

Volumes 43-44/1968-69 (New Series)

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Editorial Board :

P. V. KANE

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay
Town Hall, Bombay INDIA,
1970

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR THE YEARS 1969-71

President :

Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, M. A., LL. B., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents :

Miss Durga Bhagvat, M.A.

Shri J. G. Bodhe, B.E., A.M.I. Struc. E., A.M.I.E.

Shri A. A. A. Fyzee, M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law.

Shri D. K. Kunte, B.A., LL.B., M.P.

Hon. Secretary:

Shri Raman K. Desai, B.A., B.Sc. (London), Bar-at-Law.

Jt. Hon. Secretary :

Shri S. M. Joshi, M. Com.

Members :

- | | |
|---|---|
| *1. Shri J. J. Bhabha, B.A. (Cantab) | 11. Shri P. S. Nadkarni, I.A.S. Retd. |
| 2. Shri V. R. Bhende | 12. Prof. (Mrs.) Nalini M. Pandit, M.A. |
| 3. Shri Ashok Vardhan Birla | 13. Dr. M. D. Paradkar, M.A., Ph.D. |
| *4. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Y. V. Chandrachud, B.A., LL.B. | *14. Shri Hasmukh T. Parekh, B.A., B.Sc., (London), A.C.A. |
| 5. Shri R. V. Dongre, B. Sc. | 15. Shri B. V. Shetti, M.A. |
| 6. Smt. Gopi M. Gauba, B.A. | 16. Shri. P. K. Sholapurwala, B.Sc. LL.B. |
| 7. Shri R. G. Gogte, B. Com. | *17. Shri Y. N. Sukthankar, I.C.S. (Retd.) |
| 8. Shri. S. M. Joshi. M. Com. | 18. Shri H. S. Ursekar, M.A., LL.B. |
| 9. Dr. L. B. Keny, B. A., Ph. D. | 19. Shri P. P. Vaidya, LL.B. |
| 10. Shri K. M. Mehta, M.A. (Cantab), M.B.E. (Mily.) | 20. Shri S. G. Walavalkar, B.A. (Hon.) |

Government Nominees:

The Chairman, Education Committee, Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay.

The Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra, Education and Social Welfare Department.

The Director of Libraries, Maharashtra State, Bombay.

Hon. Finance Secretary :

Shri S. G. Walavalkar, B.A. (Hon.)

Jt. Hon. Finance Secretary :

Shri V. R. Bhende.

Shri K. M. Mehta, M.A. (Cantab), M.B.E. (Mily.)

Hon. Auditors :

Shri V. H. Deshpande, F.C.A. Chartered Accountant

Shri Bhogilal C. Shah, F.C.A. Chartered Accountant

Trustees

Shri R. G. Saraiya, B. A., B.Sc., O.B.E.

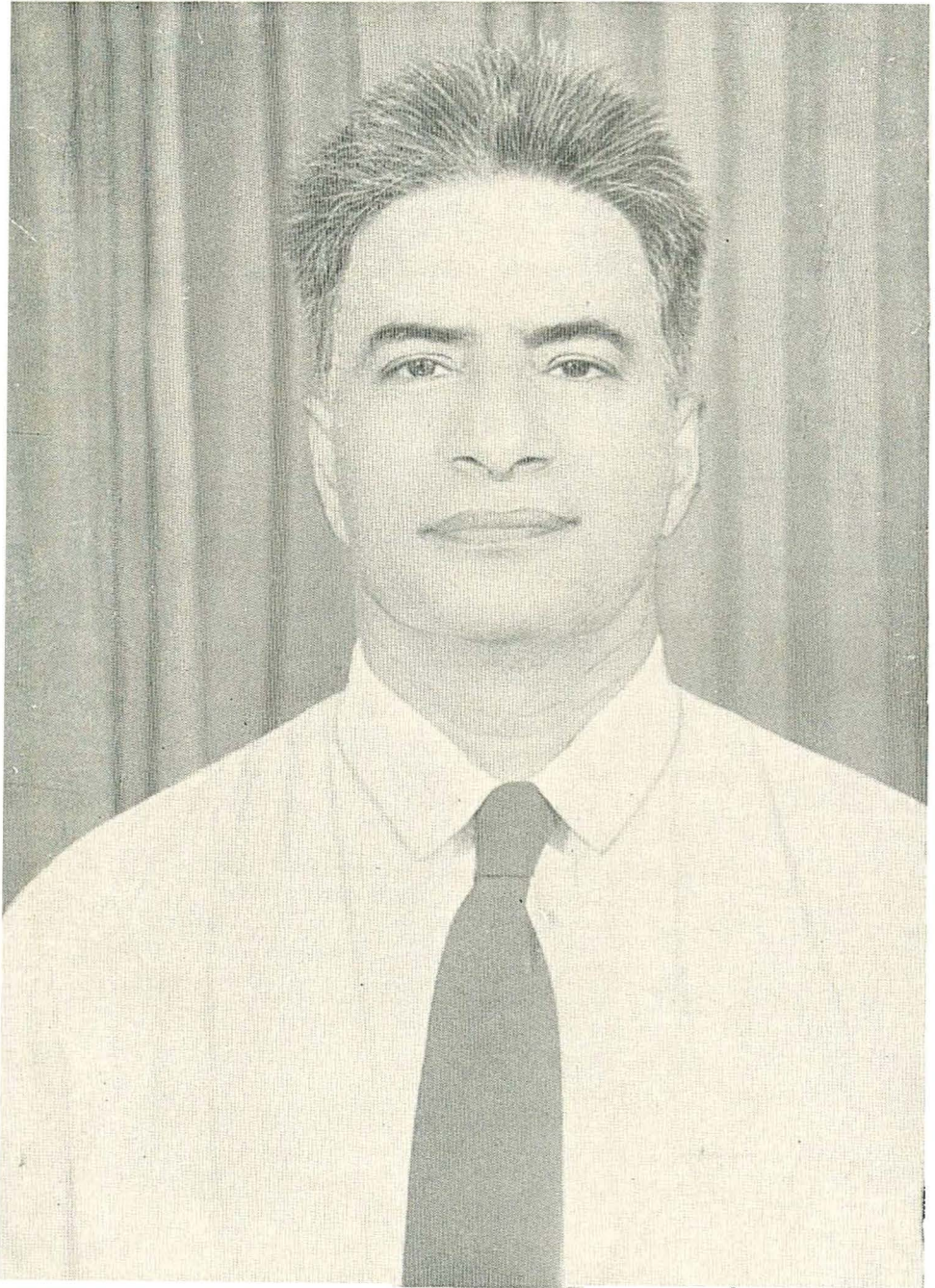
Shri M. D. Bhat., I.C.S. (Retd.)

Shri Arvind N. Mafatlal

Asstt. Secretary & Librarian :

Shri B. D. Velankar

* Co-opted members



Dr. DAMODAR DHARMANAND KOSAMBI
1907-1966

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Volumes 43-44:1968-69 (New Series)

Dr. D. D. KOSAMBI

MEMORIAL VOLUME

Editorial Board :

P. V. KANE

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay
Town Hall, Bombay, INDIA
1970



LONDON AGENTS
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London. W. C. 1.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

New Series, Vols. 43-44

ARTICLES

B. A. OLKAR, B.A.	Professor Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi	1
K. V. APTE, M.A., PH.D. :	Criticism of Jainism in Brahmasūtra-Śrīkara-Bhāṣya. ..	9
DURGA BHAGVAT, M.A. :	Bear in Indian Culture.	31
D. V. CHAUHAN and A. R. KULKARNI :	Kāsārśīri Copperplates of Dhruva- rāja, Śaka 705.	94
KALPANA DESAI, M.A., PH.D.:	Varāha.	106
J. S. DESHPANDE, B.A., M.SC.	Notes on research in Ancient Marāṭhī Literature.	119
L. V. DESHPANDE, B.A., : LL.B.	Cāngadeva Pañcaśaṣṭi—A reply to Changadeo in Śtanžas sixty- five by Jñānadeva.	123
S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR, : M.A., PH.D.	Study of Amhas, Enas and Āgas in the Yajurveda and Atharva- veda.	129
B. G. GOKHALE, M.A., PH.D.:	Broach and Baroda.	142
OWEN C. KALL, B.A. (HONS): PH.D., F.R.A.S.	Dutch Commercial and Territorial Influence in India.	155
R. P. KANGLE, M.A.	Some recent work on the Kauṭi- liya Arthaśāstra.	227
L. B. KENY, B.A., PH.D.	Aśoka's Edicts and Indian 'radi- tion.	239
B. C. LAW, M.A., PH.D., : D.LITT., F.R.A.S. (Hony)	A note on Śāsanavamsa. ..	247
KUMUD A. MEHTA, PH.D., : DIP. LIB. (LON.)	Bombay's Theatre World—1860- 1880.	251
K. PADDAYYA	A note on the probable origin of the technique of edging burins.	279
Book-Reviews.	.. ..	283
Acknowledgements. :	.. .. .	297
L. B. KENY, B.A., PH.D.	Books and Articles by Dr. D. D. Kosambi.	299

PROFESSOR DAMODAR DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI

A HUMBLE TRIBUTE FROM A PUPIL

By

B. A. OLKAR

“Professor Kosambi, though at present a renowned Mathematician, is leaning towards Indology and let me hope that Indology is benefited before long by his rigid mathematical training and scientific outlook on life and literature.”¹

(P. K. Gode in his Preface to *Analecta*)

In the present era of minute specialization, Kosambi appears to possess a truly Renaissance versatility. The problem of two cultures, to use Lord Snow's phraseology, did not exist for him, being equally well versed and proficient both in sciences and the humanities. Consider the bewildering range of his interests, scholarship and expertise. A world renowned mathematician and statistician, his contribution to path geometry is widely acclaimed. In classical genetics, his formula for chromosome distance has come to occupy a central place. His papers 'Study and metrology of silver punch-marked coins' and 'The effect of circulation upon the weight of metallic currency' go a long way in making the numismatics of hoards into an exact science. Equally significant are his contributions to archaeology. These include a unique collection of microliths as well as megaliths with rock-engravings and the discovery of a Brahmi inscription at Karle. His contribution to Indology is equally outstanding. His editions of *Saṭaka-Trayam of Bhartṛhari* and the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* bear ample testimony to his versatility and meticulous thoroughness. Even his proof correcting was lynx-eyed. And he possessed a good knowledge of printing and typography. (It may be recalled here that the doyen of Indologists V. S. Sukthankar, also a distinguished mathematician, was keen on excellence in printing.) And above all he is a historian of the first magnitude. '*The Culture and Civilization of India*,' although not flawless (and no work for that matter is perfect) is a landmark and will endure as a classic for a long time to come. Despite his meticulous and rigorous scientific approach, he was endowed with fine aesthetic sensitivity in depth. His discussion of Bhartṛhari's attitude

1. *Analecta*—V. S. Sukthankar (1945).

towards women is fascinating. He refers to the poet's juicy bits such as तन्वङ्ग्या विपुले नितंबफलके, न कीडितं लीलाया for whom no wonder 'entrancing maidens' (सविभ्रमा युवतयः) are among the fine gifts of good fortune. He was at home in a number of languages and had drunk deep at the great fountains of literature in various languages. He was a firm adherent of Marxism but disagreed violently with Indian Official Marxists on a number of matters of vital importance. He was aware that Marxism could not be reduced to a rigid formalism like mathematics. 'Nor can it be treated as a standard technique such as work on automatic lathe.' He asserts: "To remain in living discipline, Marxism must continue to work successfully with newer discoveries in science (including archaeology), and must yield new valid results in history. Its importance lies not only in the interpretation of the past but as a guide to further action."² A marxist intellectual must, according to him, spend a few months in manual labour, in order to have a living contact with the major sections of the people. Only thus will he be able to develop his analytical powers and apply his theoretical knowledge to practical problems. He does not, however, show awareness of the fact that Marxism has, by and large, completely failed to assimilate new scientific discoveries.

Kosambi was admittedly a controversial figure, and some may convincingly argue 'an exasperating figure'. He was essentially a solitary person with only a few intimate friends. I am inclined to think that in some respects he resembles R. G. Collingwood, the great philosopher of history and art. Collingwood writes in his autobiography: "My long-balked craving for knowledge was almost moribund. I could think of nothing else. Perched in my tower in the garden quadrangle of University College, I read all day and most of the night. All the good easy social life that was going on around me I brushed aside. Even my friendships were few. Long experience of hostility between myself and the system under which I lived had made me cynical, suspicious, and eccentric; caring little for my relations with my neighbours: quick to take offence and not unready to give it."³ Collingwood has, however, written a most charming autobiography. Kosambi, on the other hand, when his publishers Routledge and Kegan Paul asked for his biographical details characteristically replied, "If I wrote about my private life, it would no longer remain private." Kosambi's, so it appears, was a lone and enigmatic personality.

Let us consider here his *The Culture and Civilization of India* in some detail, as well as his philosophy of history.. This work

2. *Exasperating Essays* (Exercises in the Dialectical Method)—D. D. Kosambi, p. 2 & 3.

3. *An Autobiography*—R. G. Collingwood, p. 15.

displays his organizing and analysing genius at its best. He is seen to be in possession of the right tools of enquiry—erudition and imagination. Precise learning alone is barren, unless it is rendered meaningful by imaginative understanding. As is to be expected, it has provoked much agreement and even violent disagreement. The language is splendidly lucid and the exposition exquisite. Since the main thread of argument is clearly kept in view from the beginning, it does not suffer from, what G. R. Elton has aptly termed, 'the diffusion of focus'. Admittedly it is a strikingly novel and imaginative work of historical writing. And although a critic can easily point out a few errors of detail, this original work of research cannot be demolished in this manner. The work must be judged on the basis of the new insights it provides, the fresh lines of enquiry it opens out.

By way of illustration it will be interesting to see briefly what Kosambi has to say with regard to the Buddha, Kṛṣṇa and Aśoka. The brief sketch of the life of the Buddha is interesting and moving in the extreme and the discussion of Buddhism is illuminating. Many interesting episodes are narrated. "A brahmin Magandiya offered his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Buddha, regardless of caste and vow of celibacy. The refusal made a life-long enemy of the rejected beauty, who later married a prince and tried for revenge." . . . "A most charming story tells of his preaching to a couple happily married for many years, who asked for nothing more than to be reborn as husband and wife again, in whatever condition. They were told how to achieve this by performing the simple duties of a righteous family life." The Buddha's leading disciples Sāriputta and Moggallāna were brahmins but a scavenger, a dog-eater, members of the lowest castes were also highly respected monks. The blacksmith Cunda served the aged Buddha a special dish of mushrooms, which led to the Teacher's final illness. But "he, too, received as much attention in a special discourse on morality as the richest merchant or most noble princeling."⁴

According to Kosambi, Buddhism propounded a strikingly modern view of political economy, an intellectual achievement of the highest order. 'The new philosophy gave man control over himself.' Kosambi sums up this socio-economic philosophy in an admirably lucid manner. "The king who merely collected taxes from a land troubled by brigands and anti-social elements was not doing his duty. Banditry and strife could never be suppressed by force and draconic punishment. The root of social evil was poverty and unemployment. The best way of spending surplus accumula-

4. *The Culture and Civilization of India*—D. D. Kosambi, p. 111.

tion, whether in the treasury or from voluntary private donations, would be in public works such as digging wells and water ponds and planting groves along the trade routes."

Kosambi has profound admiration for the Buddha, whereas he is utterly disdainful towards 'the dark hero of the Yadus', Kṛṣṇa. "Where the Buddha was an historical figure, it is difficult to find anything historical about any of the numerous Kṛṣṇas whose myths and legends coalesced to form the dark all-god..." "The many-faceted god is likewise always inconsistent though all things to all men and everything to most women!... Lover of all milkmaids in the herders' camp, husband of innumerable goddesses, most promiscuously virile of bed-mates, the roughest of bullies in killing his own uncle Kāmsa..." "The whole Kṛṣṇa saga is a magnificent example of what a true believer can manage to swallow..." About the *Gītā*, Kosambi naturally has a very poor opinion, as far as its philosophy is concerned. "The *Gītā* with its brilliant Sanskrit and superb inconsistency is a book that allows the reader to justify almost any action while shrugging off the consequences." Kosambi attributes this inconsistency to the relationship between a highly composite society with a relatively primitive level of production and its religion. But this does not explain why the heterogeneous worship of Kṛṣṇa should survive to the twentieth century for millions in India while Buddhism should have faced extinction in India. At least this phenomenon cannot be explained in terms of changes in the means of production.

As is to be expected Kosambi has unbounded admiration for Aśoka, who set forth a startlingly new and inspiring idea of kingship. 'Whatever exertion I make, I strive only to discharge the debt I owe to all living creatures.' These words embodied a new social philosophy which discarded the Arthaśāstra notion that the king symbolised absolute power and owed nothing to anyone. Although Aśoka had become a Buddhist himself, he remained reverential towards other religions. "The great emperor made a point of visiting aged people who in his domains deserved respect, interviewed brahmins and ascetics of all sorts during his constant tours of inspection, and helped the worthy of whatever denomination by money or other gifts." Kosambi refutes the allegation that Aśoka published his edicts solely to promote or preach Buddhism. He contends that Aśoka publicly supported all other dispensations. Aśoka's edicts signify a totally changed basic policy on the part of the state. Public works were undertaken although they brought no return to the State. For instance, hospitals were founded all over the empire for men and beasts, and free medical aid was provided. Indian art and architecture may be said to begin from Aśoka. This does not mean that

Aśoka in any way neglected his purely administrative duties. Aśoka says: "I shall receive and consider official reports at all times; even at dinner table, in the inner apartments (harem), in bed..." Aśoka created a new class of plenipotentiary supervisors, with the title Dharmamahamatra—which Kosambi translates as 'High Commissioner of Equity.' The Aśokan edicts provide the first constitutional check against the crown, the first Bill of Rights for the citizen. The state developed a new function after Aśoka, the reconciliation of classes. For Kosambi the Aśokan reform is a good example of the ultimate change of quality with change of quantity, one of the cardinal principles of dialectical materialism. Kosambi concludes his discussion by saying: "It is altogether fitting that the present Indian national symbol is derived from what remains of the Aśokan lion-capital at Sarnath."

This exceedingly brief discussion is intended to illustrate Kosambi's depth of research and the range of his imagination. His expression is always crystal clear and the manner of exposition holds interest even for the non-specialist.

What about Kosambi's philosophy of history? The term philosophy of history is often misunderstood. Rigorously defined, philosophy of history is concerned with such questions as: the nature of historical knowledge; what is the basis of this knowledge, whether memory beliefs are justified; what is the criterion for verification etc. Interpretation of history is quite a different matter. Kosambi does not seem to have devoted his attention to the philosophy of history as such and it need not concern us here. As to interpretation of history, he is a devout Marxist and it is essential to examine his standpoint in this respect a little more critically.

Kosambi rightly observes that every historian has some theory, tacit or explicit, upon which his work is based. He himself has a definite theory—dialectical materialism as enunciated by Karl Marx. According to this theory, mind is an aspect of matter, a function of the brain. Ideas are not therefore of primary importance. Essentially they are an offshoot of material processes. It is therefore the instruments of production and the techniques employed that mould history. For the purpose of his book *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* he defines history 'as the presentation in chronological order, of successive developments in the means and relations of production'. This definition is slightly modified by substituting the word 'changes' for the word 'development' in *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*. 'I had to adopt a certain definition and procedure because the futility of any other was proved by rather painful experience.' He quotes E.H. Carr with approval, who says

that 'the function of history is to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the inter-relation between them'.

It appears that Kosambi was considerably influenced by E. H. Carr and probably even more so by V. Gordon Childe. The philosophy of history set forth by Childe in *History* is clearly the type of philosophy that Kosambi firmly upholds. Childe was an archaeologist, a discipline which is built up on a classification based on technology, i. e. the tools and means of production. Kosambi is fully aware that Indian archaeology is not sufficiently advanced to solve the really important questions, 'nor even to ask some of them'. But Kosambi points out that 'the survival within different social layers of many forms' can be the basis of reconstruction of totally diverse earlier changes. As to the importance of ideas, his position appears to be somewhat ambiguous. He is alive to the importance of ideas but in his Introduction to *Exasperating Essays* he maintains that ideas are not primary phenomena, but rather the reflection of material processes. However in the same book in the essay entitled 'The Decline of Buddhism in India' he concludes that good thoughts require cultivation and training by the individual's personal efforts. Lewis Mumford in *The Myth of the Machine* argues that to consider man as primarily a tool-using animal is to overlook the main chapters of human history. "Opposed to this petrified notion, I shall develop the view that man is pre-eminently a mind-making, self-mastering, and self-designing animal."⁵ He supports the view initially advanced by the Dutch historian, J. Huizinga, that play rather than work was the formative element in human culture.

In criticism of his philosophy of history, it may be briefly pointed out that Kosambi is not sufficiently critical and rigorous in his acceptance and application of Marxism. Even Gordon Childe admits that technological progress does not exhaust the content of history. Social, economic, political, juridical, theological and magical institutions, customs and beliefs profoundly influence the course of technological inventiveness.

Bertrand Russell, who in the main accepts the Marxian thesis that economic causes are at the bottom of great movements in history, not only political movements, but also those concerning religion, art and morals, holds that the validity of this thesis is subject to a number of important qualifications. Briefly these are: (1) Marx does not make enough allowance for the time lag. (2) Old doctrines can persist even when they cease to be relevant to the current economic circumstances, and in fact retard technological and eco-

5. *The Myth of the Machine*—L. Mumford, p. 9.

conomic development. (3) Marx's theory of history is too definite to allow for the fact that a small force, a chance occurrence, may tip the balance between two great forces which are in approximate equilibrium. (4) Economic conflicts are not always 'class conflicts' as Marx invariably supposes. The majority of them are in fact between races and nations. (5) Marx does not recognise the importance of another set of causes which may be called medical. (6) The part played by individuals is unduly minimised by him.

The most important question is what are the causes of changes in methods of production. Russell's masterly summing up on this point deserves to be quoted in full: "Methods of production appear in Marx as prime causes, and the reasons for which they change from time to time are left completely unexplained. As a matter of fact, methods of production change, in the main, owing to intellectual causes, owing, that is to say, to scientific discoveries and inventions. Marx thinks that discoveries and inventions are made when the economic situation calls for them. This, however, is a quite un-historical view. Why was there practically no experimental science from the time of Archimedes to the time of Leonardo?"⁶

Kosambi, it would appear, had adopted an unduly restrictive definition of history. Even on his own findings this is easily borne out. The complete ruin of the Indus Civilization cannot be explained in terms of changes in the means of production. As he himself says, the possibilities are: first, the rivers may have changed their course; secondly, the conquerors who were not primarily agriculturists might have shattered the dams.

Another most important question is this: Is technical progress synonymous with cultural progress? It is implicit in Kosambi's approach and philosophy that these two things are identical. But is it not conceivable that technological progress may be accompanied by a decadence in the realm of the humanities? Hitler's Germany is a classic illustration in this respect. Nuclear race, which is the hallmark of technological advance, may ultimately lead to total destruction of civilization. It follows then that it is a serious fallacy to suppose that technological changes, changes in the means of production necessarily imply a better civilization and a higher cultural standard. It is conceivable that uncontrolled technological advances may sound the death knell of culture and civilization.

This important consideration has a bearing on his critique of the arts. Kosambi, as noted earlier, has a very fine appreciation of

6. *Freedom and Organization*—Bertrand Russell, p. 230.

excellence in literature. His appreciation, for instance, of *Mṛcchakatika* has the precision and elegance of a mathematical proposition. "...the play preserves all the unities, balances emotion with action, relieves pathos with humour, gives scope for good acting and presentation, yet reads very well." But his principles of literary criticism appear to have been misconceived. His Marxian approach is set forth in the chapter entitled 'The Social Functions of Literature' in *The Subhāṣita Ratnaḷoṣa* (Harvard Oriental Series). Briefly his approach may be summarised as follows: Literature before the machine age may be viewed in two aspects. A type of literature which is a closed preserve for the class in power. Another type of literature is for the masses. But 'this too becomes saturated with the ideas of the ruling class, taking on the appearance of a tool for domination'. His main thesis therefore is that new types of literature cannot be expected without the rise of new classes. Daniel H. H. Ingalls, the General Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series, rightly comments in his preface, "I feel that a class theory, while it may explain to some extent the content of a literature, is a very improper guide to its excellence." The balanced conclusion reached by Sukthankar in this respect deserves to be quoted. "The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West."⁷ One may add that technological changes and artistic excellence do not necessarily march forward hand in hand. According to Lewis Mumford some of the earliest paleolithic art is far more accomplished both technically and aesthetically than comparable images done tens of thousands of years later in Azilian, Halafian, or Cycladic cultures.

These critical comments do not in any way detract from the merits of the great work done by Kosambi in such diverse fields as mathematics, history and Indology. He will for long be remembered as a most distinguished and versatile Indian mathematician. He has greatly enriched Indology and has definitely established new footholds in the territory of ancient Indian history. In ample measure he has thus fulfilled Dr. P. K. Gode's wise prophesy.⁸

7. *Analecta*—Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. II, p. 474.

8. For "Books and Articles by Dr. D. D. Kosambi" please see at the end.

CRITICISM OF JAINISM
IN
BRAHMASŪTRA-ŚRIKARA-BHĀṢYA

By

K. V. APTE

The Brahmasūtras are unintelligible by themselves. We have therefore to depend upon one or the other commentaries thereon. One of the commentaries on Brahmasūtra is that of Śrīpati, Śrikara-bhāṣya, written from Viraśaiva point of view. Śrīpati¹ was a Viraśaiva teacher; his Śrikara-bhāṣya seems to have had a wide vogue in both Northern and Southern² India. Yet his commentary is usually side-passed. In this article therefore this *bhāṣya* is taken into account.

It is well-known that the Brahmasūtra II.2 called Tarkapāda refutes the rival systems of philosophy like Sāṅkhya, etc. Amongst them, Jainism and Buddhism are the heterodox ones. Generally it is said that the Indian critics have correctly presented the view of their philosophical rivals. But some scholars have expressed doubt in this connection. So it would be interesting and also instructive to see whether Śrīpati has faithfully presented the Jaina views, in his criticism of Jainism, in his Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra. For this purpose, his statement of Jaina views and his criticism thereof are to be considered first.

Śrīpati directs Brahmasūtra II.2.32-36 against Jainism. Before Śrīpati starts his criticism of the Jaina doctrines, he states the Jaina view as follows:—The Jainas indeed think:—This entire world comprising of soul and non-soul is without a ruling Lord. It further consists of six³ substances. Those six substances are called soul, *dharma* (medium or principle of motion), *adharmā* (medium or principle of rest or non-motion) *pudgala* (matter), time⁴ (*kāla*), and

1. Hayavadanarao. *Śrikarabhāṣya*, Vol. I, Intro., P. 17.

2. *Ibid*, Intro., P. 86.

3. The printed text here reads '*tacca ṣaḍ-vāvartakam*' which is meaningless and a mistake either in the printing or the MS. It should be '*tacca ṣaḍ dravyāt-makam*' which is followed in the above-given translation. This is moreover supported by the immediately following sentence, viz., *Tāni ca dravyāni*, etc.

4. The printed text does not read *kāla* (time) at all. But if it is not included, the number of the substances would be five and not six, as Śrīpati has already said. So here I have inserted *kāla* and given its translation. In mentioning the nature of the six substances, Śrīpati has pointed out the nature of *kāla*.

space (*ākāśa*). Among them, i.e. six substances, the souls are of three kinds—(i) bound or in the state of bondage, (ii) *yogasiddha*, and (iii) liberated. Dharma is a kind of substance pervading the world, and is the cause of motion of the moving things. And Adharma is the (world-) pervading (substance) which is the cause of the stationariness (of the things at rest). Pudgala is that substance which possesses colour or form (*varṇa*), smell, taste, and touch. Matter is of two kinds:—(i) That which is of the nature of atoms, and (ii) that which is of the nature of aggregates of the atoms; and to this latter kind belong wind, fire, water, earth, bodies (of living creature), houses, and so on. The substance *kāla* (time) is of atomic nature (*anurūpa*), which is the cause of the worldly dealings like (a thing) 'was', 'is', and 'will be', i.e. a cause of distinction of past, present, and future. *Ākāśa* (space) is one (substance), and of infinite spatial units (*pradeśa*). From among these substances, those substances except the atomic, i.e., time, are classified under the five extensive substances (*astikāya*), which are:—soul, *dharma*, *adharma*, *pudgala* and *ākāśa*.⁵ The word extensive substance is applied to that substance which occupies more than one (*aneka*) spatial unit (*deśa*). The Jainas also make another classification which is useful for the salvation of the souls. This classification is thus—Soul, non-soul, *āsrava*,⁶ bondage,⁷ *nirjarā*, *saṃvara*, and salvation. Under salvation, the means of salvation is also included. And the means of salvation is of the nature of right knowledge, belief and conduct. Out of these, soul is that which possesses the attributes of knowledge, belief or perception, happiness and power. Non-soul is the aggregate of the things to be enjoyed by the souls. *Āsrava* is that which is the instrument of or means to the enjoyment⁸ on the part of the souls,⁹ namely, the sense-organs, etc. Bondage is eightfold, comprising the group of four destructive actions and the group of four non-destructive actions. Among them, the first group destroys or obstructs the natural or original qualities of the soul, namely, knowledge, perception or belief, power and happiness; the other group is the cause of pleasure, pain, and indifference caused by the stature (or form) of the body, pride of (or identifying with) body and staying therein (i.e. life-period). *Nirjarā* means the penances, known from the teachings of the Jaina

5. The printed text reads '*kāśāstikāya*' which is a mistake; it should be '*ākāśāstikāya*'.

6. The printed text reads '*āśraya*' which is clearly a misprint for *āsrava* or *āsrava*. Later on, in the printed text, we have *āsrava* which is then explained by Śrīpati.

7. The printed text reads '*baddha*' which is an error for the correct word '*bandha*'. Later on, in the printed text we have '*bandha*' which is explained by Śrīpati.

8. The printed text reads '*tad-yoga*'^o which is clearly a misprint for '*tad-bhoga*'^o.

9. It can also mean: enjoyment of non-soul.

prophet (Arhat), which are the means of redemption. Saṁvara means sense-control, and is of the nature of meditation. Salvation is the manifestation, in case of him who is free from afflictions or passions like attachment and so on, of the self in its natural or original nature. The atoms (*anu*) which are the causes of the earth and the rest are not, as the Vaiśeṣikas and others think, of four different kinds, but are of the same nature; yet the distinction of earth and so on is caused by the modification of the atoms. Further, the Jainas maintain that the whole complex of things is of non-absolute nature, being existent, non-existent, permanent, non-permanent, different, non-different and so on. That is, things being many-sided can have contradictory features like existence and non-existence, etc. And this is shown by the application of Sapta-bhaṅgī-Naya (mode of sevenfold predication) to all things. The seven predications are:—Relatively, (i) it is, (ii) it is not, (iii) it is and is not, (iv) it is inexpressible, (v) it is and is inexpressible, (vi) it is not and is inexpressible, and (vii) it is and is not and is inexpressible. The Jainas hold that the whole aggregate of things consists of substance (*dravya*) and mode (*pariyāya*). They say that the things are existent, one, permanent and so on, in their substantial nature, and are also the opposite, i. e., non-existent, non-one, non-permanent, and so on, in their modal nature. The modes are the particular states or conditions of the substance; and as the modes are of the nature of being and non-being (*bhāvābhāva*), it is reasonable, the Jainas say, to predicate existence, non-existence, etc.

Śrīpati contends that it is not reasonable, on account of impossibility in one. It is not possible that contradictory attributes like existence and non-existence and the like can belong at one and the same time to (one and the same) thing, not any more than light and darkness. To explain:—As the substance and the particular states that qualify¹⁰ the substance and called modes by the Jainas are different things,¹¹ it is not possible that contradictory qualities will inhere (*samāveśa*) in one and the same thing. To illustrate:—It is not possible that a thing or a substance qualified or characterised by one particular state like existence and so on will at the same time be qualified by the opposite state of existence and so on. The non-permanence of a substance means that it is the substratum of those particular modifications which are called production and destruction; how can then permanence which is of an opposite nature inhere in the same substance? Again, separateness means being the abode of contradictory attributes; and non-separateness is its opposite; how can then non-separateness inhere in the same thing

10. The printed text reads 'viśeṣa' which is a misprint for 'viśeṣaṇa.'

11. The printed text reads 'kṛdārtha' which is clearly a misprint for 'padārtha.'

(which is already the abode of separateness)? Just as the generic character of a horse and of a buffalo cannot belong simultaneously to one and the same animal, so also separateness and non-separateness cannot belong to one and the same thing. Here Śrīpati points out that he has explained this matter already. If difference (*bheda*) and non-difference are admitted corresponding to different times (*kāla-bheda*), there arises the contingency of violation of one's own (i.e. Jaina) view. The worldly dealings like the world is and is not, on the part of the agents, is the same as the dealing with generic feature as existing and non-existing. And it has been already said that we are aware of generic character and the like only as the attributes of substances.

How is it that, urge the Jainas, the highest Brahman identical with Śiva (Śivāmaka) that is only one is spoken of by the learned Brahmins as the self of all (*sarvātmaka*)?

Śrīpati replies:—It has been pointed out that (it is possible in case of) Maheśvara whose thoughts come true and who has attributes of being the cause of sentient and non-sentient empirical world (*prapañca*), omniscience, etc., which are not possessed by others. Though by nature there is non-distinction of the embodied souls, it is like the *bhrāṇara* (bee) and *kiṭa* (insect). The fundamental principle of all Vedas and Vedānta is that salvation is the attainment of becoming Śiva of permanent auspiciousness preceded by the cessation of the nature of being soul, by meditation, fixing (*dhāraṇā*) and worship pertaining to Śiva.

Then Śrīpati continues his criticism. Moreover, in so far as the six substances like soul and so on are not modes of one substance, their being one and non-one and the like cannot be proved or accounted for on the basis of their being one as substance and their being non-one in their nature as modes.

The Jainas will argue:—These six substances are such, i.e., one and non-one and so on, on account of their own modes and their own nature.

Śrīpati urges that even¹² so there is contradiction in the Jaina doctrine that everything is non-absolute, on account of the absence of mutual¹³ identity. Therefore, concludes Śrīpati, this doctrine of the Jainas is not proper.

12. The printed text reads 'ekamapi' which is a misprint for 'evamapi.'

13. That is, substance and mode are different things; they are not identical; mode as adjective of a substance is different from the latter. Now as a substance and a mode are not identical, the Jainas cannot say that a substance as substance is one and as modes it is non-one. In that case the Jaina doctrine that a thing is multifaced gets violated. Oneness belongs to substance which is different from modes that are non-one.

Śrīpati then adds:—The atomic theory of the Jainas is open to the same faults which had been pointed out formerly against the theory that the atoms not presided over by a Lord are the cause (of the world).

The Sūtrakāra now, says Śrīpati, refutes the Jaina view regarding the size of soul. The Jainas prove that the embodied souls (*kṣetrajñā*) have the same dimension as that¹⁴ of the body.

Śrīpati contends that on this Jaina view of the soul's size there arises the contingency of non-entirety¹⁵ of the soul. The Jainas hold that the soul has innumerable *pradeśas* and it is of the same size as the body. Now, the non-entirety ensues thus:—When a soul previously occupying the body of an elephant and the like has to enter into a body smaller than that of elephant¹⁶ such as of ant, etc., there will arise, as the soul then pervades less space, the non-entirety of the soul. And moreover, on the view of soul's size being the same as that of the body, the soul's going to the next world along with the body would be possible, as the soul possibly cannot come out of the body. (This is of course absurd). Hence subtle (atomic) (*sūkṣmatva*) size of the soul should¹⁷ be admitted.

There is another reason, points out Śrīpati, why the soul cannot be body-sized. The small (*sūkṣma*) souls occupying the bodies of the mosquito, etc., when they take to, due to action, bodies of elephants and the like, cannot pervade (completely) the body of the elephant, etc., as the souls are small in size. So also the big souls staying in the bodies of elephant and the rest, when they come to have, due to action, the bodies of a mosquito, etc., cannot have sufficient space on account of the smallness of the body of mosquito and so on.

The Jainas will argue:—Like the ball of cotton or tuft of grass (*tūla-piṇḍa*), the souls have parts; hence the souls will contract in the bodies of mosquito,¹⁸ etc., i. e., there is no contradiction, when we admit contraction and expansion of soul corresponding to the successive bodies (the soul comes to occupy). Thus there is no cotradiction even if the soul (successively) occupies the bodies of an elephant, horse, boy, girl¹⁹ mosquito, etc.

We deny this, says Śrīpati. On this view, there arises the contin-

14. BS *Śrīkarabhāṣya*, II. 2.32.

15. The printed text here wrongly reads '*kārtsnya*' in place of '*akārtsnya*.'

16. The printed text reads '*hrasvatvādi*' which really should be '*hastyādi*', to make the remaining sentence go well with it.

17. BS *Śrīkarabhāṣya*, II.2.33.

18. *Ibid*, II, 2.34.

19. The printed text reads '*putra-putrikā*.' The latter is apparently a misprint for '*puttikā*'.

gency of the faults like mutability, destructibility and the like, as in case of a jar, a piece of cloth, and so on, if the souls are assumed to have parts (*avayava*).²⁰

There is another reason, says Śrīpati, to reject the view of body-sized soul:—The final size of the soul, viz., the size which it has in the state of salvation is permanent, because the soul then does not take to another body. Thus both the soul in the liberated condition and its size are permanent. From this it follows that that final size alone is the natural or original dimension of the soul; that size, therefore, belongs to the soul even prior to liberation. That is, there is no difference (*aviśeṣa*) of the final size from the previous one. Therefore the soul cannot have the same size as the body. Then concludes Śrīpati, the discriminating people should understand that this doctrine (of the Jainas) that falls outside the pale of the Vedas is inconsistent²¹ and improper.

× × ×

Now, we will consider how far Śrīpati has correctly presented the Jaina doctrine, in the following paragraphs. Here one should note: The topics mentioned by Śrīpati are suitably arranged. And their correctness or otherwise is tested in the light of the original Jaina works, which are mentioned in the footnotes. Very rarely, actual quotations from the Jaina sources are given.

World and its Constituents:—

The whole universe in Jainism consists of two kinds of substances, namely, soul and non-soul.²² Thus Śrīpati is right when he says that the universe comprises of soul and non-soul.

Further, in Jainism, there are many gods divided into four²³ classes. Jainism also admits a highest or supreme god. And the supreme god is nothing but a liberated soul. Such a soul is variously called Jina, Arhat, Parātmā, Paramātmā, Īśvara, Parameśvara,²⁴ etc. But the Jainas do not recognise this highest god as the creator, ruler, and destroyer of this universe. The universe in Jainism is without a creator, maintainer and destroyer.²⁵ Śrīpati has said that the world is *nirīśvara*. By this he must be meaning that the

20. BS *Śrīkarabhāṣya*, II. 2.35.

21. *Ibid.*, II. 2.36.

22. *Uttara*.36.2; *Jñānārṇava*, 36.2; and *Lokabhāvanā*, 1.

23. *Tat Sut* IV.1; *Uttara* 36.205; *NS*, 17; *Pañcāsti*, 118; *JSD*, III.115.

24. *Samādhisataka*, sk. 283; *Bodhīprābhṛta*, 34; *Com.* on *JSD*, V.40; *Brahmadeva* on *DS*, 4; *NS*, 7; *Nyāyākusumāñjali*, IV. 33; *Mokṣaprabhṛta*, 5; *JDS*, VII.7; *Pāhuḍadohā*, 39; *PP*, II.200; *Yogasāra*, 9 and 105; *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.606, and 609; *Jñānārṇava*, 42.45 and 74 and 39.8.

25. *TV* on *Pañcāsti*, 76; *Brahmadeva* on *PP* I.40, II.16; *Brahmadeva* on *DS*, 20; *Jñānārṇava Lokabhāvanā*, 3-4.

world is not produced, ruled and destroyed by a supreme lord. Thus he is right in calling the world as without a ruling lord.

Six Substances:—

The universe in Jainism consists of Substances.²⁶ Primarily, these substances are two, soul and non-soul.²⁷ Sometimes, the universe is said to be composed of five extensive substances, namely, soul, matter, *dharma*, *adharmā* and *ākāśa*.²⁸ To these substances time was added as an independent²⁹ substance. Thus we get six substances—five extensive substances plus time. The universe is composed of these six substances which are enumerated as soul, matter, *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and time.³⁰ Thus Śrīpati correctly points out that the world consists of six substances, and he correctly enumerates the six substances.

The six substances in Jainism are also broadly divided into extensive substances (*astikāya*) and non-extensive substances. Amongst the six substances, only one, namely, Time is non-extensive, while the other five are extensive.³¹ The five extensive substances are soul, matter, *dharma*, *adharmā*, and *ākāśa*.³² Śrīpati correctly mentions the five extensive substances, and excludes time from them.

Extensive Substances:—

The word *astikāya* means a substance which is a collection of many³³ *pradeśas*. Now, a *pradeśa* or *deśa* is that portion of *ākāśa* which is obstructed (*avaṣṭabdha*) by one indivisible ultimate particle called *aṇu*.³⁴ Thus an extensive substance occupies more than one *pradeśa*. Hence Śrīpati's description of an extensive substance is correct.

Kāla

Kāla consists of ultimate particles called *kālāṇus* (TV on *Pañcāsti*, 23) which never mix up with one another, but always exist separately. Now as *kālāṇu* occupies only one *pradeśa*, it is said to be

26. *Jñānārṇava*, 7.2, 36.2, and *Lokabhāvanā*, 4; TD On *Pañcāsti*, 87; *Dvādaśā-nupreksā*, 39.
27. TD on *Pañcāsti*, 108; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 563; DS, 1; *Bhagavai*, 719, *Sutt* Vol. I, P. 853; *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.3.
28. *Tattvārthā Bhāṣya* III.6 and IX.7; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, III.6; *Bhagavai*, 480, *Ibid*, P. 683.
29. *Lokaprakāśa*, 28.56, 49-50. 55; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, IV.15.
30. *Lokaprakāśa*, II.11; *Tat Sut*, V.1-3 and 39; NS, 9; JSD, 1.1-2; *Jñānārṇava*, VI.26; *Uttara*, 28.7; PS, 128; *Pañcāsti*, 22; *TAT Sar*, III.3; *TRV*, P. 60; *HVP*, IV.5.
31. *Tat Sar*, III.4; NS, 34; DS, 23; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 620; *STP*, NTSS, P. 28; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.27; *STP* of Hemacandra, 42.
32. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, III.6; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 22; *Lokaprakāśa*, II.12; *Thāṇa*, 530, *Sutt* Vol. I, P. 265.
33. *Astayaḥ pradeśāḥ, teṣāṃ kāyaḥ saṅghātaḥ astikāyaḥ*—Hemacandra on *JSP*, 85; *Prācīna Avacūrṇi*, NTSS, P.8; *Avacūrṇi*, NTSS, P. 14-15.
34. DS, 27; *Lokaprakāśa*, XI.9; *Sukhabodhā* and *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tat Sut*, V.8.

without *pradeśas*.³⁵ Hence Kāla is said to have one *pradeśa*³⁶ only. Thus Kāla, being without *pradeśas*,³⁷ is not called *kāya*.³⁸ In other words, *kāla* is not an *astikāya*. Śrīpati has said; Out of the six substances, those except the atomic are classed under five extensive substances. The above discussion shows the correctness of Śrīpati's statement. Kāla is atomic.³⁹ Further, the context and Śrīpati's description of *astikāya* show that his '*aṇu-vyatirikta*' stands for '*kāla-vyatirikta*', though Śrīpati could have easily used the latter word.

Ethical Classification:—

The consideration of the real nature, bondage and release of soul has led the Jainas to formulate the ethical classification of categories. That is, the problem of bondage and salvation of soul finds its expression in seven categories, which are soul, non-soul, *āsrava*, *bandha*, *saṃvara*, *nirjarā*, and *mokṣa*.⁴⁰ Śrīpati rightly mentions the ethical classification of categories under seven heads. The reasons why Śrīpati says that the means of salvation is included in *mokṣa* seem to be:—i) Right knowledge, belief and conduct are means, and in release, soul comes to possess infinite knowledge, etc. ii) Redemption is regaining of soul's original nature and the soul herself is to try to obtain it. From this point of view, the means can be included in the end or goal.

Description of the Categories.

Dharma

Dharma is one of the non-living substances and pervades entire mundane space.⁴¹ Dharma is the medium of motion.⁴² When things are moving by their own causes, dharma, not moving in itself and not imparting motion, assists or helps those things that are moving.⁴³ In this way only, *dharma* is the cause of motion of moving⁴⁴ things. Śrīpati's description of *dharma* is thus found correct.

Adharma

The substance *adharma* also pervades the entire mundane space.⁴⁵ It is the principle of rest or non-motion. It is the

35. *Apradeśaḥ kālāṇuḥ, pradeśa-mātratvāt*—Amṛtacandra on PS, 135; TRV. P.189; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 102.

36. NS, 36; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.1.

37. *Gommaṭasāra*, JK. 620; PS, 135; Brahmadeva on PP, II.28; TV on *Pañcāsti*, 27.

38. *Lokaprakāśa*, II.13; *Pañcāsti*, 102.

39. *Kālāṇurūpo dravyakālah*—TV on *Pañcāsti*, 23.

40. *Tat Sar.* I.6; *Tat Sut.* I.4; *Tattvārthā Bhāṣya*, I.4; *Jñānārṇava*, VI.9; *STP of Hemacandra*, 1; *STP of Devānanda*, NTSS, P. 20; *Neminirvāṇa*, XV.51; *HVP*, 58, 21.

41. *Jñānārṇava*, G.32.

42. *Jñānārṇava*, 42.61; *NTV*, 9; *Uttara*, 28.9; *NTP of Devendra*, 13.

43. Brahmadeva on DS, 17; TV on *Pañcāsti*, 85; *Tat Sar.* III.33.

44. *Pañcāsti*, 83-84; TV on *Pañcāsti*. 24; PS, 133; *JSD*, I.4; *Ālāpapaddhati*, Pp. 155-156.

45. *Jñānārṇava*, G.32.

support of stationariness.⁴⁶ (The nature of *adharma* with regard to the rest is like that of the *dharma* regarding motion.—*Pañcāsti*, 86). *Adharma* merely supports the rest of the stationary things. It only helps the immobility of objects. In this capacity only, *adharma* is the cause of rest of stationary things. Śrīpati in describing *adharma* has said that it is *vyāpī*. The context shows that the word really stands for *jagadvyāpī* as in the case of *dharma*. Thus Śrīpati's description of *adharma* is correct. Even Śrīpati's use of the word 'hetu' is right, as it is found used in the Jaina works describing *dharma* and *adharma*.⁴⁷

Pudgala

The word *pudgala* stands for matter in Jainism. *Pudgala* has four features, namely, colour, smell, taste, and touch.⁴⁸ It is of two kinds:—in the form of an atom and in the form of aggregates (*skandha* or *saṅghāta*). *Skandha* is an aggregate of atoms⁴⁹ which may be two, four, six, . . . infinite.⁵⁰ Besides, sense-organs, sense-objects, four great elements like earth, water, fire and air—all are compounds of material atoms. This discussion shows that whatever Śrīpati has said of *pudgala* is quite correct.

