakośa* (महाराष्ट्र-वाक्संप्रवाय कोश). Though the preface of this work is informative, the work lacks the insight of Manwarring. The Need of an up-to-date proverb dictionary is still felt acutely.

In the primary stage the songs, riddles and proverbs were taken to be symbolic of wisdom, and hence the incentive behind their collection was the promotion of morality among the young. The early educationists of the British period used these items with a view to inculcate the religious attitude and promote the study of language among the students in primary schools.

The proverbs and maxims came most handy to these educationists as ready material for instruction. The earliest collection of proverbs and maxims called *Phurḍuk-Vahi* (Book of maxims) was published in 1842¹ by the Jananasinhu Press in Bombay. 'Phurḍuk' is not a Marathi word, neither is 'vahi'. It is derived from Arabic. The first compendium of Marathi Proverbs was by Ganesh Narayan Deshpande, published in 1900. The collection of proverbs which started at this time went on increasing. More publications came out. Date gives as much as fourteen collections. I have however not mentioned them as they are small popular collections. They were not prepared with any perspective. They sprang out of the need of the time and the cheap enthusiasm of the compilers. The same conditions prevailed till 1925. With the advent of the *Maharashtra-Sāhitya-Patrikā* (the organ of the Maharashtra-Sahitya Parishad, conditions became favourable for folklore studies. In 1925 Shri Nilkanth Ganesh Navare contributed some collections in this journal. He however did not take advantage of the collections of proverbs published after 1900 and tried to enlarge the earlier compendium. He lacked the vision and the capacity to accomplish this task and gave most of the proverbs which were published previously. Except the labour of recollecting what was already collected and acquiring the credit of newly attracting an enlightened reading public, Navare did not achieve anything. The expectations that were created by such an effort under the patronage of a learned journal however remained. In 1947, however, Yashvant Ramakrishna Date and Chintamana Ganesh Karve came forward to comply with the growing demand of a suitable dictionary of idioms and proverbs. They brought out this dictionary in two volumes which outshone all the previous efforts in merit as well as in dimensions. But

¹ This information and the rest of the information about these collections has been taken from Date's monumental work *Marāṭhi-granth-suci* Vol. I.

even in this voluminous work the compilers have not made adequate use of all the material available in previous collections. They concentrated their attention chiefly on phrases, and proverbs get comparatively less attention. Two of the most striking achievements of the compilers are that they have tapped new sources for collecting proverbs and that they have given Konkani proverbs as well as proverbs from Goa in this work. Another feature which deserves admiration is the copious and informative introduction of Shri Date to this work.

Songs : We have had a glimpse of songs sung by women from Bhau-shastri's article. It is however, necessary to hint here about a collection of songs in possession of women. Many of the songs, that women sing, cannot be incorporated in folk-songs, even if they are old. The songs based on mythological episodes have to be examined with great caution. Many a time it happens that these songs are bits of the songs of some old poet. Another category is that of anonymous songs. Even out of the anonymous songs, popular songs and folk-songs have to be distinguished from one another. This is by no means any easy task. Even today no beginning has been made by any student of folksongs in this direction, though folk-song collections are abundant. It is but natural that the song collections of the olden times be made without any categorical systematisation. The chief aim of these collections was to provide entertainment to women. The oldest of these collections is the *strī-gīta-Saṅgraha* (स्त्री-गीत-संग्रह) brought out by the Nirnayasar Press of Bombay in 1872. The list of these collections given by Date is quite big. Having gone through some of them (because the rest were not available), I found out that the most significant are the three volumes of songs (perhaps the oldest collection) by the Chitrashala Press of Poona, entitled *Songs for ladies* (कुलीन स्त्रीयांसाठी गाणी). Another publication is the *Manoranjak Strī-gīta* (Entertaining songs for women). It gives a collection of the ovi-songs and ordinary songs which are meant for young girls used to swing on the house-swings in the evenings. Mostly ovi songs were sung then. In 1885 Ambadas Ramchandra Gadekar of Thana published a beautiful collection of songs obtained from women-folk, under the name of *Strī-gīta-manoranjika* (स्त्री-गीत मनोरंजिका)-Entertaining song-book for women). It gives songs which were sung by women at marriage, pregnancy rites and at child-birth ceremonies, and puberty rites and various other occasions. This is really a fine collection representative of the folksongs current in Thana and even the Konkani. It is also representative of many communities viz. Sonar, Sutar, Kunbi, Kayasthas and even some Brahmin communities which have long settled in these parts. The book is so precious that it needs reprinting.

Adaptations of Persian and Arabic Tales :

The Arabian Nights : Burton's translation of the Arabian Nights inspired Krishnashastri Chiplunkar to render it into Marathi. It is an

abridged version of Burton's great work handled in a pleasant easy style. As a matter of fact the style is so attractive and yet simple that the art of story-telling captivates the reader even to-day. This attempt became naturally very popular and this collection and numerous other smaller editions, especially meant for children followed in its wake. The process is still going on. It is however true that there is not yet one faithful translation from the original which has Burton's scholarly insight and ability. Not only have we not yet a faithful translation of even Burton's own work ; but no attempt for a genuine translation, even on a modest scale, has ever been tried. What is true of Chiplunkar's free, popular and abridged rendering is true also of other translated stuff as well. The British Government's educational policy first inculcated such half-baked translations for the spread of education in different vernaculars. Chiplunkar, being a government teacher, also took up the work under government patronage. But the charm of his style was so great that for a number of years (and even now) his translation was regarded as a model translation. In reality, however, it had so soothed hundreds of readers that the need for scholarly translation was not even felt by any and subsequently it blocked the way of faithful translations and much less the study of many a collection of tales like *Grimm's Fairy Tales*, *Gulbakāvalī* etc.

1. Krishnarao Madhavrao Prabhu : *Hātīmṭāī Caritra* (हातीमताई चरित्र) —life of Hatimtai (Bombay 1854-55), from the English translation of Duncan.

2. Krishnarao Madhavrao Prabhu : *Bakhtiyarnāmāh* (बख्तियारनामा). This also is the translation of the English translation of Sir William Ousley. (Bombay, 1855).

3. Krishnashastri Chiplunkar : *Ārabī bhāśentīl surusa va camatkārik goṣṭī* (अरबी भाषेतील सुरस व चमत्कारिक गोष्टी, 1861-65). This is the adaptation of Burton's famous translation of the *Arabian Nights*.

Bhaskar Sakharam : *Ārabī Goṣṭī* (आरबी गोष्टी, 1863) or *Arabian Tales*.

4. Ravji Manohar Takthate : *Persian Nights or Kisābarāsiyū* (पशियन नाइट्स किंवा किशबरशिया).

5. Vanayak Sadanand Navalkar: *Gulbakāvalī* (गुलबकावली) translated from Gujarati translation.

Tales from *Gulbakāvalī* are very popular among the peasants of Maharashtra as also those of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Chiplunkar's *Arabian Nights* gained popularity among the educated classes only. It is to be noted in this context that even now there are no authentic and complete translations of any of these masterpieces from the original.

Another translation of *Gulbakāvalī* is by Dattatreya Vasudeo Jogalekar (Bombay, 1887)

Translations of Aesop's Fables :

1. The earliest translation of *Aesop's Fables* is by Saklhan Pandit

under the patronage of Sarfoji Raje of Tanjore. The book was called *Bālabodha-muktāvalī* (बालबोध मुक्तावली, Moral Tales for children, Tanjore, 1806). As a matter of fact this book marks the beginning of the folklore activity in Maharashtra. The second translation from the English version was by Sadashiv Kashinath Chhatre, which is known as *Isāp-nīti-Kathā*.

Ever since then Aesop's fables are called by that name alone viz. *Isāp-nīti*. Major Candy brought out an abridged translation of the fables under the same name in 1859.

Adaptations of Grimm's Fairy Tales :

H. Beliers translated same stories from Grimms in his book called 'Yuropātil Vanadevatāñcyā Goṣṭi (यूरोपांतील वनदेवतांच्या गोष्टी Fairy tales from Europe), in 1868 (Bombay).

The story of the Beauty and the Beast was translated in 1871 (Bombay) as 'sundarī and āsval' (सुंदरी आणि आस्वल).

Indian Tales :

Tales about *Birbal* and *Badshah* were first translated by Parashuram Bhikaji Bathe in 1868.

Stories from India especially from Bengal attracted some enthusiastic people. Among such is reckoned the story written by or rather adapted by Bhagvantrav Vasudevji Ghumre, known as '*Lāvanyalatikā*' (लावण्य लतिका अथवा कळसुत्री घोडा, बंगाल देशाच्या एका सुंदर राजकन्येची गोष्ट; Bombay 1871).

(b) *Scattered Writings :*

Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat : Though the folklore studies did not flourish in Maharashtra in the early days, it is also to be noted that whatever little writing was done by scholars on this subject was not done under government patronage or even encouragement. It was the urge on the part of these scholars like Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat, Rajwade etc. to own every little facet of the popular culture. The first discursive article on folksongs was by the late Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat in the learned magazine '*Vividhajñāna-Vistāra*' (विविध ज्ञानविस्तार) in 1877—Goṇḍī Bhāṣā va Gītē (गोंडी भाषा व गीते, Goṇḍī language and songs). This was the beginning of the linguistic and sociological approach to folklore in Marathi; the burden of this article is such. Every society, however primitive it be, has the art of music. Mankind loves songs. The urge of music is as strong as the urge for sex and as the Gonds are human beings they also love music and have their songs. These songs cannot be compared with classical poetry yet has its diction and contents. As society progresses its poetry also improves. No poet or a worthy social worker from the upper classes has ever made an attempt to improve the Gondi language. It is but inevitable that the poets living in the forests,

have held that language close to their bosom with great affection and they have mingled its poetic essence in the songs of hard labour pounding like breaking stones, clay etc.