Kāla

Kāla is a substance in Jainism.⁵¹ It being not an *astikāya* has no *pradeśas*. *Kāla* consists of *kālāṇus*. *Kālāṇu* occupies one spatial unit (*pradeśa*); so also *kāla*.⁵² Thus *kāla* is *aṇu-rūpa*.⁵³ Again, *kāla* is twofold: real or absolute (*dravya* or *paramārtha*) and empirical or relative (*vyāvahārika*), or primary and secondary.⁵⁴ Primary *kāla* is *aṇu-rūpa* and is assisting cause of change in substances.⁵⁵ Empirical *kāla* is found in human world and depends upon heavenly bodies,⁵⁶ and is threefold—past, present and future.⁵⁷ This naturally involves the dealing with time as past, present and future.⁵⁸ Śrīpati rightly remarks that *kāla* is *aṇurūpa* and a kind

46. *Jñānārṇava*, 42.61; *Uttara*, 28.9; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 88; Brahmadeva on *DS*, 18; *Pañcāsti*, 86; *Lokaprakāśa*, II.22.

47. vide: TV on *Pañcāsti*, 24, etc.

48. *Tat Sut*, V.23; *Ālāpapaddhati*, P. 155; *NTV*, 11; *JSD*, I.11; Brahmadeva on *DS*, 15; *STP* of Hemacandra, 44; *VP*.XVI.16.

49. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.25; *HVP*, 58.55.

50. *Tat Sar*, III.57.

51. *Tat Sut*, V.39; *Ālāpapaddhati*, P. 155.

52. *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 585; *DS*, 25; *NS*, 36.

53. TV on *Pañcāsti*, 23.

54. Sarvārthasiddhi on *Tat Sut*, V.22; *TRV*, P. 228; *DS*, 21; *STP* of Hemacandra, 52-53; Sukhabodhā on *Tat Sut*, V.22; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.36-37; *HVP*. VII.1.

55. TV on *Pañcāsti*, 24; *Tat Sut*, V.22; *Tat Sar*, III.40; *NS*, 30; *Pañcāsti*, 23; *NTP* of Jayaśekhara, 4; *NTP* of Devendra, 10; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.38.

56. *TRV*, P. 228; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK. 577; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.37; Hemacandra on *JSP*, 182.

57. *Lokaprakāśa*, 28.195; *TRV*, P. 228.

58. *Gommaṭasāra*, JK. 578.

of substance. Further, Śrīpati simply refers to the aspect of time in dealing as past, present and future. Such dealing is secondary in real *kāla* and primary in empirical *kāla*.⁵⁹ Thus there is nothing incorrect in Śrīpati's statement about *kāla*.

Ākāśa

In Jainism *ākāśa* is a positive substance. Though due to *upādhis* of *dharma*, etc., *ākāśa* is said to be twofold, mundane and supramundane,⁶⁰ yet it is really one.⁶¹ That is, *ākāśa* is one single substance.⁶² And this one *ākāśa* has infinite *pradeśas*.⁶³ This shows that whatever Śrīpati has said of *ākāśa* is correct.

Ajīva

Ajīva is characterised by non-consciousness.⁶⁴ The substance *ajīva* includes *pudgala*, *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and *kāla*.⁶⁵ Now, a thing to be enjoyed i.e. *bhogyā* must be cognisable by the five senses of knowledge and fit to be experienced by the senses. For an empirical soul, therefore, *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and *kāla* coming under *ajīva* cannot be enjoyable, because they are all suprasensible, as they are devoid of sensible qualities like colour, taste,⁶⁶ etc. But, a liberated soul, a *kevalin*, possessing omniscience can perceive *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and *kāla* existing in *Lokākāśa* and also *Alokākāśa*.⁶⁷ With omniscience, (*kevala-jñāna*), everything is apprehended.⁶⁸ Now, a *kevalin* is not really an enjoyer, in the usual sense of the term. But as he knows and perceives everything, he may be metaphorically called an enjoyer—or better knower and perceiver—of *ajīva*. A *kevalin* is said to be knower and perceiver of everything only from empirical point of view.⁶⁹ Further, the function of *pudgala* is to make possible for soul worldly enjoyment, pain, life and death.⁷⁰ Things knowable and enjoyable by the senses are *pudgala*, as seen already. That is, for empirical souls, *pudgala* only is enjoyable.

59. TRV, P.228.

60. *Lokākāśa* and *Alokākāśa*—Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.9.

61. *Lokaprakāśa*, II.39; *Tat Sar*, III.22.

62. *Avacūṛṇi*, NTSS, P. 15; Brahmadeva on *PP*, II.22 and 28; *Tat Sut*, V.6; *Tat Sar*, III.17.

63. *Tat Sar*, III.20; *Tat Sut*, V.9; *DS*, 25; *PP*, 11.24; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.43; *JSP*, 283.

64. *SDS*, 49; *TD* on *Pañcāsti*, 108; *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.3; *NS*, 37; *PS*, 127; *TRV*, P. 19.

65. *STP* of Hemacandra, 41; *DS*, 15; *NTSP*, 41; *NTP* of Umāsvāti, 19; *NTP* of Devendra, 7; *JSD*, III.36.

66. *Pañcāsti*, 83, 86 *VP*, XVI.31; *Pañcāsti*, 24; *HVP*, VII.1; Brahmadeva on *PP*, II.28; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.3.

67. *Jñānārṇava*, 36.184, and 42.31; *Lokaprakāśa*, III.934-935; *NS*, 158; *PS*, 32; *Tattvārthā Bhāṣya*, X.2.

68. *PS*, 41 *Jñānārṇava*, 7.8; *Lokaprakāśa*, III.1064; *TRV*, P. 62; *NTSP*, 86; *Com.* on *NTSP*, 86.

69. *NS*, 158.

70. *Tat Sut*, V.20; *TD* on *Pañcāsti*, 67.

Though strictly speaking, *ajīva* stands for *puḍgala*, *dharmā*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and *kāla*, yet sometimes loosely, the *ajīva* is made to stand for *puḍgala* only, e. g., *Bhagavatī*, 720, *Sutta.*, Vol. I, P. 853:—*Goyamā jīva-davvāṇam ajīva-davvā paribhogattāe havvam āgacchanti.*

Now, if by *ajīva* Śrīpati meant only *puḍgala*, then *ajīva* (= *puḍgala*) would be *jīva-bhogya-vastu-jāta*. But if *ajīva* is taken to stand for *puḍgala* as well as *dharmā*, etc., then *ajīva* would be enjoyable for both the empirical souls and *kevalins* (metaphorically in the latter case). Thus Śrīpati's description of *ajīva* can be justified. But it must be mentioned that the Jaina works do not describe *ajīva* as Śrīpati has done.

Āsrava

Usually in Jainism, *āsrava* is explained as the channels or inlets or the doors through which *karma*-matter enters into the soul.⁷¹ Further, *āsrava* is said to be of forty-two kinds.⁷² Of these, only seventeen are very important; they are:—three *yogas*, five senses, four *kaṣāyas* and non-observance of the five great vows. And all these can be subsumed under senses; for, in them, the activities of body, senses and mind are involved. Thus the senses being very important are also called *āsrava*.⁷³ Again, the senses are also means of enjoyment. Thus Śrīpati may be justified, when he says that *āsrava*, is '*indriyādika*' which is the means of enjoyment, with '*ādika*' in '*indriyādika*' referring to other *āsravas*. Yet it must be noted here that Śrīpati has not referred to the influx of *karma* and other *āsravas*. His description of *āsrava* is justifiable because in Jaina works usually *kāya-vāñ-manah-karma*' which is *yoga* is cited as *āsrava*. One can add:—It would have been better if Śrīpati had said '*tadupādānukarava-bhūtam*'.

Nirjarā

Nirjarā in Jainism stands for destruction of *karmanas*.⁷⁴ Destruction of all actions is salvation.⁷⁵ Naturally, *nirjarā* is the means of *mokṣa*.⁷⁶ *Nirjarā* is twofold: *sakāmā* and *akāmā*. Only *sakāmā nirjarā* leads to salvation and it is worked out by penances.⁷⁷ As penances are very important in *nirjarā*, *nirjarā* is identified with penances.⁷⁸ So far Śrīpati is correct. Regarding Śrīpati's statement

71. Com. on *JSD*, IV.17; *Sukhabodhā* and *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tat Sūt*, I.4; *Tat Sar*, IV.3-4; *TV* on *Pañcāsti*, 141.

72. *NTP* of Devagupta, 9; *NTV*, 21; *SSC*, XIV.70.

73. *Āsrūyate yañ karma ādiyate, te āsravāñ te indriyādayañ*—*Siddhasena* on *Tattvārthā*, IX.7.

74. *Tat Sar*, VII.2; *SDS*, 52; *STP* of Hemacandra, 127.

75. *Jñānārṇava*, III.13; *Pāluḍadohā*, 66, 172, 211; *Uttara*, 22.50; *NS*, 175 and 182; *PP*, II.63, 119.

76. *Rayasāra*, 157; *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tat Sūt*, I.4.

77. *Avacūrṇi* of Sādhuratna, *NTSS*, P. 40; *NTP* of Devendra, 79.

78. Com. on *JSD*, VII.24; *Nirjarā tapah*—*Avacūrṇi* of Sādhuratna, *NTSS*, P. 49; *NTV*, 34.

that penances are understood from the instructions of an Arhat (a Jaina prophet), we have to note: According to the Jains, the Jainism is revealed by an Arhat. Mahāvīra was the last Arhat. The present Jaina cannon speaks of twofold penances—external and internal,⁷⁹ each having six varieties. All this shows that Śrīpati's description of *nirjarā* is quite correct.

Samvara

Samvara is the checking of *āsrava*.⁸⁰ *Samvara* is twofold *bhāva-samvara* and *dravyasamvara*. *Dravyasamvara* is actual stoppage of all the *karma*-matter; while the modification of the soul that checks the influx of *karma* is *bhāvasamvara*,⁸¹ i.e., *bhāvasamvara* is the cessation of activity which is the cause of *Samsāra*.⁸² *Bhāvasamvaras* are either fifty-seven or sixty-five. They are:—five vows (*vrata*), five careful attitudes (*samiti*), three restraints (*gupti*), ten kinds of observances (*dharma*), twelve-kinds of meditation (*anuprekṣā*), twenty-two kinds of victory over trouble (*pariśaha-jaya*) and five kinds of right conduct (*cāritra*),⁸³ Now, *indriya*, etc. are *āsrava*; hence *samvara* would be *indriya-nirodha*. Further, the practice of vows, *samitis*, *guptis*, *pariśaha-jaya* and *cāritra* involves control over the senses. And even *dharma* and *anuprekṣā* require sense-control. Again, penances work out *samvara*.⁸⁴ And penances need sense-control. All this shows that Śrīpati is not wrong in calling *samvara* *indriya-nirodha*.⁸⁵—Regarding Śrīpati's description of *samvara* as *samādhirūpa*, we have to note: The word *samādhi* means concentrating, profound meditation, fixing of thoughts, penances, religious obligation, devotion (to penances), bringing together, silence, perseverance in extreme difficulties,⁸⁶ *vrata*, *citta-sānti*,⁸⁷ etc. Now if we look carefully at the list of *samvaras*, we find that nearly all the meanings of *samādhi* are covered by them. Again, penances also have *dhyāna* as one of its items.⁸⁸ Further, concentration of mind is said to be the cause of *samvara*,⁸⁹ and meditation is also said to be the cause of *samvara* (*Dvādaśānuprekṣā*, 64). All this shows that Śrīpati is right in characterising *samvara* as *samādhirūpa*, as cause and effect are metaphorically non-different. Yet

79. *Uttara*, 28.34, and 30.7; *Samavāya*, 20, Sutt Vol. I, P. 320; *Bhagavai*, 801, Sutt Vol. I, Pp. 893 and 895.

80. *Tat Sut.* IX.1; *Tat Sar*, VI.2; *STP* of Hemacandra, *NTSS*, P.39.

81. *DS*, 34; *VP*, XVI.67-68.

82. *Jñānārṇava*, *Samvarabhāvanā*, 3; *STP* of Hemacandra, 112.

83. *Tat Sut* IX.2; *NTV*, 25; *HVP*, 58; 301; 302; *DS*, 35.

84. Siddhasena on *Tattvārikā*, VIII.24; *Tat Sut*, IX.3; *Tat Sar*, VI. 27.

85. vide: *NTSP*, 49.

86. Apte, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, P. 587.

87. Oak, *Gīrvānalaghukosha*, P. 500.

88. *Samavāya*, 20, Sutt Vol. I, P. 320.

89. *Jñānārṇava*, *Samvarabhāvanā*, 11.

one may remark: The Jains are not found using the same words as Śrīpati's in describing *saṃvara*.

Vastujāta

Vastu or a thing in Jainism is a synonym for the reality or substance (*dravya*).⁹⁰ A *vastu* in Jainism consists of a permanent part called *dravya* (substance) and unstable part undergoing change called *pariyāya*. Thus a *vastu* is both *dravya* and *pariyāya*.⁹¹ Thus Śrīpati rightly remarks that all objects are of the nature of *dravya* and *pariyāya* (See: *NTSP*, 109).

With regard to mode as *avasthā-viśeṣa* of *dravya*, we find: The reality is existence.⁹² Existence is subject to origination, continuation and destruction.⁹³ That is, a substance or existence has a core which persists through change of appearance and disappearance. Now change means the cessation of a previous mode and appearance of a new mode; further, change presupposes persistence of an underlying stuff. A thing does not change from the view-point of the underlying stuff, but it changes—originates and perishes—from the view-point of its modes.⁹⁴ That is, a thing is permanent as regards its essential nature,⁹⁵ while its accidental qualities or states or modes change, come and go. Origination and destruction relate to modes of a substance,⁹⁶ while permanence relates to the real nature or essential attributes of a substance. Moreover a substance exists in some state, condition or form; this is its mode of existence or *pariyāya*. The substance does not exist apart from its *pariyāyas*,⁹⁷ because it must exist in a mode or a form; a substance is impossible without a mode in and through which it appears. In other words, modes or *pariyāyas* are nothing but various conditions or states of substance itself⁹⁸ This clearly shows that Śrīpati's description of *pariyāyas* is quite correct.

Soul

All souls in Jainism have the same nature and attributes. But in mundane life, there is difference in their actual manifestation, due to soul's association with *karma-pudgala*. Due to contact with

90. *SVM* on 22, P. 267; *PS* 93; *Pañcādhyāyī*, I.43; *SVM* on 21, P.264; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.1.

91. *Dravya-pariyāyātmakam vastu*—*SVM* on 23, P. 273; also see: *Tat Sar*, I.38; *SVM* on 5, P. 20; *Ṭikā* on *Laghīyastraya*, 30; *AGT*, P. 10; *AJP*, Vol. I, P. 120.

92. *Davvam sayam sattā*—*PS*, 105; also *Tat Sut*, V.29; *Ālāpapaḍḍhati*, P. 155; *PS*, 98; *Pañcāsti*, 10; *Pañcādhyāyī*, I.8.

93. *Tat Sut*, V.30; *TD* on *Pañcāsti*, 8; *Nyāyaviniścaya*, 115; *AGT*, P. 45.

94. *SVM* on 21, Pp. 264-265.

95. *TRV*, P. 197.

96. *Pañcādhyāyī*, I.200; *Pañcāsti*, 11; *PS*, 101.

97. *Tat Sar*, III.12.

98. *Tasya dravyasya avasthā-viśeṣaḥ pariyāya iti ucyate*—*TRV*, P. 61.

karma, the soul's nature, etc. are obscured or curtailed, in varying degrees. Thus the four destructive actions 'destroy' the original nature of soul,⁹⁹ and consequently soul comes to possess its attributes in a partial way.¹⁰⁰ Yet every mundane soul is potentially what it is in its pure original condition.¹⁰¹ So when an embodied soul destroys the four destructive actions, its intrinsic attributes become manifest,¹⁰² it becomes liberated. In other words, from real point of view embodied souls are like liberated souls¹⁰³ who have their original nature.¹⁰⁴ Now the original nature of a soul is the possession of infinite knowledge, perception, bliss and power.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes the word *kevala* or *ananta* is not found to be explicitly stated; but it is understood. Thus Śrīpati's description of soul is quite correct.

(1) *Pradeśas of Soul*:—Soul in Jainism is an extensive substance. An extensive substance, as seen already, has more than one *deśa* or *pradeśa*. A soul possesses innumerable *pradeśas*.¹⁰⁶ Hence Śrīpati is correct in mentioning innumerable *pradeśas* of soul.

(2) *Size of Soul*:—Jainism admits variability of the soul's size. Soul adjusts its size to the size of the body where it dwells.¹⁰⁷ Soul is of the same size as the body it possesses.¹⁰⁸ Soul contracts and expands according to the body and becomes equal in extent to a small or big body.¹⁰⁹ Thus the soul in its empirical existence is always equal in extent to the body which it occupies for the time being.¹¹⁰ Thus Śrīpati rightly says that the soul is body-sized.

(3) *Varieties of Soul*:—In Jainism all souls can be classified into two broad divisions, namely, worldly souls and liberated souls.¹¹¹ Samsāra means soul's being subject to the cycle of birth and rebirth due to action.¹¹² In this world there is a beginningless connection of soul with action,¹¹³ which constitutes the bondage of the

99. *Gommaṭasāra*, KK, 9.

100. *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.242; *Pañcāsti*, 27; DS, 2; *Samayasāra*, 203; *NTSP*, 27; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.17; *Bhāvaprābhṛta*, 146.

101. *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.352.

102. *Bhāvaprābhṛta*, 148.

103. *Jñānārṇava*, 18.30; NS, 47 & 49; PP, II.94 & 175; *Jñānārṇava*, 21. 1. 7.

104. STP of Hemacandra, 3; *Lokapnakāśa*, II.78; JVP, 48; DS, 14; NS, 72; *Śīlaprābhṛta*, 35.

105. *Ananta-jñāna-darśana-sukha-vīrya-guṇa-catuṣṭayam sarva-jīvasādhāraṇam*—Brahmadeva on DS, 15; also NS, 96; TV on *Pañcāsti*, 29.

106. *Jīvāḥ asaṅkhyeyapradeśāḥ*—TV on *Pañcāsti*, 31; also: Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, I.8; NS, 35; HVP, 58.31, and 56.42.

107. SVM on 9, Pp. 93, 103; HVP, 58.35.

108. SVM on 9, P. 95; DS, 2; *Pañcāsti*, 27; *NTSP*, 27; *Jñānārṇava*, 6.17.

109. Brahmadeva on DS, 10; DS, 10; TRV, P. 202.

110. Brahmadeva on PP, II.97; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 27; Brahmadeva on DS 10.6.10.

111. *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, V.3; *Pañcāsti*, 32; NTP of *Umāsvātī*, 2; JVP, 2; *Jñānārṇava*,

112. Sarvārthasiddhi on *Tat Sut*, IX.7; TRV, P. 86; *Uttara*, 10.15.

113. *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.43.

soul.¹¹⁴ Thus Śrīpati's observation pertaining to *baddha* and *mukta* souls is correct.

Regarding Śrīpati's '*Yogasiddha*', we have to note:—Among the fifteen varieties of *siddhas*, *yogasiddha* is not found. Again, *yoga-siddha* cannot be taken as a soul liberated by Yogic practice, for two reasons:—(i) Such an idea is not found underlying the varieties of *siddhas*. (ii) If it be so understood, every *siddha* is *yoga-siddha* then; for, *nirjarā* and *saṃvara*, as seen already, that lead to *mokṣa* include some Yogic practices. Then there is no propriety in distinguishing a *yogasiddha* from a *mukta* or *siddha*, as Śrīpati has done. All this indicates that what Śrīpati means by *yogasiddha* is to be sought elsewhere. Now, in view of the fact that the term *siddha* is synonymous with *mukta*,¹¹⁵ *yogasiddha* will be a variety of released souls. And that Śrīpati's *yogasiddha* is the same as *sayogakevalin* will be clear from the following discussion:—Jainism mentions fourteen stages (*gṛṇasthāna*) which are the grades of spiritual realisation through which a soul has to pass,¹¹⁶ and finally the soul becomes liberated. In the thirteenth stage, the soul is called '*sayogakevalin*', '*sayogikevalin*', '*sajogi-jīna*' or simply '*sayogin*', i.e., a released soul with *yoga*.¹¹⁷ This *yoga* is the activity of the body, speech and mind or vibration of the *pradeśas* of soul.¹¹⁸ And this *yoga* in case of the *sayogakevalin* is not binding and is called *Īryāpatha*, transient or fleeting inflow.¹¹⁹ This *sayogakevalin* in the 13th stage is free from four destructive actions.¹²⁰ Consequently, he regains infinite or *kevala* knowledge, perception, happiness and power, becomes liberated, becomes a *kevalin*.¹²¹ That is, a *sayogakevalin* is an *arhat*, a perfect soul with vibrations in it.¹²² In other words, *sayogakevalin* is *jīvanmukta*. A careful consideration of the descriptions of emancipated souls in Jainism shows that one set of descriptions refers to *jīvanmukta*, soul released in this very life, and the other set refers to *videhamuktas* who are without body and stay at the top of the world.¹²³ Thus released souls in Jainism are either *jīvanmukta* or *videhamukta*. *Sayogakevalin* is *jīvanmukta*.¹²⁴

114. Com. on *Pañcasāṅgraha*, P.55; *Avacūṛṇi* of Sādhratna, NTSS, P.50; SVM on 27, P. 302.

115. *Lokaprakāśa* 30.3.

116. JSD, VIII.1; *Samavāya*, 48, Sutt Vol. I, P. 327.

117. *Tat Sar*, II.67; JSP, 10.

118. *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 216; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, VII. 8; *Tat Sur*, II. 67; Hemacandra on JSP, 9; TRV, P. 95.

119. *Tat Sut*, VI.4.

120. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, IX. 48.

121. STP of Hemacandra, 40; Com. on *Pañcasāṅgraha*, 59, P. 19.

122. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, IX.48; *Lokaprakāśa*, III.1248, 1244-1247; Com. on NTSP, 40; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 64.

123. vide: NS, 71; Hemacandra on JSP, 9; PP, I.6; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 68; JSP, 48; NS, 72; DS, 51; *Samayasāra*, 34.

124. Vide: *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, I.10.

Śrīpati's *yogasiddha* corresponds to this *sayogakevalin*. In this connection one may remark:—Here Śrīpati should have used the Jaina technical term. Further in place of 'yogasiddha', Śrīpati should have used *sayogasiddha*. One does not know whether Śrīpati had used 'sayogasiddha' and a scribe changed it to *yogasiddha* or whether it is a misprint in the printed edition of *Śrīkarabhāṣya*. In any case, Śrīpati's threefold division of souls, *baddha*, *yogosiddha* and *mukta* is justifiable.

(4) *Permanence of soul's size in final state i.e. salvation*:—The *sayogakevalins* or *jīvanmuktas* who are embodied have the sizes of their souls equal to the dimensions of their bodies. After disembodiment, the released souls are without a form,¹²⁵ size and a body.¹²⁶ Yet from the ordinary view-point, a *siddha* or a released soul is said to have a shadowy shape¹²⁷ resembling the figure of a human being. That is, from the ordinary point of view a *siddha* possesses an *audārika* body which is refulgent like a thousand suns.¹²⁸ This body is two-third of the body which the *siddha* had occupied in its last empirical existence; the size of the soul is thus one-third less than the size of the last body.¹²⁹ Now the *siddhas* are eternal.¹³⁰ In released condition, as the soul neither contracts nor expands, its size will neither increase nor decrease.¹³¹ This Śrīpati rightly refers to the permanence of the size of a liberated soul.

Bondage

In Jainism, the bondage of soul is due to actions (PS, 149). Soul's taking up of actions is bondage (JSD, IV.5). Action is a kind of subtle matter.¹³² The actions which constitute the bondage of the soul and soil its nature are mainly eightfold.¹³³ That is, there are eight fundamental types of actions, namely, four destructive actions and four non-destructive actions.¹³⁴ The destructive actions affect the nature of soul, while the non-destructive actions affect the external environments of the soul.¹³⁵ The functions of the four destructive actions are as follows:—(1) The knowledge-obscuring actions obscure fivefold right knowledge.¹³⁶ (2) The perception

125. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, I.7; *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.30; PP, II.18; PS, 172.

126. *Pañcāsti*, 120; JVP, 48; *Lokaparakāśa*, II.116; NS, 48; DS, 51.

127. Brahmadeva on DS, 51, and DS, 24.

128. Brahmadeva on DS, 50.

129. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.16; *Uttara*, 36.65.

130. DS, 14; *Gommaṭasāra*, JK, 68; NS, 72; *Pāhuḍadohā*, 57.

131. Brahmadeva on PP, I.54, and II.43; PP, 1.54.

132. *Tattvārthā Bhāṣya*, V.20; *Samayasāra*, 50.

133. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, I.7.

134. *Jñānārṇava*, 35.10; *Lokaparakāśa*, X.144; PP, I.61; *Vimśativimśikā*, VI.2; *Sukhabodhā* on *Tat Sut*, VIII.23.

135. *Pañcasāṅgraha*, 136. P, 41; *Sukhabodhā* on *Tat Sut*, VIII.23.

136. *Tat Sut*, VIII.6.

—obscuring actions obscure visual and non-visual perception, perception of distant objects and perfect perception.¹³⁷ (3) The obstructive actions obstruct the energy or power of the soul, etc.¹³⁸ (4) The deluding actions delude right belief and conduct.¹³⁹ The functions of the four non-destructive actions are as follows:—(1) The age-determining actions determine the duration of life.¹⁴⁰ (2) The name-determining actions determine existence in various conditions (*gati*), genus (*jāti*), number of sense-organs and other matters.¹⁴¹ (3) The family-determining actions determine the birth in a high or a low family.¹⁴² (4) The feeling actions (*vedanīya*) produce pain and pleasure.¹⁴³ Now, action being the cause of bondage can be metaphorically identified with bondage, as Śrīpati has done. As actions are eightfold, the bondage is eightfold. So far Śrīpati is right. Further, the function assigned to non-destructive actions is also right. Again, Śrīpati has said:—Four destructive actions affect *jñāna*, *darśana*, *vīrya* and *sukha* of soul. Now, *jñānāvaraṇīya*, *darśanāvaraṇīya* and *antarīya* affect *jñāna*, *darśana* and *vīrya*. But soul's bliss is not affected or obscured by the remaining destructive action, namely, *mohanīya*. But *vedanīya* action which is non-destructive is said to obscure bliss.¹⁴⁴ So this part of Śrīpati's statement does not seem to be correct.

Mokṣa

As actions constitute the bondage of soul, soul's complete separation from actions is its salvation;¹⁴⁵ complete destruction of soul's connection with action is release.¹⁴⁶ Thus when the primary eight actions are destroyed, one gets liberation (PP, II.119). Actions obscure the real nature of soul (PP, I.61). When the actions are destroyed the original qualities are regained by the soul.¹⁴⁷ That is, in salvation, soul comes to possess *kevala jñāna*, *darśana*, *vīrya* and *sukha*.¹⁴⁸ In other words, *mokṣa* is nothing but regaining of its own nature by the soul;¹⁴⁹ *mokṣa* is soul's abiding in its own pure intrinsic nature.¹⁵⁰

137. *Tat Sut*, VIII.7.

138. *Tat Sut*, VIII.13.

139. *Tat Sut*, VIII.9.

140. *Tat Sut*, VIII.10.

141. *Tat Sut*, VIII.11.

142. *Tat Sut*, VIII.12.

143. *Tat Sut*, VIII.8.

144. Cf. *Lokaparakāśa*, II.80.

145. *Tat Sar*, VIII.2; *Tat Sut*, X.2; TRV, P. 19; *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.364.

146. *Jñānārṇava*, III.6.

147. Brahmadeva on PP, I.6; *Lokaparakāśa*, II.79-81.

148. *Niyamasāra*, 181; HVP, III, 146; *Jñānārṇava*, I.45, III.7.

149. Brahmadeva on DS, 28; KPCS, 56, P. 84; Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, I.1.

150. SVM on 8. P. 86; *Prācīna Avacūṛṇi*, NTSS, P. 48; NTSP, 58; JSD, V.39.

A soul affected by passions like attachment, etc. is bound through actions.¹⁵¹ So long as there is even slight trace of *rāga*, there is bondage.¹⁵² Complete destruction of passions is essential for liberation.¹⁵³ Only that soul which is free from *rāga* and the like gets *mokṣa* (PS, 195); it regains its own real nature.¹⁵⁴ All this discussion shows that what Śrīpati has said of salvation is quite correct.

Way to Salvation:—Jainism mentions right knowledge, belief or faith and conduct as the means of *mokṣa*.¹⁵⁵ Hence Śrīpati is quite correct.

Pudgala-vāda

Pudgala in Jainism, as seen already, stands for matter, existing in the form of an atom or aggregate. Pudgala possesses touch, taste, smell and colour or form. The *pudgalaparamāṇus* possess touch, etc. and undergo modifications.¹⁵⁶

The atoms of the Vaiśeṣikas are of four kinds corresponding to the four elements, earth, water, fire and air. But atoms in Jainism are not of four kinds; they are all similar qualitatively and quantitatively; they are of one nature only. The atoms in Jainism¹⁵⁷ are without *pradeśa*, possess touch, etc.; they are all homogeneous.¹⁵⁸ Yet they can become differentiated by developing their qualities of touch, etc., into heterogeneous elements like earth, etc., with different combinations.¹⁵⁹ That is, the atoms are the cause of the four elements, namely, earth, water, fire and air. Even one single atom can form earth, water, fire and air.¹⁶⁰ Further when the atoms combine, they do not need the agency of any sentient being or supreme or supervising god.¹⁶¹ All this shows that Śrīpati is correct. With regard to Śrīpati's "*jainā api . . jagato vadanti*", one has to observe:—World in Jainism consists of six substances. Atoms of *pudgala* are the cause of only material things. The word '*ādika*' may refer to other five substances. If '*ādika*' is not so understood, Śrīpati's '*jagat*' will stand for only *pudgala* and its products.

Anekāntātma Vastu

Anekāntatva of things is said to be a distinct and original contribution of Jainism. A thing in Jainism is not of one fixed

151. PS, 84 & 179. *Samayasāra*, 157.

152. *Pañcādhyāyī*, II.771; PP. II.81.

153. *Samayasāra*, 157; PS, 179; *Mokṣaprabhṛta*, 13.

154. PS, 81; PP, II.100; *Pañcāsti*, 70, 103; PS, 88; *Mokṣaprabhṛta*, 45.

155. *Tat Sūt*, I.1.

156. Brahmadeva on PP, I.57; TRV, P. 190; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 76; HVP, 58.55.

157. PS, 137 & 163; NTP of *Umāsvāti*, 20.

158. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, V.28.

159. Amṛtacandra on PS, 167; PS, 167.

160. TV on *Pañcāsti*, 78; TD on *Pañcāsti*, 78; NS, 25.

161. Amṛtacandra on PS, 167.

nature;¹⁶² it is multifaced;¹⁶³ it has more than one feature.¹⁶⁴ To possess many features means to be *anekānta*.¹⁶⁵ Thus in Jainism all things, all reals are *anekānta*.¹⁶⁶

Moreover, the real or *dravya* possesses infinite modes (PS, 49), and infinite qualities.¹⁶⁷ Among the infinite aspects of a thing, many are contradictory to one another. So reality can be said to be a synthesis of opposites. Thus reality can be described with contradictory pairs of attributes like existence and non-existence,¹⁶⁸ identity and difference,¹⁶⁹ generality and particularity,¹⁷⁰ permanence and non-permanence,¹⁷¹ describability and non-describability.¹⁷² When a thing is looked at from different view-points, it is seen to possess contradictory qualities. From *dravyārthika* (substantial) view-point, a thing is one, existent, eternal;¹⁷³ while from modal (*ṣaryāyārthika*) view-point it is many, non-existent, non-eternal, different. This shows the correctness of Śrīpati's statement. Śrīpati's two other statements, namely, '*sarvaṃ vastu-jātam dravya-ṣaryāyātmaḥ*' and '*ṣaryāyāśca dravyasya avasthā-viśeṣāḥ*' have been already shown correct.

Sapta-bhaṅgī-naya

Sapta-bhaṅgī-naya or *Syādvāda* is the method to comprehend the nature of the reality which has infinite attributes and modes. A *bhaṅga* is an affirmative or negative statement or predication of an attribute of an object.^{173a} To show the complete relation of a quality to its substance, seven predications are necessary. These seven statements are the seven *bhaṅgas* and they together are called *Sapta-bhaṅgī*, collection of seven *bhaṅgas* (*SBT*, P. I). *Sapta-bhaṅgī* is thus a group of statements, in seven different ways, of affirmation and negation, with the use of the word *syāt*, singly or conjointly, as the result of the inquiry about a quality of one and the same thing.¹⁷⁴ Of the seven judgments, only two—affirmation and negation—are fundamental *bhaṅgas*. The remaining *bhaṅgas* are the various combinations of these two. The seven

162. *Nānapañcamīkahāo*, IX. 102.

163. *TV* on *Pañcāsti*, 18.

164. Siddhasena on *Tattvārthā*, I.6; *AJP*, Vol. I. PP. 152, 167.

165. *Anekāntatvaṃ nāma aneka-dharmātmakatvaṃ*—*SBT*, P. 30.

166. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, 23, P. 35; *Nyāyavatāra*, 29, P. 64; *Jñānārṇava*, IV.24; *JSD*, IX.28; *SDS*, 46. *Yuktyanusāsana*, 47, P. 268; *TD* on *Pañcāsti*, 10.

167. *TD* on *Pañcāsti*, 46.

168. *SVM* on 14, p. 179.

169. *Yuktyanusāsana*, 7, P. 265.

170. *SVM* on 14, P. 174; *SVM* on 4, P. 19; *AJP*, Vol. I, P. 134.

171. *TV* on *Pañcāsti*, 18.

172. *JSD*, IX. 28.

173. *SVM* on 5, P. 21; *TV* on *Pañcāsti*, 18.

173a. R. Tīkū on *PNTL*, IV. 14, 146a.

174. *PNTL*, IV.14, P. 145b; *SVM* on 23, P. 278; *TRV*, P.24; *SBT*, P. 3; *PKM*, P. 684.

bhaṅgas are given as follows:—*syādasti, syānnāsti, syādasti nāsti ca, syād avaktavyaḥ, syādasti avaktavyaḥ ca, syānnāsti avaktavyaḥ ca, syādasti nāsti avaktavyaḥ ca.*¹⁷⁵

The *Sapta-bhaṅgī* is possible with attributes like existence,¹⁷⁶ etc. Again, *Sapta-bhaṅgī* is applicable to soul and the like and *samyagdarśana* and so on, from *dravyārthika* and *pariyāyārthika* point of view. (TRV, P. 25) All this shows that Śrīpati is perfectly right.

Objections, etc.:—

In the course of his criticism, Śrīpati has put some objections, etc. in the mouth of the Jaina opponent. How far they are correct is considered in the following paragraphs:—

(1) Soul occupying bodies:—As seen already, the soul can contract and expand its size corresponding to the size of the body. It is already seen how a *pariyāya* is an *avasthā* of a *dravya*. The *avasthās* of Soul are its conditions like human existence, etc. Thus Śrīpati's objection pertaining to contraction and expansion, etc. is correct.

(2) Six substances are one and many in view of their own nature and *pariyāyas*:—It is already shown that a substance is considered one from substantial view-point and many from the modal point of view.

(3) Final size of soul, etc.:—There is no new body for a liberated soul. Further, soul is permanent in salvation; so the size of soul in liberated condition is permanent. Thus Śrīpati's deduction is based on the Jaina view.

Now we can have a resume of whatever we have discussed in details in the above paragraphs. [(1) Śrīpati rightly refers to Jainism with the word *Jaina-pakṣa*.] (2) He is correct in saying that *jagat* is *jīvājīvātmake, nirīśvara* and *ṣaḍ-dravyātmake*. (3) He correctly names and enumerates the six substances and five *astikāyas*. His explanation of *astikāya* is quite correct. (4) His '*aṅu-vyatirikta*' stands justifiably for *kāla-vyatirikta*, though one expects that he should have explicitly used *kāla-vyatirikta*. (5) Śrīpati rightly states the ethical classification of categories under seven heads. His inclusion of *mokṣopāya* in *mokṣa* is justifiably right. (6) His description of *dharma, adharmā, pudgala* and its two varieties, *kāla* and *ākāśa* is quite correct. (7) Though his description of *aḥiṃsā* is justifiably right, one must mention that the Jaina works do not describe *aḥiṃsā* in the terms which Śrīpati has used. (8) Śrīpati's statement about *āsrava* is justifiable. Yet one must say: It would have been

175. *Saptabhaṅgīpradīpa*, P. 13.

176. *SVM* on 23, P. 284.

better, if he had said 'tadupādāna-karaṇa-bhūta' where 'tad' refers to *pudgala*. (9) His description of *nirjarā* is quite correct. (10) Though Śrīpati is not wrong in calling *saṁvara* 'indriya-nirodha' and in designating it as 'samādhirūpa', one is to remember: Jainas are not found describing *saṁvara* with the terms which Śrīpati uses. (11) Śrīpati's description of all things as *dravya-paryāyātma* and his explanation of *paryāyas* are quite correct. (12) His statements that soul possesses the attributes of *jñāna*, *darśana*, *sukha* and *vīrya* and that they are natural qualities of soul are perfectly right. His mention of soul being *asaṅkhyāta-pradeśa* and body-sized is quite correct. Śrīpati is right in mentioning *baddha* and *mukta* as varieties of soul. His *yogasiddha* corresponds to *sayogakevalin*. His reference to permanence of soul's size in salvation is justifiably correct, as it is a deduction from permanence of soul in liberated condition. (13) His reference to eightfold bondage is right and functions assigned to non-destructive actions are justifiably correct. But he is not correct in mentioning the function of one destructive action. (14) Śrīpati correctly points out the nature of salvation and way to liberation. (15) Whatever he says of *pudgala* and its modifications is correct. Here one should note:—If 'ādika' in 'jagataḥ paramāṇu-kāraṇatvādika' refers to other substances, his statement is correct. If 'ādika' is not so understood his statement would be partially correct. (16) His observation about *anekāntatva*, his reference to and enumeration of seven *bhaṅgas* are quite correct.

With regard to objections, etc. proposed by Śrīpati one can say:—(1) Soul's possessing the qualities of contraction and expansion, six substances being one and many in view of their *dravya* and *paryāya* are in accordance with Jaina view. (2) After salvation, there is no new body, and soul is permanent—these are in accordance with the Jaina view. Soul's size being permanent is justifiably in consistency with the Jaina view, as it is a deduction from the latter view.

In the end,¹⁷⁷ we have to mention an important point, namely,—Śrīpati in his *Śrīkara-bhāṣya* borrows verbatim sentences after sentences from Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*—portion which deals with Jainism. This means that Śrīpati has generally followed Rāmānuja's exposition of Jainism and his general line of refuting the Jaina views.

177. The evaluation of Śrīpati's criticism is not attempted here, as that is not the aim of this article.

K. V. APTE

ABBREVIATIONS

AGT	Akalañka-grantha-traya.
AJP	Anekānta-jaya-patākā.
Bhagavai	Bhagavai-sūta.
BS	Brahmasūtra.
Com	Commentary.
DS	Dravya-saṅgraha.
HVP	Harivaṁśa-purāṇa.
Intro	Introduction.
JK	Jivakāṇḍa.
JSD	Jaina-siddhānta-dīpikā.
JSP	Jiva-samāsa-prakarāṇa.
JVP	Jiva-vicāra-prakarāṇa.
KK	Karmakāṇḍa.
KPCS	Kumārapāla-caritra-saṅgraha.
NS	Niyamasāra.
NTP	Nava-tattva-prakarāṇa.
NTSP	Nava-tattva-saṁvedana-prakarāṇa.
NTSS	Nava-tattva-sāhitya-saṅgraha.
NTV	Nava-tattva-vistarātha.
Pañcāsti	Pañcāstikāya.
PKM	Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa.
PNTL	Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālañkāra.
PP	Paramātma-prakāśa.
PS	Pravacana-sāra.
R. Ṭikā	Ratnākarāvatarikā Ṭikā.
Samavāya	Samavāyaṅga-sutta.
SBT	Sapta-bhaṅgī-taraṅgiṇī.
SDS	Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya.
SSC	Surasundarī-carīa.
STP	Sapta-tattva-prakarāṇa.
SVM	Syādvāda-mañjarī.
Sukhabodhā	Sukhabodhā-vṛtti on Tat Sut.
Sutt	Suttāgama.
Tat Sār	Tattvārtha-sāra.
Tat Sut	Tattvārtha-sūtra.
Tattvārthā	Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra.
Tattvārthā Bhāṣya }	Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra-bhāṣya.
TD	Tattva-dīpikā.
Thāṇa	Thāṇaṅga-sutta.
TRV	Tattvārtharāja-vārtika.
TV	Tātparyā-vṛtti.
Uttara	Uttarajjhayaṇa-sutta.
VP	Vardhamāna-purāṇa.

BEAR IN INDIAN CULTURE

BY

DURGA BHAGVAT

I. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEAR

The bear is a wild animal belonging to the family *ursidae*. The *Ursus* or the bear species are not numerous, but they are widely spread over the earth's surface. They are absent from Ethiopian and Australian regions and only represented by one species in the neotropical region.

The typical physical characteristics of the *Ursus* or the bear are its broad feet, the five toes on each foot all well developed. It is armed with curved non-retractile claws. The palms and soles are naked. The tail is very short. The ears are moderate, erect, rounded and hairy. The fur is generally long, soft and shaggy.

It has a small flat head and small eyes. The eye-sight of the bear is weak. It has a snout and its sense of smell is very strong.

The bears are animals of considerable bulk and include among the largest members of the order. The litter is of two cubs.

They differ much among themselves in their food habits and mode of life. They are mostly omnivorous or vegetable feeders and even the polar bear, usually purely carnivorous or piscivorous, devours grass with avidity in summer.

In 1891 Richard Lyderkker had described the species of the bears very aptly and the description holds good even now.¹ It is as follows:

1. *Ursus maritimus* is the famous polar bear or the white bear of the Arctic Regions.

2. The typical or ursine group, which includes a number of species of which the common brown bear—*Ursus arctos*—is the best known example. This species is an exceedingly variable one and has a very wide range in the paleoarctic region. The Syrian variety is described as *Ursus Syriacus*, as well as the hairy-eared bear—*Ursus picator* of North-eastern Asia and the snow-bear—

1. William Flower, *An Introduction to the Study of Mammals, Living and Extinct*. London, 1891, pp. 557-562.

Ursus isabellinus—of Kashmir and Nepal not being specially separable. The brown bear hibernates in cold regions and in the Himalayas, keeps to comparatively high regions, emerging from its winter lair in March, April or May to feed on bulbous plants which abound in these regions it inhabits. Both the Syrian and Himalayan varieties are generally of lighter colour and smaller size than the typical European bear. Bears were at one time found in the British Isles from which, however, they have long been exterminated. They are still found in the Pyrenees and are comparatively abundant in parts of Norway, Hungary and Russia. In Kashmir and Himalaya they were very abundant in about 1874; of late years the number has diminished. The brown bear has a strong sense of smelling, is very slow of sight and hearing; and in the Himalayas it is easy to approach so near that they can be shot with a smooth-bore gun.

3. The Grizzly bear—*Ursus horribilis* of North America is closely allied to the brown bear.

4. The black bears of the Himalaya—(*Ursus torquatus*), Japan (*Ursus japonicus*), and North America (*Ursus americanus*) belong to this group. The Himalayan species ranges from Persia to Assam and thence to China and Formosa. In the greater part of this area it is essentially a forest animal, and may be found in autumn in the forests of Kashmir valley feeding upon chestnuts or other fruits. It is also exceedingly fond of maize, mulberries and walnuts. The spectacled bear (*Ursus onatus*) of the Peruvian Andes is another member of the group.

5. The Malayan bear or the Sun bear (*Ursus malayanus*) in which the head is short and broad. This small species inhabits the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Tenasserim, Arakan, Chittagong and the Garo Hills in Assam in India. It dwells in jungles and is an expert climber.

The earliest known occurrence of the genus is in the lower Pliocene era of the Indian Siwalik Hills, where it is represented by *Ursus theobaldi*. This was probably the ancestor of the existing *Melarsus*. The genus is represented in the upper Pliocene of Europe by small *Ursus etruscus*, and in the Pleistocene by the existing *Ursus arctos*, as well as by great extinct cave-bear (*Ursus spelocus*).

Remains of the bear are also found in cavern deposits in the North Africa.

6. The small *Ursus narmadicus* from the Pleistocene of the Narmada valley in India, may have been allied to *Ursus Malayanus*.



Plate 1.

The brown bear (*ursus arctos*), an omnivorous forest dweller, North of the Himalayas, from the Pyrenese to Japan. Reproduced from *Asia: A Natural History* by Pierre Pfeffer, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1968. P.43.

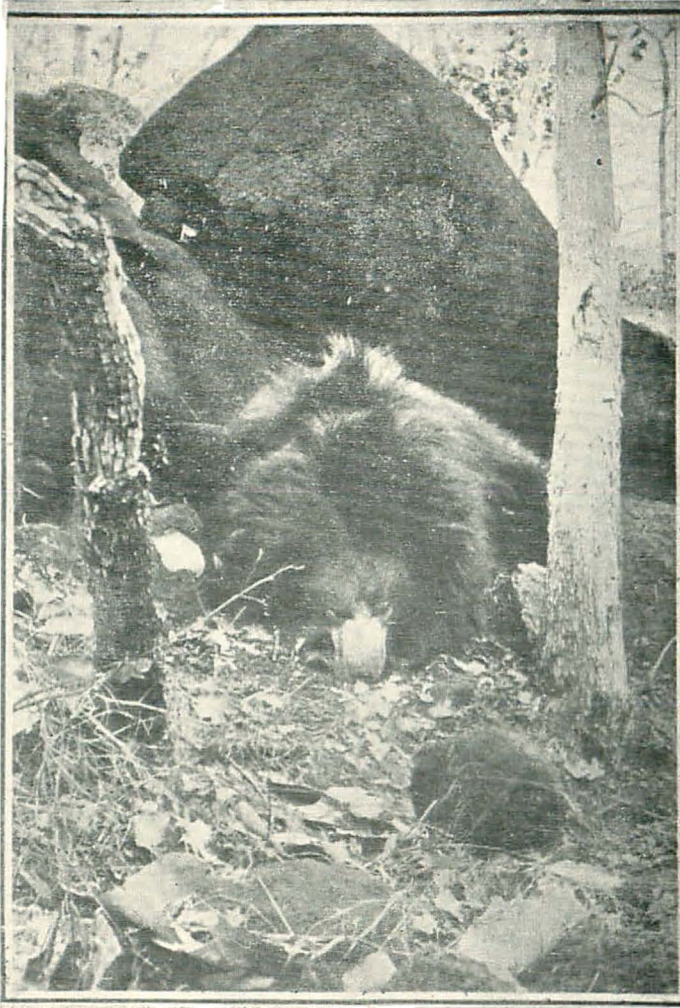


Plate 2.
"Bruin at home" A photograph of a bear from Satpura Hills. Reproduced from Brig. Gen. R.G. Burton, *Sport & Wild Life in the Deccan*, London, 1928, p.72.

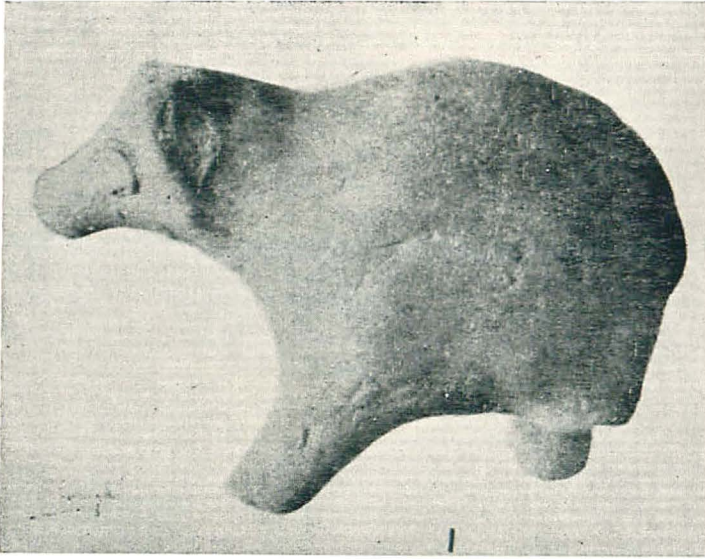


Plate 3.
A Terracotta figure of the Bear from Chanhu Daro. Courtesy:
Director, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

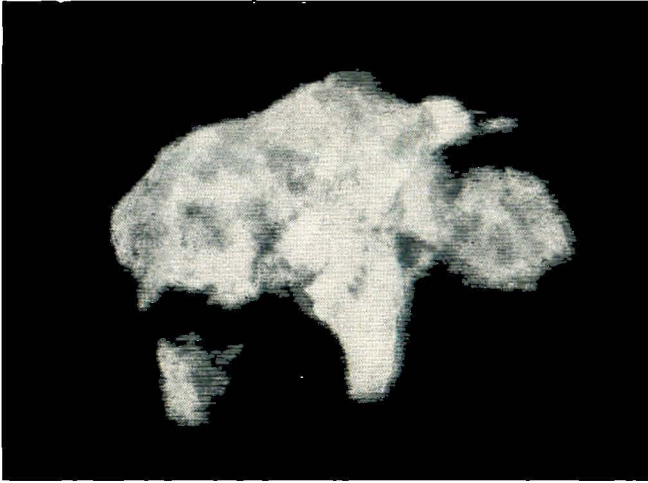


Plate 4.
Bear (?). Terracotta. Lothal. Courtesy: Archaeological
Survey of India, New Delhi.



Plate 5.
Bear. Terracotta. Mohenjodaro. Prince of Wales Museum
Collection, Bombay.



Plate 6.
Bear and Man in the Ajanta Caves. Reproduced from
J. Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temple of
Ajanta*, (1896-97), II Fig. 28, p. 13.

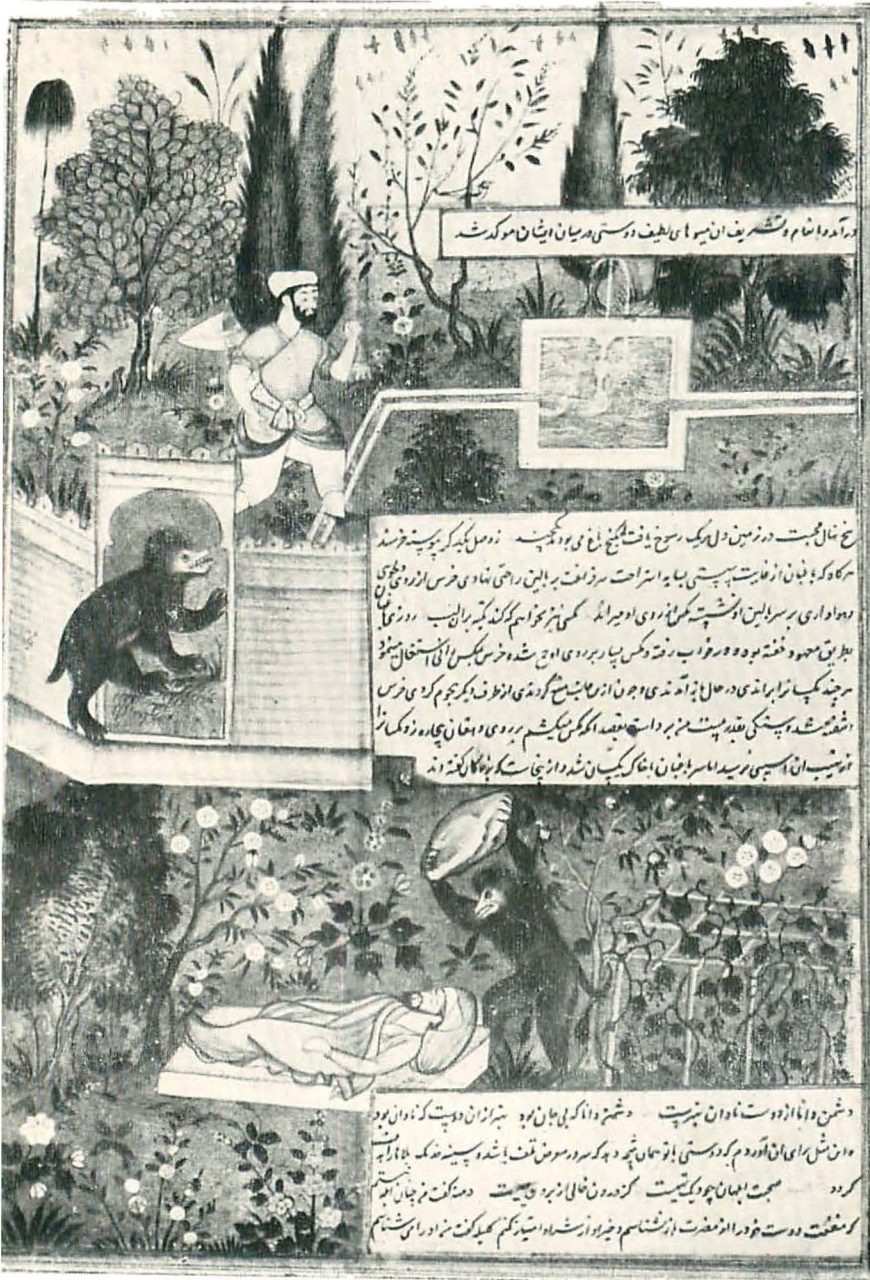


Plate 7.

The Bear copulating with a woman. Courtesy:
Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey
of India, South Western Circle, Aurangabad.



Platc 8.
The Bear in the Shri Shaila Temple in the Mysore State.
Bulletin de-L'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Tome LV,
1969, Planche IV, Fig. 5, p.57.



در آمد و انعام و شکر یف ان میرای لیلیف دوستی در میان ایشان مودت شد

سخن حال محبت در زمین دل در یک رسوخ یافت باغی بی بی بود که چو بست زومل یکدیگر پیوسته خرسند
 سر که در باغین از غایت پیوستی میاید از است سر زلفت بر بالین راهی نهادی فرس از روی طبعی
 و در اداری بر سر بالین او نشسته کلان روی او میراند کسی نیز خود آنم کند که بر بالین او روی
 بلایق صند و خفته بود و در خواب رفته و کس بیار بر روی او چو شده خرس میگیران ای استخوان پیوسته
 سر چند یک ترا بر اندی در حال باده ندی و چون از زمین بیست گردندی از ظرف دیگر بچرم کوی فرس
 افتد شد و پیشکی بقده پیوسته بر دست صند اگر کس یکیشم بر روی او همان چاره زد کس ترا
 از شیب ان اسپیدی نرسید اما سر با جان اناکر یک ن نشد و از چایست که پناه لاکتند اند

دشمن و نا اذ دوست نادان نرسیت دشمن و نا که بی جان بود سیر از ان دوست که نادان بود
 و ان شش برای ان آوردم که دوستی با تو همان چو دیگر در در من وقت باشد و پیوسته ندک با از پیوسته
 کرد صحبت ابدان چو یکیت کرد در دن خالی از بره و پیوسته در کف ز جهان آید
 که معقبت دست خود از معقبت از نشناسم و خیر و آرزنده امید بر کف که یکت نژاد را معقبت نام

Plate 9.
 A Folio from *Anwar-i-Suhayli*. Courtesy: Lady Cowasji Jehangir.



Plate 10.
 "The Animals in Council" by Ustad Husain. Re-
 produced from *Anvar-i-Suhayli*. Courtesy:
 Lady Cowasji Jehangir.



Plate 11.
The Traditional Forest-tree pattern—the unusual bear used
along with the characteristic pair of parrots. *Jl. of Indian
Art & Industry*, Vol. VIII, 1897, Arcot Wood-Blocks.
illus. 85, pp. 25-30.



Plate 12.

Combat of two composite elephants guided by demons, *Journal of Indian Art & Industry*, Vol. 16, xvi, No.126, London, 1914. Plate III.



Plate 13.

'Maimun the monkey deceives a group of bears'; painted by Shankar.
Courtesy: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

7. The *Melarsus* differs from true bears in the first upper incisor being absent or shed at a very early age, in the very small size of other teeth, in the very large extensive lips, the deep concavity of the palate and other minor characters. The one species, *Melarsus labiatus*, is the well-known sloth bear of India. It feeds chiefly on black ants, termites, beetles, fruit, honey etc. This species inhabits peninsular India, from near the Himalaya to Cape Camorin and Ceylon. Its remains are found in the cavern deposits of Madras. The black hair is very long and coarse. There is a light horse-shoe shaped mark on the chest (as on the *Ursus torquatus*) and the extremity of the muzzle is an ashy gray.

8. *AEuropus (melanoleucus)* is the variety of bears which is found in the Moupin mountain of Tibet. It feeds principally on roots, bamboos and other vegetables. It is of the size of a small brown bear. It is white in colour. It has spots round the eyes and shoulders. Its feet are black.

'The Indian black bear, 'ār' or 'Karaḍi' *Ursus labiatus* is fast disappearing', says Campbell, the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteers, Dharwar, (Vol. XXII, 1884, p. 39). 'They are now occasionally met in the Kalghatgi, Bankapur, Hangal forests, and in the hills to the south of Kod. Formerly they used to inhabit the Dambal hills, but as their haunts were easy of access, the bears have all been shot within the past few years.'

The same is the story of tragic disappearance of bears from the Madhya Pradesh, Vidarbha and Khandesh. The gun of the white man has proved to be deadly to the animal in Indian forests.

Campbell, in Khandesh Gazetteer (1880, p. 31) says 'The Indian Black Bear, (*āswal*), *Ursus labiatus*, is found in all the forest hill tops of Pimpalner and Baglan in the south-west. The number of black bears has during the past twenty years been much reduced.'

Burton mentions that first six months of 1864 rewards were paid for the death of 310 bears in the Central Provinces.² (Now partly in Maharashtra and partly in Madhya Pradesh).

Jas Burgess while writing about the Ajanta Caves observes that the wild beasts that used to be so abundant hereabouts have nearly disappeared, partly no doubt from the frequent visits of the European Shikari, but apparently the bears and perhaps the tigers too, partly before the intrusion of grass and wood cutters, whilst the panther still holds his place in the ravine.³

2. A. Dunbar Brander, *Wild Animals in Central India*, London, 1923, p. 17.

3. Jas Burgess, *The Ajanta Caves*, *Indian Antiquary*, III, 1874, p. 269.

B. Lewis Rice states that in Mysore in 1890-91 there was one person killed by an elephant, two by tigers, one by a bear and four by other animals; of cattle, tigers killed 1263, panthers 2554, bears 49, wolves 1823, hyaenas 109 and other animals 289 (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, Westminster, 1897 p. 177).

The *Bahraich District Gazetteer*, 1903 tells us that rewards were paid to kill wild animals. The amount paid from 1895 to 1900 was Rs. 325/-. The rate of the reward was Rs. 7/- for a full grown leopard and Rs. 3/- for a bear (p. 25).

II. THE BEAR AND THE WORLD-MYTHOLOGY

Although the bear is an object of fear and respect among many races of mankind, and although the bear has been attributed divinity by some, there is hardly any mythology about it. The country which has worshipped the bear in a unique manner is Siberia. The bear ceremony is a characteristic feature of North Asia and it seems to have originated among the Paleo-Siberians. Nowhere is its ritual so rich as among the Ainu and the Konyak. The bear ceremony has a dual nature like the horse-sacrifice, the *Aśvamedha* in ancient India. The bear is the sacrificial animal which receives sacrifice at the same time.

Siberia is the home of the bear-ceremony, and from there the ritual has spread to other countries viz. to Japan and South-Asia and to North American regions and to North Europe.

In Greece bears used to be burnt in honour of the goddess Artemis. In Athens, Artemis was worshipped by young girls who were called 'bears'. No girl was permitted to marry before performing this rite.

Among North American Indians it is believed that bears were formerly men. When the daughter of the Great Spirit was blown down to Mount Shasta with a grizzly bear, the bears were turned into human beings. Many totem clans of North American Indians trace their origin to the bear.

In Europe, Syria and Dardistan stories are current where girls are abducted by bears and produce sometime half-human offspring. The Swedes, the Finns, the Lapps all rever the bear. The Ainus of Japan look upon the bear as a divinity. Though the Malay sun-bear is traditionally called the cave-bear, it does not live in a cave. A story is told about a tame bear. A Malay left his sleeping baby in charge of a tamed bear and went out. On his return he missed the child. The house was in disorder and the bear was covered with blood. The father hastily came to the conclusion that the

bear had killed the child and in great rage killed it. But to his great remorse he found the dead body of a tiger in a corner of the jungle. The bear had killed it. It was the tiger who had carried the sleeping child and the bear had fought fiercely with the tiger and killed it. The child was unhurt and safe. The story is a local version of the Indian story of the mungoose and the snake as narrated in the *Pañcatantra*. The bear is believed to be the mortal foe of the tiger.

In Malaya the nurse of Princess Telan is supposed to have been converted into a bear.⁴

The bear stands for bravery, endurance, strength, brutality, gruffness, ill-temper, misanthropy, moroseness and uncouthness. The bear is supposed to be an awkward friend. Yet the bears are faithful to the mates. Though the brown bears are commonly monogamous, cubs never see their father and are not deserted by the mother until they are big enough to climb out of his reach.⁵

In European astronomy two constellations in the Northern hemisphere are called the Great Bear and the Little Bear. The Ainus look upon it as a mountain deity and a divinity. The American Indians look upon the bear as a symbol of immortality. It is self-existent; it dies and rises again. The Owasse Indians call it the chief of the underworld. The Seneca Indians call it the Spirit of the North Wind. In China it represents Shih. It is the harbinger of blessings and universal preserver. In Christian tradition the bear is a symbol of evil. In Norman churches it represents Satan. The Finno-Ugerics call it the master of the forest, the holy hound of God, honey paw, wise man and fur-man. They never call the animal by its name for fear it will be insulted. Hunters ask its forgiveness when they kill it. One does not laugh near a dead bear and its eyes are covered to keep it from seeing and casting a spell on those around its body. At bear feasts masks are worn so that the bear may not recognise the individual. The Finns call the bear feast a wedding.

The bear was one of the important victims which figured in magic and religious ritual pertaining to hunting from the hunting

4. Walter William Skeat, *Malay Magic*, New York, 1967, pp. 183-187; also for references for bear in Siberia, North America, Europe etc., (i) Fredrick H. Douglas and D'Harnoncourt, *The Indian Art*, New York, 1941, James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion*, Vol. I, 502b-504a; Vol. XI, p.495. (New York, 1954); Frank Hamel, *Human Animals*, London, 1915, pp.16-17; Ivar Lissner, *Man, God and Magic*, (translated from the German by J. Maxwell Brownjohn), London, 1963, Chapters 17-23; Maria Leach, *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*, New York, 1949, p.124; H.W. Selan-Kartz, *Bear Hunting in the White Mountains*, London, 1891; pp.6,83; O. Rachel Levy, *Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age and their Influence on European Thought*, New York, 1963, p. 273; Maurice Burton, *Animal Legends*, London, 1955.

5. Alex Conbert, *Nature and Human Nature*, London, 1966, p. 21.

stage of human culture in the Stone Age. At Montespan a clay model of a bear, in which the skull of a bear-cub attached to it as head, had fallen, was found marked with spears.⁶

Primitive hunting groups often show clearly the guilt they feel in the hunt. Among the bear hunters from the Lapps to the Ainus, the bear is sacred and a sort of deity.⁷ The Gilyaks think that one of the newly-born twins is a divine child and it 'should be returned as soon as possible to the father and knowing not which is which, they treat both alike—presumably expose them. And they hold a sacramental meal in which the Bear is the messenger to the Mountain-Man.⁸

In the Old Testament the bear typifies the kingdom of Persia which brought destruction into the world. In Persia the bear is known as a foolhardy, powerful and rich enemy. The bear is the emblem of Russia, and looked upon as a friend of man.

Among the Zuni Indians the bear is the beast-god and the supernatural patron of medicine society. They have a bear dance, a mimetic dance in imitation of the bear, usually performed for curative purposes.⁹

The best and detailed information about the bear-culture, however comes from Dr. Ivar Lissner, in his unique book—*Man, God and Magic*. He has described the ritualistic role of the bear in North, South and East Asia, in Europe, North America and in the Asian Arctic Zone. He also gives maps which give us a clear idea of the distribution of the bear-culture. He describes in detail how the Tungus and the Orochi of Siberia rever the bear. He also tells us how not only all the Tungus of Northern Asia, but the Manchurian Chinese, the Buryats, the Mongols, the Koreans and all the inhabitants of China set great store by the medicaments which have been prepared from various parts or the organs of the bear's body. All these people sense the deep affinity between the bear and the human form. A skinned bear is reminiscent of a human being. A bear's facial expression can be extraordinarily human at times. It can walk upright on two hind legs. Bears are strange animals and often act in such human ways that one is tempted to credit them with a considerable reasoning power. They hoard their food in the ground and establish caches of provisions. They sometimes dig up a dead animal and carry it to another spot and bury it again. They never seem to forget the spot. They are ex-

6. Gertrude Jobs. *Dictionary of Mythology and Folk-lore*, New York, 1961, pp.189-90.

7. Jack Lindsay. *A Short History of Culture*, New York, 1963, p. 31.

8. *Op. Cit.*, p.63.

9. *Op. Cit.*, p.179.

cellent swimmers and fish well. They eat fish and also plants. They are fond of berries, mushrooms and acorns. They especially love honey. They are expert climbers of trees and hills.

In spite of his tremendous and unique efforts in studying the bear-culture, Dr. Lissner like many European Scholars has left out India. India is a land with an ancient past and animals have played a prominent part in shaping her culture. The bear is no exception to this. India's culture is variegated and remotely ancient. The bear-culture in India is very old and has its roots in pre-vedic civilisation. All tribes and castes in India have some reminiscence of this ancient culture. There are traces of bear-culture in ancient Indian literature, in archaeology and ethnology.

III. NATURAL HABITAT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN BEAR

Before we tackle the beliefs and the superstitions surrounding the bear, and its role in magical and religious rituals, we have to be thoroughly acquainted with the surroundings, habitat and the nature of the animal, for then alone shall we be able to comprehend how far the natural has been retained or transformed and symbolised when the bear has a supernatural role to perform.

About the Himalayan bear, especially of the bear of the lower Himalayan slopes, White says "but the great potentate of the Himalayan forests and fastnesses is the bear. This monster attains a great size and would be very formidable, were he as bold as savage. . . .the common kind make their dens in the deepest and most sequestered dells, shunning the day and haunting spots of such profound gloom, that it would seem as if sun's beam had never enlivened their solitudes".¹⁰

(1) *The Bear in Almora*: In Almora three kinds of bears are found. The sloth bear in the Bhabar and the lower hills upto an altitude of about 3,000 ft. but he never penetrates into the interior beyond the first range. His principal food is ants, beetles and other insects, fruits, roots and honey, though it does not disdain carrion.' The Himalayan black bear is very common throughout the district. 'In the upper ranges he usually hibernates throughout the winter and is in fact seldom seen except during the rains, but those living in the lower hills descend to Bhabar for cold weather. He is a good tree climber and feeds on acorns and other wild fruits, but his favourite food is mandhua,¹¹ Eleusine Coracana. Black

10. Lieut. George Frantes White, *Views in India, chiefly among Himalaya Mountains*, London, 1858, p. 68.

11. Eleusine Coracana—Mandhua, is a food grain of the district.

bears, occasionally kill cattle, sheep and goats and like sloth bears are not above eating carrion on occasion.' The sight and hearing are both keen; and the black bear is a ferocious and courageous beast, not hesitating to attack man if disturbed. the bear invariably attacks the head and face.' The red bear (*Ursus isabellinus*) is found though very rarely indeed in Darma, Johar and Byans, living along or above the upper limit of forest far away from the haunts of man. He feeds on roots, weeds, grasses and even insects, but he will eat the flesh of the animals he has killed and has been known to feed on carrion. His scent is keen, but his sight and hearing are dull. He hibernates from December to March and is a timid and unaggressive animal.¹²

(2) *The Bear in the Punjab*: H. D. Watson says in the *Hazara District Gazetteer* (p. 14) that red bears are to be found on the ridges of Kagan. Black bears are numerous and frequent in all the hills over 700 feet in altitude. They come down to the cultivated lands for the sake of ripening maize and often do much damage to these crops.

(3) *The Bear in Mysore*: The sloth bear occurs in large numbers in the state and like other game is protected now. Its food is wild and cultivated fruits, insects and honey. Tickell observes that the power of suction in the bear as well as of propelling wind from its mouth is very great and is useful to the animal in procuring its common food, the white ants.¹³

Both in Mysore and in South Canara, there is a traditional belief in one curious food habit of the bear. This is said to be attested by the hunting tribes and other hunters. The bear likes jack-fruit which abounds in these parts and is very luscious. The bear is very fond of it. It, however, does not eat it as it is even when it is ripe and ready to be eaten. It brings the fruit and stores it in its den. Then when it is sufficiently ripe the bear collects honey and mixes it with the kernel of the fruit and feasts upon it. The bear thus seems to be an animal which has concocted an uncooked dish and the men in the locale seem to have copied this. In South Canara and even in Mysore jack-fruit is always eaten with honey.

The hunters discover the haunts of the bear from the trickling of the honey on the track and the smell of the ripe jack-fruit in season.

12. H. G. Walton, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Almora. (Vol. XXXV), Allahabad, 1911 pp.29-30.

Mandua or Marva of North India is the Ragi Grain of South India. (Elusine Corcora); Rice. *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 107.

13. Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, 1926. Zoology, p.81.

(4) *The Bear in Kerala:* That the South Indian sloth bear has set up a way of concocting luscious dishes of wild fruit and honey is seen from the information obtained from the hunting tribes of the Vedans of Kerala. Thurston says, "The following story in connection with the bears and Vedans is worthy of being placed on record. The bears are said to collect ripe wood-apples (*Feronica elephantum*) during the season and store them in the forest. After a small quantity has been collected they remove the rind of the fruits and heap together all the pulp. They then bring honey and petals of sweet smelling flowers, put them on the heap of the pulp and thresh them with sticks in their hands. When the whole has become a consistent mass, they feed on it. The Vedan who knows the season is said to drive off the bears by shooting at them and to rob them of their feast which is called 'Karaḍi pañcā-mṛitaṃ' or a bear delicacy made of five ingredients."¹⁴

(5) *The Bear in Canara and Ganjam:* Gordon S. Forbes has recorded an instance where how a bear attacked a postal runner in the jungle tract and how the runner outwitted the bear by going behind the tree. The bear hugged the tree and the runner laid hold of the bear's fore paws and pulled hard at the bear. The bear groaned and hugged the tree all the more tightly. Ultimately the bear was killed. Forbes also tells us how in the forest near Benkeri bears attacked the pilgrims to Gokarna and killed one of them. Following this attack the four bears including two cubs were killed by men who later took revenge on the bears, by shooting them.

In Ganjam sugar-cane is grown. The rocky hills around afford shelter to the bears which abound in the district. Forbes says, "Circumstances greatly favour these creatures in gratification of their love of sugar. If they get into the fence they can roll and then retire with impunity before day light to the den, out of which it is impossible to force them. I have heard of as many as twenty-five bears being seen by one observer in the course of a moonlight night among the cane garden. A friend of mine once wounded a bear in that neighbourhood and followed it to its den under the rocks. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to dislodge the bear, but at last it occurred to some one to make a clay figure and lower it from the rocks above into the very mouth of the den; there by means of a rope around its waist the dummy was made to dance in so irritating a manner that the bear rushed out at it and was shot". Forbes tried to reduce the number of bears in the Ganjam district.¹⁵

14. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, VII, 1909, p.332.

15. Gordon S. Forbes—*Wild Life in Canara and Ganjam*, London, 1885, pp. 53, 85.

(6) *The Bear in Wynad District and South India*: William T. Hornaday says that in Wynad district, which is a haunt of the bears, he shot three bears, mother and cubs with difficulty. Wynad district is the haunt of elephants and there are plenty of bears in it. From Hornaday's account it appears that the bears had taken no notice of these men and were going their way as usual, very quietly but the men shot them.

About the eating habits of these bears, i.e. the sloth bear, Hornaday says that like the American bears, it loves honey. It feeds upon ants, both black and white, the larvae of certain longicorn beetles which it forcibly sucks out of the ground. It eats various fruits, especially that of the Mohwa tree (*Bassia Latifolia*). The bear is found in many parts of the Madras now Tamilnad State, viz. the Nilgiri and Sheravory Hills, Pulneys and also in Mysore.¹⁶

(7) *The Bear in the Central Provinces (Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh)*: R. G. Burton, an expert hunter has given us an account of his hunting expeditions of the old Central Provinces. In the Pachmadi hills, in Vidarbha the bears abound and there he shot a number of bears, who resisted the attack frantically; even the cubs tore the legs of the assistants. He says that it is dangerous to get below a bear or to fire at it from below; it is very likely to roll or rush down on to you with terrific impetus and a rapidity of progress that belies its name, for it is anything but slothful in movement.

Burton further says that at sunrise his party 'kept a sharp look out for bears, likely to be on the move when returning to their lairs after the nocturnal visits to the Mohwa and mango trees in the valley below. These black sloth bears are impatient of heat, retiring at sunrise in the hot weather, although they may be found abroad some hours later during cold season. They are at times fierce and will often charge at sight especially come upon suddenly at close quarters'.¹⁷

(8) *The Bear in Maharashtra*: In the *Satara District Gazetteers* (revised, Bombay 1963, p. 41) we find that the *Asval* or the sloth bear is restricted to the well-wooded hilly portions of the Ghat area. It is particularly found in Bamnoli and Kas areas of the Satara range. During the day, it lives in the hollows of rocks and ravines and at night comes down the plain in search of honeycombs. It also lives on roots and fruits of forest trees and feeds

16. William T. Hornaday—*Two years in the Jungle*, London, 1885. p. 146.

17. Brigadier-General R. G. Burton—*The Tiger Hunters*, London, 1936, p. 126, 158-59.

on ants and insects. It seldom attacks a human being unless it is provoked and it does little injury to the cattle. In the Kolhapur area it is found in Bakryāchā dāng in Bhandargad and in Moryāchā Koṭ in Vishalgad. At night it comes out of its den in the forest and feeds itself on the honey and Mohwa flowers of which it is very fond.¹⁸

(a) *The Bear in the Jungles of Ajanta Caves:* The jungle surroundings of the Ajanta caves have been described by Campbell in the Khandesh Gazetteer (1880, p. 481). Several years after the British conquest (1818) the country round Ajanta was wild and unsafe. General Sir James Alexander, on his way to the caves (1824) was warned by an officer in the Nizam's state that he would not return. He was told that if he escaped the tigers, he would fall a victim to the stony-hearted Bhils. Near the path there were several cairns covered with rags, marked spots where travellers had been killed and in one of the caves was a human skeleton and footprints of tigers, jackals and bears.

(b) *The Bear in Nagpur:* The bear is found in the West Pench range. It digs the termites with its powerful claws and sucks them up with its moveable protruding lips. During the fruiting season, it feasts on the Bor or the *jujube* and Mohua fruits.

(9) *The Bear in Central India:* Bears breed in hot weather. The period of gestation is seven months. The cubs are blind for three weeks. For one year they are carried on the back at night by the mother. This is when she feeds them. Bears breed only once in three years. The litter is usually of two cubs, occasionally of three. Bears are exceptionally fond of the young. The bear's fondness for its spouse is also proverbial. The bear licks its own paws and the paws of the spouse and also the cubs. The bear is a nocturnal animal and walks long distances. Its diet consists of ber or bor (*ziziphus jujube*), the fruits Ācār (*Buchanania latifolia*), various Tendus or ebonies (*Dyospyros*) Amaltus (*Cussia fistula*), Jamun (*Eugenia Jambolana*), figs, (chiefly *bengalensis* and *gleometra*), Bel (*Aegle marmalos*) and the flowers of the Mohwa tree, white ants, honey and insects of all sorts. Occasionally it eats eggs and carrion. Man-killing bears eat human flesh; but this is very rare.

The bear is in the habit of sucking its paws and bears suck each other's paws fondly. The bear's character is very interesting to study, but at the same time most baffling too. Its actions are too inconsistent. It has undergone no change for untold years.

18. *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, Kolhapur, XXIV, Bombay, 1886, p.32.*

The mutual relation between the bear and other animals is one of indifference. Yet at times it has an enemy in the tiger and there are cases of its having killed a tiger or being killed by the tiger. It is an animal in the jungle but not of the jungle. It is a 'being' apart. It is aloof and unheeding. It is a jungle axiom that one never can say what a bear will do. It is a creature of sudden impulses, suddenly making up its mind, suddenly changing it.¹⁹

IV. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ART DATA ABOUT THE BEAR

(1a) *The Bear in Chanhu Daro*: The earliest archaeological evidence about the bear is a clay-bear image, either a toy or an icon, found in the Mohenjodaro and Chanhu-daro in Sind. This civilization belongs to the third millenium B.C. and belongs to the pre-historic period of Indian civilizaton.

The model-animal No. 1 in plate LVI seems to me to be nothing but a bear. Dr. Earnest J. H. Mackey says that "what No. 1 in plate LVI was intended to represent is uncertain—possibly a dog for ears were once present and no horns." Made of drab-coloured pottery, it has divided legs and uses round disks for eyes." I do not agree with Dr. Mackey's conjecture of the animal being a dog. In the same plate figures 5 and 6 are representation of the dog and there is no resemblance between them and this figure. I have attached both figure No. 1—the bear-figure according to me and No. 6—the dog-figure, so that readers may see the lack of resemblance between the two.²⁰

(1b) *The Bear in Lothal*: In the excavations of Lothal a prehistoric site, almost contemporaneous to Harappa, a Teracotta figurine of the bear is found. The age of the Lothal site is ascertained as B.C. 1900.²¹

(2) *The Bear in the Bhārhut Sculpture*: The earliest representation of Buddhist art is that of Bhārhut, about 400 B.C. The representation in stone of the *Vidhura Jātaka* displays a bear peeping out from its cave at the top of the mountain and watching a Nāga maiden dancing and singing before the Yakṣa Puṇṇaka who is obviously enchanted by her dancing and singing. In this scene only the head of the peeping bear is visible.²²

19. Dunbar Brander—*Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-15.

20. Earnest J. H. Mackey—*Chanhu-Daro Excavations* (1935-6), New Haven, Connecticut, 1943, p. 151.

21. Dr. S. R. Rao, *Lalit Kala* (Delhi), 1963-4 Plate XIII.

22. Alexander Cunningham—*Stupa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 82, plate XVIII. Dr. Benimadhav Barua says that two bears are peeping out (p. 1555), but from the plate XCI. scene 136, Barhut. II, Calcutta, (1934-37) it becomes clear that there is only one bear as described by Cunningham.

(3) *Painting of the Bears in the Ajantā Caves:* In about 600-800 A.D. comes the important representation of Ajanta frescoes. In his comments on the animals depicted in the Ajanta paintings, Griffiths makes reference to the bear in the scenes in the cave XVII, (which are no longer there). Griffiths observes that 'A striking jungle episode is an attack on two bears by the hill people who do not get the best of it; one of the animals lies asleep on his back, shading his eyes with a fore-paw, yet unconscious of its assailants, while the other has one of them tightly hugged in defiance of those modern naturalists who say that bears do not hug.'²³

Griffiths has portrayed the latter scene. This scene and his remarks on it attracted my attention. Both the Bharhut and Ajanta scenes do not represent any cult of ancient India. Yet the representations are not there for nothing. They have a purpose behind them. Ancient India abounded in wooded hills and its forest life was closely knit with human life. As a matter of fact the human and the animal destinies were blended together. The relation between man, beast and reptiles even the fiercer ones like the tiger and the snake was intimate. The kinship of humans and the animals was openly acknowledged in ancient India. Mythologies joyfully proclaimed it. Though the Bhārhut sculpture of the *Vidhura Jātaka* represents the peeping bear, the collection of the Jātakas have only a solitary tale about the bear. The jungle scenes on the mountain-side both in this sculpture and in the Ajanta paintings depict no tigers; Bharhut has lions but that too is a rare being. The animals usually depicted are the deer and the elephant. The fierce beast of the forest was represented by the bear if we go by the description of Griffiths. The bear was obviously a challenge to the hunter. The bear is also the symbol of the dense and dangerous forest, though he did not symbolize so sharply the spirit of the forest, as the Nāga or cobra did the spirit of the water. Even now the hunter in the dense forests where bears and tigers abound, is more frightened of the bear than of the tiger.

References to the bear in Buddhist literature do not elucidate the above-mentioned scenes, both of which are part of Buddhist Art. This will have to be explained by means of current folklore about the bear, because they are obviously based upon popular beliefs about the habits and the habitat of the bear. And these arose out of the encounters that hunters and stray-travellers had in the forest.

23. J. Griffiths—*Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, II. (1896-97), Fig. 28, p. 13.

In Maharashtra bears are found largely in the vicinity of Ajanta, the deep and the dense forest of the Satpura mountain, on the borderline of Khandesh and Vidarbha. The local element is bound to be represented even in religious art, particularly where secular life is described. The hunting was an attractive scene, if forest life was to be represented in its reality. In the forest the saintly ascetic meditated in a lonely spot, befriending the bird and the beast and in the same place the hunter, the disturber of the peace, the very symbol of death and destruction, hunted animals—sometimes the innocent deer and the hare, sometimes tigers and bears. Both the ascetic and the hunter symbolize manhood, strength and power. The manhood of the saint depends on curbing the beast in himself. The hunter's glory rests on curbing the beast in the forest. And here we come across the bear-hunt in the Ajanta caves as Griffiths describes it. I have interrogated half a dozen hunters in Vidarbha about encounters with bears, and also a few derveshis in the cities who tame bears and make them dance on the roadside.

I have myself watched the bears in the zoos for days together. And I found that bears do sleep on their back with their hind legs dangling in the air and their paw shading the eyes. This resembles the sleeping posture of men; and curiously enough the bear resembles man in a few of its habits. The other interesting points of similarity are: (i) The bear stands on its hind legs and walks like men. (ii) The bear's sitting posture resembles that of a man squatting on the ground, and (iii) the footprints of the bear resemble those of men.

The second scene of which Griffiths has given a sketch represents a peculiar bear-human relationship. The bear is squatting on the ground and having a satisfied, amused, almost amorous and human expression on its face. The man is sitting comfortably on the lap of the bear and the bear is hugging or embracing the man. If we take into consideration, folklore and traditional belief, this is a bear-human couple, the female bear and human male. As the Ajanta region abounded in bears, superstitions and beliefs in bestial relations also prevailed there. That male bears are enamoured of women and female bears of men is a strong traditional belief in these parts. In Vidarbha and in Southern Maharashtra one still hears echoes of this belief. I encountered an old demented, cripple farmer, whose relative told me that in his youth when he was passing through a jungle in the evening he was carried away by a female bear. She hugged him tightly; licked his toes till they became soft and bled; this was her way of keeping the beloved in captivity; he could hardly walk and she kept a close watch on him.

She gave him honey and plenty of fruit to eat and had sexual intercourse with him. This exhausted the poor man so much that he became permanently weak in the waist and lost his sexual vigour for ever. He suffered mentally and physically. Once when the bear had gone out in search of food, he somehow or other managed to escape and found some men nearby who helped him and killed the bear. Ever since then the man behaved like a lunatic. He was a cripple.

The passionate nature of the bear is proverbial. Stories about this aspect are current in the jungle tracts of Khandesh, Marathwada and Vidarbha. Griffiths says that hugging is not proved by natural history of the bear. But those hunters in India who have studied the bear say that when the bear attacks from the front it always hugs the human victim. It hugs and tickles when it wants to kill and it hugs when it wants to be friendly. The Indian bear is a tamable creature. To find the bear-men or derveshis walking with the bear in the streets and making the bear perform acrobatics are usual sights in big cities of India.

I interrogated one bear-keeper (most of them being Muslims) who told me that next to the dog, it is only the bear who loves man. The bear's nature is friendly, though he will do no work for man as other beasts do. This is because he has special magical powers and has divine blessings. He was a friend of Rāma as Jāmbuvant (Jāmbavat) and that is why Rāma became victorious in the war against Rāvaṇa. The bear loves the moon and so Rāmcandra or Rāma was loved by him. That is why the bear wears the white sacred thread, like the crescent round his neck. He gave up his ferocious nature once he started to wear this thread and became a vegetarian almost like a Brahmin. He is the Brahmin among animals. Unless provoked he seldom attacks.

"The bear" the derveshi continued to tell me, "because of his love for the moon or the crescent, is dear both to the Hindus and Muslims. The bear loves those who love the moon. He does not make any distinction in these religions." While making enquiries about the relationship between these bear-keepers and the bears, I got some information about the 'jocular relationship' of bestiality, between them. The tamed female bears excel in number the tamed males such as we find with the derveshis. This information however needs further investigation and even verification.

These bears are used for their magical and healing powers. Bear's claws are talismanic and worn in necklace. They are supposed to bring luck and to prevent disease. The bear's hair is considered to be magical and prevent the ill-effects of the evil eye.

They are put in a talisman by the Muslim derveshis and the talisman is bitten by the bear with its teeth and fixed; it is then blown out thrice by the animal to make it efficacious. Sick children are made to ride on the back of the bear to cure them and to get them rid of the fear of the wild animals.

The *District Gazetteer of Poona*²⁴ corroborates the fact that the bear is sometimes trained and taught to dance by men of the wandering tribes of Muslim Derveshis, who lead the bear from door to door and ask for alms. A few hair from the bear's back are kept in lockets and are hung from the necks of the children to guard them against the evil eye.

(4) *The Bear on the stone tablet in the Devgiri or Daulatabad Fort*: This tablet is probably not later than the 13th century. The scene of the bear cult reveals that it is of an earlier date, belonging to the old Yadav kingdom, before its conquest by the Muslims. The scene seems to be of tribal origin and depicts a local cult and belief. The tablet is divided into two panels. In the upper panel there is a goddess seen in the centre with the sun and the moon on either side of her. In the scene down below a male bear standing upright on its legs obviously in sexual excitement is holding a human figure, probably a woman who is turning away from him. The scene seems to be a symbol of the apparent human sexual offering to the bear satisfying its lust. This seems to be a way of protecting the humans from the attack of the bear. Here the bear is not a divinity but obviously blessed by the deity.

(5) *The Bear in the Shrī Shaila Temple in the Mysore State*: On the wall of the Mallikārjuna temple, there is a sculptured scene in which a female deity is squatting down in the *padmāsana* and on either side of her a bear is standing. The temple has been an old place of Tantric worship and the presence of the bears with the deity suggests the bear-cult in the Tantras.²⁵

(6a) *The Bear in the Miniatures of, Moghul Art*: In 'The Light of Canopus'—*Anvār-i-Suhali* (Described by J. V. S. Wilkinson, London) we come across miniatures which are exceptional in Moghul art. These are illustrations to celebrated fables written in Persian. The book borrows profusely from Indian fables. Plate XVI is an illustration to a forest scene called 'Animals in Council' by Ustad Husain.

The painters were from the Court of Akbar and Jehangir.

24. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVIII, Poona, Bombay, 1885.

25. *Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome LV, 1969, p. 57, Planche IV, figure 5.

Another folio from the same manuscript is from the late Akbar school (dated 1606 A.D.).

The illustration shows a gardener summoning his tamed bear and instructing it to kill his enemy who was sleeping in the garden. In the first scene the bear is approaching its master. In the second scene it is standing on the two legs and raising a huge stone with its hands to kill the sleeping man. The ferocity of the bear is clearly visible in the picture.

(6b) *The Bear in Rajput Art*: The Rajputs being renowned hunters, the Rajput painter has used wild animals in miniature paintings and other art-forms. The later medieval Rajput paintings are famous for composite animal forms.

In the Journal of Indian Art and Industry (Vol. XVI. No. 126, London, 1914, pp. 72-80) appears an article of Col. Thomas Holbein Hendley, 'Indian Animals true and false, in Art, Religion etc'. In it he describes the composite pictures of animals, natural and non-natural or mythical. The former or 'the natural animal is represented as compiled of a number of creatures, not excluding human beings'. At the end of the article, a number of illustrations are attached; among them a few belong to the theme of composite animals, viz. the horse, the elephant, the ram, the deer, the camel, the tiger, etc. In the plate 3 among these illustrations, a combat of two composite elephants guided by demons is shown. In this pair of elephants, the elephant to the right is composed of a number of animals, and a man. One among the animals is the black bear.

(7) *The Bear in Textile Print*: The Indian artizan has not used the bear as an art motif in his workmanship, either in stone, wood, metal, earthenware or fabrics. The only exception I have come across so far is the traditional forest-tree pattern in which, along with the characteristic pair of parrots, the unusual bear is also used. The pattern is on a wood-block used for textile printing in Arcot in Madras (Tamilnadu). It is appended along with other illustrations of wood-block patterns to the article, 'The Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency' by Edgar Thurston in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (vol. VII, Nos. 54-60, 1897, pp. 25-30, illustration 85-Arcot Wood-Blocks).

Thurston has made no comment on it. The pattern on the wood-block may not be old, but certainly it is traditional. It is an example how even unusual motifs also find a place in traditional crafts. India was famous for textile printing.

V. THE BEAR IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The bear in Ancient Literature: Before we start analysing the nature of the references to the bear in ancient Indian Literature, viz. Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi, Prakrit and Pali, it is necessary to know the place assigned among the mammals to the bear by ancient Indian authors. The mammals were divided into humans and animals and the animals again were grouped into fourteen categories. The fourteen species were again subdivided into two groups, viz. animals living near human habitations and wild animals. Wild animals were chiefly seven, lions, tigers, boars, wild buffaloes, elephants, bears and monkeys.²⁶

(i) *Nomenclature:* In this section references to the bear are traced from the Vedic to the eighteenth century traditional literature.

The section comprises the Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi and old Marathi literature.

In the Sanskrit section the Vedic, the epic and the classical are the main divisions.

In Pali, the canonical literature is taken into account and same is the case with Ardhamagadhi.

Before we analyse the nature of the various references about the bear over a span of two thousand years, it is worth while to have an idea about the nomenclature of the animal and its cultural background.

In Sanskrit, the oldest word for the bear is *ṛkṣa* (ऋक्ष). It means 'one who hurts or is injurious'. The word *ṛkṣa* has five meanings in the Sanskrit language, viz. (i) the bear, (ii) the ape, (iii) the star, (iv) the mountain or mountains called *ṛkṣa* and (v) two plants (a) the marking nut-tree and (b) the *śonaka* or *Bignonia Indica* tree.

The word *ṛkṣa* has also synonyms, viz. *bhalla*, *bhallaka* (भल्लक) *bhalluka* (भल्लुक, भल्लूक) *bhālu* (भालु) *bhāluka* (भालुक) sometimes *hari* (हरि) which also means the ape, is joined with *ṛkṣa* which means the bear or the ape and the bear (हृयक्ष).

The words *bhālu*, *Bhāluka*, *bhalluka* also mean the jackal. The word *ṛkṣa* has undergone phonetic change in the Sanskrit language at a later period and became 'accha' (अच्छ). *Bhalla* also is a later name of the bear. The compound word 'accha-bhalla'

26. Vide Appendix 3.

(अच्छभल्ल) means a bear. The words 'accha and accha-bhalla' are found in Pali and Ardhamagadhi languages as well.²⁷

(i) THE BEAR IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

(1) *The Bear In The R̥gveda:*

ऋक्षो न वा मरुतः शिमीवाँ (RV. V. 56.3)

In the Sāyana's commentary the word *ṛkṣa* is taken to be an adjective. Sāyana interprets the above line as:

हे मरुतः युष्माकं अमो बलं गणः ऋक्षो न अग्निरिव शिमीवान् कर्मवान् ।

The word *ṛkṣa* taken in this context means 'injurious' and then passage means that the horde of the Maruts or winds is fierce and injurious and not usefully active like Agni or fire. The activity of the Maruts is injurious like the activities of the bear.

Geldner interprets the line as 'Euer Andrang, ihr Marut, ist wuetig wie ein Baer'.²⁸ (Your attack, O Maruts, is as brutal as a bear). This means that the blows of the winds are as hard or injurious as a hitting by a bear. The brutal strength of the bear's paw is used here as a point of comparison with the gush of the wild winds and their destructive power.

Another reference to *ṛkṣa* is found in *R̥gveda*, VIII, 68, 15.viz.:

'ऋज्राविन्द्रोत आ देदे हरी ऋक्षस्य सुनवि' ।

(Indrota donated yellow horses to R̥jra, the son of R̥kṣa). Here R̥kṣa is a proper name.

It shows that men were called after the *ṛkṣa* or the bear. This shows that it was an honoured epithet the way the lion (simha) or the bull (vṛṣabha) became in later times.

27. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 9, 224, 748, 752.

V. S. Apte, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Poona, 1950; (ed. Gode and Karve).
Bohtlingk and Roth: *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*. St. Petersburg, 1852-1868. Vol. I, pp. 1038-39; Vol. V, pp. 219.

Rhys Davids and William Stede, *Pāli English Dictionary*, Chipstead, Surrey, 1925, p. 8.

Pandit Jain Muni Ratnachandraji, *Ardhamāgadhī Quadrilingual Dictionary*, Agra, 1938, Vol. I, p. 86.

Taranath, *Vācaspatya*. Calcutta, pp. 1399-1406.

Rājā Rādhākāntadev, *Śabdakalpadruma*; 2nd Ed. Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, p. 16
The words *accha* and *acchabhalla* are found in the *Medinī* and *Amarakoṣa* and also *bhalla*, p. 283; Vol. III, the word *bhalla* (भल्ल) according to *Medinī* means one who kills (भल्लते) pp. 486, 487, 504.