A small collection of songs with translation follows.

Vishnushastri Chiplunkar :

In the thirty-eighth volume of the *Nibandha-mālā* (1878) he gives an old popular song.

आज म्यां नवल पाहिलें
कुत्रें वऱ्हाडी चाललें
मुंगूस उंटावरी बैसले

(I saw a wonder today. The dog is going in a marriage party. The mungoose is sitting on a camel.)

Mahadeo Moreswar Kunte : While compiling the *Bombay Gazetteers*, Sir James Cambell, an adept folklorist, prepared a copious questionnaire and sent it to various administrative officers and teachers for acquiring information about popular traditions. Kunte was an officer who has given a collection of thirteen riddles or 'taunting-songs' which were resorted to in the wedding of the Chitpavan Brahmins. These are apt illustrations how the modern-folk on either side used to have this ceremonial abusive-riddle contest which ended in some mirth and also in quarrels.¹

What has been called education in the case of the illiterate women of the older generation, was that education acquired free. No one had to spend even a farthing for it.

Vasudev Govind Apte : Apte conducted a children's Magazine called *Anand*, (आनंद) which still continues. Like any other editor of children's magazines Apte also gave folk-tales of all the countries in his magazine. These stories are presented without any policy or method of presentation of folk-tales. He has also stated in this article how some editors of children's magazines, who profess to educate children, look disdainfully on fairy tales. He has singled out the editor of *Śālāpatraka* शाळापत्रक for it. In his speech in the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan or Literary conference, held at Baroda in 1909, Apte urged the collection of the

¹ *The Bombay Gazetteer* 1885, vol. 18, part I, p. 136. Other collections of the songs and riddles current among the Chitpavan Brahmins are as follows :

1 Radhabhai Kelkar, *Konkanastha Athavā Chitpavan Brahmanāmācā Lagnasamārambha* कोंकणस्थ अथवा चित्पावन ब्राह्मणांचा लग्नसमारंभ, (The marriage ceremonies of the Konkanastha or Chitpavana Brahmins).

2 Dr. Iravati Karve has given some songs of the Chitpavans in the '*Vidyāsevak*' (1927). They are however not folk-songs, but songs compiled to illustrate the dialect of the Chitpavans.

³ Shri N. G. Chapekar in his book '*Badalapur*' बदलापूर (Śake 1855) gives some marriage songs.

grandmother's tales in Maharashtra. He praised the Bengalis who had started the venture recently and exhorted his Maharashtrian brethren to follow suit. The collections which enticed Apte are Thakurmār Jhuli and Thakurdadār Jhuli published under Tagore's patronage. It is to be noted that in *Anand*, Vasudev Govind Apte and Balkrishna Anant Bhide started giving old songs, stories and information about old games from 1906.

Kashinath Vaman Lele : Kashinath Vaman alias Bhaushastri Lele was a representative of Hindu orthodoxy. He published a magazine called *Dharma* from Vai. He attacked the Hindu reformist movement led by Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade and propounded the orthodox doctrine vigorously and consistently. In an article 'Does Reform mean a Falsehood?', (सुधारणा म्हणजे असत्यता की, काय?) dated 26-1-1905, he says, "the presumption that literate women are educated and the illiterate ones are uneducated is wrong. We know of some ladies (कुलसिया) who have such an abundant collection of songs that even if one spends twelve hours a day in rehearsing it, the stock will not be exhausted in three days. The lives of chaste women like Draupadī, Sītā, Tāramati, Ahalyā, Savitri etc. were included in these songs ; and many women of the older generation knew them by heart. These women also knew the sacred tales pertaining to Haritālikā, Ṛsipañcamī, Nāgpañcamī, Mahālakshmi, Ekādaśī rituals, and fasts. Bhaushastri gives a list of other songs known to women. These songs are on various episodes from the Purānas, e.g., Sāvitrī, Draupadī's entreaty to Kṛṣṇa when Duryodhana tried to denude her in the assembly, Draupadī's marriage, Sītā's marriage, Rukmiṇī's marriage, the story of Hariśchandra, the story of Ekādaśī¹ the exile of Rāma, the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, the exile of Nala, etc. Besides, these women also knew some songs based on historical anecdotes, e.g. the song on the Belbag in Poona, constructed by Nana Phandanavis, and some episodes in the Peshwa regime. They also knew the songs on Chindambar Dikshit, Shripad Vallabha etc. Bhaushastri sums up his article with such remarks as 'those women used the morals of the song to meet with the numerous difficulties in family life, which occur off and on. The modern women who call themselves educated do not have so much knowledge. They know nothing by heart.'

II. *The Rajvade-Period* (1913-1938)

The second period from 1913-1938, which can be called the Rajvade-period, is the period in which folklore was established as a part of social history, culture and popular literature. This period is a period of real

¹ V. V. Joshi has given an Ekādaśī song in his book *Lokathā vā Lokagītē लोककथा व लोकगीते*, Folktales and Folksongs. It is not the old Ekādaśī song but a parody of it. I have come across a couple of such parodies.

awakening among Marathi scholars and literatures in recognising the importance of folklore. It is, however, to be noted that this awakening was not inspired by folklore itself but by the general national awakening among the educated Indians who struggled in every possible way to get rid of their political bondage to the British. To own the national culture in whatever form it appealed to them was one of the activities. The study of history was one of them. Religious literature was another emotional strength and folklore was accepted as a branch of popular religion and poetry. It is also to be noted that this fervour was more romantic than scientific, but it led to tremendous work of collections by many hands.

This romanticism was no speciality of Maharashtra, because it was Rabindra Nath Tagore, who from 1885 started writing essays in Bengali on nursery songs and songs of women. These essays were later collected and put in book-form under the name *Lokasāhitya*. Tagore was the first man in India (or rather in the world) who appreciated folk-songs as works of literary beauty and collected them and encouraged others to collect them in Bengal. Zaverchand Meghani and also Kaka Kalekar took inspiration from Tagore. Meghani's folk-song collections in Gujarati have inspired some collectors in Maharashtra and Kalekar's appreciative writings were also inspiring to some. Tagore, however, did not give any direct impetus to folklore-collection or its study in Maharashtra.

Another thing to be noted of this period from 1913-38, in which folklore was accepted as a branch of social, linguistic and literary studies is that it cannot be completely isolated from the period which followed it. The latter period is only the extension of the policies laid down in this period. What demarcates this latter period is the struggle of some scholars to propound the subject on scientific lines; such attempts, however sincere they may be, are scarce and feeble; and they are more to be looked upon as harbingers of truly scientific and even literary studies of the future.

Vishvanath Kashinath Rajvade :

Rajvade was the first scholar who laid the foundation of folklore studies in Maharashtra. He was the first to propound folklore as an important branch of social history and linguistics. It was he who gave an impetus to the collection of folklore in all the forms. He called folktales and folk-songs 'unkown literature' (*ajnāta sārāvata*) from among womenfolk and villagers. He gave directions for its collection, preservation and publication also. That a folktale or folksong should be recorded from the mouth of the narrator without changing a syllable was the golden rule Rajvade gave to his disciples. The language of songs collected from villagers and old songs of women even in the cities contained some valuable clues to understand the old Marathi language and it helped to

reconstruct some old and obsolete customs as well. Rajvade was a firm believer in the Vedic or Aryan tradition and he in his own romantic Brahmin idealism could visualise a continuous brahmanic tradition. In the Annual Reports of the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal at Poona from 1913-1925 valuable collections of folksongs are given. Rajvade has written an article on the 'Bhoṇḍalā or Hātagā' (हातगा उर्फ भोंडला hātagā urf bhoṇḍalā), in these reports (Sake 1835-1913 A.D., pp. 81-92). The 'bhoṇḍalā' is the ritualistic dance, accompanied by songs, of unmarried girls in Maharashtra. It originally belonged to the Brahmin community and has now spread among others as well. Rajvade records each song carefully and has endeavoured to give the meanings of many words which apparently have no meaning. He also tries to pick up the broken images from the songs and gives a coherent social context to them. These notes are valuable to the folklorists who comes after him. Rajvade also tried to give etymologies of the words 'bhoṇḍalā' and 'hātagā'. He is successful in explaining 'hātagā' as the follower of the 'Hasta constellation', but he confesses that he cannot give etymology of the word 'bhoṇḍalā'. I have made further studies on this topic and I am of the opinion that the word is derived from the word 'bhovaṇḍa' i.e. going round and round. The dance is composed of going round and round the idol of the mud-elephant or a branch of a tree.

A significant contribution of Rajvade in the folklore terminology of Marathi are the two words, 'lokakathā' and 'lokagīta' for folk-tale and folk-song respectively. It was no easy thing to get the words, as the terminology was not fixed in any Indian language so far. The interval between the two words is that of three years. The word 'lokakathā' preceded the word 'lokagīta'.