(भालुकः भल्लते हिनस्ति प्राणिनः इति । यथा भरतकोपान्तरे ।

" भालूको भालुको भल्लो अच्छभल्लो ऽपि भल्लुकः ।"

भाल्लुकः इत्यमरटीकायां भरतः ।)

Richard Schmidt. *Nachtraege zum Sanskrit Woerterbuch*, Leipzig, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 11, 123.

28. Karl Friedrich Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda II*, Harvard Oriental Series, Leipzig, 1951, p. 64.

(2) *The Bear in the Maitrāyaṇī and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitās:* The *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitās* of the black and white *Yajurveda*, while prescribing the ritual of the *Aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice, give a list of wild beasts and birds which are sacrificed. There are twenty-one sacrificial posts in the ritual out of which nineteen poles are meant for animals like the horses, bulls, cows and men etc., and the remaining two poles for wild beasts and birds sacrificed in the name of various non-Vedic deities.

In the following verse relating to the second category, we get a list of the forest victims which include the bear.²⁹

ए॒ण्य॒ह॒नो॑, म॒ण्ड॒को॑ म॒पिका॑ ति॒त्ति॒रि॒स्ते
स॒र्पा॒णां लो॒पा॒य आ॒श्विनः॑ कु॒ष्णो
रा॒त्र्या ऋ॒क्षो ज॒तुः सु॒षि॒लीका॑
त इ॒तर॑ ज॒नानां॑ ज॒हका॑ वै॒ष्णवी

It means that the female deer are to be sacrificed to the Day (or at day time); the frog, mice and partridges to the serpents; the hyena to the *Aśvins*, the black antelope to the Night, the bear and the birds 'jatu' and 'suṣīlikā' to the deities of other people (इतर जनानां देवानाम्)³⁰ and the 'jahakās' to *Viṣṇu*.

This is the only reference where we find a reference to the bear as a victim of sacrifice. It is also to be noted that it is sacrificed to the gods which are not specifically mentioned. The deities were probably those which were worshipped by people who were outside the pale of the Aryan society. They could be the people of the forests where deities which demanded the sacrifice of the bear were worshipped. The bear was thus sacrificed not to the Vedic gods proper but to those deities which were worshipped by those who were looked upon as 'others' or outsiders. The rest of the victims are sacrificed to the deities of the day, and of the night and to *Viṣṇu*. While the bear and the two birds alone are offered to the deities of the 'other people'. It, however, shows how the vedic sacrificer did not forget to pay homage to those deities of the other people about whom he was not otherwise concerned.

(3) 'Bears' as Stars: In the Vedic literature the word *ṛkṣa* or the bear is always used in the plural when it denotes stars and specially the seven stars or the seven sages or the Seven Bears (the constellation of the Great Bear).

29. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, III, 14, 17.

Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, Nirnayasaṅgṛha ed., 1912, XXIV, 36.

30. Commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara; *Śukla Yajurveda Saṃhitā (Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā)*; Ed. Vasudev Laxman Shastri Panshikar. Bombay, 1929, p. 454.

In the *R̥gveda* (1, 2, 14, 5) the following reference to the celestial bears is found

अमी य ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा
नवतं ददृशे कुह चिद्वियुः ॥

[These bears (stars) which are placed so high (in the heavens) are seen at night, no body knows where they disappear during the day time.]

Upon this line Yāska has written as follows:

प्रपित्वे । अभीके । दभ्रम् । अर्भकम् । तिरः । सतः । त्वः । नेमः । ऋक्षाः ।
स्तृभिः । वस्त्रीभिः । उपजिह्विकाः । उर्दरम् । कृदरम् । रंभः । पिताकम् । मेना ।
ग्नाः । शेषः । वैतसः । अया । एना । सिषक्तु । सचते । भ्यसते । रेजत इति षड्वि-
शतिद्विश उत्तराणि नामानि । (2, III, 20, 1).

In this passage the twenty-six words are represented as pairs. So *ṛkṣāḥ* and *str̥bhiḥ* are a pair. The word *ṛkṣa* is the plural and means 'stars' and the explanation that follows proves.

ऋक्षाः स्तृभिरिति नक्षत्राणाम् ।
नक्षत्राणि नक्षतर्गति कर्मणः ।
नेमानि क्षत्राणीति च ब्राह्मणम् ।
ऋक्षा उदीर्णानीव ख्यायन्ते ।
स्तृभिस्मीर्णानीव ख्यायन्ते ।

Yāska says that the words *ṛkṣa* and *str̥* are synonymus and they mean stars. Yāska does not give the etymology of the word *ṛkṣa* but he explains it that the stars ascend upwards (उदीर्णानि) and they spread all over the sky (स्तृभिः)

These celestial bears later came to be identified with the seven sages or ṛṣis in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. 1, 2, 4).

ऋक्षाणां ह वा एता अग्रे पत्या आसु सप्तर्षीनु ह स्मा वै पुररक्षा इति ता मिथुनेन
व्यार्थ्यन्तामी ह्यु त्तराहि सप्तर्षयः उदयन्ति पुर एताः ।

("Originally, namely the latter—Kṛttikās—were the wives of Bears, for the seven Ṛṣis were in former times called the Ṛkṣas (bears). They were, however, precluded from intercourse (with their husbands) for the latter, the seven Ṛṣis, rise in the north, and they (the Kṛttikās) in the east".)³¹

(4) *The Bear in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*: In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* we find a reference to a man turned into bear, viz.

त्रैतं नाथकामः कुर्वीत । आप्त्यान् साते नयतोऽरण्ये पिपासाविन्दत् । ते घन्वन् कूपम-
विन्दन् । तन् नैकतोऽवरोद्धमकामयत न द्वितः । तत् त्रितोऽवारोहत् । तौ यदापिबतामत्प्यता-
मथ हैनं तदैव रथचक्रेणापिधाय गोभिः प्रैताम् । सोऽकामयतोद् इत इयां गातुं नाथं
विन्देयेति । स एतत् सामापश्यत् । तेनास्तुत । स सम् इन्दुभिः इत्य् एव निघ्ननमुषत् । तं
पर्जन्यो वृष्ट्योर्ध्वम् उदप्लावयत् । अभि हि तद् रथचक्रमुत्प्लावयांचकार येनापिहितम आस ।

31. Julius Eggling, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, part I, The Sacred Books of The East, Vol. XII, Oxford, 1882, p. 282.

तद् एतद् गातुवित् नाथवित्ताम । गातुं वै स तं नाथमविन्दत । विन्दते गातुं नाथं य एवं वेद ॥

स पदेनान्वैत् । तं प्रतिख्यायान् ऋक्षोऽन्यो भूत्वा मर्कटोऽन्यो वनमवास्कन्दताम् । तद् उ भातृव्ययन्तम् हा साम । भातृव्यतां वाव तस्य ताव् अगच्छतां याव् ऋक्षं च मर्कटं चाकरोत् । अथो हास्मै वर्षुक् एव पर्जन्यो भवति । तद् उ पशव्यम् एव । केनलान् वै स तान् पशून् अकुस्त । अव पशून् रुन्दे बहुपशुर्भवति य एवं वेद । (I-184).

The meaning of the passage is as follows:

Trita (with the herd of the cows) went to the forest with his brothers, Ekata and Dvita. They became thirsty. On the road they found a well. Neither Ekata, nor Dvita wished to descend into the well. Trita alone descended into it. When Ekata and Dvita quenched their thirst with the water given to them by Trita, then they covered the mouth of the well by placing the wheel of a chariot on it and went their way along with the herd of cows. Trita, thus engaged in the well, desired earnestly that he should be the master of the cows, and he saw the Sāman 'gātuvid'. Then by that Sāman song he praised the gods. Hearing that praise the gods sent down showers of rain. The well overflowed with water and the wheel floated on it. Trita then came out of the well and started walking. When the brothers saw him following them, the one became a bear and the other a monkey and they ran into the forest. Trita then by means of 'bhātr̥vyaḥ' Sāman, turned them permanent into a bear and a monkey. For him the rains became real falling showers and he became a master in animal-charms as well. He made these beasts. He, who knows of this charm, controls the beasts and comes to possess numerous beasts (viz. animal like the cows etc.).

Trita thus obtained all the cows and seemed to have had the miraculous powers of turning men into beasts. There is a suggestion in this legend that the bear was originally a human and later turned into a beast by the magical powers of some seer. A man's turning into bear is obviously regarded as a deterioration of his status; it is the result of a curse. The reference to the bear and monkey is bracketed together and the relationship of the two animals is fraternal. This is another thing which is clearly indicated by the story.

This story is the precursor to the reference to the bears and the monkeys being bracketed together in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in later Sanskrit literature. The brotherly relation of Jāmbuvat and Sugrīva have their origin in such remote legends like this.

From the above-mentioned Vedic references to the bear or bears as we have seen them above it is clear that the bear is mentioned in its natural and symbolical form. The symbolical aspect is

all the more important because in it the magical and supernatural power of the bear is clearly visible. In the Vedas, the bear-cult seems to be an archaic cult, remote and one that emerges from the far north. The north is called *ṛkṣā* in Sanskrit and is the direction both of the Seven Bears (Great Bear) as well as of the natural bear whose original home is the extreme north region (chiefly north-Siberia).

The bear's transformation in the star mythology, shows that this symbolisation had a very long remote yet continuous tradition. The various synonyms of the word *ṛkṣa* also show that the symbolism was complicated and deep-rooted.

(5) *The Bear in the Atharva Veda*: In the *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā* there is a reference to the deity or demoness *Ṛkṣikā*. If we relate this to the cult of the bear as depicted in the tablet of the Devgiri or Daulatabad fort it shows one can even presume that a cult similar to that of *Ṛkṣikā* was prevalent in the country.

(ii) THE BEAR IN THE EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

(1) *The Bear in The Rāmāyaṇa*: The references to the bear both as an animal in its natural and mythological setting are found in the epics, viz. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. It must be borne in mind that these works contain no descriptions of the natural life of the bear. Whatever references are found to the natural bear are stray and casual. The association of the bear and the ape, however, similar to the one mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*, is maintained in the epics and used mythologically. It is the *Rāmāyaṇa* that sets up the model and echoes of it are found in *Mahābhārata*, where the story of Rāma is narrated. E. Washburn Hopkins, in *Epic Mythology* (Reprint, Indological Book House, P.13) aptly describes the role of the apes and bears as semi-divine, independent actors, 'of whom only the chief in each class is of mythological importance, the others acting only like ordinary demi-god heroes and being content with divine origin... the bear was created before the ape.... Jāmbavat or Jāmbava (R) is "King of Bears", *Ṛkṣarāja*, the son of Prajāpati Brahmā, in appearance like a dark cloud (R. 4, 39, 27 etc.). He was born at the yawn of Brahman and hence is called the son of *gadgada*, "stammer" (R. 1, 17, 6 and 6, 30, 21). On account of his wisdom he is chief of Vidyādharas (q. v.) and at the bidding of the gods he coursed over earth twenty-one times, collecting herbs from which ambrosia was made (R. 4, 66, 31). He once helped Indra and revered Viṣṇu (q. v.) by walking the deasil round him. His brother is Parjanya-like (R. 6, 27, 9) and is called Dhūmra, 'smoke-coloured', which however is a common epithet of bears. Jāmbavat is not

prominent in the great epic, though he leads millions of black bears with white faces into the battle (R. 3, 280, 23; ib. 283, 8; ib. 284.26) to help Rāma. He was brought up beside the Narmadā in the Rkṣavat (bear) mountain and is stronger than his brother, but by Rāma's time had become so feeble that he could jump only ninety leagues (R. 4, 65, 13f) as soon as he revived."

The Bear-fable: The oldest reference to the fable of the faithful bear and unfaithful man which occurs in the *Bṛhatkathā*, i.e. the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Jain Prabandha literature with a number of variants, is found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (114, 41-42).

After the death of Rāvaṇa, Hanumat, goes to Sitā and asks for her permission to put to torture and kill the female demons who had kept a watch on her and harassed her in many ways. But Sitā, noble and compassionate as she was, prevents him from doing so and pardons them their misdeeds and cruelties since they did so under the orders of their master, Rāvaṇa. She forgives them and sets them free. The magnanimous act of forgiving the wrong-doer, was illustrated by an ancient verse uttered by the bear and Sitā decided to follow the example. The old fable and the verse as quoted by Sitā are as follows:

अयं व्याघ्रसमीपे तु पुराणो धर्मसंहितः ।
 ऋक्षेण गीतः श्लोको ऽ स्ति तं तिबोध प्लवंगम ॥ ४१
 न परः पापमादत्ते परेषां पापकर्मणाम् ।
 समयो रक्षितव्यस्तु सन्तश्चारित्रभूषणाः ॥ ४२

[O monkey, listen to the verse, sung by the bear in front of the tiger, which illustrates the ancient Dharma. One does not repay the sinful persons in a sinful way. A 'good deed, is to be maintained (even in the case of the ungrateful);' because the wise are endowed with a noble nature"].

The commentator Rāma in his *Tilak* commentary relates to the ancient legend.

'In a forest a hunter pursued by a tiger climbs a tree which a bear had already mounted. The tiger standing beneath the tree asks the bear to push down the man, the hunter, who was the enemy of both of the animals. But the bear refused to do so, saying that since the man had taken a resort in his place it was not proper to throw him in danger and soon it went to sleep. The tiger then asked the man to push the bear down and the man did so. Luckily the bear caught hold of a branch and saved itself. The tiger then asked the bear to throw down the ungrateful man; but the bear refused saying that it was not the way of the noble-minded. Evil can be overcome only by good and not by evil.'

In the variant of the tale as it is related in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, there are some slight changes. Viz. the bear is already lodged in the tree but does not welcome him as his guest. Both the bear and the man promise each other help in the dangerous situation. The betrayal of the man is common in both the cases. The bear in the later literature is not forbearing to the end as is indicated in the fable in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. . . I have tackled the legends from these later literary sources with their background.

A peculiarity of the references to bears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is that that Vālmīki distinguishes between the organised band of bears who fought under the banner of Jāmbavat and those roaming wild bears of the forest viz. In the *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa* (93.2) bears and deer in the forests of Citrakūṭa mountain are mentioned.

In the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (fourth canto) the bears in Rāma's army and the wild bears are clearly distinguished. The march of Rāma's army to Lankā through the Sahya forest is described. The bears, apes and tigers are said to raise the dust by their claws, tusks and toes.

ऋक्षवानरशादूलैर्नखदंष्ट्रायुधैरपि ।

कराग्रैश्चरणैश्च वानरैरुद्धतं रजः ॥

(५६)

A little later the apes of the army are said to be feasting on the abundant fruits of the forest which was infested by wild and fierce animals like the bears, hyena and tigers (84).³²

(2) *The Bear in the Mahābhārata*³³: In the *Ādiparvan* (I. 71.25) the bear is mentioned along with the ape. viz—

सचक्रवाकपुलिनां पुष्पफेनप्रवाहिनीम् ।

मकिन्नरणावासां वानरर्क्षनिषेविताम् ॥

This is the description of the river Mālinī, on whose banks the ruddy geese were found. The water of the river was covered with flowers and foam. On her banks lived the Kinnaras, bears and the monkeys.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the reference to the bear (*ṛkṣa*) is found in the *Vanaparvan*, 146.41. When Bhīma went in search of the strange lotus which was desired by Draupadī he entered a dense forest on a mountain. As he climbed the mountain, he shouted fiercely and frightened the beasts. The bears left the trees and ran away and so did the lions and tigers leave their dens to save their lives.

ऋक्षाश्चोत्ससृजुर्वृक्षान्

नत्यजुर्हरयो गुहाम् ॥

32. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirnaya Sagar Edition), Bombay.

33. *The Mahābhārata*, The Bhandarkar Institute edition and the Chitrashālā Press edition, Poona, with Nilakanṭha's Commentary.

In the Nalākhyāna, in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the reference to the bears comes in the episode of Damayantī, who has been left alone in the forest by Nala. The forlorn wife sees wild beasts like lions, elephants, tigers, deer, bisons and bears in large numbers.

सिंहद्वीपिरुद्व्याघ्रमहिषर्क्षगणैर्युतम् । (३, १२-२) ।

In the next canto Damayantī is said to have seen hordes of bisons, boars, bears and wild snakes.

यूथशो ददृशे चात्र विदभाषिपत्नंदिनी ।
महिषाश्च वराहाश्च ऋक्षाश्च वनपन्नगान् ॥

(III, 12, 9)

In the Vanaparvan (Calcutta edition, Vol. I, 1834, verse No. 15935), there is a reference to the female bears. This is the only reference in the epics to the female bear.

पितामहस्ततस्तेषां सन्निधौ शक्रमब्रवीत् ।
सर्वदेवगणैः सार्धं संभव त्वं महीतले ॥
विष्णोः सहायानृक्षीषु वानरीषु च सर्वशः ।
जनयध्वम् सुतान्वीरान्कामरूपवलान्वितान् ॥

The gist of the verse is: the great god Brahman said to the god Indra, "You take birth on the earth along with other gods and see that sons are born to the female bears, see that monkeys are born who are brave and who will help Viṣṇu (Rāma) to overcome Rāvaṇa."

In the Bhīṣmaparvan the bear (bhallūka) is mentioned along with other wild animals in the forest. It is said to be fierce-looking like the rhinoceros, elephants etc.

सिंहव्याघ्रगणाः क्रूरा मत्ताश्चैव महागजाः ।
द्वीपिनः खड्गभल्लूका ये चान्ये भीमदर्शनाः ॥

(XII, 116, 6)

Here for the first time we get the word *bhallūka* instead of *ṛkṣa*.

(3) *The Bear in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*: The word *ṛkṣa* meaning both the star and the bear occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.³⁴ The stars are especially those of the *Ursa Major* or the Great Bear or the Saptarṣis which move round the northern polar star, Dhruva. viz.

नान्यैरविष्ठितं भद्रं यद्भ्राजिष्णु ध्रुवक्षिति ।
यत्र ग्रहर्क्षताराणां ज्योतिषां चक्रमाहितम् ॥
ग्रहर्क्षताराः परिरयन्ति दक्षिणम् ।

(IV, 9, 20)

and

(IV, 12, 25)

34. For *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Ganpat Krishnuji Press, Bombay edition is used.

In both the cases it is said that Viṣṇu granted Dhruva a place round which all the stars, including the Great Bear, move.

In another place the forest on the mountain Kailāsa on which Śiva dwelt is described. It is said to be the abode of wild animals like the deer, monkeys, boars, lions, bears, porcupines, wild buffalos, śarabhas, tigers and hares, viz.,

मृगैः शाखामृगैः क्रोडैर्मृगेन्द्रैः ऋक्षशाल्यकैः ।
गव्यैः शरभैर्व्याघ्रैः समाभिर्महिषादिभिः ॥

(IV, 3, 6)

In the *Harivaṃśa*³⁵ and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* we come across the episode of the Syamantaka Jewel, in which the bear king Jāmbavat and his daughter Jāmbavantī are portrayed in a highly stylized manner. Kṛṣṇa is accused of stealing the jewel. He is a guest at the house of King Satrājit, the father of Satyabhāmā. He is disturbed by the false accusation, and goes in search of the jewel. The thief who has stolen the jewel has been killed by a mighty bear and the jewel is taken by the bear to his den. He gives it as a toy to his baby son in the cradle. Kṛṣṇa reaches the den. The bear is out and his young and human daughter Jāmbavantī is rocking the child in the cradle. It is most probably a human child with the bear characteristics like herself. She fell in love with the young stranger and asks him to go away before her father comes. The hero then explains the purpose of his visit and Jāmbavantī, the daughter of the enemy, promised to help and protect him. This is what usually happens to heroes in folktales. Before he departs with the jewel and the daughter, the bear comes in and a terrible fight takes place in which the bear is killed by the man. Kṛṣṇa then departs with Jāmbavantī and the jewel. He gives back the jewel to Satrājit, relates the episode to which the bear's daughter is a witness and eventually marries Satyabhāmā, with whom he was in love.

The story presents some important points, viz., (i) The giant-bear Jāmbuvan in possession of superior physical and magical powers. (ii) The bear with his magical qualities capable of discerning a unique jewel. Here is an important motif commonly found in folklore that the giant-bear possesses great treasure. (iii) The bear's magical powers are obvious since his offspring-Jāmbavantī is human. (iv) The bear is capable of copulating with the human and producing human offspring. (v) The father-daughter pair reveal the intimate bond between the bear and man. (vi) Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Jāmbavantī is symbolical of human and bear sexual relationship. The other features of this story as depicted in the *Bhāgavata* are that (a) the

35. For *Harivaṃśa*, the Chitrashālā Press edition is used.

bear kills the lion. This is a transferred version of the fact that the bear is a deadly foe of the tiger and sometimes overpowers him. In folklore the tiger and the lion are transposed. (b) The bear lives in a cave (*bila*).³⁶

Jāmbavanti's conquest of Kṛṣṇa by her love was also the theme of a poem called *Jāmbavanti-jaya* or the conquest of Jāmbavanti, by the grammarian Pāṇini.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये, तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

This verse is quoted as that of Rājashekhara,³⁷ (10th century A.D.).

(4) The Bear in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*: In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (I, 164) a forest scene on the banks of the river Haimavati is described. The king Purūravas saw various wild animals among which was the bear.

ऋक्षांसारक्षून्बन्धूकान्गोलाङ्गूलान्स्वानरान्

Here also the bear and the ape are associated.

The Purāṇa also describes the origin of bears (I. 252). It says that the sage Pulaha Kāśyapa had a wife named Hari. To her a son was born, named Śveta. From Śveta an ape named Urdhvaḍṛṣṭi was born and from the ape were born the tiger, the lion, the ape and the bear. This bear, named Ṛkṣa had a sister called Ṛkṣi. From her bears were born. The mighty son of her was Jāmbavat, whom she begot of Prajāpati or Brahman. Dhūmra also was the son of Prajāpati. This king of the bears gave a warm welcome to the king Purūravas.

(iii) THE BEAR IN THE JĀTAKAS

Though the Bharhut sculpture represents the peeping bear in the mountain cave or a den, the Vidhura Jātaka or the Vidhura Pandita Jataka makes no reference to the bear whatsoever. The mountain cave, the tree and the bear symbolize the deep, dense forest. In the introductory episodes to the Kuṇāla Jātaka, Buddha describes the forest with tall trees covered with leaves and flowers and bearing fruit; he also enumerates the wild animals of the forests, namely the elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, bears, wild cats, antelopes, hare, wolves, deer, etc. In the Vessantara Jātaka, the prince Vessantara tries to dissuade his wife Maddi from accompanying him to the forest by enumerating the wild animals living therein, the bear being one of them.

36. *Bhāgavata*, Ganpat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 10, 56; 10, 83; 10.

37. Peterson, Peter; Second Report on Mss, J.B.B.R.A.S. 1884, p. G.

There is only a solitary and extremely stylized story, the Upostha Jātaka in which the bear occurs along with the hermit, wild pigeon, snake and the jackal. The gist of the story is as follows:

There lived a hermit in a wild forest. Near the hermitage, a wild pigeon, a snake, a jackal and a bear used to live and these animals used to pay regular visits to the hermitage and listen to the discourse of the ascetic. Once the female pigeon was killed by a hawk and the male pigeon was overcome with grief. He went to the hermitage and made a resolution to fast till he overcame passion, which was the cause of his suffering.

Soon the snake also came to the hermitage in order to fast till he had overcome his anger. He had bitten to death a bull who was about to stamp him underneath his hooves and so the snake bit him.

The jackal also came to the hermitage to fast to overcome his greed as he had entered into the carcass of a dead elephant and with great difficulty managed to come out of it.

The hare like the bear also came to the hermitage to fast till it had overcome greed. It had gone to a village in order to get more food and was belaboured by men with cudgels. It came back with a broken head and bleeding profusely. It resolved to fast and overcome greed. The ascetic himself suffered from pride and he was admonished by a Pacceka Buddha. He was asked to fast and overcome pride, since he was destined to be Siddhartha in the next birth. All the five fast and overcome their respective weakness. Such is the gist of the story.

The Bear in the Pancopasatha Jātaka. In this Jātaka one habit of the bear is noted i.e. that the bear eats the ants of the anthill and is greedy. Except this the story does not depict any of the natural characteristics of the animal and only harps on the constantly recurring motif of the ascetic virtue. In the hermitage even the wild beasts give up their fierce nature and become kind. The bear like the rest of the animals is highly humanised and so the bear symbolises greed.

(iv) THE BEAR IN THE JAIN LITERATURE

In the Ardhamāgadhī Literature all the reference to the bear are a mere enumeration of the bear as a beast along with other beasts of the forest. The gist of these passages also is identical viz. when the forest catches fire all the wild beasts like the lion, bear, elephants, hare etc., forget their natural enmity and assemble together in a place which is free from the danger of the conflagration.

e.g. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* the scene in the Vindhya mountain where the animals had assembled is described as follows:—

तत्थ णं अन्ने वहवे सीहा च वग्धा च मिगा च दीविया अच्छा तरच्छा पारासरा सियाला मुणहा काला ससा कोकंतिया चिता चिल्लला पुव्वम्पविट्ठा अग्गिभयाभिद्धया विलवम्मेण चिटंति।³⁸

It means that lions, tigers, deer, leopards, bears, jackals, rabbits etc., came to a safer spot and stayed there as if they were all living in a common hole.

In the *Āyārānga Sutta* of the Śvetāmbara Jainas there is a similar enumeration in a similar situation, e.g.

से भिक्खू वा जाव पविट्ठे समाने वियालं पडिपहे पेहाए, महिसं वियालं हत्थि सीहं वग्धं वग् दीवियं अच्छे तरच्छं परिसरं कोलमुणयं कोकंटियं चेत्ताविलडगं वियालं परक्कमे संजयां एव परक्कमेज्जा णो उज्जयं गच्छेज्जा ।³⁹

In the *Bhagavatī Sutra*, III, 5, 7, 6, the enumeration of different animals comes in different context, viz. the various births the Jīva or soul passes through.

अणगारे णं भंते । भवियप्पा बहिरए पोगले अपरियाइता पभू एगं मह आसह्वं वा हत्थिरूवं वा सीहह्वं वा वग्धदीविय ऊच्छतरच्छपरामर ह्वं वा अभिजुजित्तए ।

In the *Sūryaprajñapati* (68) the locative forms of nouns are discussed. The forms of the noun 'accha'(अच्छ) are given(अच्छांसि-अच्छे).

(v) THE BEAR IN THE TREATISES OF VARĀHAMIHIRA

In the *Bṛhat saṃhitā* Varāhamihira uses the word *ṛkṣa* which means a star. The passage in which it occurs describes the misfortunes caused by the planet Ketu.

The word for the bear in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* is 'bhalla' (भल्ल). The bear is a dangerous and evil being mentioned along with the other wild creatures and beings who have a bad reputation. The wilderness where the Kirātas (hunters), bears and other demonish creatures stay is mentioned in the following passages:—

ब्रह्मपुरदाव्वडामर वनराज्यकिरातचीनकौजिन्दाः ।

भल्लालोलजटामुरकुनठरवघोपकुचिकाख्याः ॥ (14, 30)

In the *Horāsāstra* of Varāhmihira, the symbol of the third phase (द्वेक्काण) of the Simha Rāśi or Leo is described as a man having the face of a bear and the movements of a monkey. The whole passage with the commentary of Rudra, runs as follows:—

अथ सिंहा त्यस्वरूपमुपजातिकयाद्—

ऋक्षाननो वानरतुल्यचेष्टो

विभर्ति दण्डं फलमामिपं च ।

कूर्ची मनुष्यः कुटिलैश्च केशैः

मृगेश्वरस्यान्तगतस्त्रिभागः ॥

38. *Nāyādhammakahāo*; ed. by N. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1940, I, 33.

39. *Āyārānga Sutta*; ed. Herman Jacobi, I, London, 1882, II, 1, 5, 42.

इति मृगेश्वरस्यान्तर्गतस्त्रिभाग एव रूपो मनुष्यः । ऋक्षानन ऋक्षाञ्छभल्लः शाखा मृग-
विशेषः तस्याननमिवाननं यस्य स तथा । अतश्चतुष्पाचायं द्वेक्काणः वानरतुल्यचेष्टः दण्डं
फलमामिषं च विभर्ति । कूर्ची दीर्घशमश्रुः । कुटिलः केशैरुपलक्षितश्च ।⁴⁰

The gist of the verse and the commentary is that the symbol of this last phase of the *Simha Rāśi* (the Leo) is a man with the face like a bear and he acts like a monkey. He is quadruped. He holds a staff in his hand and fruit as a bait. He is ever ready to challenge and to fight. He has long beard and moustache and has a thick curly hair.⁴¹

What is to be noted down about the verse is the association of the bear with the monkey. The pair seems to be indivisible in the Vedic, epic, religious literature as well as astrological treatises as this citation illustrates.

Varāhamihira is known to have flourished in the sixth century A.D.⁴²

In the *Bṛhat jātakā* by Varāhamihira the same verse is repeated with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala. The commentary is slightly different from the former one. It says that the person has a face like that of a bear and nature of a monkey. In his hand he holds a weapon, a fruit like a mango and also meat. This part of the *Leo-mansion*, has both the human and animal characteristics.⁴³

(vi) THE BEAR IN THE MANUSMṚTI

In the *Manusmṛti*, there are two references to the word *ṛkṣa*, the one in the sense of the constellation and the other in the sense of the bear.

The first reference is about the constellation of the Great Bear.

पूर्वा सन्ध्यां जपांस्तुष्टेत्सावित्रीमर्कदर्शनात् ।
पश्चिमां तु समासीनः सम्यग्दक्षविभावनात् ॥

(II. 101)

It means that the evening *Sandhyā* rite should be performed when the constellation of Great Bear is visible. It may also mean that the rite should be performed when stars are clearly visible.

The second reference is:

वृको मृगेभं व्याघ्रोद्यन्नं फलमूलं तु मर्कटः ।
स्त्रीमृक्षः स्तोत्रको वारि यानान्युष्ट्रः पशूनजः ॥

(XII. 67)

40. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, ed. by Baladev prasad Mishra, Kalyan-Bombay, 1877, *Keluvicāra*, 64, p. 75.

41. Varāhamihira, *Horāsātra*, with the commentary of Rudra, Ed. by K. Sambashiva Shastri, Trivendrum, 1926, p. 318.

42. *Ibid* Introduction.

43. *Bṛhat-jātakam*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, Ed. Jyantisā Acharya, Benaras, 1934, p. 269.

Buehler translates it as—'For stealing (he becomes) a deer or an elephant, a wolf, a horse or a tiger, for stealing fruit and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing water a black-white cuckoo, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat.'

Manu says that a man who steals a woman becomes a bear in the next birth.

(vii) THE BEAR IN THE SUŚRUTA-SAMHITĀ

Suśruta-Samhitā, the renowned ancient medicinal treatise (Circa 100-200 A.D.) by Suśruta describes the medical qualities of the flesh of the bear along with other cave-dwelling animals.⁴⁴

सिंहव्याघ्रवृक्षतरक्ष्वृक्षद्वीपिमाजार्शृगालमृगेर्वाक्प्रभृतयो गुहाशया ॥
मधुरा गुरवः स्निग्धा बल्या मारुतनाशनाः ।
उष्णवीर्या हिता नित्यं नेत्रगुह्याविकारिणाम् ॥

Animals such as the lion, tiger, wolf, hyena, leopard, bear, cat, jackal and *Mrgervārūka* (jackal-shaped deer-eating species of tiger) belong to the group of the *guhāśayas* (cave-dwelling animals). The flesh of animals belonging to this family is sweet, heavy, demulcent and strength-giving. It subdues the deranged *Vāyu*. It is heat-making in its potency and proves beneficial in diseases affecting the eyes and anus.⁴⁵

(viii) THE BEAR IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(1) *The Bear in the Poems of Kālidāsa*: In the literature of Kālidāsa the animal bear in its natural setting is nowhere mentioned. In the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, he mentions 'the lord of bears and apes' (ऋक्षहरीश्वर). Mallinātha in his commentary says that this lord of bears and apes is Sugrīva (and not Jāmbavant).⁴⁶

In the same book the word *r̥kṣa* occurs, but it indicates stars or *rāśīs* of the zodiac, as Mallinātha explains it.⁴⁷

44. The *Suśruta-Samhitā* ed. Jadavji Trikamji Acarya, Bombay (Nirnay-Sagar Press) 1915; I, 46 72-73.

45. An English Translation of *The Suśruta Samhitā*, by Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bhishagratna, Calcutta, 1907.

There are some discrepancies in the translation viz. the words तरक्ष्वृक्षद्वीपि are translated as arboreal leopard (*vr̥kṣa dvīpi*) and he puts the word bear after 'jackal', when in the original text there is no word to indicate the bear there. I have corrected it in the translation given above. The expression 'it subdues 'deranged *Vāyu*,' simply means that 'it puts down gases in the stomach.'

46. *Raghuvamśa*, XIII, 72.

47. *Op. Cit.*, XII, 25.

प्रययावातिथेयेषु वसन्पिकुलेषु सः ।

दाक्षिणीं दिशम्क्षेषु वार्षिकं पञ्चव भास्करः ॥

In the second Act of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, when the king Duṣyanta says that hunting is a supreme sport and enjoyment, the Vidūṣaka (jester) asks him to restrain his enthusiasm for hunting and says, "while wandering from forest to forest you may be prey to an old bear who is fond of biting the human nose"

(तुमं दाव अडवीदो अडवीं आहिण्डन्तो णरनासिआलोलुस्स जिण्णरिच्छस्स कस्स वि मुहे पडिस्ससि ।)

Here is a hint that the bear is more dangerous than the elephant and the tiger.⁴⁸

(2) *The Bear in the Uttara-Rāma-Caritam*. In the *Uttara-Rāma-Caritam* of Bhavabhūti, (II, 21) a forest scene is described in details in which the young bears are mentioned viz.

दधति कुहरभाजामत्र भल्लूकयूनामनुरमितगुरूणि स्थानमम्बूकृतानि ।

Here the growls of the young bears restoring to caverns, are intensified by the echoes. Bhavabhūti uses the word Bhallūka for the bear. He gives special attention to the peculiar nasal sounds made by bears. References to these sounds are found in mediaeval Marathi poetry and proverbs.

(3) *The Bear in the Haravijaya*: In the *Haravijaya* by Rajanaka Ratnakara, a poet in the time of the King Avantivarman of Kashmir (who ruled in A.D. 855-884), there is a reference to the army of Bear King Jāmbavant, which was composed both of bears and apes, viz.

तुरगश्वरुशिखानिपातपिष्टत्रिदशमहीघनितंबधूलिपुञ्जैः ।
कपिशवलमशामरारिचक्रं स्फुटमिव जाम्बवदृक्षसैन्यमासीत् ॥⁴⁹

(46.10)

The gist of the verse is that the army of the enemies of the gods, viz., the demons, was covered with such a thick dust raised by the feet of the horses, that they resembled the gray army of Jāmbavat which was composed of bears and apes.

Here also the union of the bear and the ape is preserved. Another striking feature of the verse is that the bear is used as an object of comparison.

The commentator has used the word 'acchabhalla' to signify the bear.

48. For these references *Kālidāsa kośa* of Surcsh Chandra Banerji, Varanasi, 1968 was useful.

49. *Haravijayam*, (Kāvya-mālā series, No. 22) with the commentary of Rajanaka Alaka, Bombay, 1910.

(4) *The Bear in the Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya*: In the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* by Vasudeva, a poem about the victorious deeds of the Pāṇḍavas, the bears are mentioned in the episode of the first fight between the demon Hiḍim̐ba and Bhīma. The reference is as follows:—

दद्रुवुरवनावृक्षा भुवि पेतुर्भग्नभासुरवना वृक्षाः ।
अगदमिव क्षोभं गौरमियातां ती यदा सवक्षोभङ्गर्गा । 50

(The bears toppled down to the earth and the trees fell down, because the forest was ravaged and was ablaze. When the two combatants faced and attacked each other with terrible anger on the chest, the earth trembled).

Another reference to the *ṛkṣa* is in relation to Hanumant, who is called a *ṛkṣa-vīra* or a hero of the bears and apes (II.24). Here is an illustration where the epithet of Jāmbavat as a lord of bears and apes is with some modification applied to Hanumat.

(5) *The Bear in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita*: In *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhaṇa, the king is describing the forest scene to his beloved queen and he makes a remark that the thick dark clouds resemble the bears lying in the paths leading to the houses of hunters viz.

निपत्य वीथीषु किरातवेश्मनां ।
हृताच्छभल्लप्रतिभल्लतां गताः ॥ 51

(ix) THE BEAR IN STORY-LITERATURE

(1) *The Bear in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara*: In Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*⁵² (10th Century) there is a story about prince Hiranyagupta and the bear.

Prince Hiranyagupta was hunting in a forest. He was carried away by his horse to a lonely spot. Night came and the prince was alone. He spent the night on a tree, sitting on a branch. Almost immediately a bear, terrified and followed by a lion, climbed the same tree. Seeing that the prince was frightened, the bear said to him, "Fear not my friend". The bear promised him safety and offered protection. The prince relying on the promise of the bear went to sleep and the bear remained awake and kept watch. The lion said to the bear, "Throw down the man and I will go away". But the bear would not betray his friend. When the prince got up, the bear went to sleep. The lion asked the prince to throw down the bear. The prince tried to throw the bear down but did not succeed. The

50. *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* with a commentary by Rājānka Ratnakaṇṭha, (Kāvya-mālā), Bombay, 1930, 1, 46.

51. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, by Vidyapati Bilhaṇa, ed. George Buhler, Bombay, 1875, 13, 23.

52. This work is based on the Paiśāci work of Guṇāḍhya, the *Bṛhatkathā* (5th Century B.C.).

bear woke up and finding how the man betrayed him, cursed him. "Be you insane, betrayer of a friend!" This was the curse and the man did become insane.⁵³

The bear's miraculous power of uttering words, that came true is a point that is illustrated in the story.

The motif of the faithful animal and of unfaithful man is found in this story as in many fables.

(2) *The Bear in the Sindhāsānadvātrīṃśatī or the Vikramacarita*: In this work there is a story of a faithful bear and an ungrateful man. It is the same story as in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* but with certain peculiar remarks about the bear which are important.

These legends about the king Vikrama had a great hold on the minds of the people in mediaeval times. The origin of the tales was Central India and they travelled far and wide, reaching Tibet, China and South Asia. These legends are preserved with numerous variants all over India. The Hindu and Jain traditions have shown the same respect and love for them.

The story is about the arrogant and unthoughtful prince Vijayapāla, the son of the king Nanda of Viśālā. One day disregarding the ministers' advice he went out hunting and lost his way in a dangerous forest. In the forest he saw a tiger near the lake where he had gone to quench his thirst. His horse was scared of the tiger and bolted away. The terror-stricken prince climbed a tree nearby. A bear was already sitting there. The bear assured the prince that it would save him from the tiger, who had come and stood right beneath the tree. As night came the bear made the prince sleep in its lap. The tiger failed to persuade the bear to fling the sleeping man down. When it was the turn of the bear to sleep, it slept near the prince. The tiger described the bear as of fickle disposition and dangerous, and asked the prince to push it down. The tiger further said that one should not trust a creature armed with horns, claws or tusks. The bear's nature was subject to change every moment. At one moment it was pleased. The next moment it could be roused. It could get angry in no time. The favour of such a creature as the bear whose temper was unpredictable, was also dangerous. "The bear" said the tiger "is showing kindness to you through fear of me. If I go away, it will kill you." The foolish prince pushed down the bear, but luckily it awoke and clung to a branch. The bear then cursed the ungrateful prince. It said that

53. N. M. Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, London, 1924, pp. 53-54.

he would be insane like a 'piśāca', (goblin) and roam all over the forest uttering only the four syllables *sa, se, mi* and *rā*. (ससेमिरा)

The prince did become insane and roamed as the bear had said.

In some variants of the story, it is the ape instead of the bear and all the evil characteristics of the bear described above by the tiger are attached to the ape.⁵⁴ The transposition of the ape with the bear is important.

(3) *The Bear in the Pañcatantra*: In the *Pañcatantra*, in the first book there is the story of a prince who sets his pet monkey to watch over him as he sleeps in a pavilion in his garden; a troublesome bee settles on the prince's face. The monkey makes efforts to drive it off, but the bee does not move. So the monkey in an angry mood snatches his master's sword and strikes at the bee, but unfortunately the blow smashes the head of the prince. The Folklorist Clouston says that "The apologue is reproduced in the '*Anvar-i-suhayli*' (Lights of Canopus), a Persian version, by Hussain Va'iz of the fables of Bidpai and the modern Hindustani version of the Persian work by Abu-'l Fazl, 'A yar Danish' (Touchstone of knowledge), under the title of 'The Gardner, the Bear and the Fly'. In this form it is an old European acquaintance."

(*Peasant Customs and Savage Myths*; ed. Richard Dorson, Vol. 2.—William Alexander Clouston, pp. 475-6).

Clouston has shown the variants of the *Pañcatantra* tale in Persian and Hindustani literature. Another famous variant is also found in *The Masnavi* of Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273) under the name of 'The Man and the Bear, a parable of misplaced trust.'⁵⁵

(x) THE BEAR IN OLD MARATHI LITERATURE

Following the trend of enumeration of the bear along with the monkey in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, the Marathi poets like Eknāth (1533-1599) and Rāmadās (1608-1682) do the same, e.g. In the *Dāsabodha* of Rāmadās we come across a reference.

रीस मर्कटे मारिती
कासाविस करुनी

(I, 10, 57)

It means that the bears and the monkeys kill the victim by torturing him.

54. Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures* (Sanskrit Text and Translation) Vol. 26.27 Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1926, The Jealous King and the Ungrateful Prince, 26, VII, pp. LXXII-LXXIV. 38-48; 27, pp. 29-34.

55. A. J. Arberry, *Tales from the Masnavi*, London, 1961, pp. 138-140.

A similar reference in the *Bhāgavata* of Eknāth is as follows:

सीतेचिया वियोगद्वारा
रीसा आणि वानरा
उद्धरी निशाचरा रघुनाथ

(By means of separation of Sitā, Raghunāth bestowed bliss on the bears and monkeys and the demons) and

सेवेने तरले रीसवानर

(16, 333, 334)

(The monkeys and bears became blessed through service.)

The following references in the Eknāthi *Bhāgavata* (16th century) are worth noting.

की कावळा वरवेपणासाठी
राजहंसा नाणी पिठी
कां आस्वली मानी पोटी
मीही गोरटी सीते परीस

(5, 165)

(The crow feels that he is as beautiful to look at as the swan, and the female bear believes herself to be even fairer than Sitā).

अस्वल आपुलिया गुणगुणा
नायके वाजतिया निशाणा
तेवी नायकोनी हरिच्या गुणा
विषय संभाषणा आदरे वदती

(5, 205)

(Just as the bear when it is engrossed in its own buzzing does not hear the sound of a drum, so do men not hear the praises of Hari when they are engrossed in their conversation about sensual matters).

अस्वलाचिया परी
गुरु नामाचा जप करी
गुरुवाचोनी निरंतरी
चित्त न करी आनौती

(9, 135)

(Like the bear, (O man), you repeat the name of the Guru; do not be anxious about anything else except the name of the Guru).

In these passages we find the vanity, and the persistence of the bear as well as its habit of humming aptly illustrated. The persistence of the bear is looked upon as a good quality.

The supernatural character of the bear is described in the following verse, which says that those creatures who have the human

faces and animal bodies, especially those great bears are called the Kinnaras.

मुखाकृती दिसती नर
शरीरे केवळ वनचर
ऐसे जे का रीस थोर
त्यांसि किन्नर बोलिजे

(14, 49)

This is altogether a new definition of the supernatural beings, called the Kinnaras who were a combination of the human and the bear form.

There is another passage, in which the magical qualities of the bear-skin is mentioned. In the Tantric ritual of the worship of the dead body or the worship of the Mātangī, the worshipper used the raw and wet hide either of the dead human body or of the deer or the bear, and then only his repetition of the magical formula was efficacious. Eknāth says that such practices are sinful and are practised only by those who want to propitiate the evil powers.

वीज जपावया मंत्राचे
बोले कातडे प्रेताचे
आणि मृग अस्वलांचे
भय पापाचे मानी ना

(10, 580)

(xi) THE BEAR IN THE VANAVASĪ MĀHĀTMYA

In his article, 'Specimens of modern Brahmanical Legends,' G. K. Betham gives a translation of it. The scene of this modern Purāṇa is the Sahyādri mountain and the forest is that on the bank of the Varadā river. Madhukeśwara temple was in the old Vanavāsī city (the present Badami).

In the forest dwelt the hunter Hunḍa and like other hunters used to ride on horses, elephants, bears, porcupines and asses. The forest abounded in bears.⁵⁶

VI. ANTHROPOLOGICAL DATA ABOUT THE BEAR

(1) *The Bear Septs*: I have gone through all the anthropological literature which gives long lists of totems; but the bear is seldom a totem in any of the Indian tribes. Among the Kādu Gollas (wild cowherds) one of the septs is called *Karaḍivayas* or *Karaḍi Gollāru*, the bear-tribe.⁵⁷

The Karaḍi Gollās are so called, because their ancestor is believed to have been nourished by a bear. In his book *Tribes and Castes*

56. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVI, 1897, p. 36.

57. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer—*Tribes and Castes of Mysore*, Vol. III, Mysore, 1930, pp. 222-223.

of Mysore, L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer gives a list of twenty-five totems, of which the bear is one; but he does not give us the name of the tribe which has this totem.⁵⁸

The Khonds of Chhota Nagpur and Orissa name their septs after animals. There is a bear-tribe among them.⁵⁹

Bear or 'Karaḍi' is a clan among the Vettuvans.⁶⁰

The Yenadis in the Bhadrachalam jungles of the Eastern Ghats have three 'Kulnāmas' or sept-names after animals. *Elugu* is the name of the bear and a sept is named after it. They eat the flesh of the bear.⁶¹

(2) *Bear-cult Among the Nagas*: J. F. Needham's Report of 1900 contains the information that the Mishmi and Behejiya tribes are very superstitious. Each village or clan has its sorcerer. These men wear fantastic articles of dress and claim to possess miraculous powers. While at Munili, a huge necklace consisting of tiger, bear, pig and monkey's teeth and paws together with a head-band of plaited cane, studded with cowries, and with coloured feathers waving at the sides, was discovered in the adjoining jungles and brought into camp, and these turned out to be the village sorcerer's charms which had been hurriedly hidden when the people first fled into the jungles. Old Arati, hearing that they were in the possession of Mr. Needham, begged that they might be returned to him as he himself had shot the animals whose teeth and claws adorned the necklace and he had presented all of it to the village sorcerer.⁶²

(3) *Bear and the Lhota and Primi Nagas*: J. P. Mills in the *Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922) tells us that the Lhota Naga warrior wears on his head a wig (*thongo*) either of the long hair from the neck and shoulders of the Himalayan black bear or of the fur of the arms of the male gibbon (p. 13). He also says that young and pregnant women do not eat flesh of the bear (pp. 77, 144).

Every man carries with him on the war-path a large supply of 'panjies' (pointed bamboo stakes, hardened by fire, which are fixed into the ground to repel invasion or pursuit) which he plants in the road to cover his retreat. These are carried in a horn suspended at the back or in the small basket to which is attached a long tail of bearskin. Sometimes this panjie holder is the skin of a bear's foot

58. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 255.

59. Lord Avebury,—*Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man*, New York, 1911, p. 278.

60. *Madras District Gazetteers*, Vol. I, part I, 1918, p. 152.

61. R. Raghavaih—*The Yenadis*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 16.

62. Verrier Elwin—*India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1959. pp. 348-9.

with the claws remaining, the skin sewn up to form a large bag, a little figure of a sitting man, dressed and painted after life, being affixed to the upper part.

(4) *Lushais And The Bear*: The Lushais are good bear hunters and kill the bear in the following manner. To catch monkeys rice is placed on the small platform at the end of a partially severed bamboo standing at a right angle to the hillside. The monkey attracted by the rice springs on to the platform and is precipitated on to a number of bamboo-spikes which have been stuck in the ground beneath it. The same device with suitable alternatives is sometimes employed to destroy tigers and bears.⁶³ The Lushais say that the monkeys, elephants, tigers, bears and men were before the Thimzing (deluge). There is no reluctance shown to kill them.⁶⁴

Should a bear on having shot fall on its back and lie with its legs in the air, it is believed that the shooter will die.⁶⁵

(5) *Bear Dance of the Juangs*: Dalton in his famous book, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, describes the bear dance of young Juang girls wearing leaves. He says, 'Then we had the bear dance. The girls acting independently advance with bodies so much inclined that their heads touch the ground; thus they move not unlike bears and by a motion from the knees the bodies wriggle violently and the broad tails of green leaves flap up and down in a most ludicrous manner.'⁶⁶ Juangs eat the flesh of the bear.⁶⁷

(6) *A Munda Song and The Bear*: The bear is a familiar animal with the Mundas of Chhota Nagpur. A wedding song of the Munda-Kols, is satirical. The bride-groom is teased for having too much hair on the body like the bear.

Look, pray at the jungle grass
 Look, pray at the shaggy grass
 It looks like the bear's hair
 Look at the man as shaggy as the bear.⁶⁸

(7) *Bear, a Divinity of the Mahadeo Kolis of Maharashtra*: W. F. Sinclair in the 'Notes on the Ahmednagar Collectorate' says that the bear and the tiger are favourite divinities of the Mahadeo or the Hill Kolis of the Ahmednagar district.⁶⁹

63. J. Shakespeare, *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, London, 1912. p. 32

64. *Op. Cit.*, p. 103.

65. *Op. Cit.*, p. 102.

66. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, pp. 155-156.

67. *Op. Cit.*, p. 154.

68. Rev. T. Jellinghaus—Wedding songs of the Munda-Kols, *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 1875, p. 53.

69. *Ind. Ant.*, V, 1876, p. 8.

(8) *The Kolams and the Bear*: The Kolams in the Yeotmal district of the Satpura range have a hunting song. Some of the lines are as follows:

गुड्डिने लोवाग लामनी सेद्दिने
ए देवा लाला, गुड्डिने लोवाग लामनी सेद्दिने
बोवाकुने गुड्डि तिनादे
ए देवा बोवाकुने गुड्डि तिनादे

It can be roughly translated as follows:-

The peacock went in the ravine of the bear
O my god, the peacock went in the ravine of the bear
The bear eats the grand father
O my god, the bear eats the grand father

(9) *The Bear in Karnatak*: In Karnatak there is a religious sect called the Vaggaiya: Like the Vāghyā and Muralī in Maharashtra the Vaggaiyas are the devotees of Devaragadda or Malleśvar. The Vaggaiyas were the long robe made of a country wool-len blanket (बॉंगडी) which reaches below his ankles. On his head he wears the crown of the hair or skin of the bear, with a trident mark on it. He carries a bag of the tiger skin.⁷⁰

The Vaggaiya seems to represent the bear while the Vāghyā represents the dog of the god Malhārī.

(10) *The Bear Dance in Kerala*: (The Irulars of Kerala, and many other tribes.) The song and the dance is called, E! E! Lam Karaḍi (where is the bear). Irulars claim that they are able to scare away the bears of the valley in Attapadi by singing this song, to the tune of their drum.⁷¹

(11) *The Bear-cult Among The Sauras of Orissa*: The Sauras are known magicians and hunters. The bear normally chills the spirit of the hunter and there is no doubt that such magic and religious practice to control the bear should exist among those tribes in whose forest land the bears abound. In "the Religion of an Indian tribe", Elwin gives the following account about the bear and its cult among the Sauras of Orissa.

(i) *Bear as a God*: Kamkutung (Kittung)—The very dangerous bear god. Anyone killed by a bear turns into Kamkutung, and then attacks the living. He comes first in the form of a bear, and then turns into whirlwind which sweeps round the victim and kills him. He is supposed to lurk in the bushes near some path which

70. P. M. Kulkarni—*Maharashtra Loksāhitya-mālā*, puśpa 2, 1959, p. 189.

71. A. A. D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, Delhi, 1960, p. 57.

leads from a village to the forest, when he attacks a man; blood flows from the nose, mouth and ears. Sacrifice must be offered immediately on the path or the man will die. Many people however believe that there is no hope for any one attacked by these Kittung."

The special function of the Kamkutung was 'to Guard the road to the underworld and to prevent shades of the newly dead from descending thither.'⁷²

(ii) *The Bear has a Shade of the Murdered Person*: "The shade of a murdered man may come in the form of a bear or a dog, 'for bears and dogs quarrel when they meet,' and this shade is irritable. It may attack people and give them pain in the place where it received the wounds."⁷³

(iii) *The Bear as a Tutelary's Dog*: 'Among the beings of the underworld tutelaries and ancestral dead are called gods. But the tutelaries are of definitely higher rank and possess greater powers. They govern the underworld and the dead and maintain vitally important relations with the living. The bear is the tutelaries' dog. When the tutelaries go hunting, they take the bear with them. When visitors come to the gate of the underworld, bears run to bite them and that is why ancestors hasten to welcome them and escort them in.'⁷⁴

(iv) *The Bear in Tribal Art*: In many icons, the drawings of bears are seen.⁷⁵

(v) *The Bear Acts As a Priest of the Underworld*: The bear and the porcupine perform priestly duties for the dead. The bear divines with rice in the (winnowing) fan and the porcupine knows many charms and medicines.⁷⁶

(vi) *Magical Properties*: Bear's skin has magical properties and is looked upon as a charm. It prevents the gods or ancestors of another village from entering one's house.⁷⁷

(vii) *To Dream of the Bear*: To dream of a bear means that the family ghosts are hungry and have sent their pet bear to frighten the living into giving them food. It means that the dreamer will meet a bear or the dead ancestor in the form of the bear and that he should be worshipped.⁷⁸

72. Verrier Elwin—*The Religion of An Indian Tribe*, London, 1955, p. 109.

73. *Op. cit.* 543.

74. *Op. cit.* p. 71.

75. *Op. cit.* p. 70.

76. *Op. cit.* pp. 70, 435.

77. *Op. cit.* p. 266.

78. *Op. cit.* p. 501.

(viii) *Man-bear*: Sometimes Kamkutung sum. (Kamkutung) has the head of a man and the body of the bear.⁷⁹

(ix) *The Sorcerers turned into a Bear*: Occasionally sorcerers who have learned magic from the Konds may turn themselves into monkeys, tigers, bears etc.⁸⁰

Taking into consideration all the data about the bear-culture among the Sauras, what one finds is that according to the Saura religious belief a human being is converted into a bear but not vice versa like Nāga, a serpent, who in spite of its malicious nature is still looked upon as a divinity all over India from very remote times. The bear has never assumed the status of a proper divinity. Among the Saura religion the bear has no doubt become a malicious ghostly deity like many other god-kings. Though Elwin calls him a god, the account he has given of him hardly presents the divine nature of the beast in any characteristic mode of divinity as is known in India. He is no more than a malicious spirit which is appeased by men in different ways.

(12) *The Bear in Gujarat*: Campbell while describing the role of the bear in the cultural life of Gujarat, says that "the bear has little religious importance. A black ball called *bajarbattu* like the seed of the soap-nut bush, which is tied round the children's necks as a charm against the evil eye, is worn after putting it for some time in the mouth of the bear."⁸¹

(13) *The Bear among the Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla (Madhya Pradesh)*: Dr. Stephen Fuchs in *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla* (Bombay, 1959, p. 123) tells us that 'when a tiger or bear has been killed, the meat is not eaten; only the skin is taken, and from the tiger, the teeth and the whiskers.'

VII. THE BEAR IN FOLKLORE

Flora A. Steel and Sir Richard Temple wrote a series of folktales on the Punjab and Kashmir in the *Indian Antiquary* which were later published in a book called *Tales of the Punjab or Wide Awake Stories*.

In the folklore of Kashmir, the following tale is told about how an old couple outwitted the bear. Once the old couple decided to make the savoury rice dish of 'kicari'. The old man went to the jungle to fetch wood and met a bear. He told the bear that his wife was going to make 'kicari' and if the bear would carry the load of

79. *Op. cit.* p. 504. cf. This is the very description of the Kinnara given by Eknāth.

80. *Op. cit.* p. 235.

81. James M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Gujarat Population*, Vol. II, part I, p. 378.

wood to his house he would give him a share of the dish. The bear's mouth started watering at the prospect and he started collecting enormous quantity of wood as the old man desired. The old man proceeded to his house with a small pile of the wood. The wife cooked the dish and they started eating it. The stupid bear came to the door with the promised load of the wood but got no 'kicari'. The old couple kept the emptied vessel in the kitchen and hid in the loft. The bear licked the vessel and went out. It climbed the jujube or ber tree in the neighbour's garden and shook it violently so that he could take the revenge on the old man by eating the fruit and depriving them of it. The neighbours came and beat the bear who then ran back to the jungle. It was a pact between the neighbours that the fruit which fell in the court-yard of the old couple belonged to them. Lots of fruits were now fallen down. The old couple came out from the hiding place and enjoyed the fruit.⁸²

William Crooke, in his compilation of *Folk-tales of Hindustan*, tells us the story of the sleeping princess Balavantī, who slept for twelve years and kept awake for twelve years. When she slept, a tiger and a bear used to keep a watch at her door alternately. The hero bribed the bear with the ber fruit which the bear is very fond of and rescued the princess and married her.⁸³

"In Madras Presidency there is a belief that when a bear seizes a man it tickles him to death without biting or violence. It is popularly believed too, of bears that they gain an additional pair of kidneys each year of their life and on opening a bear I have certainly seen appearances that seemed to bear out the notion," says Mr. J. Walhouse.⁸⁴ The bear's habit of tickling the victim to death is proverbial in Maharashtra as well.

In Bihar it is considered to be inauspicious to take the name of the bear, the monkey and the owl on rising in the morning.⁸⁵

(i) *Dardu Folktales about the bear in Gilgit:*

In the *Indian Antiquary*, I, 1872, pp. 89-95, the following folktales are recorded under the title of—"Dardu Legends, Proverbs and Fables" by Dr. G.W. Leitner "(1) *A Bear and a Corpse*: It is said that bears as the winter is coming on are in the habit of filling their den with grass and they eat a plant called 'ajali' which has a narcotic effect upon them and keeps them in a state of torpor during the winter. After three months, when the spring arrives they awake and go about for food.

82. Folklore from Kashmir, *Ind. Ant.*, XI, 1882, pp. 342-9.

83. *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, 1894, p. 79.

84. Archaeological Notes, Folklore, Omens, Spells, Charms, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions, *Ind. Ant.*, V, 1876, p. 23.

85. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, 1890, Notes and Queries, p. 131.

One of these bears once scented a corpse which he disinterred. It happened to be that of a woman who had died a few days before. The bear who was in good spirits, brought her to his den where he set her upright against a stone and fastening a spindle with his teeth and paws, gave it to her into one hand and placed some wool in the other. He then went on growling "mu-mu-mu" to encourage the woman to spin. He also brought her some nuts and other provisions to eat. Of course the efforts were useless and when she, after a few days gave signs of decomposition, he ate her up in despair."

This is the story based upon the playful habits of the bear.

"(2) *A bear marries a girl*: Another curious story is related of a bear.

Two women, a mother and a daughter, were watching their corn field (maize). Mother went to prepare food and ordered her daughter to light a fire outside. While she was doing this a bear came and took her away. He carried her to his den; daily he brought her to eat and to drink. He rolled a big stone in front of the den whenever he went away. The girl could not remove it. When she became a bit old to remove the stone, he daily used to lick her feet, by which they became swollen and eventually dwindled down to mere misshapen stumps. The girl who had come of age led to endure the caresses of the bear by whom she became enceinte. She died in childbirth and the bear roamed disconsolately about the fields.

"(3) *The Origin of Bears*; Bears were originally offspring of a man who was driven into madness by his inability to pay debts and who took to the hills in order to avoid his creditors.

"(4) *The Bear and the one-eyed man*: A true story related by Ghalib Shah of Parishing village about a man. He was one-eyed. One night he kept *tramba* (flour, boiled in water kept in a receptacle under the hearth to be roasted on the 'tavā' like 'capāṭī). He sat one night looking out whether any bear had come into his *tramba*, he saw a bear there and that he, with his fore paws, alternately took a pawful of *tramba*, blew the chaff away and ate it hastily. He ran to the hut to get the gun; came out pointing the gun at the bear. The animal saw that the man was blind in one eye. He ran to the blind side of the man's face, took the gun and threw it away.

"(5) *Wedding festival of the bears*: A Mulla of the name of Lal Muhammad, said that when he was taken a prisoner into Chilas, he and his escort passed one day through one of the dreariest portions of the mountains of that inhospitable region. There they heard a noise, and quietly approaching to ascertain its cause, they saw a

company of bears tearing up the grass and making bundles of it which they hugged. Other bears again wrapped their heads in grass, some stood on their hind paws, holding a stick in their fore-paws and dancing to the sound of howls of the others. They then ranged themselves in rows; at each end of which a young bear, on one side male and on the other side a female. These were supposed to celebrate their marriage on the occasion in question. My informants swore to the story of my Ghilgiti, corroborated the truth of the first portion of the account which, he said, described a practice believed to be common to bears.

“(6) *A Fight Between Wolves And A Bear, Who Wanted To Dig Their Grave*: A curious animal something like a wolf called Ko, is like a dog, with snouts of red colour and very long. They usually hunt in herds of ten to twenty and track game. A shikari once reported that he saw a large number of them asleep. They were all ranged in a single long line. A bear approached and by the aid of a long branch measured the line. He then went to see distance and measuring the ground, dug it out to the extent of the line in length. He then went back to measure the breadth of the sleeping troop, when his branch touched one of the animals which at once jumped up and roused others. They all then pursued him and brought him down. Some of them harrassed him in front whilst one of them went behind him and sucked his stomach, clean out *ab ano*. This seems to be a favourite method of these animals in destroying a game. They do not attack men, but bring down horses, sheep and game.”

(ii) *Assam Folklore and the Bear*

Dr. Verrier Elwin in his book '*Myths of North East Frontier*', (Shillong, 1958) gives the following folktales about the bear.

(1) *From the Bugun (Khowa) Tribe*: There lived a brother and his sister. Brother asked the sister to go to the forest and get some fruit. She went but the fruit was high and she could not reach it. A bear was high up on the tree eating the fruit. She sang him a song requesting him to give her some fruit. The bear said that he would give her the fruit only if she married him. She agreed and the bear gave her the most delicious fruit. Daily she went and brought the fruit from the bear. But the bear being in clumsy love when he took her in his arms he tore her clothes. When the brother asked her about it she said that the clothes were torn with thorns. The brother followed her to the forest, saw the love-making of the bear and her. He got enraged and shot at the bear. The girl said, "He was my husband. Why did you kill

him?" The brother said, "You are human and must marry a man", and dragged her home.

Since then women in the tribe do not eat the flesh of the bear.⁸⁶

(2) *Taraon (Digaru) Mishmi*: There were brother and a sister who were lovers. People jeered at them. So they went to the forest. They became thirsty and drank salty water which was trickling from a rock and were turned into bears.⁸⁷

There were two brothers. The elder one wanted to drive out the younger one and ordered him to leave the house. The younger one refused. The elder brother then asked the hornet to attack his brother. When the younger went to gather honey the bees stung him. He fell down. As a result of this he became crooked. He turned into a bear and attacked every man he saw. The brother put him in a cage. The bear escaped. The brother pulled his tail and it came off. That is why the bear has a short tail.^{87a}

(3) *Wancho*: Once the crow, the bear, the monkey and the man became friends. They were travelling together. The man had a basket of cooked rice. As he went to ease himself, the bear stole it. Man became angry and hit the bear on his neck. That is why there is a horse-shoe mark there.

(iii) *The Baigas of Madhya Pradesh*

(a) *The Bear and the Boy*: A folktale among the Baigas of the Madhya Pradesh. An old woman had a son who cheated a farmer by selling a useless sickle for some rupees. When the man saw it he became angry and chased the boy. The boy ran with the money tied in a cloth. He met a bear. The bear chased him and caught him. The rupees fell to the ground. A merchant was passing by the road riding a horse. "Look" the boy cried, "this bear has passed rupees. Hold the bear for me."

"No" replied the merchant. "Pick up the rupees for me. I keep the bear for myself." The boy rode on the merchant's horse and went away.⁸⁸

(b) *Origin of 'Sakhi Jhori' Custom*: In the same book Dr. Fuchs while describing the rite of 'sakhi jhori' i.e. friendship-bond between two women having the same number of children, says that this form of friendship originated in Rewa and introduced in Mandla by people. "The origin of the custom is supposed to be as follows: Once the wife of a shepherd (Ahir) went to the

86. *Op. cit.* pp. 367-369.

87. *Op. cit.* pp. 369-370.

87a. *Op. cit.* p. 370.

88. Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga*, London, 1939, pp. 509-10.

jungle when she saw a bear (*balua*). Some people say that it was Bhagawan himself in the shape of the bear. The bear wanted to speak to the woman, or, according to the other version, wanted water from her. But the woman was so frightened that she did not listen and ran away. When she got home, she found to her surprise that both her children were dead. Weeping, she returned to the spot where she had met the bear, suspecting that the bear had killed her children in punishment for her disobedience. The bear again appeared to her and asked: 'Why do you cry?' The woman replied: 'Because my children have died.' The bear then said: 'Your children died because you did not listen to me. (After the other version: because you did not give me water). But I will tell you what to do: Go back to your village and perform *sakhi jhori* with a woman who has as many children as you had. (p. 175).

(iv) *Folktale From South India*

A king had a daughter, ten years old. The king asks his Guru to fix an auspicious day for her marriage. The Guru is enamoured of her and says, "It will be wrong to celebrate the girl's marriage. It will bring evil. Adorn her with jewels and clothes like a bride, put her in a box and throw the box in the ocean. It was done. The Guru asked another disciple to bring the floating box from the sea. The disciple did so. The Guru asked the disciple to go away and opened the box, a bear came out of it and hit at the Guru's throat. The bear escaped and the priest lay dying. How the bear came to be in the box is an amusing episode. A prince saw the box floating. He took and opened it and saw the beautiful bride. He took the bride and kept the bear inside.

The learned priest conjectured it and while dying wrote the following verse in his blood on the pillar of the house:

ममो इच्छा समो नास्ति
देवइच्छा प्रवर्तते ।
राजकन्या राजद्वारे
विप्रं भालु भक्षते ॥

(Man's desires are not fulfilled

God's desires prevail

The king's daughter is in the king's palace

The bear has eaten the priest.⁸⁹⁾)

89. M. N. Venkataswami, *Folklore from the Dakshina-Desa*, The Vicious Guru, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXV, 1905, pp. 211-2. A variant of this tale is found in Kashmir. The priest enamoured of the bride is the villain, whom the bear which has been closed in the box by two bear-keepers who rescue the bride of the cobbler from the box floating in the river mauls. The bride had been declared inauspicious by the wicked priest and ordered her to be discarded, by putting her in a box and throwing the box in a river. The bear mauls the priest but does not kill him. The bride is restored to the cobbler bridegroom. (S. L. Sadhu, *Folktales from Kashmir*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 30-39).

(v) *The Himalayan Folktales About the Bear*

(1) *The Fox and the Bear*: The fox and the bear were friends. They set up a joint establishment and bought a buffalo. The fox was the first to drink its milk and the bear had to feed it. The bear did a faithful job. The fox became fat by drinking the milk. When the bear's turn came to drink the milk and the fox's to feed the buffalo, the fox neglected it and the bear starved. The fox got tired of the milk diet and so he took the buffalo on a mountain top to graze and pushed it down but lodged half way down. It called the bear to lift it up. The bear pulled it almost to the top. The fox gave a push. The bear and the buffalo both fell down and died.

(2) *The Fox and the Bear*: A fox and a bear were friends. They used to go out together. They found a hornet's nest. The fox began to beat on the hollow hornet's hill which sounded like a drum. The simple-minded bear began to dance and beat on the hornet's nest itself. The bees stung him. The fox was delighted at it. The fox then hung a swing over a precipice and swung. The bear watched. When the bear's turn came to swing, the fox pushed him away. The bear fell down. The fox then cut the tail of the dead buffalo and hung it in the crevice of steep hill side. He then told the bear that the buffalo had gone inside the hill. The bear desiring to eat it, tried to take out the buffalo by hanging to the tail. He fell down and died.⁹⁰

(vi) *The Bear in a Marathi Folktale*

I found the following stories among the Kunbis of the Konkan. There was a parent bear, who was demon and magician. He had a daughter who was a human. The bear used to stay in the underground cave. It was spacious and had a garden in which the trees produced red fruits of blood. He used to sprinkle the blood of his victims on the trees, when they entered his cave. Daily his beautiful daughter used to attract travellers in the jungles. The poor men were thus enticed by the young maiden and afterwards killed by the bear demon. Once a prince was lured by her and as fate would have it, she fell in love with the prince. He was on a mission of procuring "the fruit of blood" to cure a sick princess of her illness and the prince wanted to marry her. Having come to the garden the girl told him that these were the trees which bore the fruit of blood. When the father returned she hid the prince and later helped the prince to kill her father. Taking the girl and now owning the whole garden, the prince married both the girl and the sick princess.

90. Rev. E.S. Oakley and Tara Dutt Gairola, *Himalayan Folklore*, Allahabad, 1935, pp. 257-8, 259-60.

(vii) *Bear in a Folktales of Kashmir*

Once upon a time there was a king and the king had his minister. They were friends. The king learnt the secret of leaving his body and putting his soul in the body of another. While the king was learning this, the minister learnt it stealthily and since then became jealous of the king and wanted to be in his place. Once the king left his body and entered into the dead body of a parrot. The minister then entered the body of the king and started ruling in his stead. The king, now a parrot, waited for his opportunity to enter his own body. The minister once left the king's body and entered into the body of a dead bear. The king then killed the bear and entered into his own body.⁹¹

(viii) *Folklore of the Bear from Ceylon*

Mahāsena, a demon, causes cholera and dysentery. He is said to be 122 feet tall, has a head of the bear. He holds a pick in his left hand and elephant in the right hand. He squeezes the blood of the elephant to drink.⁹²

(ix) *Proverbs About the Bear*

In Persia there exist some proverbs about the bear and so in Arabia. The Persian and Arabic influence is strong on the north-west frontier of India and on many Muslim communities. Along with the languages and cultures, the proverbs also have naturally reached India. Following are the examples of such proverbs.

(1) He entered the bag with the bear (adversity makes strange bed-fellows).

(2) A bear in the mountain is Avicenna.
Avicenna was an Arab saint.⁹³

(1) *Marathi Proverbs:*

(१) अस्वलाच्या अंगाला (गांडोला) केसांचा दुष्काळ.

The private parts of the bear have no hair. A thing is not being in a place where it should be.

(२) अस्वलीच्या आधी किंकाळी फोडावी.

People believe that after the bear growls it becomes deaf and before it can do so one should scream before it shrieks, so there is a chance to frighten it away.⁹⁴

91. Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson, *Hatim's Tales*, London, 1923, p. 5-11.

92. Arthur A. Parera, *Glimpses of Singhalese Social Life*, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, 1904, p. 56.

93. E. Rehatsek, *Parallel Proverbs in English, Arabic and Persian*, *Journal of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Volume XIV, 1879-80, pp. 87, 90.

94. Manwaring, *Marathi proverbs*, London, 31.

The proverb means that before one complains of you, you should complain of him.

(३) अस्वलाच्या रानांत केसांचा दुष्काळ.

The wood in which the bear lives lacks hair.

(४) अस्वलीचा कान दरवेशाच्या हातात

The ear of the female bear is caught by the Dervish.⁹⁵

Even a strong person is controlled by somebody.

The expression like the अस्वली गुदगुल्या (the tickling of the bear), अस्वली प्रेम (the love or passion of the bear), अस्वली मिठी (the embrace or hugging of the bear), अस्वली आरोळी (the shriek of the bear) are common in Marathi.

In the folktale, the forest is usually described as सर्पांच्या पिळणी, अस्वलांच्या लोळणी, सरडे शाळू घालती etc., (where the serpents twist themselves, the bears roll on the ground and the chamelions whistle etc.).

The bear is fond of the pods of the "abayee" (black damer, *Canarium strictum*). It devours the pods without chewing them. When it has to pass them out the pods stick in its anus and cause it a lot of pain and it howls. The saying goes that the bear eats the pods smilingly and passes them out with howls. The bear often vomits what it has eaten and again swallows the vomitted stuff. A saying goes that a greedy person eats the vomit like the bear. It also points to the dirtiness of the bear.

Shri S.B. Joshi, Assistant Librarian, National Library, Calcutta, informed me that the bear is called *lisa!* (लिसळ) in the local dialect of Khandesh.

The word appears to be a corruption of 'rīkṣa-riṣa(d).

He also quotes a proverb on the bear, either composed by the late poet Bahinabai Chaudhari or known to her from tradition. It was published in an issue of the Marathi digest monthly, 'Amṛt' (अमृत) some years ago along with some hitherto unpublished proverbs, under the title 'Bahinābāi's Proverbs' (बहिणाबाईच्या म्हणी) ।

The proverb is:

हॉस केली लिसळ ते गॉघलं
मोढया बैलाले वांशिंग वांघलं

(One's heart's desire of decoration was fulfilled by tattooing the bear and by tying the crown to the head of a bull without horns).

'Tattooing a bear' is a common saying in Maharashtra.

95. Y. R. Dale and C. G. Karve, *The Maharashtra—Vākṣaṇṣpradāya Kośa*, I, Poona, 1942, p. 72.

The bear swings its body merrily when it is satisfied. So a saying goes that one swings in mirth like the bear.

Another saying is अस्वलावी मैत्री नि अंगाच्या (गांडीच्या) चिध्या. It means that if you make friendship with the bear your body (or private parts) will be torn into shreds by it.

(2) *Bengali Proverbs*: In Bengali the bear's liking for the tamarind is mentioned in folk songs of the Santals.⁹⁶

The whimpering of the bear is called the 'fever of the bear' and hence fever which comes and disappears suddenly is called the bear-fever (भालूकेर ज्वर). Sushil Kumar Day in his book 'Bengali Proverb' (बांग्ला प्रवाद, कलकत्ता, P. 602) records two proverbs on the bear, viz.

(a) भालूकेर हाते खन्ता
(An axe in the hand of the bear) and

(b) भालूक कि नाचते चाय नाके दडि पिये नाचाय.
(Does the bear want to dance? No. It is made to dance by putting a rope in its nose).

In Bengali there are very few proverbs about the bear. Two of them are as follows:—

(a) भालूक कि नाचते चाय,
नाकि दडि दिये नाचाय.
(Does the bear like to dance? No. It is made to dance by putting a rope in its nose).

(b) भालूकेर हाते खन्ता
(The hammer in the hands of the bear is deadly).⁹⁷

(3) *A Proverb in Hindi*: There is a Hindi proverb on the bear's hair.

रोछ का एक बाल भी बहुत है।
(Even one hair of the bear is enough powerful).

It means that even with one hair of the bear, a child is cured of its malady.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The bear is naturally carnivorous but it is an animal which is almost a vegetarian in a large part of the Asian Continent.⁹⁹ Bears

96. In a lullaby it is said 'The bears eat the tamarind fruit; from where do they get salt? They get it from the Seora tree. They get oil from 'Kusum' (*Schleichera trijuga*) tree. All this they eat with relish. Durga Bhagvat. '*Loksāhitya* (Marathi translation of Tagore's book '*Loksāhitya*' Bombay, 1968, p. 153).

97. Sushil Kumar Day, *Bānglā Pravād* (Bengali). Calcutta, Bengali Era, 1359, p. 602.

98. Krishnachandra Gupta, *Hindustāni Kahāvāt Kośa*, (Re-edition of the *Hindustāni Proverbs Dictionary*, by Fallen). New Delhi, 1967, p. 321.

99. Lorus J. and Margery Milne, *The Mating Instinct*, London, 1955, p. 184.

are usually known to have 'cannibalistic' tendencies like many other animals, e.g. cats and dogs etc. who eat the young ones of their species¹⁰⁰ (not their own). There is a terrible incident recorded of two cubs, whose mother was shot by a hunter. The cubs who were out of the reach of the hunter, later came near the carcass of the mother and gorged on her. Next day the cubs were taken into custody by the hunter. There while in captivity, four skins of adult bears, they saw, were kept to dry in the sun. The cubs smelt those and nestled fondly to the skin of their mother.¹⁰¹

The bears are called scavengers. They are like vultures, since they eat maggots, insects, beetles, ants and many other things which we reckon as dirt. Since the bear carries a lot of dirt on its body, the trichina worm (*Trichinella Spiralis*) is its parasite. It is also a parasite of pigs, rats and dogs.¹⁰²

The larger bears are found in the Arctic area of the northern hemisphere and the smaller ones in the paleotropical realm or the old world tropics,¹⁰³ and have been always reckoned as dangerous as the wolves, tigers etc. Man has succeeded in reducing to insignificance their attack by hunting as well as by magical devices. The teeth of the bear especially the canines which are greatly developed forming tearing tusks, are prized by human magicians as having great protective and healing powers. The same use is made of its skull, hair and nails.

Joseph Campbell in *Creative Mythology* connects the Beowulf with the bear. "The name Beowulf itself, "bee-wolf" meaning bear suggests affinities with a widely known folk-tale figure of prodigious strength, the Bear's son, the distribution of whose appearances in North America as well as Eurasia points to a background in that primordial cult of reverence for the bear discussed in primitive Mythology, and which is still observed among the Ainu of Japan."

Campbell also mentions certain characters of the role of the beo-wulf. These apply to the bear in Indian culture as well. "It is even possible that originally in the Beowulf saga the monsters were conceived not as friends but as guardians as the natural forces, not to be killed, but quelled and integrated. In fact, their residence in the land below waves suggests an association with those ethonic powers that have always been recognised as dangerous and frightening yet essential to all life".¹⁰⁴

100. *Op. cit.* p. 170.

101. Lorus J. and Margery Milne, *Animal Life*, Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J. 1959, p. 20.

102. *Op. cit.* p. 168.

103. *Op. cit.* p. 260.

104. Joseph Campbell, *Masks of God*, IV: *Creative Mythology*, pp. 118, 123.

About the Bear's son or the hero of the prodigious strength, Campbell has discussed the significance of his mythology in Greek and Indian traditions. He observes that the hero is connected with the sun-cult.^{104a} Campbell, however, has laid emphasis on the myth of Oedipus and while pointing out his prototypes in India, has not alluded to the myth of the gem *syamantaka* in which the hero Kṛṣṇa overpowers the Bear Jāmbavat. Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are both connected with the solar divinity being incarnations of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. The role of Jāmbavat is subservient to these two divine-men.

If the bear-cult in North America and North Asia is associated with solar mythology, the Indian bear's affinity with both the sun as with the moon symbology is obvious. Campbell's prodigious hero, though he originally belongs to the sun-myth, later represents the sun-moon mythology. The Bear in Southern and middle Asia is representative of moon-mythology and its symbol is the pearl. The Persian and Arabian folklore reveals this. The *syamantaka* gem represents the sun, yet as we have seen from the information of the derveshis that the bear's symbol is moon-shaped (viz., the talisman of its nails). So in India the moon element seems to have been emphasised through its association with Persia and Arabia.

The bear's kingdom of the netherworld is found in the Orissan and Assamese mythology and cults. The bear in the Aesop's fable is not a climber of trees but its prototype. The tropical or Indian bear is a tree-climber like the ape and hence the association of the bear with the ape in Indian mythology. The bear's role in Indian mythology is secondary, if we compare it to that of the lion or the tiger and it is even less than the jackal in folklore. The reason is obvious. The bear-cult, as is obvious even in the Vedic evidences, is a borrowed cult. It is borrowed from the north as the name *Ṛkṣā* for the northern direction or the name of 'seven bears' for the constellation of the Great Bear shows. That bear was a sacrificial animal representing the cult of non-Aryan society is also obvious from the *Aśva-medha* sacrificial ritual.

However, in remote times the bear played a significant role in the culture of this country and its survivals are still found though scarce and scattered.

The sumtotal of the bear's part in the Indian culture is that its role in mythology is a minor one, that its association with the ape is specially noteworthy and that the bear-human relationship both as master and servant and sexual mate is significant. The bear-cult in India seems to have been in Tantric worship in the Deccan trap.

104a. Joseph Campbell *op. cit.*, III: *Occidental Mythology*, London. 1966, pp. 162-172; also, Lindsay, *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the help given to me by the Aurangabad Unit of the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India for making available the photo of the stone tablet with the figure of the bear carved upon it from the Daulatabad Fort and giving me permission to print it. I thank Dr. R. N. Dandekar for helping me to procure the photo from the Archaeological Survey. I thank Dr. K. P. Jog who first drew my attention to this unique sculpture and also helped me with some Vedic references. I am indebted to Dr. Mrs. Kumud A. Mehta for going through the manuscript and making useful suggestions.

I also thank the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi for permission to reproduce photographs of the terracotta figures from Lothal and Chanhu Daro; The Trustees, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India for the reproduction of photograph of terracotta figure from Mohenjo Daro; and Lady Cowasji Jehangir for permission to reproduce a photograph of the Mogul miniature 'Animals in Council' from her collection. Thanks are also due to Shri B. V. Shetti, the Asstt. Curator, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay for his help in making available the photographs for the article.

I am thankful to the Editor of *The Illustrated Weekly* for allowing me to copy the bear-picture in the Persian tale.

D. Bhagvat

APPENDIX 1

Names of the Bear in Indian Languages:

Dunbar Brander gives the following names of the bear *Melarsus urisum*, or the sloth bear as follows.¹⁰⁵

Hindi Southern	रींछ	Rinchh
Hindi Northern	भालू	Bhālū
Marathi	अस्वल	Aswal
Korku	बान	Bān
Gondi	येरिद, येराज	Yerid, Yerāj
Chhattisgarhi	बलुआ	Baluā

The Bhils and other tribes in Khandesh call the bear Nilog. Naḍag and Nargī (निलोग, नडग, नरगी),¹⁰⁶

The Todas call the bear Kara. In Tamil and Canerese it is called Karaḍi.

In Persian 'Kari' means fearful, impetuous. In Marathi the word Karaḍā (करडा) means coarse hair.¹⁰⁷

We have to add some more to the list.

Marathi

भालू,	रीम,	नडघ,	नडघे	रिछ	लिसळ
(Bhalu)	(Ris)	(Nadagh)	(Nadaghe)	(Rich)	(Lisaḷ)

The Katkaris call it नरक (narak).¹⁰⁸

The Kolams in the Yeotmal district of Maharashtra call it Guḍḍi (गुड्डी)

The Lhota Nagas in Assam call it 'Sivan'.¹⁰⁹

APPENDIX 2

Ṛkṣa, the Proper Name:

Ṛkṣa was a popular proper-name in Ancient India. Ṛkṣa was the name of Jāmbavat but there were other personages also, the sages and kings who bore the same name. The mountain Ṛkṣa on the banks of the Narmadā was famous.¹¹⁰ For illustration, the *Viṣṇu purāṇa* furnishes the following information about the proper name Ṛkṣa, viz (i) Ṛkṣa was the Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas in the 24th Dvāpara Age. He was the descendant of the sage Bhṛgu and

105. *Wild animals in the Central India, Appendix.*

106. W.F. Sinclair, Notes on Khandesh, *Indian Antiquary*, IV, 1875, p. 333.

107. Dr. John Stevenson, Collection of words from the Language of the Todas, The chief tribe on the Nilgiri Hills, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. I, 1841-1844, p. 162.

108. *The Ethnological Survey of Bombay*, Monograph No. 2, p. 134.

109. J.P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 13.

110. H. H. Wilson, *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, London, 1866, Vol. III, p. 35.

was also called Vālmīki. Ṛkṣa was the son of Ariha;¹¹¹ he was the son of Devātithi;¹¹² Ṛkṣa was the son of Ajāmīdha;¹¹³ Ṛkṣa was the son of Purujanu;¹¹⁴ Ṛkṣā was the feminine proper name. She was the wife of Ajāmīdha;¹¹⁵ Ṛkṣa was the chain of mountains also known as Ṛkṣaka in Central India in the forests of the Narmadā.¹¹⁶

Dr. V. S. Agrawal's remark that the epithet 'bear' was attached to the name of man to indicate valour, like the epithets, tiger, lion, elephant, etc. in Pāṇini's time is not quite accurate. 'Bear' had ceased to be an honorific title in post-epic period while the others continued. 'Bear' stood for ferocity and uncouthness.¹¹⁷

APPENDIX 3

General Characteristics of the Bear in Ancient India:

In the *Kalpद्रुकोśa* of Keśava, the synonyms of the bear are presented as:—

दुर्घोषो मल्लको भल्लो भालुकः पृष्ठदृष्टिकः ।
द्राघिष्टायुर्दोर्घकेशो भाल्लूको भल्लकोऽपि च ॥
भल्लो भाल्लपञ्च भाल्लूक ऋक्षोऽप्यथ¹¹⁸

In this list certain characteristics of the bear are mentioned. It has a habit of turning and looking back often while it walks. So it is called *Prṣṭhadṛṣṭika* (पृष्ठदृष्टिक). It also makes a terrible noise when it is provoked. It screams. So it is called *Durghoṣa* (दुर्घोष) It lives long. So it is called long-lived, *Draghīṣṭāyu* (द्राघिष्टायु) and has thick and long hair all over the body. So it is called 'the long-haired one' (दोर्घकेशः) The compiler of the *Vācaspatya* tells us that the commentator of the *Carak-saṃhitā*, Pānidatta, the commentator of *Suśruta*, Uhanācārya, and the commentator of *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, Varuṇadatta and Hemadri derive the word *ṛkṣa*, from the verb *ṛkṣ* which means to kill or to cause injury.

In the *Vācaspatya*, the compiler has given a list of creatures which are mammals, and are called 'placental' (जरायुजा) in the ancient Indian science; among such the bear is one. The quotation given by Tārānāth is as follows:—

जरायुजानां प्रवराः मानवाः पशवश्च ये ।
नानारूपधरा राजन्नेषां भेदा चतुर्दश ।
अरण्यवासिनः सप्तसप्तैषां ग्रामवासिनः ।
सिंहव्याघ्रा वराहाश्च महिषा वारणास्तथा ।
ऋक्षाश्च वानराश्चैव सप्तारण्या स्मृता नृप ॥¹¹⁹

The gist of the passage is that the seven types of animals, viz lions, bears, bisons, elephants, boars, tigers and apes are wild. Here also the bear and the ape are bracketted together.

111. *Op. cit.* IV, p. 28.

112. *Op. cit.* IV, p. 152, 153.

113. *Op. cit.* IV, p. 148.

114. *Op. cit.* IV, p. 144; V, 391.

115. *Op. cit.* IV, p. 148.

116. *Op. cit.* II, pp. 127, 128, 130, 141, 144, 145, 151, 153, 155, 171; IV; 24; II; 113.

117. V.S. Agrawal, *Pāṇini Kālin Bhāratavarṣa* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1950, p. 169.

118. Keśava's *Kalpद्रुकोśa*, I, (Gaekwad Oriental series), Baroda, 1928, pp. 318-19, verses 11 and 12.

119. *Vācaspatya*, p. 1400.

APPENDIX 4

Nomenclature based on the word Ṛkṣa:

In order to know the influence of the bear in Indian culture one has to take note of some ancient words based on the word *ṛkṣa*. For example, (1) ऋक्षगन्धा (*ṛkṣagandhā*) is the name of the plant (*Argyreia argentea*) so called because it smells like a bear. (2) ऋक्षगन्धिका (*ṛkṣagandhikā*) is also the name of the plant (*Batatas paniculata*) the meaning being the same as the former. (3) ऋक्षजिह्वा (*ṛkṣajihva*) is a kind of leprosy. The meaning of the word is 'the bear's tongue'. (4) ऋक्षग्रीव (*ṛkṣagrīva*) 'the bear-necked' was the name of the demon (AV viii, 6, 2) (5) ऋक्षीका (*ṛkṣikā*)—the one having bears or the bear-demoness. This was the name of an evil spirit mentioned in AV ii, i 49; V. S. xxx 8ā; S. Br. xiii.

All these names suggest the terrible and repulsive aspects of the bear, namely that his smell is repulsive and his neck and tongue, ugly and thick.

APPENDIX 5

Place-names after the Bear:

There are many place-names in India which are after the bear e.g. I give below the list of all the place-names in Maharashtra from the publication of the Census Department of the Government of Maharashtra (1965) called *Mahārāshtrātil Khedyānchī Va Shahrāncī Varṇakramī* (महाराष्ट्रातील खेड्यांची व शहरांची वर्णक्रमी), An alphabetical index of the names of villages and cities in Maharashtra.

(1) *Aswaldarī* (अस्वल दरी): The village of the bear, Nanded District, Bhokar Mahal Taluka.

(2) *Asvalīharṣa* (अस्वली हर्ष): The joy of the bear, Nasik District, Igatpuri Taluka.

(3) *Aswalpūr* (अस्वल पूर): The bear's town, Chanda District, Gadchiroli Taluka.

(4) *Aswal huḍkī* (अस्वल हुडकी): The searching spot of the bear, Chanda District, Gadchiroli Taluka.

(5) *Āswala* (आस्वल): The bear-place, Bead District, Kei Taluka.

(6) *Bhālūk* (भालूक): The bear, Thana District, Murbad Taluka.

(7) *Bhālū* (भालू): The bear, Vardha District, Arvi Taluka.

(8) *Bhālūr* (भालूर): The village of the bear, Nasik District Nandgaon Taluka.

(9) *Rīs* (रीस): The bear, Kolaba District, Khalapur Taluka.

APPENDIX 6

Foreign Indianised Tales of the Bear:

With the advent of the Mogul rule and then the British rule certain foreign tales became popular in India. They were narrated in the Indian languages.

The Tales of the Adventures of Hatim Tai, was originally a Persian work. It was introduced in India as in other Asian countries where Persian was in use. Hatim is supposed to have lived in the sixth century in Arabia and travelled far and wide. He is said to have visited India.

In one of the tales, Hatim's marriage with the bear-king's daughter is described. Hatim goes to the country of bears, and the bear-king marries him to his daughter who is human.

Duncan Forbes translated the book in 1830 and his translation was adapted in Gujarati and Marathi. Hatim's Tales are very popular in Northern India as well. In the Marathi versions of *Hatim Tai Tales*, there is a story where Prince Hatim goes into the bear kingdom. The bear-king insists on Hatim to marry his daughter. Hatim marries his daughter. She gives the gift of a magic pearl. In the bear-kingdom they used to eat fruit only. Hatim got tired of this custom. He started a kitchen in which cooked food was prepared.

The end of the story is that Hatim gets rid of both the bear-king and his daughter.¹²⁰

Aesop's Fables were translated from the English version in various Indian Languages in the early decades of the nineteenth century and the tale of the two travellers and the bear has become a household tale in Indian homes ever since. Two friends accosted a bear in a forest. The one left his friend and climbed a tree to save his life. The other one who was not so quick, lay motionless on the ground and pretended to be dead. The bear took him to be dead and went away.

APPENDIX 7

'Āsavali' sari—border in Maharashtra:

In Maharashtra a pattern of woven sari-border is known as Āsavali (the bearish). The place which is famous for weaving the pattern is Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh. It is "famed for these gossamer saris known as Āsavali. Made in pastel shades and white and cream, they have chaste floral woven patterns and matching borders and pallavas (top end of the saris). With ingenuous technique of extra warp and weft introductions, craftsmen have been able to produce a marvellous effect that appears jewel-like on the surface, borders and pallav-ends. Lines, flowers, buds and leaves, dots and geometrical patterns are often seen."¹²¹

The old city of Paiṭhan in Maharashtra is also famous for its *Āsavali Saris*. "The speciality of these *Āsavali saris* lies in the design being woven by using multiple spindles to produce ornamentation which comprises embossed floral ensembles set all over the sari, and having borders and pallav (top end) woven in gold with beautiful bird or flower motifs."¹²²

120. Duncan Forbes: *Adventures of Hatim Tai*, Bombay, 1911. pp. 36-39.

121. Enakshi Bhavanani, *Decorative Craftsmanship of India*, Bombay, 1968, p. 20; also Y. G. Date and C. G. Karve, *Maharashtra Sabdakosa*, Poona, 1932, Vol. I, p. 186.

122. Enakshi Bhavanani, *Op. Cit.* p. 22.

The explanation of this type of floral design-border called *Āsavalī-kāṭh*, (or *Āsāvārī-kāṭh*) is that the design resembles the leaves and flowers of the plant called *Āsavalī* or *Āsāvārī* (probably *śatāvārī* or the Indian asparagus).¹²³

The Plant *Śatāvārī* or *Asvalī* is a creeper and has cluster of delicate long and hair-like leaves, which look beautiful. (Sakharam Balaji Lale, Kakvikar, *viṣṭār* विस्तार, Poona, 1889).

These clusters resemble the hair on the bear's body and hence the name and its artistic reproduction.

The door-mat with brushy hair is also known as '*Āsavalī-pāyṣaṇe*' in Marathi. It means that this bearish door-mat is meant to be used to brush the feet on it before one enters a house.¹²⁴

APPENDIX 8

Carnivorous Traits in the Bear:

The Indian bear prefers vegetable food to flesh and is not supposed to be 'man-eater' like the tiger. Yet it is not a perfect vegetarian like the elephant or the bull or the horse. Cases are reported where the bear eats up certain parts of the human body it kills. An example can be given of four men being killed by the bear in the Angul district in Bengal in 1903-1905. In one of these cases, "the skull was smashed and the brains eaten up, but the rest of the body was untouched."¹²⁵

APPENDIX 9

The Great Bear and Seasons:

The symbolization of the bear in the form of a star and specially a constellation of Ursa Major or the Great Bear recognised as the Seven Bears or the "seven ṛṣis" suggest, an important function of the life giving process of the universe is also symbolised. Seven Bears is the ancient Aryo-Indian name of Ursa Major. The constellation revolves round the pole-star 'Dhruva', which is supposed to enhance fertility. In ancient India the bridegroom pointed out the pole-star to the bride. This helped her to beget progeny. The convention still prevails.