In the journal '*Ramdāsa and Ramadāsī*' (vol. 17, p. 92) Rajvade has used the word 'lokagīta' in an article: A folk-song from Sajjangarh (सज्जन गडावरचे एक लोक गीत, Sajjanagaḍāvarce êk lokagīta) in 1918. In this article he has explained the characteristics of a folk-song. Rajvade says: "There is no proof to say that this song is composed by a particular individual. I feel that this is one of those songs, proverbs and utterances which are inspired by the popular genius. Some proverbs, utterances and songs are such as occur to most of the people at one and the same time. It is not possible to detect the craft of a particular person in it. The Saint Samarth Ramdas himself, his Sajjangarh, his tomb on Sajjangarh, the images of Rāma on the Samādhi or tomb, the various institutions attached to him, his disciples, his biographies, his behaviour, his manners and mannerisms, his personal belongings like the crutch, sandals, kerchief etc., in short, whatever belonged to him was so familiar to the women and children living on the banks of the river Urmodi that it was natural that some expressions, some thoughts or some songs about the great saint should occur to the clever men and women among the population. This is exactly the difference between songs composed by (particular) individuals

and songs created by the folk. Usually such folk-songs are created on the occasions of festivals when the whole gathering experiences a complete feeling of unity by the rousing of the sentiment of devotion and when the communal mind is absolutely in tune with it. It is for this reason that no individual can establish authorship right on such songs”.

It is to be noted that the song Rajvade has given is a song about the samādhi of the Saint Ramdas and some reminiscences about him. In Rajvade’s time the distinction between folk-song and the popular song was not clear even to the specialists in folklore and anonymous songs passed as folksongs. We cannot blame Rajvade therefore for calling an anonymous local song a folksong. It is definitely not a folksong, Rajvade’s analysis about the origin of a folksong also is not acceptable now, but the same theory was in vogue till almost twenty years ago. Since Krappe’s contribution to the origin of the folksong, that like every other song it is a product of an individual’s talent ; but on account of anonymity and a remote tradition among the illiterate, the song is looked upon as a folk-song and thus distinguished from any other song composed by an individual. The process of composing songs which are many a time called folk-songs like the ‘ovi’ in Maharashtra is mechanical and the whole tribe or a group of people or villagers know it. Yet the song is looked upon as the property of the whole community. Hence we have ‘modern folksongs’! Topical songs like the one given by Rajvade is one such. It may be old and anonymous, but it is certainly no folk-song. In the light of recent studies in the creation of folk-songs, the theory of ‘the fusion of the communal mind’ is also not tenable.

In 1915 Rajvade wrote an article on the sun-myth and sun-worship, (सूर्यनारायणाची कहाणी व सूर्यव्रत Sūrya-nārāyaṇācī kahāṇī va sūryavrata) in the Annual Report of the Bharat Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal (Śaka 1837, pp. 2-7). Rajvade found a manuscript of the myth which was not old but representative of a tradition. Rajvade’s remarks both about the text and tradition are noteworthy. They are as follows :

“The prescription of the sun ritual is found in the treatises such as compiled by Hemādri. It is in Sanskrit. Women folk of Maharashtra have kept it alive in the form of myth. This tale is a translation or rather an adaptation of the Sanskrit writing. But the special feature of this adaptation is that it is made by a woman and not by a man. The woman who adapted this was one though we do not know who she was. The reason for this assumption is that from Nagpur to Goa, all over Maharashtra, the form of the myth is the same, except for a small difference. The language of the story is the same everywhere. When a particular version is to be acceptable throughout a country, it is natural that the story in that particular form is composed by a reputed authoress.’ Rajvade further states that ‘the myths of the sun-god, the sixteen Mondays, goddess Piṭhori, and Vaṣa-Savitri are recited now as in the old times, by the wives of the ‘bhikshuka Brahmins’ (Brahmins-priests

whose profession it is to perform worship and direct rituals in the houses of their patrons) in a beautiful sing-song voice, and with an impressive rhythm. The woman who recites sits at the centre and a throng of about a score of women sit in a circle surrounding her. Then the narrator starts the narration in a calm but serious tone, accompanied by a few dramatic actions wherever necessary. I have witnessed the women from the audience shedding tears while listening to the story of *Vaṭa-Sāvitrī*. In olden days women used to get education about the rituals and duties of women through the myths. The ritual of the sun is vedic. Whatever it may be, this myth is an excellent illustration of a folk-tale (*lokakathā*).''

Despite the healthy attitude Rajvade adopted in propagating folklore he had no correct perspective of it. In the passage quoted above, there are some statements which need correction, e.g., (1) the statement that the ritual of sun-worship is described in the *Vratakhanda* of Hemādri is correct ; but that the Marathi *Kahāṇī* or the sun-myth Rajvade has given, or any other sun-myth that is current among women in Maharashtra, is no translation of any sun-myth given by Hemādri. Hemādri gives only one story, viz. the affliction of Samba with leprosy and how he was cured of it by sun-worship. This is not a tale which is current among the tales that are recorded in any collection of these sacred tales used by women on various occasions. (2) Sun-ritual is as old as the *Vedas*, but many sun-myths, even as found in the *Purāṇas*, are not to be traced back to the *Vedas*. The Marathi sun-myth may be very old ; how old we do not know. But certainly we cannot establish any connection between it and the vedic lore. Rajvade had a tendency to connect many trends of the popular religious tradition with the *Vedas* without giving tangible proofs for it. (3) His assumption that the original compiler of the tale was a woman of great learning and reputation is also open to criticism. What caused the sameness of the style of narration was the rigour that is expected in the recitation of the mantras and sacred tales, according to tradition. As these '*kahāṇīs*' have a religious sanction of securing merit for the performer of the ritual, it was expected that the text was as standardised as possible. In religion oral tradition was greatly respected in India from the vedic times and it is but natural that the tendency towards standardisation is strictly observed in all ritualistic songs, phrases and myths. This is irrespective of caste and creed. The standardization of the text was a wonder to Rajvade, a learned Brahmin, because it was the first time that a man showed a genuine interest in these womanly possessions like ritualistic stories. It is here that we can get a proof of the romantic attitude of Rajvade in the field of folklore as we find also in the pioneers of the nineteenth century and even later almost everywhere.

Rajvade's attempts to trace the origins of rituals in Maharashtra to the *Vedas* gave much encouragement to his disciples to collect materials

from among the villagers, who were inspired by the faith that here was a cause as sacred as any ever be. It gave them a heroic feeling of rescuing from obscurity a phase of their language, history and religious tradition. None of them had the ability for theorisation which the master had and hardly did they realise the pit-falls in the method of forming conclusions without properly weighing all the evidence in details. Rajvade succeeded in popularising the subject of folklore among the educated Maharashtrians but he could not give the studies any method. Rajvade's partiality to the vedic culture need not be criticised too severely, because there are some proofs that his conjectures are also true when he traces certain tradition either to the *Vedas* or other remote Sanskrit works. Rajvade's insight can be seen from his trying to trace the origin of a Marathi nursery song, which the mother of a child sings while swinging the child on her feet and gently throwing it on the ground when the song is over. The song is as follows :

आळंचो का भाळंचो
आळा मोडला भाळा मोडला
माळेकरी उलथुन पडला

(where shall the child fall in the mud-circle round the tree or on the fence.

Dr. in the milk or in the Sugar.

The mud circle and the fence are broken
And the gardener has fallen down.)

The meaning of the first line is obscure and had baffled practically every one. As a matter of fact nobody took it seriously and took it as a prattle. But Rajvade persisted in finding a meaning in it and ultimately he found the word 'mulāncā' in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He immediately concluded that the above-mentioned song was current from Pāṇini's time. Now the responsibility lies on us to verify the statement.

The words 'lokakathā' and 'lokagīta' as suggested by Rajvade did not become current till 1928. The credit for making them popular goes to Narayan Govind Chapekar, the editor of the *Maharashtra Sūhitya Patrikā*. From 1928 onwards large and valuable collections of folklore started appearing in the journal. Another book which helped the words to become popular in many a household of Maharashtra was a collection of olktales and folk-songs by Shankar Ganesh Date called the *Lokakathā* लोककथा, Folk tales of the Deccan).

Dr. S. V. Ketkar :

In 1926 these words did not occur as worthwhile adapting to Dr. S. V. Ketkar, whose interest in folklore was genuine. After the completion of the monumental encyclopaedia—the *Janūnakośa*, Dr. Ketkar wanted to take up some work which would be equally great. In his journal

Vidyūsevaka he invited suggestions of scholars, thinkers and readers for schemes. Among these schemes, one which was approved of by Dr. Ketkar was a grand collection of folk-tales and folk-songs. The words he uses for them are 'janapada-Kathā' and 'janapada-gīta.' These words were current in Maharashtra till 1942. But the words of Rajvade ultimately have pushed the other words out and now have become standardised.

Dr. Ketkar's interest in folklore was genuine but he did not contribute substantially to its collection study. In his magazine the *Vidyū Sevaka* (विद्यासेवक) translations appeared of myths from many lands. Most of them were well-known Greek and European myths. No genuine collections of folk-tales or myth were published in it. In 1927 V. S. Sukhtankar's articles on folk-songs from Goa (गोव्यांतील जनपद गीते, Govyātil janapada-gītē) appeared in it. This was all that the *Vidyūsevaka* did for folklore.

In 1926 Dr. Ketkar wrote a series of articles in the same journal which was later published as a book under the title of *Critical approach to Poetry of the Maharashtrians* (Mahārāshṭriyāñce Kāvya-parīkṣaṇa, महाराष्ट्रीयान्चे काव्यपरिक्षण). This book with a queer title is a unique work dealing with the sociology of the literary taste among the Maharashtrians from about the fourteenth century. In this book Dr. Ketkar has introduced a formula of three words alone which is quite revolutionary in changing the form and expression of literature of one strata—that is the lower stratum of society. The words in Marathi are 'Aśiṣṭa Vāñg-mayācē siṣṭikaraṇa' (अशिष्ट वाङ्मयाचें शिष्टीकरण). It means the sophistication of literature which is unsophisticated. It implies the literature prevalent among the illiterate, mainly villagers, which is chiefly current by oral tradition. This is what is called in modern language folk-literature or literature current among villagers (Grāmīṇa sāhitya, ग्रामीण साहित्य). According to Dr. Ketkar, this process of adapting the rural unsophisticated literature by literatures in urbane style is continually going on in all ages and countries; and hence the roots of classical literature, and especially religious literature are found buried in the literature of the rustics.

Collections of the Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhak Maṇḍala :

Under the patronage of Rajvade, the Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandala of Poona did substantial work of collecting folklore from the countryside. The collections published in the annual reports are rich and extremely valuable. It is a pity that no scholar has yet come forward to study it minutely. This stock of collection is so unique that it is worth being studied independently.

Vasudev Damodar Mundle : The foundation of these collections was laid by V. D. Mundle. Mundle had research acumen and he has given valuable notes from time to time. The notes are chiefly linguistic. Mundle

collected the ovi-songs of the Dhangars or shepherds!³ and old songs in Maharashtra.⁴ He has written an article on the old Marathi language which was still in vogue; the peculiarity of this language was that the nouns and verbs ended in 'u'.⁵ He gives a number of illustrations of this old yet living language of the rustics. The peculiarity of these collections are that in it we find songs of the Muslim women as well. They are ovi-songs and other songs. The Muslim community in South Maharashtra is a community of converts and a small minority, surrounded by the large and ever spreading Maratha community. It is no wonder that under such conditions all the superstitions and culture-traits of the former Maratha Hindu religion should be reflected in their songs. There is a slight change in their language and the imprint of Islam is of course there. Yet the women have not forgotten the sacred Ganga river and the sacred Hindu texts (pothi). Their love for the ovi-songs while grinding corn in the morning is as fresh as ever and it is reflected in their ovis of the grinding wheel e.g.,

बडी बडी चक्की । संगिन गायिसु भल्ला ।
मेरी नादानं देई गल्ला ॥

(Big is the grinding wheel
We shall sing together while grinding
You give me company in singing.)

What is true of Muslim is also true of the converted Christians in Ahmednagar district. In the *Mahārāshṭra-Sāhitya-Patrikā* there is a collection of the ovi-song of Christian women from Ahmednagar, under the title 'The singing dawn' (Gāṇārī Pahāṭ—गाणारी पहाट). In those songs women still love to sing about Rāma and Sītā and all the culture-traits of Hinduism are clearly reflected in them. The name of Christ occurs but occasionally in these songs. The Muslims have comparatively a larger tradition; hence their language is different and the name of Allah occurs frequently in their songs.

Shikandaral Atar: Shikandaral Atar was a Muslim, devoted to Rajvade. His love for Marathi was great. He has collected songs of cow-herds and given an intelligent description of the village festival of Bhavaī (a cattle festival) in south Maharashtra.⁶ Thus the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal dug out folklore from the lower Strata

³ Śake 1836, pp. 142-145; Śake 1837, pp. 102-104; 196. (The Second Annual Report).

⁴ Śake 1835, pp. 409-419; Śake 1836, 143-47; Śake 1837, pp. 104-110; Śake 1839, pp. 68-74.

⁵ Annual Reports, Śake 1838; and *Bhārat Itihās—Samshodhak Mandal—Traimāsika* (Quarterly Journal of the Bhārat Itihāsa-Samshodhak-Mandal) Śake 1844, p. 19.

of the agricultural and shepherd communities and opened a new field of research.

The Rajvade period covers the activities of the *Mahārāshtra Sāhitya Patrikā* as the same inspiration was kept up by Chapekar as its editor. Chronologically, however, it may appear to be anomalous to some who may stick fast to the changes in folklore activities that took place after 1930 and culminated in the outlook created by Sane Guruji. However, looking to the approach of taking folklore material in the Rajvade period, I would rather put all the material in the *Patrikā* under this period. The approach of compilers like Sane Guruji was entirely different from that of Rajvade or Chapekar and hence I have made Sane a symbol of that epoch which starts from 1930 and has new trends.

Narayan Govind Chapekar : Chapekar came on the scene of folklore when Rajvade was no more. Chapekar also has the same tendency of Rajvade to connect a local tradition with the *Vedas*. Chapekar wrote translations of the tales from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and published them in the magazine *Viśvavratā* (विश्ववृत्त). These collections were later incorporated in his book called *Vedic Essays* (वैदिक निबंध). His editorship of the *Mahārāshtra Sāhitya-Patrikā* from 1927 proved to be very fruitful to the collection and studies in folklore. Chapekar looked upon folklore as raw material for sociological studies. Chapekar has contributed only one article on songs and tales of Katkari, Thakur and others in the *Patrikā*. But he incorporated that and other material of the same type in his unique book, *My village-Badalapur* (माझा गांव, बदलापूर). In this book he has handled the material ably with a proper ethnological background and his sociological comments are faultless. Yet this insight is nowhere seen either in the editorial or in any other article in the *Patrikā*. No ethnological, anthropological or social geographical notes are found in it, as perhaps the editor desired it in the beginning. In his editorship of about eight years no good article has appeared on the subject. The collections, however, are good and made by painstaking people. The authenticity of these collections is beyond doubt. After Rajvade's death, the work of folklore also died in the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal. But after the retirement of Chapekar from the editorship of the *Patrikā* folklore occupied an eminent position till almost 1945. After that no folklore material found its way in it. The list of the articles in the *Patrikā* is as follows :—

1. *N. G. Chapekar* : Songs and tales of the Katkaris, Kathotis and Thakurs. The spell of rain,⁷ (कातकरी, काथोटी, ठाकर वगैरेंच्या, लावण्या, कथा, पावसाचा तोडगा)

2. *M. V. Dongre* : Konkani songs, songs of women, tales, songs of small pox, songs of Bhoṅḍalā⁸ (कोंकणी गाणीं, स्त्रियांचीं गाणीं, कथा, बायांचीं गाणीं, भोंडाल्याचीं गाणीं).

⁷ Year 1, pp. 1, 8; year 2, p. 230

⁸ Year 2, pp. 21; 231; Year 3, pp. 53, 517

3. *V. S. Sohoni* : The Recitations of the Bahurupī; ovi-songs of girls ; the marriage songs of the Bhandaris.⁹ (बहुरूप्याच्या पठणाचा मासला, मुलींच्या ओव्या; भंडारी लोकांची लग्नांतील गाणी)
4. *G. T. Desai* : Songs of the Kolis¹⁰ from Sashti. (साष्टींतील कोळ्यांची गाणी)
5. *Ambutai Gokhale* : Songs of women.¹¹ (स्त्रियांची गाणी)
6. *K. G. Sathe* : Songs of the 'ṭiparī-game'¹² (टिपऱ्यांच्या खेळाचीं गाणी)
7. *V. M. Ghule* : Songs of Divali ; nursery-songs ; songs of the god Baḷeśvar.¹³ (दिवाळीचीं गाणी ; बालगीतें ; बाळेस्वराचीं गाणी)
8. *S. K. Gokhale* : The Śingā in the Konkan.¹⁴ (कोंकणांतील शिमगा)
9. *Sushilabai Navre* : The Bhoṇḍlā of the constellation of Hasta¹⁵ (हस्तनक्षत्राचा भोंडला)
10. *A. Y. Deshpande* : Songs of the Vāsudevs and Gosāvins¹⁶ (वासुदेव गीतें ; गोसावी गीतें)
11. *V. V. Joshi* : The songs of Bhulabai in the month of Aśvin.¹⁷ (आश्विनांतील भुलाबाईचीं गाणी)
12. *G. R. Pradhan* : Songs of the Mahars in Bombay¹⁸ (मुंबईतील महारांची गाणी)
13. *S. M. Varde* : Folk-tales in Kuḍāḷi.¹⁹ (कुडाळी लोककथा)
14. *B. R. Prabhu* : Folk-tales in Kuḍāḷi.²⁰ (कुडाळी लोककथा)
15. *Anasuya Bhagwat (Limaye)* : Ovi from countryside in Mahā-rāshṭra.²¹ (महाराष्ट्रांतील जानपद ओवी)
16. *Durga Bhagwat* : The Lime-songs and ritual from the Konkan.²² (कोंकणांतील लिंबाचीं गाणी)
17. *N. N. Hud* : Folksongs from Berar.²³ (बऱ्हाडी लोकगीतें)
18. *G. V. Rajguru* : The singing dawn.²⁴ (गाणारी पहाट)
19. *R. N. Kelkar* : Marriage songs of Hindus in Goa.²⁵ (गोमंतकांतलीं लग्नांतलीं गाणी)

⁹ Year 1, p. 326 ; year 4, 117, year 5, pp. 54, 153.