The symbolization of the heavenly bear or bears is very ancient and widely spread in Egypt, Europe and India. Another characteristic of the Great Bear as seen from the mythology of Egypt, China, Europe and India is its connection with the seasons. As Donald A. Mackenzie rightly observes in his book, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1926, (pp. 86, 93) that "There seems to be little doubt that the great Bear was regarded as a source of great energy which permeated the world causing the seasons to follow one another in regular succession, rains to fall and crops to grow and ripen. Withal

123. Date and Karve, *Op. Cit.*

124. *Ibid.*

125. L.S.S. O'Malley, *Angul, Bengal District Gazetteers*. Calcutta, 1908, p. 12.

it exercised directly and indirectly an influence on man. It assured him of his supply of food, but it gave him health and strength. It also, as controller of water and wind, caused droughts in season, and sent lights and diseases on evil winds. In short, it was the source of magic".

Mackenzie goes on further to state that "Magical practices obtained, as has been indicated, among palaeolithic hunters of Western Europe, but it was evidently not until after the introduction of the agricultural mode of life and of the calendar that the connexion between the Great Bear and the seasons was detected."

APPENDIX 10

Bears in the Menagerie of Emperor Jehangir:

Emperor Jehangir was fond of the wild animals. Thomas Coryat, one of the early European travellers in India was famous for his journeys throughout Asia (1612-17). He makes the following remarks about the menagerie of Jehangir.

"Hee keepeth abundance of wild beasts and that of diverse sorts, as Lyons, elephants, leopards, bears, antelopes, unicorns."¹²⁶

APPENDIX 11

Bears in Elphinstone's Account:

Bears are common in all the woody mountains of Afghanistan. "But they seldom quit their haunts except where sugar-cane is planted, which tempts them into the cultivation. They are of two kinds, one of which is the black bear, the other is of a dirty white or rather yellow colour."¹²⁷

APPENDIX 12

The Three Bears and Bear-skin:

In a note, 'The Three Bears' by E. D. Philips,¹²⁸ a remote origin in ritual for some fundamental elements in Southey's famous fairy tale, is suggested. The resemblance between this tale and the Norwegian version of 'Snow-white' is also taken into consideration. In the latter 'a king's daughter comes to a cave inhabited by three bears, who are really Russian princes in a disguise, and cast of their bear skin at night. She eats their porridge and finally falls asleep... and is duly discovered.'

From the mention of bear-skins in the tale, Philips connects with the bear-cult in Siberia, which is based on the custom of Nomad hunters of setting aside skins of the animals 'particularly hunted

126. *Early Travellers in India, 1583-1619*; ed. by William Foster, Delhi, 1968, (Reprint).

127. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, London, 1839, p. 141.

128. E.D. Philips, *The Three Bears, The study of Folklore*, (ed. Alan Dundes), University of California, Berkeley, 1965, pp. 84-87.

for a cult to appease their angry ghosts'. He also refers to a special cult of three bear-skins among the Voguls of Western Siberia.

The cult of bear-skin is widely distributed in different parts of the globe, and among people professing divergent faiths. I would only point here the reference to the bear-skin magic made by Eknāth, which has been stated in the body of the essay.

APPENDIX 13

Bear-hunters' Charm in Mangolia:

It will not be out of place by way of an example, to refer to the list of wild beasts which the hunter in Mongolia is supposed to offer to the Forest-God Manaquan Tangri when he worships him. Academician Rintchen, famous for his valuable contribution on the Mongolian Shamanism, quotes the following incantation.

"I bow and beg you to design to spare us some of the fierce-natured stripped tigers and panthers, the first of the wild beasts. . . . I bow etc., some of the rough, strong, big bears, Gobi bears, and black bears. The elder brothers and first of the carnivores. . . ."

"The Gobi Bear (mazalai)", says C. R. Bawden, "is a rare animal, said to be related to the Himalayan bear and which feeds on rhubarb. It is an equivalent of the rock-bear (maqai). It is a protected animal in Mongolia."¹²⁹

APPENDIX 14

Yellow Bear:

In the *Tibetan-English Dictionary* by H. A. Jacschke, London, 1958, p. 264 the following account is given:—

"dred (दरुङ्ग) hyena, which name has probably been transferred by the inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the dred, an animal better known as the Yellow Bear, mi-dred, a bear that devours men (mil)—pyúgs—dred, a bear destructive to cattle; . . . dred—Siu—Śin=hazel—nut tree".

Brown bear is known as 'dom' (p. 265).

APPENDIX 15

Bear (Wolf) and Fox Tale-Type:

Kaarl Krohn, the Finnish literary historian studied the tale-type Bear (Wolf) and Fox in 1886. In it he examined the animal fable about the bear, or the wolf, fishing with his tail through a hole in ice. Krohn collated all possible variants of the tale and analysed all the motives in a critical manner. By a psychological examination of the variants in their geographical setting Krohn endeavoured to reconstruct the original form of the tale and to determine its home. He found that it was neither India nor Greece as stated by Benfey but Northern Europe.

129. C.R. Bawden. Mogol Notes, *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XII No. 2 (1968), pp. 128-129.

This tale-type, the Tail-Fisher, is Tale-type 2 of Aarne-Thompson.

C. W. Von Sydow has used this tale-type to show the futility of Benfey's Indianist theory which propounded India to be the homeland of fables. Though this example is correct in pointing to North-Europe as the nativity of this tale, because the bear culture does belong eminently to North-Europe, still the origin most probably lies in North-most Asia rather than North Europe, as the recent researches in bear culture prove. Krohn was right in so far as the place of the origin of the bear and wolf tale was neither India nor Greece as Benfey claimed.¹³⁰

APPENDIX 16

Bear Effigies:

The terracotta figurines of bears found in the Chanhu Daro and in Lothal can be bear effigies.

In the living culture of the gypsies the wooden bear plays an important role. Francis Hinde Groome, a British folklorist who had married a gypsy woman, wrote a book, *'Gypsy Folk-Tales'* (1899). In the introduction in order to hit hard at the 'survival' theory of the anthropological school of Andrew Lang, Groome refers to Matty Cooper, discoursing to his 'dear little wooden bear' and offering it beer to drink and remarks that still I can not forbear pointing out that many of Mr. Lang's survivals of dead Teutonic savagery are living realities in Gypsy tents". (*Pleasant customs and savage Myths* ed. Richard M. Dovson, London 1968, The Society Folklorists, Francis Hinde Groome, pp. 476-7).

ABBREVIATIONS

- (1) Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: J.B.B.R.A.S.
- (2) Indian Antiquary: Ind. Ant.

130. C. W. Von Sydow, *Folktale studies and philology, The Study of Folklore*, pp. 219-242.

KĀSĀRŚIRSI COPPERPLATES OF DHRUVARĀJA, ŚAKA 705.

By

D. V. CHAUHAN AND A. R. KULKARNI

दत्त्वा भूमि निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत्
आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पाथिवः । १.३१८
पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरि चिह्नितम्
अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंशयानात्मानं च महीपतिः । १.३१९
प्रतिग्रहपरीमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम्
स्वहस्तकालसम्पन्नं शासनं कारयेत्स्थिरम् । १.३२०
याज्ञवल्क्यस्मरणात्—

These copper-plates were in the possession of Shri Dinkar Balaji Patil, a resident of Kāsārśirsi Village in the Nilāṅgā taluka of the Osmānābād (ancient Dhārāśiva) district in the Maharashtra State. Shri Patil, who is an enlightened person, has very kindly handed them over to us for editing. We thank Shri Patil for this favour. The village Kāsārśirsi is about 240 Kms. north-east of Mantur, the village mentioned as granted in the plates. It is about 40 Kms. to the West of Kalyāṅī (a taluka town in the Bidar district in the Mysore State) which was the Capital of the Chālukya dynasty. Shri Patil is a Kāsār by profession dealing in copper, brass and other metals. How the plates travelled such a long distance in the course of time is a matter of conjecture only. We are deeply grateful to Prof. G. H. Khare of the Bhārat Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṅḍala, Poona for his guiding us in different aspects of this study. The plates are now deposited in the Marathawada University, Aurangabad.

The grant consists of three plates, strung together by a circular ring, the two ends of which are soldered together, the same being used for the seal of the issuing sovereign. The three plates are regular and equal in size 28 cms. in length, 15 cms. in breadth and .4 mm in thickness. Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims to protect the writing and as a result the inscription is mostly in an excellent state of preservation except the second side of the second plate which has been effaced a little due to exposure to salts during the last twelve centuries or so. The two ends of the ring have been fitted into a thick solid cylindrical copper mass 6 cms. in length and 11 cms. in circumference making room for the seal.

The outer seal disc is 3.7 cms. in diameter. The ring was in fact hamstrung into the plates. When the plates reached us it was cut to facilitate the ink-impressions. The weight of the three plates is 3410 grams and that of the ring is 850 grams, the two totalling 4.26 Kgs.

The seal on its countersunk outer surface has a representation of *garuḍa* in relief, squatting and facing to the front. It is similar to the one on the Paiṭhaṇ¹ plates of Govinda III of Śaka 716 but different in two respects; the hands of the *garuḍa* are placed with palms behind and he wears a sacred thread, and secondly the nose has been moulded very pointed which can be felt by hand. This gives a clear indication to the beak of the bird. The figure is seated on possibly a lotus-bed. In contradistinction to the Paiṭhaṇa plates figure, the *garuḍa* has two large wings stretching on both sides. The feet are joined together, sole to sole and are turned downwards as in the Paiṭhaṇ Plates.

The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left blank. The middle plate has writing on both the sides. There are 14 lines of writing on each side except the first side of the second plate which has 15 lines, thus making the whole inscription of 57 lines.

The incision of the letters is bold, legible and fairly deep, but no embossing is seen as the plates are sufficiently thick. The Characters of the inscription are Nāgarī. The forms of the letters are, in general, those of the letters usually used in other inscriptions of the same period. There are certain orthographic peculiarities usually common in the plates of the period. The letter, soft or hard is mostly doubled when preceded by the consonant *r*. This can be seen in *Sarvva* (L.2) *Śuchīrvvidhu* (L.2), *Kīrtir-Ggovinda* (L.3), *Dīrggha* (L.6), *Kīrtti* (L.6), *Ārtta* (L.6), *Ārtti* (L.6), *Maṇīrvvabhūva* (L.7), *Kāryūṭṭakam* (L.19), *Sūnur-mmahīpatiḥ* (L.14), *Swarggaḥ* (L.19), *Mārggaśara* (L.41) etc. But this rule is not observed in *Vāl-ārka* (L.23) and *agraṇīr-guṇavatām* (L.18). The letter *ba* is represented by *va*. The rule *ba-va-yoḥ abhedaḥ* is followed scrupulously. The tendency of the Prakṛt language has influenced the orthography of this inscription as also others in that, on many occasions, the original palatal *śa* has been represented by the dental *sa*. Examples are many, *Sarvvāriṣu* (L.2), *Nisāta* (L.12), *Nisitāstra* (L.16) *Subhām* (L.16), *Suṣkakoṭara* (L.50), *Sreṣṭha* (L.53), *Mahāsavda* (L.57), The letters *na* and *ta* are very similar and are likely to be wrongly deciphered. The incision of the letter *i* is very

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 104.

peculiar, see *iti* (L.3, 7 and 54). The letters *va*, *ca* and *dha* are much similar in appearance and difficulty is felt when any of them is found in conjunction with *ya*. The letter *Kha* is written in both the ways—as *ra* and *va* joined closely and secondly in a different mode which is the precursor of the Moḍi *kha* in Marathi or the one in Gujarati. The former mode can be seen in °*mukhīm* (L.3), *khaḍga* (L.4), °*likhitam* (L.8), °*bhakhyaḥ* (L.20), and *mukha* (L.34), while the latter is used in °*mukha* (L.2), °*Khaḍgam* (L.5), °*Makhilam* (L.27) and *Likhitam* (L.56). The cluster of *ṭ* and *ṭa* is also peculiarly represented and deserves notice, see *bhaṭṭa* (lines 27, 28 and 34).

The *prṣṭhamātrās* (a slight curl left-down-wards to the head-line) have been used extensively but not as a rule. There are some instances where instead of it a *śīromātrā* has been used; such cases can be seen in *Valāvale* (L.16), *Ceto* (L.25), *Raṇe* (L.26) etc. Where there occur two *śīromātrās*, the first of them is necessarily a *prṣṭhamātrā* while the second happens to be a *śīromātrā*.

It can be observed here that in the Nāgarī used for the Marathi language *prṣṭhamātrās* were invariably used from the beginning upto the middle of the twelfth century of the Śaka era. It is found that since the beginning of the second half of this century Marathi script started discarding the *prṣṭhamātrā*. Where in an inscription both the languages Sanskrit and Marathi were used, the former used and the latter discarded it or used it sparingly.² Inconsistency prevailed for sometime. In the *deśa* region of Maharashtra, the *prṣṭhamātrā* was dropped earlier³ than in the Konkan region.⁴ The practice seems to be completely discarded since Śaka 1200.⁵

Some inadvertant mistakes in inscribing can be noticed in *sanamataḥ* (for *manastah* L.5), °*stu* (for °*tsu* L.21) and *bhḍr* (for °*dbhr* L.43).

The language of the grant is Sanskrit—poetry and prose. The portion giving the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty is given in 17 verses. Then the portion in prose (LL.27 to 48) describes the King's camp, the purpose of the grant, the grantee's whereabouts and the achievements, the details of the village granted and the year of the grant (L.41). Then follow 7 benedictory and imprecatory verses in *anuṣṭubh* (LL.48 to 55).

The verses occurring in these plates describing the genealogy and the reigns of different kings of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty are also

2. *Prāchīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekha*: S. G. Tulpule, Poona, 1963. p. 130.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 140, 145, 148 and 152.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 156 and 162.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 168 and 191.

found in other plates so far published. The verses in these Kāsārśirsi plates have occurred in the Bopkal⁶ plates, Ś. 680 of Kṛṣṇarāja (1, 2, 5 to 11 verses of these plates), in the Bhāṇḍak⁷ plates, Ś. 694 of Kṛṣṇa (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10 and 11), in the Pimpari⁸ plates, Ś. 697 of Dhruvarāja (1 to 9 and 11 to 15), in the Dhulia⁹ plates, Ś. 701 of Karkarāja (1 to 11 and 15), in the Bhor¹⁰ plates, Ś. 702 (1 to 17, all), in the Jeṭhawai¹¹ plates of Śilamahādevī, Ś. 708 (1 to 15), in the Daultabad¹² plates, Ś. 715 of Śaṅkaragaṇa (1, 2, 5 to 10), in the Paiṭhaṇa¹³ plates, Ś. 716 of Govindarāja III (1 to 17, all), in the Brahmanpalli¹⁴ plates of Karwa, Śaka 746, and in the Kāvī¹⁵ plates, Ś. 749 of Govindarāja, both of the Gujrat branch (1 to 15), and lastly in the Santa Cruz¹⁶ plates of Dhruvarāja of Gujrat, Ś. 806 (1, 2, 3, 5 to 8, 10, 12, 14 and 15). It would be noticed that the verses numbered 16 and 17 are important, in that they throw light on the struggle for sovereignty between the two real brothers—Govindarāja and Dhruvarāja. This political aspect is discussed later. It is noticeable that these two verses which depict the controversy in the dynasty have been omitted in the later plates of distant successors except in the Paiṭhaṇa plates of Govindarāja, Dhruvarāja's son.

The year of the grant is mentioned in line 41 of the inscription. The charter was incised when 705 years of the Śaka Kings had elapsed. The *tithi* mentioned is *bahulā amāvāsyā* of the month of Margaśara on which occurred the complete solar eclipse. The date given is regular. The corresponding date is the 29th November, 783 A. C.

The place wherefrom the charter issued, was Nandipuradwārī (L. 31) where the victorious royal camp was located. The place Nandipuradwārī occurs in the Jeṭhawai¹⁷ plates of Ś. 708 of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa queen Śilamahādevī, wife of this Dhruvarāja, in the Bhāṇḍaka¹⁸ plates of Ś. 694 of Kṛṣṇarāja and in the Nāgad¹⁹ plates of Ś. 577 of the Sendraka King Nikumbhallaśakti. While editing the last-mentioned plates, Prof. G. H. Khare of Poona has dis-

6. *The B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, Quarterly*, Ś. 1849, p. 165.
7. *E. I.* Vol. XIV by V. S. Sukthankar.
8. *E. I.* Vol. X by K. B. Pathak.
9. *E. I.* Vol. VIII by D. R. Bhandarkar.
10. *The Bhor State Pradarśikā*, 1935 by G. H. Khare and *EI* Vol. XXII by A. S. Altekar, p. 176.
11. *E. I.* Vol. XXII by D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 98.
12. *E. I.* Vol. IX by D. R. Bhandarkar.
13. *E. I.* Vol. III by F. Keilhorn.
14. *E. I.* Vol. XXII by B. Bhattacharya, p. 77.
15. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V by G. Bühler.
16. *E. I.* Vol. XXII by A. S. Altekar, p. 64.
17. *E. I.* Vol. XXII, p. 98.
18. *E. I.* Vol. XIV, p. 121.
19. *E. I.* Vol. XXVIII, by G. H. Khare, p. 197.

cussed, in great detail, the identification, location and philology of this place. It would suffice to quote him: "Nāndipuradvārī literally means a door to Nāndipura. Now Nāndipura or Nāndipurī which could have some possible connection with Nāndipuradvārī and which was situated in Western India, is the one referred to in the two Kaira and the two Sāṅkheda²⁰ plates of Gūrjara Dadda II which were issued from Nāndipurī or Nāndipura itself. Dr. Bühler identified this place with an old fort just outside the town of Broach²¹; but the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's suggestion that it should be identified with Nāndod in the Rajpipla State stands on a firmer ground²². The only place which could have served as a door-way to either of the places and especially the latter is Nandurbar, a Taluqa town in the West Khandesh²³ district. It is only sixty miles from Nandod and has some ancient remains. Moreover it is interesting to note that the feminine gender of the name is still retained in colloquial language". Additional reliability is acquired from the etymology of the word. Nandurbar can safely be derived from the ancient Nandipuradvārī. The grant was made by the sovereign after having bathed in the Balātkārikā Tirtha, a holy Kuṇḍa not traceable in the locality.

The grantee was a brahmin possessed of the knowledge of three Vedas and of the Bhāradvāja gotra named Amṛta Gṛhītasāhasa (its Marathi equivalent being Ghaisās). His father was one Śrīdhara Upādhyāya and his grandfather Devayūpa Upādhyāya. Devayūpa looks an odd name. but Yūpaketu, Yūpakeśin Yūpākhyā, Yūpākṣa etc. are found in Sanskrit lexicons. It seems usual to have proper names with word Yūpa as first or second member of a compound. The grant was made to five hundred brahmins headed by Amṛta Gṛhītasāhasa (Gṛhītasahasraḥ—one possessed of a thousand cows or gold coins). The grantee was a resident of the Palukundu village in the Palukupāṭi district (*Vishaya*). The village could not be identified definitely. There are villages having similar names—one Palkonda with the location, 16° 40' 78° 60' and the other Pallakonda with 14° 25' 79° 25'. Another village Palkonda has the location 18° 35' 83° 45', possibly in Orissa and seems of no concern here.

The subject matter of the grant is the donation of the village Maṇḍuru situated in the vicinity of the Kṛṣṇaveṅṅā river. It is known that the river Kṛṣṇā is called Kṛṣṇaveṅṅā upto its con-

20. *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*. D. R. Bhandarkar No. 1209, 1210, 1212 and 1213.

21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII p. 62.

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

23. Dhulia district of Maharashtra.

fluence with the river Ghataprabha. There is a village named Maṅṭur (16° 24' 75° 25') about 6 miles on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river. It is situated on a ridge with about 2000 ft. MSL but in the Kṛṣṇā watershed. The district (*Vishaya*) of the Maṅḍuru village, as given in the plates, is Velgali. There is a village Belgali (16° 23' 75° 10') near Mahāliṅpur on a road in the Mudhol taluka of the Bijapur district. Remembering the identity of *v* and *b* in the language, there cannot be any doubt as to the identification of Velgali. Maṅṭur is about 15 miles to the east of Belgali. To the north of Maṅḍuru is the village Kolenūru in the plates. There is a village Konur or Konnur (16° 26' 75° 21') to the north of Maṅṭur. Further the grant mentions *Iṅgali to the South of Maṅḍuru*. There is a village Ingalgi (16° 18' 75° 20') to the south of Maṅṭur. It is about 6 miles from Maṅṭur on the left bank of the Ghataprabha when it takes a northerly turn. The village Pal-tuyalu and Pudumaurā to the east and to the west respectively of Maṅḍuru could not be located. Possibly they have become deserted in the course of long lapse of time.

Some terms used in the grant deserve attention. The village was granted with the *udraṅga* meaning, according to lexicon, a town. But the particular context here explains the fact that the meaning of *Udraṅga* cannot be a town. It can mean to be a hamlet, a group of residential houses, which habitation is not considered, for revenue administrative purposes, a village. Even to this day such hamlets do exist in this part of the country. They are considered part of the village which is registered for revenue purposes. The expression *Saparikaraḥ* connotes the idea that the village was granted along with the village attendants attached for the service of the State and the village community. They are the lowest state attendants. It is not clear whether the expression includes the *Patel* and *Kulkarnī*, possibly it does not. The expression *sadhānyahiranyadeyaḥ* connotes whatever was due in kind or coin. It is difficult to give other implications, if any. The expression *sotpadyamānaviṣṭakaḥ* implies production with the help of *viṣṭika* which has its *tadbhava* forms in the words *veṭha* in Marathi or *yatti* in the Telugu language. This shows that forced labour, for some limited social or governmental purposes, had formed into a regular social institution to deserve sovereign's sanction in the state legal deeds.

In the expression *Kṛṣataḥ Karṣayataḥ* can be seen, with an amount of certainty, the roots of the mode of cultivation of the owned agricultural lands some twelve centuries ago. The owned agricultural land could be cultivated personally by the holder (*Kṛṣataḥ*), or it could be got cultivated with the help of other

labour, in some form or other (*Karṣayataḥ*). There is another alternative for the enjoyment of the fruits of the agricultural lands in addition to *bhuñjataḥ* and *bhojayataḥ*, that is enjoying himself or caused to be enjoyed. It is expressed by the term *pratidiśataḥ* which means otherwise. This is due to the suggestion that this mode of enjoyment of the lands refers to the use of the land by keeping it fallow and appropriating only the grass, fruits and foliage of the plants and trees, and the trees themselves. Such a connotation, the only plausible explanation of the expression, is supported by the expressions "*ṭṛṇakāṣṭhodakopeta-savṛkṣamātā-nidhinikṣepasahita*"²⁴ meaning that the grant included grass, woods, water, tree-grove and the under-ground stores.

It is interesting to note that in this age of democratic socialism and making the tiller of the soil its owner, the last two modes of cultivation of agricultural lands have survived in even the most radical tenancy acts enforced in different States of the Indian Union. Personal cultivation of agricultural lands has been so defined as to include cultivation with the help of paid labour under owner's supervision, though share-cropping has been excluded. Cultivable agricultural lands, which are kept fallow for a certain period are liable to attachment by the State. But mostly this has remained unimplemented for reasons of feasibility or otherwise. This only shows the force of the age-old traditions or the nature of the social matrix.

Now as to the circumstances under which Dhruvarāja succeeded to his own elder brother Govindarāja the second. About Govindarāja's supercession there is no controversy, but the circumstances and the approaches of the two rival Kings have been differently viewed. This has been based on the readings and interpretation of two stanzas, namely 16 and 17 of these plates, Nos. 21 and 22 of the Bhor Plates and Nos. 20 and 21 i. e. LL 30 to 34 of the Paiṭhaṇa plates. The last plates were edited by F. Keilhorn in 1894 and the Bhor plates by Prof. G. H. Khare and A. S. Altekar, probably independently in 1935. Misconception has started with the mislection of the expression *Prātirājyānapi* in the Paiṭhaṇa plates (L.31). The Bhor plates give the reading as *Prātirājyānapi* (emended as *natim* by Prof. Khare). The late Altekar emended the expression as *napi* following the late Keilhorn's reading in the Paiṭhaṇa plates. Having this reading before him Keilhorn had to interpret the verb *Anayati* with its subject *Yaḥ* (Govindarāja) leading to the theory that Govindarāja manoeuvred for enemy aggression and was an accomplice of the rival kings of Kāñchī.

24. E.I. Vol. XXIII, a stone inscription of Ś. 1222, p. 281.

Gaṅga etc. He interprets the episode as follows: "Although that brother (Govindarāja) of his had fetched in large numbers of those hostile Kings, even the ruler of Mālava and others who were joined by the lord of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga and Veṅgi, his (Dhruvarāja's) mind underwent no change in regard to him, when afterwards he (Dhruvarāja) had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and his store of gold. When even after his (Dhruvarāja's) conciliatory overtures Vallabha (Govindarāja) did not make peace, then (Dhruvarāja) speedily defeated him in a battle offered by the brother, and he afterwards drove away the eastern and northern opponents and obtained the whole sovereignty. . . ." ²⁵ Prof. Khare accepted ²⁶ the amended reading of *Prātirājyānatim*, but he followed the interpretation by the late Keilhorn. The late Altekar has also followed ²⁷ the same line. His other emendations have been rightly corrected by the editor ²⁸.

This line of interpretation is objectionable for the reason that the grantor of the charter is to be blamed for not having changed his mind towards Vallabha (Govindarāja) his brother. No sovereign can tolerate issuing such a charter in his own name. For the proper construction of the whole episode the verses 15, 16 and 17 (of these plates) have to be read together. In verse 15 Dhruvarāja has been described. The first two Pādas of the verse 16 form a self-explanatory sentence with *Yaḥ* (Dhruvarāja) as its subject. The meaning is clear in that Dhruvarāja brought to submission the hostile Kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Gaṅga and Veṅgi. Here it may be suggested that *Prātirājyānatim* can also be an appropriate emendation. Even otherwise the meaning is quite clear. In the third Pāda the pronoun *yasya* stands for Dhruvarāja and the pronoun *yena* in the fourth Pāda stands for Govindarāja. This leads us to the real meaning that "though, having obtained the ruby-ornaments and the gold-reserves of him (Dhruvarāja) he (Yena-Govindarājena) did not change his mind towards his own brother (*tam swam bhrātaram prati*)".

The fact which emerges is that Govindarāja was not instrumental in inviting the hostile kings for aggression, but Dhruvarāja himself brought them into submission and furthermore the latter offered all the jewels and gold obtained as war booty to Govindarāja as he was the lawful ruler. Even after these acts of conciliation on the part of Dhruvarāja, Govindarāja did not change his atti-

25. *E.I.* Vol. III, p. 104.

26. *The Bhor Pradarśikā*, 1935, p. 7.

27. *E.I.* Vol. XXII, p. 180.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

tude towards the former. He had, in consequence, to meet him in a direct battle.

It is admitted that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereignty invested hereafter in Dhruvarāja and his line. Two epigraphical Sources adduce evidence to justify the action taken by Dhruvarāja. The Deoli²⁹ plates of Kṛṣṇarāja III record that, "Sensual pleasures made Govindarāja careless of the Kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." In addition to this general statement, the Daultabad plates³⁰ of Śaṅkaragaṇa of Ś. 715 are more explicit in the verse 11. The late D. R. Bhandarkar had some difficulty in fixing the readings. The verse is given below with my emendations in the brackets.

तस्यानुजो निरूपमस्तमुदीर्णमीक्ष(क्षं)
 त्यक्तं(ध्रक्तं)नृपैरपि(प)नयेन विलुप्यमानम् ।
 राज्यं च (व)भार गुरुभक्तिवतोन्यमं(सं)स्थं
 मा भूत्किलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्म्याः ।

The sense made out by Bhandarkar is, on the whole correct. "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, his kingdom swept upon by (enemy) kings and on the verge of disappearance due to his bad policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family".

The messenger is the noble (Kṣitipāla) Śrīdhara and officer who was actually responsible for the grant, was the feudatory ruler, the glorious Gaura, son of one Śrībala possessed of the authority to declare war and conclude peace. In the Bhor plates of Ś. 702, such an officer is the son of one Gaura who seems to be the officer in this grant.

29. *E. I.* Vol. III, p. 104.

30. *E. I.* Vol. IX.

१६. राहपमात्मजजातवलावलेपमाजौ^२ विजित्य निसिताशि[स्त्र]लताप्रहारैः [।] पालिध्वजा-
वलिमु[शु]भाम
१७. चिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान ॥[१२॥] पाता^७ यश्चतुर[रं] कु[वु]
राशिरशनालंकारभाजो भू[व]स्त्र
१८. यूयाश्चापि ततद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादर [रः।] दाता मानभव[भृद]ग्रणीगुणवतां योसौ
श्रिपो[यो]र[व]ल्ल
१९. भो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरि तपसा स्थान[नं] जगामामरं ॥[१३॥] येन^७ श्वेतातपत्र
प्रहतरविकरत्राततापा
२०. त्सलीलं [।] जग्मे नासीरधूलीध्रवलितशिरसा भ[व]ल्लभास्यः सदाजौ [।] स
श्रीगोविन्दराजो
२१. [जि]तजगदहितस्त्र [स्त्रै] णवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीस्तू [त्सू] नुरो [रे] क[कः] क्षणरणदलिताराति-
मत्तेभकु[कु]भः ॥ [१४॥]
२२. तस्यानुजः^८ श्रीधरुवराजनामा महानुभावो विततप्रतापः [।] प्रसाधित[ता]शेषनर[रे]
न्द्रचक्रः
२३. क्रमेण वालार्कवपुर्व्वंभूव ॥[१५॥] श्रीकाञ्चीपतिगंगवेंगिकयुता^७ ये मालवेशादयः[।]
प्रान्या[ज्या]ना
२४. नयति स्म ता[न्] क्षितिभूतो यः प्रातिराज्यानपि [ति] [।] माणिक्याभरणानि हेमनिचयं
यस्य प्रपद्योपरि
२५. स्वं येन प्रति तं तथापि न कृतं चेतोन्यथा भ्रातरं ॥[१६॥] सामाद्यैरपि^७ वल्लभो [न] हि
यदा स[सं]व्वि[धि] व्यघातं तदा
२६. चातुर्दन्तरणे विजित्य तरसा पश्चात्ततो भूपतेः [।] प्राच्योदीत्य[च्य] परा[रां] च्याम्यविल-
सता[त्पा]लिध्वजा[जै]
२७. न्यै पतं^९ [भू]पितं^९ चिह्नैर्यः परमेश्वरत्वमखिलं लें[ले]भे महेशो विभुः [॥१७॥] स च
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा
२८. जपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व
२९. रपृथ्वी^{१०}वल्लभश्रीमद्भारावर्षश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली

Second Plate

Second Side

३०. सव्वानिव यथा संवया[द्य]मानकान्विषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी
[दीन्]
३१. समाजापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया श्रीनन्दिपुरद्वारीसमावानितविजयस्कन्धावारा-
वस्थितेन माता
३२. पित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकप[पु]ण्यशोभिवृद्धये पलुकुपाटिविषयान्तर्गतपलुकुन्दुस्थानवा-
३३. स्तव्यत त्रैविद्यसामान्यरारध्वाज [भारद्वाज] सगोत्रवह्वृचसद्गद्गचारिदेवयूपो [पा]ध्यायपुत्र-
श्रीघरा (रो) पाध्याय
३४. सुतामृतगृहीतसाहसभट्टप्रमुखपंचवाह्यणशतसंख्योपलक्षितमहाजनाय वलिच -
३५. र्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं कृष्णवेण्णानद्यासन्नवर्तिवल्गालिविप-

7. Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

8. Indravajrā metre.

9. Here there is a Symbol.

10. The letters are a little mutilated.

३६. या [न्तर्गत...] रिसहितो मण्डुरुनामा ग्रामो यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः पल्लुयलु ग्रामो दक्षि
 ३७. णत इङ्गलिग्रामो पश्चता[तः] पुदुमौरा उत्तरतः कोलेनूरुग्राम एवमयं चतुराघाट
 ३८. नोपलक्षितः सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकरः ससीमापय [र्यं]न्तः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सोत्पद्यमानवि
 ३९. ष्टिकः समस्तराजकीयानामचाटभटप्रावेशो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन चन्द्रार्कण्वं [व]क्षितिसरि-
 त्यव्वत
 ४०. समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्जित [म]भ्यन्तरसिध्द्या शकनृप
 ४१. कालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु पलो [ञ्चो]त्तर [रे]षु मार्गशरवहुलामावस्यायां सूर्यग्रहण-
 समये
 ४२. वलात्कारिकातीर्थ [र्थे] स्नात्वा [त्वो]पा (द) कातिसर्गोण प्रतिवेदितो यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्म-
 दायस्थित्या कृपतः
 ४३. कर्षयतो भुंजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतोपि न कैश्चिद्भृद्भृत्यैरपि व्यत्ययो न प्रवर्तितव्यः

Third Plate

First Side

४४. तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य वि
 ४५. द्युल्लोलाय [न्य] नित्यैश्चया [र्या] णि तृणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदाय
 ४६. निर्विशेषा [षो] यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिरा
 ४७. च्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातके [कै] श्च संयुक्तस्स्यादित्य
 [यु]क्त [क्तं]
 ४८. च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि^१ स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिद उच्छेत्ता चानु [नु]म
 ४९. न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । [११८॥] अग्नेरपत्यं^{११} प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवैष्णवीसूर्यसुताश्च
 गावः लोकत्र
 ५०. यं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यम् [यः] काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् । [११९॥] विन्ध्याटवीष्व-
 तोयासु^१ सु[शु]ष्ककोटरवासि
 ५१. नः [॥] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२०॥] यानीह^{११} दत्तानि पुरा
 नरेन्द्रे [न्द्रे]र्दानानि धर्मार्थं
 ५२. यशस्कराणि [॥] निर्वृक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२१॥]
 स्वदत्तां^१ परदत्तां वा
 ५३. यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [॥] मही [ही] महीमतां स्त्रे [श्रे]ष्ठदानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ [२२॥]
 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता^१ राजभिः
 ५४. सगरादिभि [भिः] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२३॥] इति^{१२} कमलदलां-
 वुविन्दुलोला [लां] स्त्रि [श्रि]यम
 ५५. नृचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [॥] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्दा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो
 विलोप्याः [॥२४॥]
 ५६. लिखितं चैतत्क्षितिपालश्रीधरदूतक परम [मि]श्वराज्ञया कुलपुत्रकश्रीवलाधिकृतसूनुना प्रा
 ५७. प्तपञ्चमहासव्दमहासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतसामन्तश्रीगौरेनेति ।

11. Indravajrā metre.

12. Nivāsa metre.



Fig. 1.
The Seal of Kasarsirsi Copperplates of Dhruvarāja.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, possibly Brahmi or Kharosthi, inscribed on a metal plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, inscribed on a dark, rectangular stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the tablet, approximately one-third of the way down. The script is densely packed and appears to be a form of early Indian writing. The tablet shows signs of age and wear, with some areas of discoloration and surface irregularities.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, inscribed on a dark, rectangular stone or metal plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate, approximately one-third of the way down. The script is densely packed and appears to be a form of early Indian writing. The plate shows signs of age and wear, with some surface irregularities and a slightly uneven texture.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, covering the entire surface of the stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the tablet.





Plate 1.
Varāha-Avatāra. Sachīā Mātā Temple,
Osian. 9th Cent. A.D.



Plate 2.
Varāha-Avatāra. Courtesy: Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
10th Cent. A.D.



Plate 3.
Varāha-Avatāra Sagar. 5th Cent. A.D.



Plate 4.
Varāha-Avatāra holding a fish. Devangana. 9th Cent. A.D.



Plate 5.
Varāha-Avatāra with a tortoise under his foot.
Lucknow Museum. 9th Cent. A.D.

VARĀHA

By

KALPANA DESAI

The origin of Varāha worship can be traced back to the period when Indian mythology was still "in its making", when people saw divinity in the varied force of nature. While it is difficult to trace the origin of various *Rig-vedic* gods and their subsequent development, it is almost certain in the case of Varāha cult. Prof. Gonda and U.P. Shah have suggested that the cult must have existed in the Vedic or even the pre-vedic period.¹

In the *Rig-veda* itself several gods are equated with the boar. The Maruts are called the 'iron tusked boars'², and also the 'wild boars'³. Rudra is addressed as the boar of the sky⁴. The boar in the form of demon Vṛtra⁵, plays a significant role in the Vedic mythology which laid the foundation of the whole of the Varāha myth in the later period.

Vṛtra in the Vedas is the personification of the clouds⁶ and therefore, the boar as identified with Vṛtra represents the same natural phenomenon. Yāska in his *Nirukta*⁷ offers the following explanation while discussing the term Varāha.: Varāha is the designation of both, the cloud and the boar, for Varāha is the one who eats the best type of food. The cloud is Varāha because it takes the best food viz. the water, so also is the boar as he takes the best roots that grow up. Thus the cloud and the boar are etymologically identified. We can say that Varāha is the therimorphic form of the Vṛtra, that is the cloud. In spite of a tortuous way of reasoning and a fanciful etymology, the equation of Varāha with the clouds or pri-

1. Shah U.P. Vrsākapi in the Rigveda, *JOI*, Baroda, 1958, Vol. VIII, No. I, p. 56.

2. *Rig-veda*: 1, 88.

3. *Ibid*: X, 67, 7.

4. *Ibid*: I, 114, 5.

5. *Ibid*: I, 121, 11; 61, 7; VIII, 63, 10; X, 99; 6.

6. Keith A.B., *Indian and Iranian Mythology*. (Mythology of All Races Vol. VI). p. 35.

7. वराहो मेघो भवति वराहारः । वरमाहारमाहापीर् । इति च ब्राह्मणम् ।

See the commentary by Durga: *Nirukta*, V. 4.

मेघस्तावद् वराह उच्यते । स हि वराहारो भवति, तस्य वरं उदकं आहारः । वरमाहारमाहापीर् इति च ब्राह्मणम् । अयमपीतरो वराह एतस्मादेव । असावपि वरं मूलाख्यं आहारमाहरत्येव । वरं वरं मूलं वृहति । उच्यन्त-
तीत्यर्थः ।

mordial waters seems a sound proposition. The same idea is implied by a hymn of the *Atharva-veda*:⁸

मल्वं विभ्रति गुरुभृद् भद्रपापस्य निघनं तितिक्षुः ।
वराहेण पृथिवी संविदाना सूकराय विजिहीते मृगाय ॥

Unfortunately Whitney in his translation of the term Varāha as the boar, has obscured the meaning of the hymn. He translates it as follows:

"Bearing the fool, bearer of what is heavy, enduring death of the excellent and of the evil, the earth, in concord with the boar, opens itself to the wild hog".

If Varāha is taken here to mean the cloud, the meaning becomes quite clear—"the earth in accord with the cloud, yields (corn?) to the hogs and animals.' It is implied in the hymn that the earth yields corn and riches to the people with the help of Varāha. He is therefore, naturally called the protector or the supporter of the riches. In the *Rig-veda* it is said: 'Indra, shooting across the cloud mountain, slew the boar Emuṣa."⁹

The extension of this myth is found in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.¹⁰ The legend relates that the Boar kept the wealth of the Asuras concealed behind the seven hills. Indra picks up a blade of *kuśa* grass and piercing the hills, slew the Boar. Thus the gods acquired the riches of the Asuras. A parallel legend appears in the *Kaṭha Saṁhitā*.¹¹ It says:

"There is a Varāha called Emuṣa behind the twenty forts of the Asuras, who has all the wealth of the demons. You (Indra) go and destroy him". Keith¹² has translated the term Emuṣa as fierce. The term is really the keynote to the character of the boar. *Muśa* (*Moṣa*) means the one who carries off or steals, *vāma* or *ī* stand for the riches or treasures. Thus, Varāha or Emuṣa Varāha means the one who carries off the riches or treasures, therefore, the earth—the embodiment of the riches. It may be noted in brief here that this very character is reflected in the words of *Matsya Purāna*¹³ where Varāha is likened to the *maṇiṣṭṛiṅga*, the cornucopia, which is considered to be a *nidhi*. It may refer symbolically to the act of Varāha

8. *Saunakīya Atharvaveda*: XII. 1, 46.

9. *Rig-veda*: VIII, 77, 10.

10. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*: VI. 2, 4, 2.

11. एमुषो नामायं वराह इत्यन्नवीदिकविशायाः पुरामश्ममयीनां गारे यत्किञ्चासुराणां वामं वसु तेन तिष्ठति तं जहि य एष क्रुच्छे हन्तायोक्त्या इति । *Kaṭha Saṁhitā*: XXXVIII, 5.
also compare "वराहोज्यं वाममोषः" in the passage of the T.S.

12. Keith A.B. *op. cit.* p. 30.

12. Keith A.B. *op. cit.* p. 30.

13. छायापत्नी सहायो वै मणिशृंग इवोच्छ्रितः । *Matsya Purāna*, 248, 73.

of bringing forth the riches of the nether world in the form of the earth¹⁴.

In the Brahmanic literature, the relation of Varāha with the earth is fully established. The boar becomes a personified form of the great deity Prajāpati. The *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*¹⁵ refers to the following legend concerning the origin of the cosmos. "In the beginning there were primaeval waters- Once Lord Prajāpati, taking the form of a boar entered it (plunged into it) and he brought up (on the surface) the soil exactly of the size of his snout. That soil became this very earth". A similar legend appears in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*¹⁶. It says that in the beginning there were only the primaeval waters. Prajāpati taking the form of Vāyu entered the waters where he saw her (the earth) and then in the form of the boar he brought her up on the surface, assuming the form of Viśvakarmā planned her. She expanded and hence became Pṛthvī (the expanded one).

Emuṣa Varāha is stated to have raised up the earth from the waters in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁷. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*¹⁸ mentions that the earth was formerly upheld by the black boar with a hundred arms.

Mythology of Varāha rescuing the Earth from the waters is observed in its initial stages in these passages from the Brahmanic literature cited above. It deserves to be noted that Varāha is one of the forms of Prajāpati in its initial stages. His connection with Viṣṇu, whose important incarnation he became in the later period, is completely unknown at this stage.

The relation is also established between the boar and the sun due perhaps to its connection with the clouds. Varāha, right from the time of the *Rig Veda* was referred to as Vṛṣākapi. In the Vṛṣākapi hymn of the *Rig Veda* (X, 86), Vṛṣākapi stands for Varāha as suggested by Dr. U.P. Shah.¹⁹ In the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that Vṛṣākapi is the form of Varāha.

कपिर्वराहः श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मश्च वृष उच्यते ।
तस्मात् वृषार्काणि प्राह काश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः ॥

M. Bh. XII, 330, 24.

14. Dr. Moti Chandra: *Nidhiśrīṅga*. Bulletin of the PWM of Western India, No. 9 p. 1-33.

15. सलोलमेव स प्रजापतिर्वराहो भूत्वोपन्यमञ्जत् । तस्य यावन्मुखं आसीत् तावतीं मुदहरत् । सेवमभवत् ।
Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā, VI, 7.

16. आपो वा इदमग्रे मलिलमासीत् । तस्मिन् प्रजापतिर्वायुं भूत्वाञ्चरत् । स इमामपश्यत् तां वराहो भूत्वाञ्हरत् ।
तां विश्वकर्मा भूत्वा व्यमार्द् । साऽप्रथत सा पृथिव्यभवत् । *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*: VII, 1, 5, 1.

17. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: XIV, 1, 2, 11.

18. भूमिर्घनैर्घरणी लोकधारिणी ।

उद्धृतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना । *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.X, 1, 8.

19. Shah U.P.: *op. cit.* pp. 41 ff.

*Harivaṁśa*²⁰ and *Matsya Purāṇa*²¹ also refer to the identity of Vṛṣākapi and Varāha. Vṛṣākapi is identified with the sun in several texts. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II,6,12) says: *Ādityo vai vṛṣākapiḥ*.

In the *Mahābhārata* he is considered to be one of the eleven Rudras (M. bh. XIII, 7091). *Harivaṁśa* and *Matsya Purāṇa*²² establish the identity of Vṛṣākapi and the sun or the Agni.

According to Dr. V.S. Agrawala²³ Agni and Sūrya are the names of Varāha. In the *Bhāgavata* it is said Varāha is thus the triple force of the cosmos which, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*²⁴ is symbolised by the sun.

Lastly the description of Varāha as '*Chhāyāpatni sahāyo*' goes to prove the same fact. Chhāyā evidently is the consort of Sūrya, but here according to some *Purāṇas*²⁵ she accompanies Varāha. It shows that the original solar character of Varāha has been emphasised.

In the *Mahābhārata* Varāha has definitely been incorporated in the *avatāra* cycle of Viṣṇu. It is stated that Madhusūdana or Janārdana assumed the form of Varāha, Simha (Nṛsimha), and Trivikrama.²⁶ The first detailed account of the Varāha myth is found in the *Harivaṁśa*.²⁷

According to the texts on iconography the Varāha images have two forms. It can either be anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes the various forms of Varāha as follows:

"Nṛvarāha should be represented on Śeṣa, having four hands with a beautiful jewelled hood, his eyes full of wonder, looking at the goddess. In his natural hands should be placed the ploughshare and the club and his other two hands should be held in the *aṅjali mudrā*. He should be adorned with snakes. In another form he is seen in the *aliḍha* pose on Śeṣa. On his left arm rests the goddess Earth, with both of her hands engaged in salutation. He holds the club in his upper left hand. The other holding the disc may be

20. ततो विश्वः प्रवराहरूपधृक् वृषाकपिः प्रसभमथैकदंष्ट्रया । *Harivaṁśa* III, 34, 48.

21. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 247, 79.

22. हिरण्यरेतास्त्रिणिखस्ततो भूत्वा वृषाकपिः ।
शिखिभिर्विघ्नमल्लोकान् शोषयत वह्निना ॥ *Ibid*, 246, 79.

23. Dr. V.S. Agrawala: Yajña Varāha—an interpretation. *Purāṇa*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 225 ff.

24. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 10, 5, 2, 2.

25. *Harivaṁśa* III, 34, 31.
also see *Vāyu Purāṇa* VI, 22; *Matsya Purāṇa* 247, 73.

26. मधुसूदनमित्याहुर्धृपयश्च जनार्दनम् ।
वराहश्चैव सिंहश्च त्रिविक्रमगतिः प्रभुः ॥ *Mahābhārata* VI, 63, 13.

27. *Harivaṁśa*: III, 34, 30-43

raised in order to kill the demon Hiraṇyākṣa, who has a trident in his hand.²⁸

There is another way of representing Varāha where he is seated in meditation like the sage Kapila. He may also be shown holding a *pinḍa*, symbolising the earth, with his two hands.²⁹

The fourth type represents him amongst many demons as the very personification of anger. He may either have a human form or the form of a boar while uplifting the Earth.

None of these forms described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* appear in iconography. The earliest image so far found is unique from the iconographical point of view.

It is an inscribed image belonging to the Kushana period, preserved in the Mathura Museum (No. 65.51). The four handed Varāha with his lower arms akimbo, holds in his upper either hand a sun disc. The Earth goddess is supported on his shoulders and seems to be touching his mutilated snout. The *śrīvatsa* mark appears on his chest. To the right of the main image is a Gandharva and the figure knocked down on the floor may be the demon Hiraṇyākṣa whom Varāha had defeated as mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. To the left is a devotee standing in the *añjali-mudrā*. The two sun discs in the hands of Varāha signify his connection with the sun, thus corroborating the old tradition of the identification of Varāha with the sun. (Fig. 1).