¹⁰ Year 1, p. 10.

¹¹ Year 3, p. 55.

¹² Year 3, p. 321.

¹³ Year 4 ; pp. 4, 264 ; year 5, number 2.

¹⁴ Year 4, p. 260.

¹⁵ Year 4, p. 251.

¹⁶ Year 5, pp. 13, 43.

¹⁷ Year 7, p. 201.

¹⁸ Year 9, p. 17.

¹⁹ Year 11, p. 88.

²⁰ Year 12, pp. 62, 206.

²¹ Year 14, no. 57, p. 23 ; no. 59, p. 11 ; no. 61, p. 15 ; year 15, p. 127.

²² Year 15, p. 165.

²³ Year 17, p. 69.

²⁴ Year 18, p. 35.

²⁵ Year 18, p. 34.

It is to be noted that Anusuya Bhagwat (Limaye) has arranged her collections well and given notes which can be called scientific. Her introductions are such as would be helpful to students of folklore. Durga Bhagwat has given anthropological material about the puberty rites of a girl in the Kunhis of the Konkan Times. The contributions in the *Patrikū* cover the period from 1927-45.

Shankar Ganesh Date: Date's contribution to Marathi folklore is his collection of folk-tales and folk-songs in two small volumes. The book is called *Lokakathā* (लोककथा) or the *Folk-tales of the Deccan* (Poona, 1929-30). Date started a publication series called Deccan Folklore series of which these two volumes were the first and only publications. Date was the compiler, editor and publisher of this series. The series again was a branch of the publication bureau named by Date after his father Ganesh Sadashiv. The latter was a lover of books and an author himself. On account of his untimely death his ambition to produce scholarly treatises was thwarted. Hence Date pledged himself to fulfil the desire of his departed father by publishing books on scientific and historical subjects. Unfortunately, as Date tells us in the introduction to the second volume, the publications did not pay and the scholars showed a cold shoulder to them, thinking it below their dignity to acknowledge books of childish stories and songs as if they were of no importance at all. Date says, "In the beginning I felt that the work of compilation of folk-tales and folk-songs would be over if two to three such volumes were brought out. But when I started a search for the stories in various places, I found out that even my life-time would not be sufficient for completion of the task. The stock of folk-tales is tremendously vast and scattered in many places. When I published the first volume of these tales, I was under the impression that I would get help and encouragement at least from the scholars in Maharashtra. But my expectations proved futile. Most of these erudite men treated me with contempt. Some turned me out. Some refused to take any notice of me. Others ridiculed me. Many people doubted the scientific nature of the work. Some again told me openly that this was no original collection but a translation of some English book. I am indeed much thankful to all of them." Date, however, has gratefully acknowledged the debt of a few scholars who encouraged him (though he does not mention their names). Datto Vaman Potdar is one of them and he has written forewords to both the volumes.

Date is one of the most cautious of the Marathi folklorists. He has a method and a purpose, which should be a model to any folklorist in India. He is aware of the sociological and literary value of folklore. He has restricted himself to the compilation of folk-tales and folk-songs and proverbs. He arranges his material neatly. He is the first folklorist in Maharashtra who gives a list of books on folklore which he has found

useful. This shows his wide and judicious reading.²⁰ This gave him an awareness about the subject and a historical perspective. He knew how difficult his task was. He also got an assurance from his reading that the study of folklore was scientific enough ; and hence he was bitter when learned people scoffed at the subject as unscientific. Date gives a glossary of words whose meaning is not easily understood. The narration in the first volume is given in the straightforward, familiar urban Marathi. But in the second volume he has changed to a more exact transcription. He has kept the narration exactly as it came from the mouth of the original narrator and kept the dialect intact. This shows how much the student in him was alive. Though the style of narration is free, Date has restrained himself from adding flourishes of style and other melodramatic devices used by many folk-tale compilers in Maharashtra. Date's folk-tale is a perfect folk-tale. He does not make an attempt to make these tales look like short-stories as many folklorists are doing them now-a-days. Date never posed as a scholar in the field. He remained a scrupulous student. He has written small introductions which reveal his fastidiousness, 'an essential quality of a folklorist.' We get an assurance from these collections that the tales are authentic. The later scholars can safely rely on them for analysis.

²⁰ The bibliography given by Date is as follows :
Volume I. *Books on Folklore*

(a) collections

1. Dassent, Popular tales from the Norse 1852.
2. Campbell, Popular tales of the West highlands, 1860.
3. Ralston, Russian Folk-tales 1879.
4. Ruston, The songs of the Russian People.
5. Milford, Tales of old Japan 1891.
6. Gill, Myths and songs of the South Pacific 1876.
7. Croker, Fairy legends
8. Lal Bihari Day, Folk-tales of Bengal.
9. Frere Mary, Old Deccan Days, 1868.
10. D. Hyde, Gaelic Folk-tales.

Analytic works

1. Lang Andrew, Custom and Myth
 " Cock-lane and Common sense.
 " Modern Mythology.
2. Clodd, Tom Tit-Tot.
3. Max Muller, Chips from a German work-shop (4 Vols.).
4. Fisk, Myths and Myth Makers, 1873.
5. Vignoli, Myth and Science.
6. Hartland, Science of Fairy-tales.
7. Gomme, Folklore as an historical science.
8. Martinengo Cesaresco, Essays in the study of folk-songs.
9. D. C. Sen, Folk-literature of Bengal.

The important points in Date's introduction to the first volume are : (1) This is the first book in Marathi which gives an authentic collection of Marathi folk-tales. (2) Date deplors that despite the large numbers of graduates from the universities young men do not pay any attention to folklore studies, researches in ethnography and history, which are so essential for national progress. Maharashtra is lagging behind other provinces and the main cause of this is the lack of men who study. (3) Folklore has a long oral tradition behind it. The science of folklore is, however, quite new. The birth place of it was Germany and the time of its birth was the nineteenth century. The first compilers of folk-tales were the brothers Grimm. Date then enumerates the excellent contributions of Ralston, Dassent, Croker etc. He also states how the science of folkore developed fast in the twentieth century. He mentions the efforts of Gomme, Edward Clodd, Andrew Lang etc. for throwing light on the working of the human mind in the past. He mentions how England has made progress in this subject and the advent of the Folklore Society in England and other countries.

He says that folklore-studies in India were promoted by the British. He mentions Sir Richard Temple's book *Legends of the Punjab*, Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Thurston's *Omens and superstitions of Southern India* and *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. He also mentions Lal Bihari Day's *Folk-tales of Bengal*. In Maharashtra Mary Frere's *Old Deccan Days* was the first folk-tale collection and Jackson's *Folklore Notes* were also an important contribution. After having mentioned these important contributions Date comes to the essential point of the preservation of literary beauty of the folk-tales and folk-songs.

Volume II

1. Brand, Observations on Popular Antiquities.
2. Baring-Gould, A book of folklore.
Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.
3. Bowker, Goblin Tales of Lancashire
4. Bratt, Legends and myths of the Aboriginal Indians of New Guinea.
5. Chambers, Popular rhymes of Scotland.
6. Campbell, Santal Folk-tales.
7. Dorman, The origin of Primitive superstitions and their Development 1881.
8. Denuy, Folklore in China 1876.
9. Farrer, Primitive Manners and Customs.
10. Journal of American Folklore.
11. Henderson, Notes on the Folklore of the Northern countries of England and the Borders.
12. Knowles, Folk-tales of Kashmir, 1888.
13. Rink, Tales and traditions of the Eskimo, 1875.
14. Sikis, British Goblins, 1880.
15. Tailor, Primitive culture, 1871.
16. Steel and Temple, Wide Wake stories, 1884.

The above-mentioned stock of folklore, says Date, though it is tremendous is not yet well-knit. In many places it is sketchy and even disjointed. Besides much of the beauty of the tales is lost in translations. The preservation of the original text is essential in the collection of folklore. "Hence", says Date, "I have assigned a place of secondary importance to all this literature produced in English". (4) Date then turns to the connotation of the word 'folklore' and its various implications, as taken note of by the western folklorists. The science of folklore is useful for the study of linguistics and ethnology. Even as literature folklore is important and hence its study is of paramount importance. That is why it is one of our urgent duties to collect folktales, songs, proverbs, superstitions etc. as these things are disappearing very fast. Such is the trend of Date's thinking.

In the introduction to the second volume Date turns from the general folklore scene to the particular picture of the folklore studies in Maharashtra. He mentions the article of Vasudeo Govind Apte in the *Vividhajnana-Vistāra* in 1907 on Fairy-tales (Adbhutā-kathā) in which the author urged the importance of the collection of fairy-tales and their study. Date says that the same lamentable conditions still prevailed even in 1930, though Datto Vaman Potdar in his book *Marāṭhī Gadyūcā Ingrajī Avatār* (The English Form of Marathi Prose, मराठी गद्याचा इंग्रजी अवतार) urged the collection of tales, proverbs and riddles which is indicative of the traditional wisdom of women.