Several images of Varāha belonging to the Gupta period testify to the strong prevalence of Varāha worship in that period. The *Mudrārākṣasam*, a drama supposed to have been written in the Gupta period also refers to it. Its concluding verse compares the great victory of Chandragupta, with Varāha's conquest of the Earth³⁰. *Caturbhāni* refers to *Sukara-siddhi* and indicates that the wrestlers propitiated him for strength³¹.

28. नृवराहोऽथ वा कायं शंभोपरिगतः प्रभुः ।
 षोडशचतुर्भुजः कार्यंश्चारुरत्नफणाञ्चितः ॥
 आषचयस्फुल्लनयनो देवीवीक्षणतत्परः ।
 कर्तव्यो सीरमसलो करयोस्तस्य यादव ॥
 सर्पभूषश्च कर्तव्यस्तथैव रचिताञ्जलिः ।
 आलीदेस्थानसंस्थानस्तत्पुटे भगवान्भवेत् ॥
 यस्मिन्भुजे धरादेवी तत्र शंखः करे भवेत् ।
 अन्ये तस्य कराः कार्याः पञ्चचक्रगदाधराः ॥
 हिरण्याक्षशिरच्छेदश्चक्रोद्यत करोऽथ वा ।
 शूलोद्यतहिरण्याक्षसम्मुखो भगवान्भवेत् ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara, III, 79, 2-7.

29. *Ibid*, III, 79, 9-10.

30. *Mudrārākṣasam*, VII, 18.

31. *Caturbhāni*, (ed.), Motichandra, p. 196, verse 62.

The colossal Varāha image of Udayagiri³² has been published several times. It is a two handed image standing on the Śeṣa supporting the goddess on his snout. There are several rows of figures behind him who are considered to be the ṛṣis. This is a peculiar feature so far not noticed in any other Varāha image. This huge figure occupying a very big panel of the cave, signifies, according to Dr. Agrawala³³ and others, the conquest of the earth by the renowned king Vikramāditya, during whose reign this image is supposed to have been carved.

Another very interesting image is found from Eran in Sagar District. There is a temple of Mahā-Viṣṇu supposedly built during the reign of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. It contains a shrine of Varāha to its right side, in which is installed a colossal Varāha image,³⁴ measuring 16'.X.11'. It bears a Brāhmī inscription dated in the first regnal year of the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa. It also records the construction of a temple to enshrine this image, which indicates the importance of Varāha worship in that region. The image is to some extent similar to the Udayagiri Varāha, excepting the rows of ṛṣis behind him. The Devi is shown hanging by the tusk of the boar. The image is two-handed, the right hand is *kaṭi-hasta*, the left one rests on the knee of the folded left leg, which instead of being placed on the hood of the serpent is placed on the stone base. Behind the right leg is small female figure, probably a *cauri*-bearer.

One of such early images is also preserved in the Daśavatāra temple at Badoli. The right hand of the god rests on his waist and the left one holds a lotus on which stands the goddess *Prthvī*. The left leg of the god is placed on the hood of the Nāga couple (DGA No. 1819/60).

A mutilated Varāha carved in the round, datable to the early years of the 5th century is found from Mathura and is preserved in the collection of Kṛṣṇa Janmabhūmi temple.

The Allahabad Museum has a much mutilated but quite an interesting image of Varāha. It is carved on a square stone, probably forming a part of a big pillar. It has four figures carved on its four sides, one of which contains the image of Varāha with the Devī held on his left arm. Below his feet is seen the reclining serpent with human face, holding his hand in *añjali-mudrā*. The left leg of the god is on the serpent's chest and the other is on the coils, (museum No. 292).

32. Agarwal V.S., Guptayug men Madhyadeśa kā kalātmak citraṇ. *Nāgarī Pracārini Patrikā*, Vikramāñk. p. 48.

33. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Pl. 109.

34. Bajpai K.D.: *Sagar Through the Ages*, p. 36, pl. IV.

It is remarkable that all the early images of Varāha mentioned above, except the one of the Kushana period, are two-handed and without any of the Vaiṣṇava *āyudhas* in their hands. It is only in the late Gupta period that Varāha images have four hands holding the peculiar emblems of Viṣṇu. So far as is known to us, no text on iconography has described the image of Varāha with two hands, like the sculptures described above. The description given in the *Matsya Purāna*³⁵ is doubtful about the number of hands attached to the Varāha image. If in the pāda 30a the correct reading is *tasya* instead of *tasyāḥ*, it may indicate four hands.

Mahāvarāha holds the lotus and the mace in his hands. The goddess, whom he has brought up by his pointed tusk, is seated on his left arm holding a lotus. Her eyes are full of wonder gazing at her lord. The right hand of the god is placed on his waist. One of his legs rests on the *Kūrma* and the other one rests on the hood of the serpent Śeṣa.

Generally the four handed Varāha holds either three or sometimes four emblems in his hands; however, it is also possible to find the four handed Varāha without any of the Vaiṣṇava emblems, for instance, the Varāha image found from Rajim has³⁶ four hands, the front two clasped near the chest, the lower right is hanging down and the lower left is placed on the folded left knee. The left leg of Varāha is placed on the hand of a Nāga in human form seated below with the hooded head. The Earth goddess is seen as in the other images, seated on the elbow of the God. In the adjacent slab are carved many Nāga figures in the *añjali-mudrā*, paying their reverence to the God.

The post-Gupta and mediaeval period have produced innumerable Varāha images all over Northern India. The most common type is the image with four hands, the right hands holding the mace and/or the lotus, and the left hands holding the disc and the conch. Sometimes the disc is held in the right hand instead of the left. R. D. Banerjee has published several such images from Eastern India³⁷. One of the distinguishing features of some of the Eastern Indian images of Varāha is that between his legs there appears a

35. महावराहं वक्ष्यामि पद्महस्तं गदाधरम् ।
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रघोणास्यं मेदिनीवामकर्पूरम् ॥२८
दंष्ट्राग्निदृतां दान्तां धरणीमुत्पलान्वितम् ।
विस्मयोत्कुल्लनयनामपरिष्ठात्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥२९
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं तु करं तस्याः प्रकल्पयेत् ।

कूर्मोपरि तथा पादभेकं नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि ॥३० *Matsya Purāna*, 260, 28-30.

also compare the description given in the *Silparatna*, XXV, 113-115.

and the description given in the *Devatāmurtiprakarana*, V. 72-76.

36. Rao T.A.G.: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part I, pl. XXXVIII.

37. Banerji R.D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, PL. XLV, b, c, d, e.

small figure of the boar and the goddess Pṛthvī by its side, indicating Varāha's dive into the primaeval waters to rescue the Earth, and the principal image indicating his emergence out of the waters. There is no need to enumerate all the Varāha images found from the whole of Northern India, some of which have already been published³⁸.

Out of the overwhelming number of Varāha images we have chosen some which are important from the iconographical point of view: A small shrine at Devāṅgaṇa near Ābu contains an image of Varāha belonging to about the eighth century A.D. The god seizes with his lower hands, two Nāgas by their tails. They are worshipping the god with folded hands. The upper right hand of Varāha holds the disc, the upper left arm, supporting the goddess on the elbow is mutilated. The lower right hand, besides holding the tail (of Nāgī?) is in *kaṭihasia-mudrā* and the lower left hand holds the tail of the Nāga and the conch. Below on the left side stand two figures with folded hands. The leg of the god is supported on the hood of the Nāga couple, who are also seen paying their respect to the god (Fig. 2). This peculiar feature of seizing the Nāgas by their tails may symbolize the conquest of Varāha over the demigods of the nether world whom he had subdued. A verse in the *Agni Purāṇa* describes the image of Varāha holding the serpent Śeṣa in his hand;³⁹ but excepting this stray reference no other text on iconography has any reference to this particular feature of Varāha's iconography.

An almost identical image of Varāha is in the shrine of the Sachiā Mātā temple at Osian, near Jodhpur. Here, the god has seized the Nāgini with folded hands by her tail. In the upper right hand the god holds the mace while in the left hands are placed the conch and the disc. On the folded upper left arm of the god is seated the goddess Pṛthvī holding lotuses in her hands. The bent left leg of the god is placed on the full-blown lotus which is supported by a Nāga couple. There is probably a dagger attached to the belt of the god. The image is a beautiful specimen of the western Indian art of the late ninth century. (Fig. 3).

The exterior of the shrine of the same temple also has a similar

38. Bhattasali N.K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, pl. XXXVI.

Also refer to:

ASIAR. 1930-34, part II, pp. 303 ff., pl. CL, d.

Burgess and Cousins: *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, p. 86 and 106, pl. XLIII, XCI.

Dave Kanialal: *Gujarāṭnu Mūrtividhāna*, pp. 190 ff.

39. चतुर्बहुवराहस्तु षोषः पाणितले घृतः । *Agni Purāṇa*, 49, 18, a.

image of Varāha in the principle niche on the east⁴⁰. A Varāha image holding the Nāga figure in the hand is preserved in the Jhalawar Museum.

It is evident from the few images described above that this particular representation of Varāha holding the Nāga or Nāgas in the hands, is a peculiar feature of Western India.

The Gwalior Museum has in its collection two peculiar images of Varāha, both belonging to about the 9th century. One four-handed Varāha holds the mace in his upper right hand and the lower right is in the *Kaṭihasta-mudrā*. In the upper and the lower left hands he holds the disc and the conch. The goddess Earth is seated cross legged on the folded upper left arm of the god, with one of her hands touching the snout of the boar and the other resting on her lap. The left leg of the god rests on a lotus having a long stalk, on the either side of which is seen a Nāga and a Nāgī. The second image is almost identical with the one described above, except for the order of the conch and the wheel in the left hands of the god. A very noteworthy feature of these images is the small dagger attached to the belt of the god on the right side.

A much mutilated image found from Agroha in Punjab⁴¹ resembles these images to a great extent. The god holds his usual emblems—the mace, the conch which is mutilated, and the disc. The goddesses Śrī and Bhūmi are seen flanking the god on either side of the belt of the image. It is datable to the 9th century.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Śilpaśāstra* and *Devatāmūrti-prakarāṇa* etc., one of the legs of Varāha is to be supported by the Kūrma and the other by the Nāgas,⁴² but all the images referred to so far place the Nāga or the Nāga couple below his left foot, the Kūrma below the right leg remaining absent. Fortunately, a couple of images have come to light that tally exactly with the descriptions by the *Śilpaśāstra*.

One in the collection of the Allahabad Museum (No. 432), found from Khajuraho is a fine specimen of this type. Varāha with the Earth goddess on his upper left arm, has one of his legs resting on a lotus held by a Nāga couple and the other is placed on the back of the Kūrma. His lower right hand is in the *Kaṭihasta-mudrā*, upper right hand holds that mace; the upper left hand holds the

40. ASIAR, 1908-1909, p. 106.

41. Srivastava H.L.: Excavations at Agroha—Punjab MASI, No. 61, Delhi, 1952. p. 3, pl. X, i.

42. कूर्मपृष्ठे पदत्रैकं अत्यन्तारेन्द्रमूर्धनि ॥ *Devatāmūrtiprakarāṇa*, V, 74b.

also see

श्रीकूर्मपृष्ठमध्यस्थ षोडशमूर्त्यञ्जसंस्थितम् ॥

Skandapurāṇa, II, *Vyankateshwar Mahātmyam*, 2, 16b.

disc and the lower left is broken. Below, on the either side, are seen the devotees. This richly ornamented figure of Varāha has the small dagger attached to his belt.

One notable feature in this image is the presence of Dhyānī Viṣṇu on the top of the panel. He is seated on a lotus forming the canopy over the head of Varāha. His two front hands are in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, the other two probably hold the lotuses. A much mutilated figure of Varāha preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (No. H123), also has a Kūrma below his right leg. (Fig. 4).

One may question the propriety of Kūrma who is one of the incarnation of Viṣṇu, appearing as a subsidiary figure under the foot of Varāha. But in this class of images it seems to signify, like the Nāga figures associated with the god, the netherworld which the god had entered to rescue the goddess Earth. It is unlikely that the tortoise below Varāha represents Kūrma *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has another image representing all the features peculiar to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is hallowed four-handed figure, holding from the lower right hand in the clock-wise direction the tail of a Nāga, the mace, the conch and the disc. On the elbow of the upper left arm is seated the goddess with folded hands. The figure is shaded with an umbrella. The bent left leg of Varāha rests on a lotus with a Nāga couple seated on either side of its stalk. Under the right leg is either a snake or a fish—the creatures of the netherworld. A small dagger is attached to the *kamarabandha* of the figure. The Śaṅkha Puruṣa and the Cakra Puruṣa flank the main image. (Fig. 5).

The Sanskrit sources describe some other forms of Varāha which however, have not been sculpturally represented in Northern India. The *Skanda Purāṇa* describes the image of Varāha having four hands, two of which hold the conch and the disc and the other two are in the *abhaya* and the *varada-mudrā*.⁴³ Though no such image has come to light from northern India, this form is not unknown in the south. One such image of Varāha, is published by T. A. G. Rao.⁴⁴

The iconography of Varāha prescribed by the Tantric texts is more elaborate, the purpose behind its worship being the attainment of a particular object. According to them Varāha is endowed with multiple hands, holding the disc, the conch, the sword, the dagger,

43. चतुर्वह्निमुदारालङ्गं वराहवदनं शुभम् । *Skanda Purāṇa, II, Vaiṣṇava Khanda,*
शंखचक्राभयवरात्त्रिभ्राणं पुरुयोत्तमम् ॥ *Vyaṅkateśvara Mahātmya, adh. 1. 18.*

44. Rao T. A. G.: *op. cit.* Vol. part I, pl. XL.

the mace and the lance, while two of his hands are required to be in the *abhaya* and the *varada-mudrā*. He should be accompanied by the Earth goddess.⁴⁵ Besides these, according to the *Meru Tantra* he is to be flanked by the goddesses Bhūmi and Lakṣmī.⁴⁶

The classification of the Varāha images in the south Indian texts is referred here briefly. The Varāha image classification is in three forms, viz. Bhūvarāha, Yajñavarāha and Pralayavarāha. Bhūvarāha has the human body and the boar's face. Two of his four arms hold the conch and the disc. One of his left arms supports the legs of the Earth goddess, seated on the God's bent right leg, while the right one embraces the goddess round her waist.

Yajñavarāha should be seated on the throne, with Lakṣmī on his right and Bhūmi to his left, both of them holding the lotuses. The god should hold the conch and the disc in two of his four hands.

Pralayavarāha is much like Yajñavarāha, the only difference being the position of the goddesses. One of the right hands of the god should be in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the left one resting on his thigh.⁴⁷

So far the anthropomorphic representations of Varāha have been dealt with. The zoomorphic form of Varāha is not discussed in details by the *Śilpaśāstra* texts but the sculptors have tried to carve him profusely in this form. The representation of Varāha does not seem to be very popular in the Gupta period. It seems to have become favourite in the post-Gupta period only.

An image of Mahāvarāha, the earliest of this kind, is found at Eran in the Sagar district.⁴⁸ It is a huge figure of the boar with the figures of ṛṣis and deities carved on its body. On one side of his neck is seen the Earth goddess, hanging by the tusk of the boar, with her left arm, exactly in the way the goddess accompanying Nṛvarāha from Eran referred to above. In front of the boar is a Nāga in human form. There are several rows of devotees. (Fig. 6).

45 आपादं जानुदेशाद्द्वरकनकनिभं नाभिदेशादधस्तात् ।
मुक्तामं कण्ठदेशात्तरुणरविनिभं मस्तकान्नीलभासम् ॥
ईडे हस्तैर्दधानं रयचरणदरैः खड्गखेटौ गदाद्यौ ।
शिवितं दानाभये च क्षितिघरणलसदंष्ट्रमाद्यं वराहम् ॥

Mantra Mahārṇava, Pūrva khaṇḍa, Viṣṇu tantra, taraṅga 7.

46. *Meru Tantra*: 26, 189-190.

Vaiṣṇavasāgama: Paṭala 58, p. 196.

also see; *Atri Saṁhitā*: adh. 58, verses 25-47.

47. Coomaraswamy A.K.: *Viśvakarmā*, pl. XCIII.

48. Keith A.B.: *Indian and Iranian Mythology, (Mythology of Races, Vol VI)* pl. XII.

In the ear of the boar appears a flying figure. Near his neck is a belt with some unidentifiable figures carved on it. Brahmā is seen on its head. The image is dated in the 5th century A.D.

A few images of the kind have come to light from the mediaeval period. An image of Ādivarāha is worshipped in the Sabalpur temple at Modāsā in Gujarat datable to the 11th c. A.D. The seven-hooded serpent Śeṣa in human form is standing on a Kūrma with folded hands. The coils of the serpent pass through the legs of the god, forming a knot at the end with the tail of the Boar. Besides the Śeṣa is seen the Earth goddess, touching the head of Varāha with one of her hands. The conch and the disc are placed near his tail and the mace between the legs. Brahmā and several other gods of the Hindu pantheon are carved on his body.⁴⁹

The famous Ādivarāha found from Dudhai in Lalitpur district, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is a beautiful specimen of the 11th-12th century.⁵⁰ A very similar figure of the Boar is standing in situ at Chandpur, bearing an inscription dated in Samvat 1207-1150 A.D.⁵¹

Rajkot Museum has also a fine image of Ādivarāha found from Wardhavān. Several figures of the *munis* and deities are carved round his body as in the Eran Boar. Just below the mouth of Varāha appears Garuḍa with the snake hood around his head.

A very much mutilated piece of Ādivarāha, lying in the verandah of the Allahabad Museum depicts a row of figures on its body representing the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu as well as the Churning of the Ocean scenes.

A similar image is found from Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Ābu, where one of the legs of Varāha is supported on the disc and the conch is lying by its side. Images of Ādivarāha have also come to light from Vijāpur (Plate 7), Vihār etc.

It is clear from the iconographic representations of Varāha that the cult had a wide prevalence right from the time of the Guptas. Individual temples, dedicated to Varāha are noted in some inscriptions. The stone pillar inscription from Eran, Central India, belonging to about the 6th century, mentions a temple of Varāha.⁵² The copper plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta, found from Damodarpur in Bengal, records the erection of Śveta Varāha temple, somewhere in Nepal.⁵³ The shrine of the Varāha temple of the Gupta

49. Dave Kanaialal: *op. cit.* p. 193.

50. Shastri Hirananda: *MAI* No. 11, p. 13, pl. III.

51. *Ibid.*: p. 13.

52. *ASTAR*, 1923-24, p. 29-30.

53. Sircar D.C.: *Kokamukha-Tīrtha. Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI March 1945, pp. 56 ff.

period still exists at Deogarh.⁵⁴ The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* refers to the *Varāhamūla* or *Varāhakṣetra* where the temple of Mahāvarāha existed.⁵⁵ It also mentions that the king Lalitāditya installed a magnificent image of Mahāvarāha.⁵⁶ The King Bhoja Deva of Kanauj had issued the Mahāvarāha coins.⁵⁷ Thus it is evident that the Varāha cult had attained the royal patronage and was able to maintain its high position continued till the late mediaeval period.

The female counter part of Varāha also plays a very important role. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* identified Vārāhī with the Earth.⁵⁸ She is never represented together with Varāha but acquires the position of a mother goddess individually. She is always included in the list of the *sapta-mātrikā* also. Quite a few images of Vārāhī have come to light right from the 6th-7th century. Her iconography is varied and is much influenced by Tāntrism as well.

[I thank the Keeper, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for his kind permission to publish a photograph of 'Varāha Avatāra' housed in the Museum.]

54. Vats M.S.: Gupta Temple at Deogarh, *MASI*, No. 70, p. 2.

55. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*: VII. 1309-10.

56. Cunningham: *Coins of Mediaeval India*, London, 1894, p. 49.

57. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*: 4, 4, 6.

58. Iyer K.B.: *Lalit Kalā*, No. 12 p. 48. Addendum on article on to A Two Faced Vārāhī Image from Jogeśvarī.

NOTES ON RESEARCH IN ANCIENT MARĀTHĪ LITERATURE

By

J. S. DESHPANDE

A note on research work carried out and published in 1962 and 1964 on Ancient Marāthī Literature was given in *Dr. Jose Garson da Cunha Memorial volume* (39/40/1964-65). Notes on further work done are as below. As before the books have been published by the Mumbai Marāthī Granthasaṅgrahālaya and edited by me:—

Prācīn Marāthī Kavītā, Vol. III, 1966.

In this volume, two poems have been published viz. (1) *Bāla-kriḍā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa and (2) *Calcravyūhakathā* of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā. The manuscript from which *Bālakriḍā* is published is of Śaka 1573 i.e. 1651 A.D. and is from the Saraswatī Mahāl Library of Tanjore. A similar manuscript which had no beginning, was published some years back in a Magazine in Marathwada. The name of the author is given in it as Kṛṣṇadāsa Mudgal who is known to have written *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyana*. He was a contemporary of Eknāth. Though these two versions are very much similar, the Tanjore version is older and the general style is different. The Tanjore version is complete while the other one has no beginning. The Tanjore work bears a definite Mahānubhāva stamp. Further the style of *Bālakriḍā* as seen from the Marathwada version has no resemblance to that of *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. It would therefore appear that the work is of some Mahānubhāva poet pertaining to the 16th century i.e. the Eknātha period. There have been many poets of this name in later period but no poet belonging to this period is known. There was one Kṛṣṇadāsa, the Guru of Santoṣa Muni who wrote the *Rukmiṇī Svayaṁvara* in 1496 A.D. (Ed. N.B. Joshi, published by Kṛṣṇadāsa Mahānubhāva, Hyderabad, 1964), but we know nothing about him. There is no evidence to attribute this work to him. The poem however belongs to a fairly old period and in future, perhaps, some light may be thrown on this matter.

Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā is an enigma in Ancient Marathi Literature. The *Mahābhārata* which is found in manuscripts with his name is yet to be published. Many versions of the work exist and many of them differ completely from one another. The inescapable conclusion is that different poets have written under the name of Viṣṇudāsa

Nāmā. It is known that the writer of *Śukākhyāna*, with this name, was alive in 1595 A.D. The name also occurs in the Abhaṅgas. It is likely that saint Nāmdeo, a contemporary of Jñāneśvara also called himself by this name. Only a complete study of all poets concerned might throw light on the position. So far as the present poem is concerned, it is found to be a Mahānubhāva version of *Droṇaparva* of *Mahābhārata* (625 Ovis). It will be of use in editing of *Droṇaparva* if somebody takes up the work.

Prācīn Marāṭhī Kavītā, vol. IV, 1966.

This volume contains a poem called *Gadyarāja* of Hayagrīvācārya who wrote it in about 1325 A.D. This is different from another work found under the same name, the author being Bhīṣmācārya. The latter poem is of a later date and borrows freely from the former. The older poem is in *ślokas* without rhymes, and is one of the oldest *śloka* poems in Marathi. It is seen that at this period the Mahānubhāva poets experimented with non-rhyming blank verse but obviously the experiment was not successful. This poem was printed in 1908 by a Mahānubhāva. However, the text was not edited and the words were not separated while printing. The booklet also did not go outside the sect and is now very rare. The present work was undertaken after searching for a suitable manuscript for several years, when one written up in the year Śaka 1595 i. e. 1673 A.D. was found. A comparison of it with many other manuscripts showed that it had preserved the old text much better than later ones. The poem abounds in ancient words and is of special value on that account. Apart from this, the poem which is about life of Kṛṣṇa has a charm of its own as a poem and deserves to be read and studied.

Prācīn Marāṭhī Kavītā, Volume V, 1966.

Unpublished *Ākhyānas* found under the name of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā or Namdeo have been published in this book. A description of them is given below:—

(1) & (2) *Nāmdeo Tīrthāvalī* and *Kṛṣṇa Kathā*—

The first poem is not *Tīrthāvalī* at all, but is a story of the meeting between Namdeo and a Muslim ruler and narrates how Namdeo resurrected a dead cow. It is most unlikely that a person like Saint Namdeo will narrate his own exploits.

The latter poem is about the birth of Kṛṣṇa and must have formed part of a larger work. Both the poems are pretty old, the manuscript being of the year Śaka 1556 i. e. 1634 A.D.

(3) *Hariścandrapurāṇa*—

This poem of 990 Ovis is about king Hariścandra. It is an old poem and was translated into Portuguese in the former half of the 17th Century. The Tanjore manuscript which is complete was adopted for this book. It bears a great resemblance to the Dhulia version. A Mahānubhāva version exists which has almost similar meaning but different words. Fragments of another entirely different work bearing the same author name were also found. This will show how much confusion exists and needs to be cleared up in respect of these works.

(4) *Mulakāsuravadha*—

This poem of 453 Ovis is from Tanjore. No other version is known. The story is obviously from *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*.

(5) *Budhbāvanī*—

These are small poems giving advices. They exist in widely varying versions, the authorship of which is doubtful. The versions in the book are from Dhulia.

(6) *Lavakuśākhyāna*—

This is a poem of 422 Ovis based on *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Many versions of it are known and they are much similar.

(7) *Vastrāharaṇa*

This is a Tanjore manuscript. No other version is known. The story is based on *Mahābhārata* and relates to the attempt of Kauravas to take off the clothes of Draupadī. There is another poem of the same name by Nāmā Pāṭhaka.

(8) *Tulsī Ākhyāna*—

This is a very ordinary work of 83 Ovis and can hardly be attributed to Saint Namdeo.

(9) *Garuḍa Ākhyāna*—

This is a small poem of 74 Ovis about the fight between Garuḍa and Hanumāna. An enlarged version of 295 Ovis is found under the authorship of Nāmā Pāṭhaka.

(10) *Santāvali Ākhyāna*—

This is a poem of 73 Ovis giving the story of Kamlākar and Nāmdeo. Another version of it is also known.

The publication of these poems will be of assistance in throwing light on the confusion that exists about the works of Saint Namdeo

and the mixture of authorship between Nāmdeo, Viṣṇudās Nāmā and Nāmā Pāṭhak. As we can see at present there is no sufficient evidence to attribute authorship of any of these poems to Saint Nāmdeo who was contemporary of Jñāneśvara.

Prācīn Marāṭhī Kavitā, Vol. VI.

This work is almost printed and will be out shortly. This is *Rukminī Svayaṁvara* of Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha written in 1403 A.D. There are 2316 Ovis in the manuscript found. The poem is very rich in old words and is also good poetry. It borrows freely from *Gadyarāja* of Hayagrīvācārya and it is obvious that Santoṣa Muni had it before him. It seems that somehow the work of Santoṣa Muni superceded this work and consequently it went into oblivion.

It is hoped that we will be in a position to conduct further research in the field and cover most of the gap between Jñāneśvara and Eknāth.

CĀNGADEVA – PANCAṢAṢṬHI
A REPLY TO CHANGAĀDEO
IN STANZAS SIXTY-FIVE
BY JÑĀNADEVA

By

L. V. DESHPANDE

It was in the last decade of thirteenth century. The fame of Jñānadeva, the author of Jñāneśvarī reached the ears of Cāṅgadeva, a proud Yogin who had defied aging and was par excellence in miraculous Yogic powers. He became curious about Jñānadeva and he commanded his disciple to take down a letter to be delivered to Jñānadeva. But he fumbled. He soon found himself at his wits' end. "Salutations,—No"—Jñānadeva was younger. "Blessings, No, not fit to give"—Jñānadeva was superior in knowledge. Eventually the blank paper with Cāṅgadeva's unwritten mind was taken to Jñānadeva. Jñānadeva was with his brothers Nivṛtti and Sopān. His sister Muktā who was also there laughed at the blank paper. She playfully remarked: Cāṅgadeva, in spite of his yogic powers, was as blank and ignorant as the piece of paper he sent.

Nivṛtti, the eldest brother was himself a blessed Yogi and realised soul. He was Jñānadeva's Guru. He had a wider vision. His heart was tenderly full of deep sympathy for high and low. He saw through the mental conflict of Cāṅgadeva on account of dualism. He directed Jñānadeva to write a reply on the same blank paper, expounding the transcendental ultimate reality of soul's one-ness in all.

Nivṛtti was silent. The thought vibrations started. Jñānadeva in tune wrote out the reply, may-be, in half an hour on Cāṅgadeva's blank paper and that is Cāṅgadeva Pāsaṣṭhī in Marathi. It consists only of sixty-five exquisite—"Ovees" in typical Marathi metre.

It is a pithy treatise on higher metaphysics and philosophy. It superbly compares with the modern concept of rational analysis. But its uniqueness lies in its synthetical and human approach of realising and experiencing the highest bliss of being and becoming one with all. Remember Jñānadeva had not seen Cāṅgadeva at all. But look at the intensity of Jñānadeva's feeling for Cāṅgadeva. It at once depicts the basic oneness of human mind and reflects the wide and deep sympathetic response of Jñānadeva for a person not known.

Observes Jñānadeva: "The appearances are but passing shows. The moon is moon in all its phases. A gold ornament, despite its different shape, is all in all gold. Ripples in the lake are nothing but water. Cloth woven is essentially a bare thread. Earthen pots continue to be earth. Light in different lamps is the same light. Duality is like a reflection in the mirror. Remove the mirror and there is nothing but you alone. You and I are not different but are quantum bubbles of higher energy that throbs and pervades all—you and me too. World is a reflection of Him, when hidden. When He reveals, the world vanishes. He alone is the highest ultimate Truth. We meet and mingle there for ever, being one with Him. Forget the "I"-ness. Realise the unity and be happy. These sweets are specially for you sent by Lord Nivṛtti of motherly heart. Jñānadeva in the end declares "we know naught whether it is being or non-being or even how it manifests itself but we feel it permeates and exists ever and everywhere. That is the truth and there we are!"

I need not offer apology for my adventerous attempt to render the Cāṅgadeva Pāsaṣṭhī into Sanskrit. It may be styled, I know, as a reverse process. But Sanskrit is the treasure-trove of high philosophical thoughts. It is increasingly getting inter-national recognition and status in the field of philosophy and natural science. It is known and understood on wider scale all over India and world. Sanskrit language would fain readopt Jñāneśvara and feel enriched with his poetic and philosophical thoughts.

श्री ज्ञानेश्वरकृत-चांगदेवपञ्चषष्टिः ।

संस्कृतानुवादः ।

श्री चांगदेव आसीत् सिद्धिसंपन्नो महान् योगी । श्री ज्ञानदेवो बालेऽपि वयसि साक्षाद् ज्ञानमूर्तिः ।

ज्ञानदेवं मिलितुं चांगदेवः समुत्सुकोऽभवत् । तदर्थं स ज्ञानदेवं प्रति पत्रं लिखितुं प्रारभत । परंतु स्वयं वयसा वरिष्ठः । ज्ञानदेवः कनीयान् ज्ञाने तु वरीयान् । कथं पत्रस्य प्रारंभः क्रियते । आशीर्वादेन नमस्कारेण वा इति संभ्रमे अलिखितमेव पत्रं चांगदेवेन ज्ञानदेवाय प्रेषितम् ।

चांगदेवस्य हेतुं ज्ञात्वा तस्मिन्नेव अलिखिते पत्रे पञ्चषष्टिसंख्यांकैः पद्यैः तत्त्वोपदेशपरं उत्तरं लिखित्वा ज्ञानदेवेन चांगदेवाय प्रेषितम् । सैव चांगदेवपञ्चषष्टिः ।

चराचरजगतः परमधिष्ठानं यः परमात्मा स स्वयं स्फूर्त्या विश्वस्य आभासं दर्शयति । विश्वाभासे स पिहितः । विश्वग्रामे स प्रकटः । परंतु सत्यतो नायं पिहितः प्रकटो वा । विश्वस्फूर्त्या नायमावृतो भवति । भासमानं द्वन्द्वं केवलं आकारे वर्तते । नैव वस्तुतः । सुवर्णं भूषणं गते न हानिः सुवर्णत्वे । काण्टजातो वह्निर्वाद्यजातो ध्वनिर्वा यथा स्वतंत्रं वर्तते तथैव स परमात्मा जगतो निरपेक्षया स्वयं विद्यते एव । नामरूपे विना स ज्ञानमयः सत्यः केवलम् । सर्वत्र तस्यैव चैतन्यं प्रतिभाति । स सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपः ।

तस्मिन् परब्रह्मणि त्वमहं च जलतरंगवद् अभिन्नत्वेन एकरूपी । आवयोः संमेलनं स्वयं सिद्धमेव । किं पुनश्चर्मचक्षुषा दर्शनस्य प्रयोजनम् ।

आनन्दमयः स परमात्मा । तस्मिन्नेव स्वानन्दजीवनम् । तत् त्वं उपभुञ्जन् सुखी भव । इत्यस्ति पत्रस्य सारांशः ।

अव्यक्तस्य विचारपद्धतौ ज्ञानेश्वरस्य बुद्धेः प्रकर्षो दृश्यते । तत्त्वज्ञानस्य शिखरं तेन पूर्वमेव प्राप्तम् । तस्य विचाराणां मौलिकत्वं आधुनिकविचारसरण्याऽपि प्रसिध्यति । इति अतीव कौतुकावहम् ।

एतादृशी चांगदेव-पञ्चषष्टिः ज्ञानेश्वरेण महाराष्ट्रभाषायां षट्शतकेभ्यः प्राक् लिखिता ।

तस्याः संस्कृतेऽनुवादः स्वान्तःसुखाय मया कृतः । तत्र ये गुणास्ते ज्ञानेश्वरस्य विचार-वैभवेन संस्कृतभाषाया माधुर्येण च । ये तु दोषास्ते ममैव सर्वथा ।

श्री ज्ञानेश्वरस्य स्वानुभवरसालं विद्वज्जनपरितोपाय भवतु ।

श्री चांगदेव-पञ्चषष्टिः

ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीवटेशाय जगतः पिहितोऽपि सन् ।

आभासं दर्शयत्येव प्रकटो ग्रसते पुनः ॥१॥

न दृश्यः प्रकटो यावान् पिहितः स प्रभासते ।

प्रकटः पिहितो नाऽयं अव्ययः स्वयमेव सः ॥२॥

बहुर्भवति यावद्यो भवत्यपि न किञ्चन ।

न किञ्चन भवन्नास्ते परिपूर्णो हि सर्वथा ॥३॥

न्यूनत्वं न सुवर्णत्वे सुवर्णं भूषणं गते ।

स नैवं न्यूनतां गत्वा जगद्रूपः स्वभावतः ॥४॥

कल्लोलकञ्चुकं तोयं अनाकृष्यापि विवृतम् ।

एवं च जगदाकारे सम्यग्रूपः स्वयं हि सः ॥५॥

समूहे परमाणूनां पार्थिवत्वं न लुप्यते ।

विश्वस्फूर्त्या तथैवायं आवृतो न कदाचन ॥६॥

कलाभिः प्रावृत्तश्चन्द्रः चन्द्रत्वान्न च हीयते ।

निगच्छन् दीपतां वल्लिभिन्नतां न प्रपद्यते ॥७॥

अतोऽविद्यानिमित्तेन वर्तते दृश्यद्रष्टृता ।

तदहं न विजानामि स्वयमेवाऽस्ति केवलम् ॥८॥

पटोऽस्ति नाममात्रेण वस्तुतस्तन्तुरेव सः ।

अथवा मृत्तिकाभाण्डं मृदेव वर्तते यथा ॥९॥

अतीतं द्रष्टृदृश्यत्वाद् दृङ्मात्रं यच्च विद्यते ।

द्रष्टृदृश्यत्वभासेन वर्तते केवलं हि तत् ॥१०॥

अलङ्काराऽभिधानेऽपि निखिलं हेम वर्तते ।

नानाऽवयवरूपेण वर्ततेऽवयवी यथा ॥११॥

आशिवात् क्षितिपर्यन्तं विभासन्ते पृथग्विधाः ।

पदार्थाः सैव संवित्तिः सम्यगेका प्रकाशते ॥१२॥

असद्वरूपं च यच्चित्रं भित्तिस्तद्दर्शयन्त्यपि ।

भित्तिस्तु केवलं संविद् जगद्वरूपे प्रकाशते ॥१३॥

गुडबन्धे च निर्बन्धं गुडस्वादो हि वर्तते ।

विविधे जगदाकारे संवित्तिं विद्धि तादृशीम् ॥१४॥

घटानां विविधाकारैरम्बरं हि प्रकाशते ।
 विश्वस्फूर्ति तथा ह्येषा स्फूर्तिविस्फुरति स्वयम् ॥१५॥
 क्षुब्धोऽपि क्षणमाकारैः सुखदुःखैर्न लिप्यते ।
 आत्मनः संमुखे यश्च वर्तते स्वयमात्मनि ॥१६॥
 दृश्यं भवति तद् येन संवित्तिर्याति द्रष्टृतां ।
 बिम्बे बिम्बस्य बिम्बत्वं प्रतिबिम्बेन वर्तते ॥१७॥
 उदेति दर्शयन् दृश्यं आत्मा चात्मानमात्मनि ।
 त्रिपुटीं रचयत्येष तद् द्रष्टृदृश्यदर्शनम् ॥१८॥
 नान्यदस्ति च तन्तूनां ग्रंथेरन्तस्तथा बहिः ।
 एवं हि त्रिपुटीं विद्धि त्रित्वभावेन वर्जिताम् ॥१९॥
 यथैव दर्पणाधारे मुखं पश्यति केवलम् ।
 अन्यथा दर्शनं व्यर्थं मन्येऽहं द्रष्टृदृश्यताम् ॥२०॥
 अनवाप्य तथा भेदं संवित् त्रित्वेन भासते ।
 उपपत्तिं त्रिभासस्य प्रसिद्धामवधारय ॥२१॥
 प्रादुर्भावो हि दृश्यस्य द्रष्टृत्वं तच्च संसृती ।
 उभयोरन्तरे दृष्टिस्त्वनयोर्याति पङ्गुताम् ॥२२॥
 यदा न वर्तते दृश्यं दृष्ट्या किं क्रियते तथा ।
 दृश्येन च विना किञ्चिद् द्रष्टृत्वं हि कथं भवेत् ॥२३॥
 आविर्भूते ततो दृश्ये दृष्टि-द्रष्टृत्वसंभवः ।
 निवृत्ते च पुनस्तस्मिन् तद्गतस्तु द्वयोरपि ॥२४॥
 एवमेकं त्रिधाभूतं व्यक्तिरेका त्रये गते ।
 भानं त्रयस्य सा भ्रान्तिः सत्यमेकं तु केवलम् ॥२५॥
 दर्पणात्पूर्वमन्ते च मुखमस्ति मुखस्थले ।
 दर्पणे तु पुनर्वीक्ष्य किं तदन्यद्भ्रविष्यति ॥२६॥
 पुरो वीक्षितदृश्येन वीक्षेऽहमिति गम्यते ।
 किं तु दृश्यस्य तद्भानं दृष्टि वञ्चयते वृथा ॥२७॥
 अतो दृश्यस्य वेलायां वस्तुमात्रं निजात्मनि ।
 अपरं दृश्यद्रष्टृत्वाद् आत्मानं पश्य पश्यति ॥२८॥
 काष्ठजाताद् विना वह्निर्वाद्यजाताद्दिना ध्वनिः ।
 विशेषं ग्रासयन्नैवं स्वयमेव च विद्यते ॥२९॥
 न किञ्चिद् वर्ण्यते वाचा ज्ञायते न कथंचन ।
 सदेव विद्यते पश्य सद्भावं यत्स्वभावतः ॥३०॥
 दृष्टिः स्वतारकामन्तर्द्रष्टुं न क्षमते कदा ।
 तथैव ज्ञानरूपो य आत्मज्ञाने च निर्वलः ॥३१॥
 स्वसंवेद्यं च यत्सर्वं अवेद्यं नैव कुत्रचित् ।
 ब्रूयते यदि तज्ज्ञातुं ज्ञायते केन वा कथम् ॥३२॥
 अतस्त्वं ब्रूहि मौनेन न भवन् भव सर्वथा ।
 एवमेव न भूतः सन् न किञ्चित्त्वमवाप्नुहि ॥३३॥
 अथवा बोधसम्बन्धे तेन ह्येकेन सत्यता ।
 नानाकल्लोलमालासु पानीयं वर्तते यथा ॥३४॥

विनाभावेन दृश्यस्य द्रष्टृत्वमेकमेव हि ।
 अस्त्वेदमात्मनो ह्यात्मा केवलः स्वयमात्मनि ॥३५॥
 कस्यापि न भवन्नास्ते भवन्नो कस्य वीक्षते ।
 भुङ्क्तेऽपि न भवन्कस्य केवलं वर्तते च सः ॥३६॥
 वटेश्वरस्य पुत्रस्त्वं कर्पूरस्य कणो यथा ।
 आवयोरात्मनश्चाङ्ग ! शृणु त्वं वचनं सखे ॥३७॥
 कीदृशं वक्ति ज्ञानेशो मद्बचः श्रूयते त्वया ।
 तलाय तलहस्तेन दीयते मिलनं यथा ॥३८॥
 शब्देन श्रूयते शब्दः स्वादः स्वादेन भुज्यताम् ।
 प्रकाशेन प्रकाशो हि वीक्ष्यतामुज्ज्वलो यथा ॥३९॥
 सुवर्णस्य कपः स्वर्णं मुखस्य दर्पणं मुखम् ।
 संवाद आवयोरेवं चक्रमाणे प्रपद्यते ॥४०॥
 मधु स्वमधुतां गृह्यात् स्वमुखे किं न पूर्यते ।
 परस्परस्य नौ प्रीतिर्भवत्येवंविधा खलु ॥४१॥
 मिलने तव जीवो मे सोल्लासोऽस्ति परं सखे ।
 सिद्धसंमेलनं नौ तु विघटेदिति मे भयम् ॥४२॥
 यदा त्वां भावये द्रष्टुं रूपत्वं याति मे मनः ।
 दर्शने प्रतिबन्धस्ते भवेदेवं हि गम्यते ॥४३॥
 कृतेरुक्तेर्मतेर्भावः कृतेरुक्तेस्तथा मतेः ।
 अभावश्चेदृशं द्वन्द्वं त्वद्रूपे न च तिष्ठति ॥४४॥
 न भवेत्कर्म वाऽकर्म नाम्नाऽपि तव चाङ्ग ! हे ।
 किं मया बहुवक्तव्यं अहंभावो न धार्यते ॥४५॥
 द्रष्टुं जलगभीरत्वं तन्मध्ये लवणं गतम् ।
 तत्क्षणं न भवत्येतत् कथं कं परिमापयेत् ॥४६॥
 द्रष्टुमात्मानमेवं त्वां गतः पश्य न चास्म्यहम् ।
 तत्र त्वं कीदृशः कश्च शक्यः कल्पयितुं कथम् ॥४७॥
 जाग्रत्पश्यति यो निद्रां द्रष्टृत्वं स विमुञ्चति ।
 एवं स्थितोऽस्मि त्वां पश्यन् न भूत्वाऽपि कथंचन ॥४८॥
 आवृते तमसाऽन्वेन यथा सूर्यो न भासते ।
 अहमस्मीतिभावस्तु न कदाचन नश्यति ॥४९॥
 यदा त्वां गवषे त्वत्त्वं ममत्वेन परं सह ।
 समग्रं पतति ग्रासे मिलनं त्वेव शिष्यते ॥५०॥
 भूमिकायां सनेत्रस्य नेत्रचित्रं सकौतुकम् ।
 कौतुकेनैव तच्चित्रं स पश्यत्यविचञ्चलम् ॥५१॥
 एवं सहजसंवादे दृष्टिभेदे न च स्थिते ।
 अहं-त्वं-नेतिभावेन मिलनं तव ममापि च ॥५२॥
 उपाधिं त्वमहं चेति ग्रसित्वा त्वस्ति केवलम् ।
 मिलनं चोपभुक्तं तद् अनुवादे पुनः पुनः ॥५३॥
 हचिरस्य मिषेणैव हचित्वं सेव्यते यथा ।
 दर्पणस्य निमित्तेन द्रष्टृत्वं दृश्यते पुरः ॥५४॥

अप्रमेयैः प्रमेयैर्हि युक्तमौनाक्षराणि च ।
 रचयित्वा शुभान्येवं मिलनस्य कथा कृता ॥५५॥
 इमां व्याजं च कृत्वा त्वं विद्धि चात्मानमात्मना ।
 दीपत्वेन यथा दीपो निजरूपं समीक्षते ॥५६॥
 इत्थं कृतासु गोष्ठीषु दृष्टिमेवमपावृणु ।
 आत्मन्येवात्मनात्मानं संयुज्य मिल समिल ॥५७॥
 जाते च प्रलयेऽपारं धावन्नेकार्णवाज्जलम् ।
 ग्रासयत्युद्गमं स्वस्य तद्वदेव समाचर ॥५८॥
 ज्ञानेशो वक्ति सत्यस्त्वं नामरूपे विना स्वयम्
 स्वानन्दजीवनं तत्त्वं उपभुञ्जन् सुखी भव ॥५९॥
 ज्ञानसंपत्पुरश्चाङ्ग ! गृहमेवागता स्वयम् ।
 तद् वेद्यवेदकत्वस्य त्वमतीते पदे वस ॥६०॥
 निवृत्तिराजो मातृश्रीः तव व्याजेन चाङ्ग ! हे ।
 स्वानुभवरसालं ते खाद्यं लोभेन दत्तवान् ॥६१॥
 परस्परं विपश्यन्तौ सनेत्रदर्पणाविव ।
 ज्ञानेशश्चक्रपाणिश्च भेदभावं व्यमुञ्चताम् ॥६२॥
 तयोः सममिमाः सूवतीर्यश्च कुर्वीत दर्पणम् ।
 प्राप्नुयादात्मपर्याप्तं सुखमेवाद्भूतं परम् ॥६३॥
 असत् तत्किञ्च नो वेद नो वेद दृश्यते कथम् ।
 सत् तत्किमपि नो वेद स्वयं तद् ह्यनुभूयताम् ॥६४॥
 अतीतनिद्रो निद्राति जागति गीर्णजागरः ।
 कृतं च ग्रथितं तादृग् ज्ञानदेवो हि भाषते ॥६५॥

ॐ तत्सत्

STUDY OF AM̐HAS, ENAS AND ĀGAS IN THE YAJURVEDA and ATHARVAVEDA

By

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

In an article elsewhere* I have made a study of the three words, Am̐has, Enas and Āgas, lexicographically regarded as synonyms by applying the formal criteria of environment and distribution. The basis of this enquiry was the postulate that there are no synonyms in the language. Two utterances different in phonemic shape but identical in meaning constitute synonymy. Since meaning is understood as the total distribution of the word in a language, it is almost impossible that in a language total distribution of the two words will be identical. Words traditionally regarded as synonymous will have a certain common semantic area but they will definitely have semantic boundaries which will differentiate one from the other.

A study of these three words as found in the Ṛgveda showed that these words do have different distribution and stand for different concepts. Am̐has in the Ṛgveda seems to refer to a physical calamity, a danger which befalls an individual and against which he seeks protection from the divinities. Though Āgas and Enas cover a common semantic areas, they have specific connotational differences. Āgas has a reference to a general violation of holy laws, moral ethical misdemeanour but does *not* refer to a specific wrong act. Enas on the contrary seems to refer to a specific act of wrong doing committed by an erring individual. Unlike Am̐has, both Āgas and Enas fall within the range of wrongful conduct but between the two, Āgas comes near to what is generally understood as sin.