But no one except Narayan Govind Chapekar had really come forward to make folklore-studies active. Not even Rajvade. Date thus pays a tribute to Chapekar. Another important thing to note is that Date uses the word 'lokakathā' for 'folklore'. He does not differentiate it from folk-tale. In the foreword to the book Datto Vaman Potdar suggests the word 'lokavidyā' for folklore. This word never became current. The word 'lokasāhitya' has now become fixed what with a long usage.

The contents of these collections are as follows :

In the first volume there are eleven folk-tales, eight aetiological myths and forty-six folk-songs. In the second volume there are thirteen tales, twenty-five songs, two games, and fifty-two proverbs.

Date has advertised a third volume also of equal length but it never saw the light of day. Date suffered heavy financial losses in his undertakings and, one of those learned men who encouraged him most, having taken the manuscript of the third volume for publication lost it and hence it was never published. This is the true story, which I have heard from Date's own lips. A detailed study of Date's collection will throw considerable light on folk-tales of Maharashtra. Now the time is ripe for it, since much material for comparison and for the study of the variants is available, and I intend to undertake it shortly.

Date was the last student of the Rajvade period in its proper sense.

Situation after 1930

From 1930 onwards a new class of writers came forward and made folklore popular in Maharashtra. Before I set to analyse their work, it is important to note that the writers had a vague feeling that mere collection without any set purpose or direction was not of much use. The need of analytical writing was felt keenly by one and all. A poetic exposition of folklore especially folk-songs, was one such expectation and another was scientific analysis of folklore. These tendencies are seen in the introductions written to various collections of folklore but rarely in independent articles. These introductions were usually written by learned men to encourage the young pioneer folklorist in his self-imposed task. The culmination of this urge to write essays on folklore is found in the book, devoted solely to such expositions, namely, *Sahityāce Mūladhana* (साहित्याचे मूलधन) by Vaman Chorghade and Kaka Kalelkar in 1938; and hence the third period which we can call the 'period of expansion' starting from this year.

The annual reports of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal were chiefly meant for learned historians. The journal *Mahūrūshṭra-Sāhitya-Patrikā*, being useful for the study of Marathi language and literature, had a wider field of circulation. Yet even this journal was chiefly meant for serious students and scholars. Though the collections in both these journals are useful to the folklorist, it is obvious that both the editors and the writers were unable to create a proper channel of research through these media. These collections were restricted. The field of folklore was, however, tremendously vast and unknown to the editors themselves. Even scholars like Rajvade, Ketkar and Chapekar who had a genuine faith in the utility and importance of folklore were unable to give any substantial theories or even proper directions in this subject. Their writings were chiefly meant to encourage; e.g. Chapekar in the introduction to the book folk-tale and folk-song collection by V. V. Joshi—*Lokakathū va Loka gīte*, लोककथा व लोकगीते (1936) has said nothing except complaining that educated youths are not taking any interest in folklore. In his book *Marathi Gadyūcū Ingrajī Avatār* D. V. Potdar has praised the ritualistic myth—'Kahani's as the panisads of womenfolk'. It is true that this attitude of reverence, inspired his student Sane Guruji and even Date to some extent. Still this utterance has ultimately proved to be one of the best slogans one can expect to have about folk-tale. Because Potdar himself has not been able to grasp the real nature of folklore, his introductions to both the volumes of Date are superficial. Sixteen years afterwards, i.e., in 1946 Potdar wrote another introduction to a book of folk-tale collections—*Śrāvaṇasār* (श्रावणसर, The Rains in Śrāvaṇa) by V. G. Bhide of Poona. In that he has even less to say than what he had said in the former introductions. This introduction contains nothing except vain blessings. Dr. Yeshwant Khushal Deshpande has

written an introduction to a collection of folk-songs from the Vidarbha—*Varhūḍī Lokagīte* (व-हाडी लोकगीते, Folk-songs from Berar 1942) by Pandurang Shravan Gore and has given a general description of folklore of Berar ; but it is only cursory. He also as an elder complains that the modern educated young men are not interested in folklore as they should do. Prof. T. S. Shejvalkar was one who found the 'historic element' in folk-tales, and has written an introduction to another folk-tale collection of V. G. Bhide. He has based his introduction neither on the review of the extant Marathi Folklore nor on a comparative study of Western folklore. Except repeating the slogan that folk-tales have a great historical value and that this branch of study should be encouraged he has said nothing else.

In 1937, R. M. Athavle attempted to give the historical back-ground of folklore based on folklore-studies in Europe ; but the series he intended came abruptly to an end after three slender articles (*Vīṇā*, वीणा 1937 ; July, September, October.) He also made an equally feeble attempt to write on the folk-tunes, in an article—'Loukachhanda' (लौकच्छंद, folk-tunes) ; but he says nothing about musical tunes or traditional music or the urgent need of making notation for the sake of preserving the traditional tunes as found in the folk-songs. This is how an opportunity of introducing an important topic of collecting folk-tunes and giving them a proper place in national music (as Tagore did in Bengal), has been wasted.

For all these half-hearted writings by known historians and scholars of the Marathi language, it is obvious that none of them were acquainted with the proper literature on folklore as the 'student-folklorist' Date was. Hence we find only infantile enthusiasm, tendency towards cheap patronisation, and extravagance in these introductions. The indifference of scholars in general to the subject of folklore becomes quite obvious, perhaps with the honourable exception of Dr. S. V. Ketkar. Ketkar, as I have already pointed out, was not successful in handling folklore. He too was in a way obsessed with the historical element in folklore as Rajvade was. He, however, dared make a unique experiment in treating old legendary material as authentic evidence of deciphering cultural and political history. For instance, in the *Prācīna Mahārāshtra* or *Śātavāhana Parva* 1, vol. प्राचीन महाराष्ट्र, शातवाहन पर्व (Bombay 1937) he has attempted to construct the history of Maharashtra buried in antiquity. His base for this study is the *Kathūsaritsūgara*, or rather the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhyā. No one has attempted before Ketkar to analyse the fairy-tale-like old legends in this treatise for constructing a live history of a nation. The book has been severely criticised by scholars for its imaginative flights and distortions of facts of history as proved by inscriptional data. Acknowledging all these short-comings, one has to admit that Ketkar's insight has made valuable contribution in constructing the cultural history of Maharashtra of a period on which no individual historian

including Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. V. V. Mirashi and others has been successful.

From 1930 a new era opened in popularisation of folklore, especially folk-songs. A number of new magazines, mostly literary came forward and sponsored folk-songs as their special fancy. They encouraged collections ; but these collections were not just collections as in the scholarly journals. They were accompanied with lucid, romantic and pseudo-poetic comments and sentimental remarks. This appealed tremendously to the popular taste. The scope of folk-song-review expanded with it ; but along with the expansion illusions also went on increasing as we can see even from the literature that came after 1938.

'*Pratibhā*', (प्रतिभा) a literary periodical, first gave impetus to the publication of the folk-songs with such poetical comments as would please the urban educated readers. To present the unsophisticated literature of the illiterate people and that too from the rural parts was a part of the self-imposed duties of nationally-minded young men and women, who aspired for political independence and reckoned all traditional treasures of art and literature as their chief assets. Folklore was one such treasure. The common emotions of the common people are reflected clearly, nay even delicately in folk-songs, and hence the youths then under the intellectual domination of English literature, found an escape in folklore. The gesture in this case also was as romantic among literary circles as it was among historians in the past. But here the display was more rhetorical than genuine. However, the result was the immense popularity of the writings on folklore. It is here that the difference between the purely popular and journalistic writing and real studied writing with an elegance of style and presentation became dim and soon the popular writing got better of the latter.

Another characteristic of these folk-song collections was that they were almost singularly the *ovī*-songs. The other types were pushed in the background because they are not easily collected. The *ovī*-songs are composed perennially in cities and villages, and the new song gets easily mixed with the old. As a matter of fact, this is one of the most dangerous grounds for a scrupulous folklorist to tread. The indigenous *ovī*-songs of the Dhangars as given by Mundle, are indeed a rare stuff. But as the demarcation between the journalistic and scholarly presentation was not maintained even by the educated persons like Sane Guruji and others, the result was that all the collections of *ovī*-songs produced especially after 1930 are less authentic than those in the preceding period.

Then there appeared another women's magazine, '*Strī*' (स्त्री), which encouraged these 'panegyrics cum collections' as symbols of feminine culture. No magazine as such sustained long records of articles on folk-songs as this one. The success of this literature was due to the fact that it widened the horizon of Marathi literature by opening a new vista in it. But the secret of the popularity was in the arrangement of

the material and the delicate liquid style in which the writers introduced the theme—viz., the emotional life of a woman, as a daughter, wife and mother. The joys and sorrows of womanhood were portrayed in these articles, while explaining the songs. The ovi-songs are lyrical but they are separate couplets or triplets. One song is not connected with the other as stanzas are in long lyrical poems or songs. But these authors collected the songs relating to different phases of womanhood and arranged them in a chronological sequence from the cradle to the grave. Then the author would build up his commentary on the sweet, sacrificing nature of the Hindu married woman in general. Then again the family life and the various relationships involved in it provided an idealistic frame to these comments. Not only the filial love but the love of brother and sister was evoked in superlative praise. The sanctity of home life and the tenderness of human relationships corresponded with the secret desire of the reader, to be good and to be loved. The idol was no more in the temple but in the homestead, either in the form of the mother, daughter, wife, sister or father, maternal uncle, husband, brother, and son. The authors thus could build up these images in this frame by stringing together a number of separate ovi-songs. Imaginary heroines came out of this new fiction. Some sang about the life-poem of a Saī, one of an Irālu, some of a Sundrī some of the mother. Emotional pictures of these supposed living figures gave a new meaning to reality ; because in reality, filial love, love between brothers and sisters, husband and wife, the pangs of separation, the joy of fulfilment of love, joy of child-birth etc. were concrete facts. Thus the individual-adoration remained in vogue for about a decade. In 1940 Pandurang Sadashiv Sane alias Sane Guruji, came on the scene and he made the family the centre of the emotional display rather than the individual. His collections were large and copious ; keeping the same framework intact, he could make up all possible relationships in family life emotive. Now the atmosphere of the larger joint family became steeped in beauty and an unusual love, almost divine. The family is greater than the individual ; the society is greater than the family and the nation is greater than the society. Such was the outlook of Sane. He was a man gifted with rich emotions and a rare spirit of sacrifice. His style was easy and sentimental. This held his readers spell-bound. Sane lit up every nook and corner of social life, whether in the family or outside with the lustre of tender love. His is the last word that could be written on these songs, in this manner. But unfortunately, the mannerisms in his style are imitable and the experiences common enough for any one to copy. The old mode of Chorghade and Indira Sant was now discarded by lesser writers and Sane became the model for most to copy (e.g., Mahadeo Shastri Joshi in *God-god Strī-gīte*, गौड गौड स्त्री गीतें (The sweet songs of women) Poona, 1949, Chorghade in *Campārānī*, चंपाराणी etc.) It is strange that an able writer like Chorghade also should discard his own style and copy Sane

Guruji in this narration. Also the imitation of Sane's style became stale in the following decade, though having found no better mode of expression authors are still copying it quite contentedly. The readers, however, have become wiser and they no more applaud such writings ; but their tolerance has become the chief solace for these imitators.

The excessive emotional outburst suited Sane's mental make-up. Kalelkar, Chorghade, Dr. Kamalabai Deshpande and others have also appreciated folk-literature with a softness of feelings, yet none of them can equal Sane in his unique emotional quality. Exuberance of emotional love was the very core of Sane's inner personality. It was not so with the rest of these authors. And hence what looks natural in Sane's case looks artificial in the case of any one who handles the songs in the same manner. No one else except Sane can become one with the atmosphere of the songs. Others do not immerse in the spirit of the songs like him. They stand on the fringe and enjoy their beauty. In short, the softness of the folk-songs is now an acknowledged fact in Marathi literature. What remains to be done is the critical analysis of it. It is no literature which bears no criticism. The need of critical studies in this field was felt by Sane himself ; he was not quite satisfied with his own performance and expressed his desire that N. G. Gore should make a sociological analysis of his collections.

Chorghade has incorporated Kalelkar's essays in '*Sūhityāce Mūladhan'* for the same reason.

III. 1938-50. *The Period of Expansion or Sane Guruji Period*

And we come to the third period, the period of expansion, which really speaking is only the extension of the former period. The characteristic of this period is productions of books on various aspects of folklore as well as collections.

1. The period starts with Chorghade's book *Sūhityāce Mūladhāna*, साहित्याचे मूलधन (The basic treasures of literature, Bombay, 1938). This is the collection of Chorghade's articles on the ovi-songs. The nature of these articles has already been described above. Chorghade is infatuated with the ovi-songs alone, and hence he has set a limitation to his vision and work. He has not even edited the original articles. Kalelkar's performance also is not encouraging. His articles are translations of the various introductions he wrote to Gujarati books from time to time and they are collected here without any connecting link. He has attempted to write about the importance of nursery tales, comparative history and migration of folk-tales etc. ; but all this writing is only derived from his English reading, and hence secondary. He does not possess the originality of Tagore in appreciation of traditional literature. All this writing is superficial. Hence the book is nothing more than a mere glimpse of folklore and propaganda of folklore in a pleasing, sentimental style.

Varhūḍī Lokagītā : (बन्हाडी लोकगीतें, 1938 ; Folk-songs from Berar) by Pandurang Shravan Gore. These folk-songs are collections of the ovi-songs, arranged in the same way as pointed above. This collection was inspired by the collection of Sane in his *Strī-īvan*, स्त्री-जीवन. The only difference is that Gore has given the songs of the non-Brahmins, while Sane's collections are mostly from the Brahmins and others belonging to the same social strata. In the foreword to this collection Shri N. B. Hood writes that the original material of the songs was not presentable ; hence Gore has treated it as raw material and used his poetic ability to make them acceptable as poetry to respectable readers with a delicate taste. This process of refinement has been described by him as follows : "Just as an oyster puts the lime-like substance on grains of sand and turns them into pearls so has the compiler showed admirable skill in this transformation." Chorghade and Kalelkar also are of the same opinion that the presentation of folk-literature without any alteration is detrimental to the dignity and beauty of culture and life.¹ Meghani also had the same notions which he in turn had borrowed from Tagore. Tagore was the one who deliberately altered expressions in folk-songs, because they were rustic and uncouth and hence unsuitable to the refined urbane literary taste². This attitude of looking at folklore, which is entirely a product of tradition and traditional taste and utility, is not wholesome. According to the modern accepted dictum of preservation of folklore as a branch of anthropology and traditional literature, no compiler has a right to change even a syllable from it. Wrong notions like these, which have been unfortunately fostered by eminent literary persons, have done much harm to the cause of collection of folklore and its analysis. The very authenticity has been thus taken away and the material is deprived of its genuine character. Much of the unwarranted controversy about presentation of obscene material could have been easily averted, if these pioneers could have shown more discretion in presenting the rustic traditional poetry as it was.

A time has come when the opinions and methods such as these can be treated as belonging to the past. They may be regarded as the most valid and sincere opinions of pioneers like Tagore and Meghani, but they can no longer be the principles that should guide us. The collections of Verrier Elwin and W. G. Archer even with their limitations are more encouraging in this respect than the writings of the former ones.

¹ *Sāhityace Mūladhāna*, p. 77.

² Long before Tagore, Robert Burns set the example of collecting rural songs and changing the rustic expressions which he found to be crude and vulgar. Burns also composed poems imitating the rural style. Burns started this activity towards the end of the eighteenth century and became famous. Tagore came on the scene a century later and did the same to Bengali folk-songs as Burns did to the Highland-songs. Burns' influence on Tagore is not direct. Yet in general the western literary influence did work on him in his early literary activities.

Strī-Jīvan (स्त्री-जीवन, 1940-1) by Sane Guruji : The contents of this book are as follows. In the first volume the woman's experiences are described. Sane divides them as the love between brother and sister ; love of mother for her child ; experiences of girlhood. Joys and sorrows of womanhood etc.

In the second volume Sane treats mythological themes like stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*; descriptions of pilgrimages ; historical anecdotes, rituals, festivals, descriptions of seasons, etc. The range of the subjects is quite large, and the commentary on every anecdote, experience, place and person is so vivid and sentimental that it is no wonder that it attracted readers from all levels and set up a standard for those compilers who were eager to have recognition among the people by collecting folk-songs.

Apouruṣeya Vāṅgmaya : (अपौरुषेय वाङ्मय, Bombay, 1944, the non-manly Literature or the anonymous Literature) by Dr. Kamalabai Deshpande was a book which gained much popularity. It is a book which has a scholarly inclination but cannot be regarded as a scholarly production, because the author does not see clearly her destination. The pull of the sentimental appreciation created by the predecessors is strong on her mind. At the same time the writings of Rajvade are not yet dimmed for her. She being learned, it was but natural that her book should distinguish itself from the writings of others who had not studied the subject. But her policy of compromise between the popular and the scholarly has miscarried her efforts. The garb of the book is scholarly but the treatment is not so. The very name of the book is based on a pun and this pun was very agreeable to the readers then. Even now many describe folk-songs as 'apouruṣeya'. 'Apouruṣeya' is the term which is applied to the *Vedas* because they were regarded as not composed by men (viz., humans), and were breathed out by the Divine Being. Deshpande adopts the same word with a double meaning ; 'apouruṣeya' can be interpreted as 'not composed by men' and ultimately as that 'which is composed by women'. Another interpretation is that it is 'no man's composition or an anonymous composition. Such journalistic devices could have been avoided in a scholarly treatise ; because the word 'apouruṣeya' has only one meaning in the Hindu tradition ; and what is firmly rooted in one form of tradition especially the vedic regions tradition should not be applied to another form of tradition, which has no bearing on it. Such devices create barriers in scientific analysis.

The division of the subjects in the book are scientifically precise. Yet the author has nowhere gone to the roots of any of the themes as to give any concrete results ; e.g., in her chapter on the period of this anonymous or women's literature, she has only to say that some of the songs were recent and composed in the British period as they are songs about the railway engine etc. She has nothing to offer about the origin of any of the Marathi songs, though such a study is very interesting and can bear

fruit. As a matter of fact in songs, she also has not gone much beyond the hackneyed type of the ovi-songs. She is the first writer to dwell on the riddles. Her classification of the riddles, however, is full of faults. Besides, the chapters are not well-connected. The book is thus essentially meant not for future scholars but for those contemporary laymen who are totally ignorant about the function of folklore. The author has mentioned a few reference-books, but she has not made much use of them herself. In short, the book is not successful in accordance with any theoretical treatment of the subject. It is, however, pleasant reading.

I have already mentioned the folk-song and folk-tale collections of V. G. Bhide. The chief faults of his later collections is that he has mixed up short stories with folk-tales. This tendency is now very much in vogue. There is nothing wrong if enthusiastic authors taking themes from folklore give them the literary form they like, as Thomas Mann did. But then these productions cease to be reckoned as folklore. Many a folk-tale collection now is collection of traditional short stories badly written. Folk-tale collections for children is another aim which the compilers have in view. Date also had it and his collections were popular with children though he did not follow any special device to amuse them. But children's magazines encouraged simplification of tales and many collections are written accordingly. Of such collections those of M. K. Katdare—*Pūjyācā Parākrama* (पाजव्याचा पराक्रम, Bombay, 1947) and P. S. Desai's—*Lokakathū* (लोककथा Bombay, 1945) are the best.

Periodical bibliography of articles : 1930-1950.

As this list is long, I prefer to give it in Marathi without English translation.

The articles which can serve the purpose of study in folklore.

1. R. M. Athavale : Bahuḷā (*Pratibhā*, 1933). It is the first time that the variant of the song of the cow Bahuḷā as found in the Padmapurāṇa is recorded in Marathi. Later more variants have come to light.

2. Bhanu Shirdhankar : Songs of the navigators from the Kumkum—Konkaṇātil nāvīk-gīte (*Citramay-jagal*, 1937). Shirdhankar is an author whose contributions to Marathi folklore are small but good. No one has given any material about the navigator community, viz., the Daldis who are Muslims.

3. Durga Bhagvat : *The house-hold Lāvāṇīs of the Mahars in the Konkan*—Maharāncyā ghar-gutī Lavanyā. (सत्यकथा, February 1949). These extempore Lāvāṇīs, are originally ritualistic transplantation-songs, and hence the word 'Lāvāṇī'. They were also applied to the harvest ritual.

प्रतिभा : (१) रा. म. आठवले, वहुला.^१ (२) न. वेडे, सईच्या ओव्या.^२ (३) ज. ना. ढगे, माहेरची ओढ.^३

संजीवनी : (१) वा. कृ. चोरघडे, आईची भावगीतें.^४ (२) इंदिरा संत, लोकगीतांतलें स्त्रीजीवन.^५

चित्रमय जगत् : (१) ज. ना. ढगे, सईच्या ओव्या.^६ (२) भानू शिरधनकर, कोंकणांतील नाविक गीतें.^७ (३) महादेवशास्त्री जोशी, लोककथा.^८

शालापत्रक : (१) वत्सलाबाई मुभेदार, जुनीं वाळगाणीं.^९ (२) ग. ज. बोरगांवकर, ओव्या.^{१०} (३) द. शं. पुरोहित, वाळाची दृष्ट, ओव्या.^{११} (४) आजीबाईच्या गोष्टी.^{१२} (५) महादेवशास्त्री जोशी, लोककथा.^{१३}

पारिजात : चोरघडे, जाई तुझा वास आला (ओव्या).^{१४}

स्त्री : (१) श्री. रा. पारसनीस, वाङ्मयसेवेची एक दिशा,^{१५} लोककथा व लोकगीतें (२) मालतीबाई दांडेकर, इंदूच्या ओव्या, जुनीं मौल्यवान लोकगीतें, मंजूचे जीवनगीतें^{१६} (३) लीला नणदीकर, कांहीं स्त्रीगीतें^{१७} (४) श्रीराम अत्तरदे, वऱ्हाडांतील लोकगीतें^{१८} (५) वि. वा. जोशी, चंद्रपुरी लोकगीतें^{१९} (६) भ. श्री. पंडित, वाळबोल^{२०} (७) दुर्गा भागवत, कुणव्यांची लग्नाची गाणी^{२१} (८) वि. कृ. नेरुरकर, स्त्रीगीतें^{२२} (९) कुमुदिनी रांगणेकर, सुंद्रीचे लग्नीन^{२३} (१०) लीला दुवे, छत्तीसगदीगीतें,^{२४} (११) रतनलाल डी शहा, आपले अज्ञात भाऊवंद.^{२५}

सह्याद्रि : ज. ना. ढगे सईचें जीवनकाव्य^{२६} (२) मौ. कालिंदी, सईची मंजुळा (३) मालतीबाई दांडेकर, लोककथांचा प्रांत.^{२७}

^१ २७-२-३३.

^२ २४-४-१९३३.

^३ १९३७, विपेशांक.

^४ दसरा अंक, १९३३. त्याशिवाय विहंगममध्ये डिसेंबर १९३३ मधील ओव्या 'मूलधनांत आल्या आहेत.

^५ जून, नोव्हेंबर १९३५.

^६ जानेवारी १९३७.

^७ जुलै १९३७.

^८ एप्रिल १९४९.

^९ १९३०, पृ. ७१.

^{१०} फेब्रुवारी, मे १९३६.

^{११} मे, जून, जुलै १९३६.

^{१२} एप्रिल, मे, जून १९३६.

^{१३} नोव्हेंबर, डिसेंबर १९४९,

जानेवारी १९५०.

^{१४} मार्च १९३१.

^{१५} डिसेंबर १९३२.

^{१६} जानेवारी १९३५; सप्टेंबर १९४९.

^{१७} फेब्रुवारी १९३६.

^{१८} मार्च १९४१.

^{१९} ऑगस्ट १९४१.

^{२०} जानेवारी १९४२.

^{२१} जून १९४३.

^{२२} एप्रिल, मे १९४४.

^{२३} डिसेंबर १९४५.

^{२४} ऑगस्ट १९४५.

^{२५} जून १९४८.

^{२६} जुलै १९३५.

^{२७} वर्ष १ (अंक १).

साहित्य : व. दि. राव, वायांची गाणी.^{२८}

भगिनी : महादेवशास्त्री जोशी, लोककथा.^{२९} (२) मालतीबाई दांडेकर, लोकगीतांतील विनोद.^{३०}

सत्यकथा : दुर्गा भागवत, महारांच्या घरगुती लावण्या.^{३१}

विविधवृत्त : वि. ग. भिडे, लोककथा.^{३२}

ज्योत्स्ना : दुर्गा भागवत, मुलांची म्हातारी.^{३३}

नवयुग : अपर्णा देशपांडे, आमची मंगलगीतें.^{३४}

वाङ्-मयशोभा : वि. स. सुखटणकर, गोव्यांतलीं गाणीं.^{३५}

पशवंत : (१) रा. म. आठवले, मुंडा लोकांची भावभूमि.^{३६} (२) शं. ग. दाते ; लोक-कथा.^{३७} (३) द. पु. खानापूरकर, कुकणांची गीतें.^{३८}

धनुर्धारी : चोरघडे, लोककलेंचें मूल्य.^{३९}

मौज : चोरघडे, लोकसाहित्याचा वारसा.^{४०}

अभिरुचि : (१) रा. म. आठवले, मैथिल भाषेतील लोकगीतें,^{४१} (२) व. दि. राव, विसरलेले वाङ्-मय.^{४२}

माऊली : वि. ग. भिडे, लोककथा.^{४३}

मन्वंतर : वि. ग. भिडे, लोकगीतें-ओव्या.^{४४}

संजीवन : मालतीबाई दांडेकर, प्रासंगिक लोकगीतांतलें सौंदर्य.^{४५}

नवभारत : ना. र. गोरे, एक लोकगीत (इंडियन अँटिक्वेरीतून घेतलेले-कोळ्यांचे).^{४६}

प्रसाद : वि. स. सुखटणकर, एका धनगर-गीतांतील शिवाजी.^{४७}

याशिवाय मंदिर व प्रकाश या नियतकालिकांत सरोजिनी बाबर यांच्या शेतकऱ्यांच्या ओव्या आलेल्या आहेत. पण तो मजकूर पाहायला मिळाला नाही.

२८ फेब्रुवारी १९३६.

२९ जुलै १९४८.

३० दिवाळी अंक १९४९.

३१ फेब्रुवारी १९४९.

३२ दिवाळी अंक १९४० ; १९४८
यांतल्या कथा भिड्यांच्या टोळघाड
(१९४३), कण्हेरीची फुलें
(१९४०), गगनाला गवसणी
इत्यादि लघुकथांच्या संग्रहांत
आल्या आहेत.

३३ जून १९३६.

३४ दिवाळी अंक १९४९.

३५ दिवाळी अंक १९४९.

३६ जानेवारी १९४९.

३७ १९३१ संमेलन अंक.

३८ जानेवारी १९६०.

३९ दिवाळी अंक १९४५.

४० दिवाळी अंक, १९४८.

४१ ऑगस्ट १९४८.

४२ जून १९४९.

४३ जानेवारी खास अंक १९४८.

४४ नोव्हेंबर १९४८ सानेगुरुजींच्या
ओव्या १९३९ साली यांतच प्रसिद्ध
झाल्या.

४५ ऑक्टोबर १९४९.

४६ नोव्हेंबर, १९४९.

४७ वर्ष १ अंक १.

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