This article attempts to study these words as found in the remaining three Saṁhitās. Actually it amounts to the study of the Yajurveda and Atharvā-veda only, as the references to Sāmaveda are the same as in the Ṛgveda. Under Yajurveda, both the Vājasaneyī and the Taittirīya are taken for examination.

The common environment here, as in the Ṛgveda, is mainly the deities though some others are noticed as being the addresses, consistent with the nature and contents of the two Saṁhitās. The roots which are used in connection with the words also form the other

* *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 28, 1967.

environment. Factors like the causes, the types, qualifiers and determinants will be studied under special environments.

The contents of the two Saṁhitās are basically different and the picture in respect of the deities is bound to vary. Their distribution also is certain to differ. It is also understandable that the addresses include inanimate things like trees, herbs, Avabhrutha niçumpruṇa, Samitśkala even Viṣuçika (cholera) though references to these are very few—in most cases only one or two.

Even in respect of deities which are common in the three Saṁhitās, no definite distributional grouping is noticed here. Leaving aside Āgas to which only very few references are found in the two Saṁhitās, one can say that in the case of Enas, at a few places no deity is specifically mentioned by name. A certain action is said to lead to Enas, release from which is requested but there is no appeal to a specific deity. As against this, in the case of Amhas, by and large a particular deity or an animate/inanimate thing is specifically requested to free the person from Amhas.

An analysis of the references where a specific deity is alluded to by name is however interesting and throws a light on the nature of the concepts. A statistical table would be helpful.

	Amhas	Enas	Āgas
Indra	10	2	1
Varuṇa	2	2	—
Mitrā-Varuṇau	1	1	1
Agni	10	11	2
Dyāvā-Prthvī	1	1	—
Viśvedevas	1	6	—
Āpas	1	1	—
Viśvakarmā	—	2	—
Vāyu	3	1	2
Aśvins	—	—	3
Osadhī	3	—	—

It will be seen from above that the only two important deities from Ṛgveda who are often invoked here are Indra and Agni. The special characteristic of Varuṇa as being the preserver of moral order and the sentinel for ethical conduct, so prominent in Ṛgveda is absent here. If our analysis of the semantic contents of the three words in Ṛgveda can be found to hold good here—it actually does as the foregoing analysis will show—we should have expected it to be reflected in the references to Varuṇa. Since Āgas stands for a violation of holy law and Enas refers to some specific wrong doing, Varuṇa should have been invoked more times here than in Amhas which refers to some physical calamity. Actually Varuṇa finds no mention in Āgas and is evenly referred to in the case of the other two words. It would therefore either mean that the special characteristic of Varuṇa found in the Ṛgveda is not shared by the composers of the two Saṁhitās or that the subject matter

of the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda did not allow this position to Varuṇa. References to Indra, however, are eloquent. It is significant that in the case of Amhas, Indra is the most invoked deity (19 times as against 2-1). Indra is generally considered to be a God of physical power, a war-Lord whose principal task is to protect the devotees from physical danger. This confirms our understanding of the concept of Amhas—some kind of calamity. The nearly equal references to Agni in the case of the first two words (In comparison with Amhas and Enas, references to Āgas are very few in the two Saṁhitās) show that to the two Saṁhitākāras, Agni is both a remover of difficulties and a purifier. The references to Aśvins also indicate that the general Ṛgvedic traits of deities are not continued in the other Saṁhitās. In the Ṛgveda, Aśvins were invoked five times in connection with Amhas but not once for Enas or Āgas. In the other two Saṁhitās, it is nearly the opposite. Here Aśvins are mentioned thrice as deliverers from Āgas but have no place in the context of Enas and Amhas.

ROOTS

	<i>muc</i>	<i>rakṣ</i>	<i>mṛj</i>	<i>apa+su</i>	<i>ava+syo</i>	<i>vāray</i>	<i>pra+vah</i>	<i>ati+i</i>
Enas	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Āgas	6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Amhas	22	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

	<i>ni+srj</i>	<i>śumbh</i>	<i>ava+yaj</i>	<i>śisra</i>	<i>mā+pāpay</i>	<i>pā</i>	<i>aś</i>	<i>ni+pr</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>ni+gam</i>
Enas	1	1	6	1	1	x	x	x	10	1
Āgas	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x
Amhas	x	x	x	x	x	20	1	1	x	x

Analysis:—The above distribution is significant and corroborates our understanding of the meaning of the three words. Enas and Āgas both refer to some wrongful conduct, violation of laws. Both are results of one's conscious or unconscious doing. It is therefore natural that in the case of these two words the root *kr* is found used for the act of commission. As against this, since Amhas stands for some physical calamity or danger, the root *kr* has no place here. One does not commit a danger. One is exposed to it. Release from the evil effects of one's bad actions and release from danger, however, is common to all these three. This is reflected in the fairly even distribution of root *muc*. The above table is significant for another reason. The root *pā* is conspicuously absent in the context of Enas and Āgas but is used 20 times in the case of Amhas. This also confirms our understanding of the meaning of Amhas as a calamity.

SPECIAL ENVIRONMENTS

Causes	Āgas	Enas	Amhas
(A) Human frailty	√	x	x
(B) Errors in behaviour			
(i) Misuse of the products of a cow	x	√	x

Causes	Āgas	Enas	Am̐has
(ii) <i>mṛtyusōka</i> improperly done	x	√	x
(iii) Errors in sacrifice	x	√	x
(iv) <i>Kravyādatvam</i>	x	√	x
(v) misbehaviour on the part of a sacrificial animal	x	√	x
(vi) Bringing <i>dakṣiṇā</i> to <i>pitaras</i> , with desires	x	√	x
(C) Social cruelty to animals, personal misbehaviour (<i>abhakṣya bhakṣaṇa</i>)	x	√	x
(D) <i>anṛtabhāṣaṇa</i> (with <i>durita</i>)	x	√	x
(E) Evil effects of a black bird	x	x	√

Analysis:—The above would confirm that Am̐has stands for some physical danger for which there could be no cause. At AV. 103.22 and 6.45.3, speaking untruth and false conduct are said to constitute *durita* and Am̐has. What is possibly meant is that speaking untruth and wrongful conduct lead to *durita* and Am̐has from which protection is sought for. Similarly the evil influence of a black bird (AV. 7.64 (66) 1) is said to lead to *durita* and Am̐has. Āgas is very near to our conception of Pāpa which is the result of human frailty, conceit etc. The various individual causes which are mentioned in connection with Enas find no mention here. Apart from *puruṣatā* the only other specific cause for Āgas is 'not satisfying the wishes of the Gods' (AV. 12.4.50). Enas is some kind of a crime, a misdeed which is the result of doing a thing against the procedures or rules laid down. Errors in sacrifice, cruelty to animals, personal misbehaviour also are said to constitute Enas. At the Tai. 3.1.4.3 the sacrificer was supposed to have committed Enas because the sacrificial animal uttered a cry or stroke its breast with feet. Enas is thus not only the result of one's own actions only but of those belonging to us. An intriguing reference is Tai. 3.2.8.3. Here the poet, in a homage to the manes, requests them 'Do not consider us sinful for not bringing you offerings without desires'. As Keith says, the offering of *dakṣiṇā* to *Pitṛs* is strange and the sin of doing it with desire is also strange.

TYPES

	अहस्	एनस्	आगस्
A <i>pārthiva</i>	√	x	x
<i>āntarikṣa</i>	√	x	x
<i>divya</i>	√	x	x
<i>pitṛvya</i>	√	x	x
<i>mānuṣa</i>	√	x	x
B <i>devakṛta</i>	x	√	x
<i>manuṣyakṛta</i>	x	√	x
<i>pitṛkṛta</i>	x	√	x
<i>mātrkṛta</i>	x	√	x
C <i>grāme kṛtam</i>	x	√	x
<i>araṇye kṛtam</i>	x	√	x
<i>sabhāyām kṛtam</i>	x	√	x
<i>abhidharmanī</i>	x	√	x

D	<i>Bhūtam</i> <i>bhavyam</i> <i>śūdre kṛtam</i> <i>ārye kṛtam</i> <i>abhidharmani</i>	}	x	√	x
E	<i>vidvāṁsah</i> <i>avidvāṁsah</i>	}	x	√	x
F	<i>divā kṛtam</i> <i>naktam kṛtam</i> <i>jāgrat kṛtam</i> <i>Svapnan kṛtam</i>	}	x	√	x

Analysis:—

- (1) The references are in Complimentary Distribution. At no two places the two occur together.
- (2) Amhas is mentioned as coming from sky, earth, atmosphere, manes. Human beings and protection from deities concerned like Sūrya, Agni, Vāyu, Yama and Sarasvatī respectively is requested. As against this the peculiarities of Enas are:—
- (3) It is committed. (Refer the use of root *kṛ* in almost all cases and its absence in Amhas).
- (4) It is committed not only by mortals but by Gods and Pitṛs also. In A.V. there is a specific mention of Agni and Surya as having committed Enas.
- (5) Enas committed by parents, ancestors is inherited by the mortals concerned.
- (6) It is committed at various places (villages, forest, assembly), at various times (by day, at night), knowingly or otherwise, in sleep or in dream.
- (7) It covers a large number of misdeeds. Errors in sacrifice, social wrong-doings, cruelty to animals, jealousy towards learned in assemblies, wrong doings as a result of the weaknesses of the flesh, all come under it. This is done against all sections of society—from Āryas to Śūdras. A general request for a release from Enas—already committed and likely to be is also made.

All this confirms that Amhas stands for physical danger-calami-ty for which there could be no cause. The various specific causes which are mentioned in connection with Enas, the various types of it, the references to the categories of people who commit it or against whom it is committed—all these are conspicuously absent in the references to Āgas. Apart from human frailty the only two specific causes for Āgas are—(1) not satisfying the wishes of Gods (AV. 12.4.50) (2) injuring a brahmin who knows the

greatness of Gods (AV. 13.3.1-25). Unlike Āgas, Enas therefore is some kind of a crime, moral/ethical misdemeanour.

Mention along with other undesirables

	<i>Añhas</i>	<i>Enas</i>	<i>Āgas</i>
<i>durita</i>	√	√	x
<i>nīrtiyāḥ pāśāni</i>	√	x	x
<i>mṛtyu</i>	√	x	x
<i>avadya</i>	√	x	x
<i>duṣṣvapnyam</i>	x	√	x
<i>malam</i>	x	√	x
<i>enas</i>	√	x	x
<i>añhas</i>	x	x	x
<i>āgas</i>	x	x	x

Except for *durita*, the references are in Complimentary Distribution.

SPECIAL QUALIFIERS

	<i>Añhas</i>	<i>Enas</i>	<i>Āgas</i>
(1) protection from <i>Añhas</i> till the last Ṛk—Vāj 4.10	√	x	x
(2) <i>viśicikā</i> requested for protection Vāj 19.10	√	x	x
(3) Rice Barley Vāj 4.13 <i>mātrarūpāḥ āpaḥ</i> AV 8.2.18	√	x	x

Summary:

In the two Sañhitās under study, references to Āgas are few indeed. This is in striking contrast with the Ṛgveda where the Āgas was mentioned more than fifty times. However the semantic content of Āgas, both in the Ṛgveda and the other two Sañhitās is the same. It is wrongful conduct, something our flesh is heir to because of human frailty, ignorance etc. This calls for the punishment from the Gods but which gods can pardon.

References to *Enas* in the AV. and Yājurveda Sañhitās are many more. They also confirm our conclusion arrived at as a result of our study of the Ṛgveda. Both *Enas* and *Āgas* fall within the general conceptual range of something undesirable, which merits punishment from Gods but against which protection can be sought. *Āgas*, however, is a general wrongful conduct while *Enas* refers to specific wrongful acts. Here there is more reference to the physical side of the action—an error in the performance of the sacrifice, misuse of the products of the cow etc., contamination (AV 7.64(66)2). As stated earlier one has to suffer for *Enas* committed by members of the family or ancestors (AV 6.116.2, 3; 10.3.8; 5.30.4). Even Gods are stated to have committed it from which they were released. The statistical analysis given above about the types and causes brings this out very clearly.

Now perhaps it is possible to understand why references to Āgas in the Yājurveda and Atharvaveda are very few as against

those of Enas. Unlike Ṛgveda, both these Saṁhitās are composed or compiled for a specific limited purpose. Atharvaveda represents the beliefs, superstitions, prejudices, ideas about witchcraft, magic etc., and therefore did not have occasion to refer to 'sin' in general. Similarly Yajurveda being devoted to sacrifice and other ritual practices, emphasis was on their actual performance. There was no place in both the Saṁhitās for a general discussion on what constitutes misdemeanour and hence it is not surprising that references to Āgas are so few.

Amhas does not have the same range of meaning as Enas and Āgas though lexicography mentions all these three as synonyms. Even though Enas and Āgas cover a common semantic area, they also are not synonyms. Amhas refers to a physical calamity, a danger which befalls an individual. It is significant that it is said to befall on a mortal and there is no reference to Manes or Gods having suffered from Amhas. Then again since it refers to a physical calamity, it could come from any direction, can come from all categories of living beings. It can come from a friend also (*mitriyāt amhasaḥ*). The fact that curse and Amhas are said to cause similar results is also worth noting. This meaning of Amhas is also evident from Vāj 12.40; 4.10 where protection from Amhas is asked for a specific period e.g. till the last verse of the sacrifice is uttered. In appeal to *Viṣūcikā* for protection from Amhas, mention of *mātrarūpāḥ āpah* as *amhomucaḥ* though strange confirms that it has reference to some physical calamity—either the dreaded disease or some other dire trouble. That at AV 8.12.18 *Vrihiyavau* are mentioned as driving off *Yakṣmā* and releasing from Amhas also make it certain that the writer has in mind something physical by the word Amhas.

One can therefore finally say that the semantic boundaries of the three words have remained the same as in Ṛgveda.

B—Data AMHAS

Av 1.31.2	Oh you four Gods who are guardians of the regions, release us from the bonds of perdition, from every danger.
Av 2.4.3	Let this Jangida, possessing all remedies, protect us from danger.
Av 2.28.1	Let Mitra protect him from danger as a very thoughtful mother protects a son in her lap.
Av 4.10.1	Let this pearl-shell, born of Gold protect us from distress.

- Av 4.23.1-7 } Let him free us from distress.
 2.24.1-7 } Let those two free us from distress.
 2.25.1-7 }
 2.26.1-7 } "
 2.27.1-7 } Let them free us from distress.
- Av 6.3.2 Let Heaven and Earth protect us for welfare.
 Let the Pressing Stone protect, let Soma protect us from distress.
- Av 6.35.2 Vaiśvānara, our companion, has come to this sacrifice—Agni to our hymns in our troubles.
- Av 6.45.3 Let the wise Aṅgīrases protect us from difficulty, from distress.
- Av 6.96.1 Let the herbs, impelled by Bṛhaspati free us from distress.
- Av 7.64(66)1 Let the waters protect me from all that difficulty, from distress.
- Av 14.2.45 Seven divine waters have flowed. Let them free us from distress.
 7.117.1
- Av 8.2.18 These (rice and barley) drive off the Yakṣmā.
 These free us from distress.
- Av 8.4.23 Let the Earth protect us from earthly distress.
 Let the atmosphere protect us from Heavenly distress.
- Av 8.7.13 As many as these herbs upon the earth, let them, the thousand-leafed, free me from death, from danger.
- Av 10.5.22 Whatsoever falsehood we have spoken—let the waters protect me from all that difficulty, distress.
- Av 11.6.1-6 Let them free us from distress.
- Av 11.6.8 Let them free us from distress.
- Av 19.44.8.9 Oh king Varuṇa, much untruth does a mortal speak here. From that distress free us, oh one with a thousand-fold heroism.
- Av 19.42.3 To him who is the deliverer from distress. I offer this prayer.
- Tai. 1.6.12.19 Praising his benevolence let us offer our prayer to him, the deliverer from distress, swiftest to give.
- Tai. 1.6.12.17 Both parties invoke him so that he may rescue us from danger, going as in a ship.
- Tai. 1.5.11.28 Let Aditi protect us from danger.
- Tai. 1.6.12.18 The sovereign of the sacrifices, deliverer from distress, the foremost of those who deserve sacrifice—
- Tai. 2.1.11.2 We invoke Indra, easy of call in contests, deliverer from distress, the heavenly being working good.
- Tai. 2.4.20 This is that form which delivers from distress.
- Tai. 2.4.2.4.5 They offered to Indra, deliverer from distress, a cake on eleven potsherd. In that they offered to Indra, the deliverer from distress, thereby they were free from distress.

- Also 2.4.2.7, 2.5.12.26, 7.5.21.2, 7.5.22.1, 4.
- Tai. 2.2.7.10-11 He who is seized of misfortune should offer to Indra, deliverer from distress, a cake on eleven potsherds. Misfortune is distress. Verily with his own share, he rushes to Indra, the deliverer from distress. He also rescues him from misfortune, distress.
- Tai. 2.3.13.1 Oh Indra and Varuṇa, free us from misfortune with that body of yours which is to be striven for.
- Tai. 2.3.13.2 That powerful, protecting brilliant body of yours—with that you free us from misfortune.
- Tai. 4.7.15.2, 4, 6, 8 May he, the Agni, whom we reckon as foremost, release us from the danger.
- Tai. 4.7.15.32,34 I praise heaven and earth. Seeking aid, I invoke them. May they release us from danger.
- Tai. 4.3.13.4 May the Maruts release us from the fetters of calamity.
- Tai. 4.3.13.5 Oh you that tend the house, come, do not depart, releasing us from danger.
- Tai. 4.2.6.19-20 May the herbs, which bear fruit and those which do not, those which are flowerless and those which have flowered, may they all, impelled by Bṛhaspati, free us from calamity.
- Tai. 3.4.11.27 (Oh Mitra)—to one protected by you, danger reaches not, either from near or afar.
- Tai. 3.2.4.10 You two are firm, are loose. United, protect us from danger. May the God Sun protect me from the heavenly danger, Vāyu from the atmosphere, Agni from the earthly, Yama, from the danger coming from fathers, Sarasvati coming from men.
- Tai. 3.1.4.17 If the victim has uttered a cry or if he strikes its chest with his feet, may Agni release us from that misconduct, from that calamity.
- Vaj. 4.10 }
12.40 } Oh Vanaspati, rise high and being high protect me from danger till the last ṛk of this sacrifice is recited.
- Vaj. 4.13 Oh waters who release us from danger—enter the earth.
- Vaj. 20.14 Oh shining Gods, whatever wrong to the Gods we have committed, let Agni release us from that wrongful conduct, from all dangers.
- Vaj. 19.10 May the cholera protect him from danger.
- Vaj. 12.89 Same as Tai. 4.2.6.19-20.
- Vaj. 12.9 Oh Agni, protect us again from danger.
- Vaj. 20.15 If we have committed wrongful conduct by day, by night let Vāyu release us from that wrongful conduct, from all dangers.

- Vaj. 20.16 If we have committed a wrongful conduct in waking condition, in dream, let Sūrya release us from that wrongful conduct, from all dangers.
- Vaj. 33.42 Oh Gods, as the Sun rises, release us fully from danger, from blame.

ENAS

- AV 2.35.3 In that he has committed a sin, he is bound by it. Release him for his well-being, oh Viśvakarman.
- AV 3.3.4 Oh Viśvedevas, let me not fall into any wrongful conduct whatsoever.
- AV 6.97.2 Drive off perdition far away. Release us from any crime which we have committed.
- AV 6.113.1 On Trita did the gods wipe off that crime.
- AV 6.116.2 Whatever crime of our mother sent up, has come to us or whatever offence has the father committed in anger—
- AV 6.116.3 If this crime has come to us from our mother, father, brother, from our thought—as many of these as the fathers have fixed on us, of them all be the fury propitious to us.
- AV 6.119.3 Let Vaiśvānara, the purifier, purify me. I drive away whatever crime is therein.
- AV 7.42(43).1 Any committed crime put away from us.
- AV 7.42(43).2 Untie, loosen from us the committed crime bound in our bodies.
- AV 10.3.8 What crime my mother, father, my own brothers, whatever we ourselves have done, from that shall this divine forest tree shield us.
- AV 10.5.24 Waters are free from defilment. Let them carry it away from us. Let them of good countenance carry from us sin, mishap, evil dreaming, filth.
- AV 12.2.11 He abandons evil, passes over the crime. The enkindled Agni purifies with a good purifier.
- AV 16.1.11 Let them carry away from us the crime. Let them carry away from us the evil dreaming.
- AV 2.10.8 The Gods, releasing from the seizure of darkness, the sun whom it had be fallen, made him free from crime.
- AV 5.30.4 In that you are down with sin committed by (your) mother, father, I speak for its deliverance and release with my voice.
- AV 6.84.2 Oh Earth, free these and those from the crime.
- AV 6.115.3 As if being freed from post (or wooden sandals), as a perspiring man (freed from) filth after a bath or clarified butter purified by a purifier—let all cleanse me from sin.

- AV 7.64(66).2 Oh perdition, this which the black bird has rubbed with your mouth—let the Gārhapatya fire release me from that sin.
- AV 7.77(82).3 Let the Maruts of the year, good singers, of wide dwelling, human, attended by their group, release our fetters of sin.
- AV 12.2.212 God Agni, the devouring, has ascended the backs of the sky. Released from the sin, he has freed us from imprecation.
- AV 12.2.12 If the slave woman flings together the urine, the dung (of such a cow), then is born the deformed one which will not escape from sin.
- AV 14.2.44 I have been released out of all sin like the bird from the egg.
- AV 14.2.59 If these hairy people have danced in your house committing evil with cries—from that crime let Agni and Savitā release you.
- AV 14.2.60 If this (your) daughter has waited with hair loosened, committing evil with wailing, from that...you.
- AV 14.2.61 If sisters, if young women have danced together in thy house, committing evil with wailing—from that...you.
- AV 14.2.62 If in your progeny, cattle in houses is settled any evil done by evil-doers, from that...you.
- AV 2.35.2 Because of the sin, the seers declared the master of the sacrifice as disproportioned and distressed about his progeny.
- AV 6.115.1 Oh invigorating Viśvedevas, you release us from the crimes we have committed knowingly or unknowingly.
- AV 6.115.2 The crime which I have committed, sinful as I am, either when awake or sleeping, the crime of the past or of future, release me from it as from a post.
- AV 8.7.3 Waters, the Heavenly herbs were the beginning. They have made disappear from every limb your sinful Yakṣmā.
- Tai. 1.1.14.3
1.4.43 Keep away from us the dreadful sin.
- Tai. 1.4.45.4 Overcome the enmity, the hostility. Remove from us whatever crime is committed.
- Tai. 1.8.3.5 The sin which we have committed in village, in forest, in the assembly, in our limb, unto the Śudra, the Āryan, unto the laws of either, of all that you are the expiation.
- Tai. 1.8.22.24 Smite far away from us the misfortune. Remove from us whatever crime we have committed. Loosen and remove.

- Tai. 1.8.22.26 Loosen and remove the sin done by us and found within our bodies.
- Tai. 3.2.8.13 He has committed great crime and is bound by these. Oh Viśvakarman, release him for welfare.
- Tai. 4.7.14.8 May I commit no crime whatsoever.
- Tai. 4.7.15.22-28 May they release us from sin.
- Tai. 6.6.3.1 He propitiates by these (sacrifices) whatever crime he has committed the year before.
- Tai. 1.8.5.14-15 Whatever injury we have done to atmosphere, earth, sky, to mother, father, may Gārhapatya Agni free us from that crime.
- Tai. 3.1.4.17 If the sacrificial victim has uttered a cry or strikes the breast with his feet, may Agni release me from that sin, from that calamity.
- Tai. 3.2.5.31 You are the expiation of sin committed by Gods, men, our forefathers.
- Tai. 3.2.8.6 To the lord of the sacrifice, the sages said—because of the sin the subjects are famishing and troubled.
- Tai. 3.2.8.18 It is not without desires that we have brought you the offerings. Harm us not for this sin.
- Tai. 4.7.15,
22, 24, 26, 28 May they release us from sin.
- Tai. 1.5.11.16 Oh King, wise Asura, while ruling unloosen the sins we have committed.
- Tai. 7.5.22.1 Offering is made on seven potsherds to Maruts, the releasers from sin, on twelve potsherds to Gods Viśvedevas, the releasers from sin.
- Yaju. 3.45 Cf. Tai. 1.8.3.5.
- „ 5.36 „ 1.1.14.3.
- „ 3.48
- Yaju. 6.17 May the waters and the wind release me from the sin.
- 8.13 Cf. Tai. 3.2.5.7.
- Yaju. 20.14 Oh Shining Gods, whatever crime unto the Gods we have done, from that sin, from all dangers, let Agni release us.
- Yaju. 20.15 If we have committed any crime either by day or by night, may Vāyu release us from it, from all dangers.
- Yaju. 20.16 If we have committed any crime either when awake or in sleep, may Sun release us from it, from all dangers.
- Yaju 20.18 Cf. 3.48.
- Yaju 20.20 Cf. AV 6.115.3.
- ĀGAS
- Av 4.13.1 Oh Gods, please make him, who has committed this sin, live again.

- Av 12.4.50 And Bheda did not give the cow (vaśā) to Indra when he asked for it. For that wrongful conduct the Gods cut him off in the contest of supremacy.
- Av 13.1-25 This offence is against that God who is angry.
Vaj. 19.62 Oh Pitrs, because of human frailty, do not harm us for whatever offence we commit.
- Tai. 4.7.15.10 Oh Mitra and Varuṇa, you two who go in might against the king in chariot, release us from the sin.
- Tai. 4.7.15.12, 14,
 16, 18, 20 " " release us from the sin.
- Tai. 4.7.15.36 Oh most young ones, whatever sin we have committed in human weakness, unwillingly, make us sinless before Aditi; O Agni, remove our wrongful deeds from all sides.
- Tai. 7.5.22 To Mitra and Varuṇa, saviours from sin, a milk offering; to Vāyu and Savitā, saviours from sin an oblation; to the Aśvins, saviours from sin, grain.

BROACH AND BARODA

Notes on the Economic History of Two Gujarat Cities in the XVIIth Century

By

BALKRISHNA GOVIND GOKHALE*

The growth of foreign trade, especially English, had a far-reaching influence on the economic history of Gujarat in the XVIIth century. The impact of this trade was felt with varying degrees of intensity in a number of Gujarat cities. Surat and Ahmadabad felt it in a sustained and intense manner through the major part of the century. Surat was a pre-eminent port which served the trading needs not only of western India but a much more extensive hinterland reaching to Agra in the east and Lahore in the north. Ahmadabad played a pivotal role in the regional economy of northern Gujarat and became a major center producing indigo, textiles and jewelry work highly valued in foreign as well as indigenous markets. The impact of foreign trade, however, was so great that it also affected a number of smaller cities which emerged as links between the two distinct types of urban conglomerations represented by Surat and Ahmadabad. These cities form a third type of their own. In Surat the export-import trading activities overshadowed those concerned with manufacturing of goods. Ahmadabad, on the other hand, was essentially a manufacturing centre with foreign trade as an important but ancilliary economic activity. The third type of Gujarat city such as Broach and Baroda stood somewhere between Surat and Ahmadabad not only in its location but also in economic functions. As in the case of Ahmadabad it specialized in the manufacture of specific types of finished goods or agricultural products (*lac* and furniture at Baroda and butter and bread at Broach) but it also developed trades (bleaching or "curing" of cloth) which were directly linked with the great export trade in cotton textiles. In this it played a vital economic role and the object of the present paper is to examine this role.¹

* B.G. Gokhale is Professor of History and Director, Asian studies Program, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, N.C.

1. For Surat's place in the economic history of XVIIth century western India, see B.G. Gokhale, "Some Aspects of Early English Trade with Western India (1600-1650)" and "English Trade with Western India (1650-1700)" in *Journal of Indian History*, XL (Pt. II, August 1962), Pp. 269-286 and XLII (Pt. II August 1964), Pp. 329-342; for Ahmadabad, see B.G. Gokhale, "Ahmadabad in the XVIIth Century" in the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XII-2; Pp. 187-197.

Broach was situated due north of Surat (21.40 N/73. 02 E) on the north bank of the river Narmada. It is an ancient commercial town with its history going back to the fourth century before Christ.² It was annexed to the Mughal Empire during Akbar's campaign in Gujarat during 1572-1573. The *Ain-i-Akbari* describes it as "a fine port. The Narbada flows past it in its course to the ocean. It is accounted a maritime town of first rate importance and the ports of Kavi, Ghandhar, Bhabhut and Bhankhor are its dependencies". Under Akbar Broach was a *sarkar* of 14 *mahals* and a revenue of 21,845,663 *dams*. The city had a brick fort, a cavalry force of 500 and 5000 infantry. The city generated a revenue of 456,230 *dams*.³ A text of the mid-XVIIIth century calls Broach a *sarkar* of two divisions and two ports. Broach was also a *pargana* administration of 180 villages and a revenue of 15,233,754 *dams*, the income from the port being 950,000 *dams*.⁴ The earliest English reference to Broach is by the traveller Thomas Best (1612-1614) who makes a special mention of its fine calicoes.⁵ Another early English traveller Nicholas Downton (1614-1615) calls it as "one of the pleasantest situated and strongest fortified cities in those parts, being built upon the top of a hill walled round, with a castle and fort commanding the river; which, if it be as the inhabitants report, that ships of three hundred tons may come as high as the town, would make it the convenientest place for English to reside at, in regard to the fit landing and shipping forth of our goods. Broach affords the before-mentioned commodities, with finer sorts of *baftas*, dutties and other such like cotton. The length of their *baftas* are to be 20-1/2 covades (cubits); whereof, twenty pieces makes a *corge*. Others they have of 17-1/2 covades whereof 24 makes a *corge*".⁶ Broach is next noticed by the German traveller Mandelslo (1638-1639) who calls it "so well built that it may be numbered amongst the strongest places of all the Indies". The city had three impressive gates, two large ones on the land side and a small one fronting the river. The majority of the population was that of weavers who specialized in the production of *baftas* declared to be "finer than any made in the province of Gujarat". Broach also received an abundant supply of rice, wheat, barley and cotton, and Jambusar, some 22 miles to the north, provided indigo.⁷

2. For ancient reference to Broach see C.P. Malalsekera, *A Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (London, 1960), II, p. 365; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (Varanasi, 1960), Pp. 19, 33, 213.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl-i-Allami (Translated and edited by H.S. Jarrett and J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta 1949), II, Pp. 250, 260.
4. Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (Edrs), *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement* (Baroda, 1928), p. 175.
5. William Foster (ed), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies* (London, 1934), p. 256.
6. William Foster (ed), *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies* (London, 1939), p. 103.
7. M.S. Commissariat (Ed.), *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (London, 1931), Pp. 14-15.

To the south of Broach across the river stood Ankleshwar, an important port-town in the XVIIth century. According to the *Ain* it produced a revenue of 558,010 *dams*. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* calls it a *pargana* of 50 villages with a revenue of 8,624,559 *dams*.⁸ As will be shown later, Ankleshwar was a center for the marketing of agricultural produce (butter). Further south lay Hansot, also a port with 2,439,158 *dams* in revenue according to the *Ain*. The *Mirat* says it was a division of 51 villages with a revenue of 8,588,612 *dams*, a "conditional *jahgir*, forming the remuneration of the Mut-saddiship of Surat". Close to Hansot was a game preserve full of deer and other animals. "The cover is rich and fresh with verdure, being situated on the banks of the *Narbada* and is perfectly level" adds the *Ain*." Like Ankleshwar Hansot was famous for its butter.

South of Ahmadabad, at a distance of 40 *kos*, lay Baroda (22.19 N/73.14 E). Under Akbar it was a *sarkar* of four *Mahals*, a revenue of 41,145,895 *dams*, 900 cavalry and 5,800 infantry. The city of Baroda with its suburban districts produced a revenue of 20,403,485 *dams*. The *Mirat* calls it a *sarkar* of four divisions of which Baroda was one *pargana* of 226 villages and a revenue of 74,403,659 *dams*.¹⁰ It had a brick fort and the dominant castes were Ponwar and Rajput. Nicholas Downton describes it "a drier place (by a great river—Vishwamitri), but the greater city; and all a plain and pleasant country (Broach especially) for orchards, tanks or ponds, very spacious and artificially made (in form, for work and workmanship, not unlike our baths) for general use and uses; tombs and pyramids, many in open fields and private gardens; about which are to be seen certain penitentiaries or votaries (*Fakirs*), but lunatics and men (I think) really possessed with devils, as in the Gospel is mentioned; their bodies naked, cut and lanced with knives or stones; staring and stalking to and fro; no less wonderful than dreadful to behold". Downton lived in the house of a rich *Bania* and was sumptuously entertained. Baroda *serais* were for travellers "with commodious warehouses round about, of one story, four square, in the manner of galleries; and under them dry walks and places to feed their coach-oxen, camels, elephants and horses; but in the middle all open, like our Exchange, it being supposed that every merchant, gentleman or nobleman hath his tent or coach to sleep in; if neither, they make the best shift they can. And for their provision, they bring it with them, or buy it in the town."¹¹

Baroda was a convenient outlet for a variety of goods produced in the small towns and villages around it. Dabhoi, a town 15 miles

8. *Op. Cit.*, II, p. 260; *Op. Cit.*, p. 175.

9. *Ain*, II, pp. 250, 260-261; *Mirat*, p. 176.

10. *Ain*, II, p. 26; *Mirat*., p. 174.

11. *Op. cit.*, Pp. 138-139.

southeast of Baroda, was a well-known cotton piece-goods manufacturing center and Sankheda, in the Bahadurpur *pargana*, specialized in the production of *lac* and the manufacture of fine furniture. Like Broach, Baroda too formed its own regional economic unit, its autonomy served by its own special industries among which the "curing" or bleaching of cloth was pre-eminent.

The influence of foreign trade on the economy of the two cities began to be felt in the opening decades of the XVIIth century. The earliest English notice of the possibilities of prosperous trade in Broach comes on January 19, 1618 with an observation that "If the trade be closely followed betwixt this (Bantam) and Surat, a residence at Broach will be absolutely necessary; which may also upon occasion supply Cambia (not two days' journey from thence), and in the time of rains procure goods twenty percent better cheap than at other times. . . ."¹² An English factory was opened at Broach in February 1618 and in 1621 it was located next to a mosque.¹³ But English trade soon began to encounter serious difficulties and by December of 1634 the factory was discontinued, only to be reopened before January 1638. A break came thereafter and the English then appointed only an agent or two to make the necessary purchases. There was no English factor resident in Broach in 1644 though two were reported to be present in 1661 and English trade continued there at least until 1669. In 1665 the English began to make serious efforts to induce leading Broach merchants to migrate to Bombay, a trend which began to be dominant after 1667.¹⁴ The Broach establishment was much smaller than the one at Surat and the salaries paid to the factors in Broach ranged from 35 to 100 pounds a year.¹⁵

The English factory in Baroda began functioning before April 1719. Like the Broach factory it was also discontinued from time to time either because of fall in trade or harassment from the Government or because "it was a forlorn and disconsolate place" or because of "the misery of the times".¹⁶ During 1638-1639 when Mandelslo visited Baroda the English agent lived there in a pleasant country house which was originally a part of a mausoleum. The

12. William Foster (Ed), *The English Factories in India—A calendar of documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office* (London, 1906.), I, P. 1; the series used for this paper consists of 13 volumes covering the period from 1618 to 1669 and is abbreviated as *EFI*, Vol. I (1618-1621), II (1622-1623), III (1624-1629), IV (1630-1633), V (1634-1636), VI (1637-1641), VII (1642-1645), VIII (1646-1650), IX (1651-1654), X (1655-1660), XI (1661-1664), XII (1665-1667) and XIII (1668-1669). Vols. II to XIII were published between 1908-1927 from Oxford.

13. *EFI*, I, Pp. 7, 280.

14. *EFI*, V, P. 387, VII, P. 164, XI, Pp. 27, 85, 200, 323, XII, Pp. 14, 147; XIII, Pp. 27, 196, XII, Pp. 51.

15. *EFI*, III, P. 315, VIII, P. 272.

16. *EFI*, I, P. 94, II, P. 162, III, P. 326, 345, IV, P. 63, V, P. 79, 115, 285.

English agent invited some Hindu dancing girls for entertainment of the guest. The English dressed according to "the mode of the country". Baroda was then well-fortified, with good walls and bastions and had five gates. The inhabitants were Hindus engaged in weaving and dyeing of cloth.¹⁷ An English report of 1655 says, "We were also forced to sell your old house in Baroda for *Mahmudis* 4,500; which we the sooner consented unto because there was a necessity of bestowing 500 *Mahmudis* for keeping it from falling to the ground and yet you have in that town a small tenement, and a plot of ground, which if you have a desire to build upon, there may be a pretty little house erected for your use....".¹⁸ The fall in trade continued until December 1659, as indicated in a report of that time: "It is the first time of many years that cloth has been bought in Baroda; but if investments there cannot be made without being so much abused by the broker, we shall forbear buying goods there hereafter".¹⁹ The Baroda factors were paid an annual salary between 30 to 80 pounds.²⁰

The Broach and Baroda markets were used by the Western companies principally to supply their trade with the Red Sea regions and Southeast Asia.²¹ When the Broach market was low on supplies the Baroda markets came in useful "to ease burden on Broach".²² The Broach market had the capacity to supply 12 to 13 corges of cloth everyday and in one season of buying the English could buy up to 400 corges from Broach and Ankleshwar for Bantam and Basra.²³ Baroda was well-known for its broad *baftas*, those made in Broach being generally narrower.²⁴ In January 1628 the English bought some 500 pieces of narrow and 200 pieces of broad *baftas* in Broach, the price of the narrow variety in 1630 being 2 or 2-1/2 *Mahmudis* a piece occasionally rising to between 4 *Mahmudis* and 12 *Mahmudis*.²⁵ Baroda supplied a large quantity of "Guinea stuffs" and its dyed *baftas* were much in demand in Sumatra. While Baroda also supplied calicoes, their quality was poorer than those of Broach. From 1630 onward the English bought the Broach calicoes on a large scale for the English market though complaints were often made that the prices were rather high.²⁶ The period under review witnessed a great deal of price fluctuation caused by the large volume buying by the English and the Dutch, natural calamities such as floods and

17. Commissariat (Ed), *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 15-16.

18. *EFI*, X, P. 15.

19. *EFI*, X, P.217.

20. *EFI*, III, P.315; VIII, P.272.

21. *EFI*, I, Pp. 87, 235; V, P. 37.

22. *EFI*, I, P.113.

23. *EFI*, IV, P. 75; VII, P. 137.

24. *EFI*, I, PP.75, 87; II, PP.93, 347; IV, P.8.

25. *EFI*, III, P. 230; IV, P. 8.

26. *EFI*, I, Pp. 66, 76; IV, Pp 4, 91, 95; V, Pp. 116, 164, 173; VI, P. 57; Pp. 85, 164, 204.

famine and prohibitory regulations of the Mughal administration.²⁷ Some idea of the volume of English and Dutch buying at these centers is given by references to the English getting together 28,138 pieces of narrow *baftas* in August 1622, 6,500 pieces of cloth in March 1628 and the Dutch dispatching 14 carts laden with 52 bales during the same month and year.²⁸ By 1652 the demand for cloth in the market in England began to fall, though the Red Sea and Southeast Asia markets continued to attract goods made in Broach and Baroda.²⁹ The English also bought large quantities of cotton yarn and cotton wool from the two cities. Broach could supply some 2,000 *maunds* during a period of 6 to 8 months at prices between 2 to 20 paise per *seer*. In 1623 the volume of cotton yarn supply per day was estimated at 10-12 *maunds* and in 1628 during the month of February, 50 *candies* (*candy*=20 *maunds*) of cotton wool were available in Broach at 72-1/2 *mahmudis* per *candy*. The Malabar junks demanded great quantities of this commodity and pushed up the prices. The Baroda cotton yarn was reputed to be better than the one sold on the Broach market.³⁰

One of the major developments in Broach and Baroda were their emergence as centers of bleaching industry during this period. The general English practice was to buy unbleached cloth in the north and east and send it down to Baroda and Broach for bleaching. This continued until 1669. By 1650, however, there was a fall in the quality of bleaching at Baroda and a rise in prices at Broach though the high prices at Broach were preferable because of the great improvement in the quality of Broach bleaching.³¹

The Broach-Ankleshwar complex became a great market for butter and bread-making during the first half of the XVIIth century. Broach was reputed to be capable of supplying 4 to 5 *maunds* of butter at 7-1/2 *mahmudis* a *maund* at one demand. The quantities bought are reported as 39 *maunds* in November, 1622; 200 *maunds* (at 7-1/8 *mahmudis* a *maund*) in August, 1623, but no more than 160 *maunds* a month later and 450 *maunds* in October 1630.³² The demand for bread by the Western ships also led to the growth of the bakery industry at Broach. In August 1623 the English set up their own bakery buying 100 *maunds* of meal at 39 pice per *maund* and paid the workmen at 11 pice per *maund*. A report of September 1623 says that the baker had used up 400 *maunds* of meal and was still at work. The difficulties of

27. *EFI*, IV, P. 227; VI, P. 300.

28. *EFI*, II, P.110, III, Pp. 247, 273.

29. *EFI*, IX, P.82.

30. *EFI*, II, Pp.153, 157, 185; III, 230, 231, 239, 245; V, P.154, VII, Pp. 245, 255.

31. *EFI*, I, Pp. 85, 113; IV, Pp. 63, 246; VI, P. 312; VII, Pp. 137, 204; VII, Pp. 33, 112, 178, 253, 280; IX, Pp. 56, 106; X, P. 216, XII, P. 171.

32. *EFI*, I, P.121; II, Pp.153, 256, 257, 261; IV, P.62.

packaging and storing the bread in edible condition created a sharp fall in this industry for we hear of no more references to demands for bread after 1623.³³

Two other industries need some mention. One was ship-building at Broach and the other, transportation, at Baroda and Broach. Mandelslo refers to a large quantity of timber coming to Broach via the river; much of this may have been used for ship-building, especially for the coastal trade. Both Broach and Baroda were convenient stops for the passage of goods between Ahmadabad (and beyond) and Surat and the practice seems to be to engage short-haul caravans operating in one section from Ahmadabad to Baroda and another between Baroda and Broach. The cartage rate in November 22 at Broach was seven *maunds* per *mahmudi*.³⁴ As mentioned earlier Baroda provided an outlet for the gum-lac and furniture industry of Sankheda, 20 miles south-east of Baroda, the annual yield of gum-lac being 25,000 pounds.³⁵

The Broach and Baroda markets displayed wide fluctuations in the prices of commodities manufactured in their environs. A report of November 1619 says: Broach "the place of common recourse for all men so it is indeed the dearest of all other". In January 1628 the Broach markets were "very slender and cloth is dear, as not only the Dutch but also brokers of this town are investing for Mokha". In April, 1630 the English bought so much cotton yarn in Broach that it caused scarcity in the market. The brokers rebelled against the English buying and threatened not to sell them any *baftas* until the English agreed not to buy any more yarn. The year 1635 saw a depletion population among the weavers reflected in a 10% rise in prices in 1636 and a fall in quality also. But the situation improved in September 1636 when there was a fall in the price of Calicoes. A report of November 1644 says that Broach "which has formerly been the most eminent place in these parts for *baftas* is now become of all other the worst the making, both of broad and narrows, being so exceedingly declined and the prices so unreasonably raised, that we have not been encouraged to buy of either sorts since our Acheen investment...".³⁶

The seasonal fluctuation in prices was caused by the varying demands of Western trade, largely geared to the arrival and departure of their voyages. The impact of these voyages was felt all the way from Surat to Ahmadabad. The Dutch were serious

33. *EFI*, Pp. 154, 256, 261.

34. *EFI*, II, Pp. 153, 231, 310; III, P. 274.

35. *EFI*, I, P. 308; VII, P. 295; Commissariat, *Op. Cit.*, P. 16.

36. *EFI*, I, P. 135; III, P. 230; IV, P. 22; V, Pp. 114, 182, 265, 287, 293; VII P. 204.

competitors of the English in the Indian textile markets and their buying activities also inflated prices from time to time. Baroda had a Dutch factory in 1630 and their buying in Broach and Baroda for the Sumatra market continued beyond 1669. They often outbid the English by offering between 2 and 7 pice per piece more than the English, pitted the Indian brokers against the English Company and in 1642 paid only 100% duty on the goods they bought as against the English who had to pay 112%. By 1669 the French also began to buy in the Gujarat markets and this added to the competition the English had to face.³⁷ The impact of foreign trade was also felt in another way. In 1621 the Baroda factors of the English Company report employing 800 workmen to manufacture the desired qualities and designs of cloth and in 1630 they tried to induce the Indian weavers to alter their looms. We have no means of knowing the effects of such organizational and technical innovations or whether these innovations were effectively carried out at all among the Indian producers.³⁸ The references are interesting in as much as they indicate the earliest use of organizing a labor force on a large scale and attempts at alteration of weaving methods under the influence of foreign trade in Gujarat.

An idea of the monetary impact of English investment in Broach and Baroda is given by occasional figures assigned to or expended in the two cities. These figures are available for a number of years between 1619 and 1629 for Broach and 1621 and 1636 for Baroda. For the 11 years from 1619 to 1629 a total of 158,100 *mahmudis* and 15,000 rupees were spent in the Broach market. The Baroda market received 135,101 *mahmudis* and 39,000 rupees during the period beginning with 1621 and ending in 1636. The two cities together received 293,201 *mahmudis* and 54,000 rupees during the period of 18 years (1619-1636). Assuming the value of the *Mahmudi* to be 4/9th of a rupee the total known investment in rupees amounts to 698,702. This may not seem like an impressive figure but it must be remembered that it represents the total of the amounts that we know of as expended. It is reasonable to assume that only a small fraction of the total amounts spent in the two cities is reported in the published records used for this paper since the references to the two cities are only occasional and then too the reports concern more or less extraordinary events than details of commercial transactions. This figure, therefore, needs to be multiplied several times over for us to get an ade-

37. *EFI*, I, P.200. Note 2; II, Pp.72, 87, 98, 108, 181; IV, Pp.75, 89, 103; V, Pp.265, 271; VI, P.196; VII, Pp.6, 160; VIII, Pp.126, 129, 139, 156. XIII, P. 194.

38. *EFI*, I, P.338; IV, P.71.

quate idea of the actual monetary impact.³⁹ This impact spread from the two cities into a large area of villages and towns which formed integral parts of their economies.

The English and Dutch trading activities at Broach and Baroda brought into being a class of brokers whose fortunes were intimately linked with the work of the European companies. We have the names of several of these brokers at the two places. Broach was served by Kalyanji (1622), Lakshmidas (1630), Tulsidas (1637-1641) who was also sent to Gombroon, Deodasi (1644-1650). The brokers of Baroda serving the English were Haji (Vaghjee?—1619), Janoji Madhoji, Ramrikhbhai and Tapidas (1619), Tricumdas (1621), Govindji Kalji (1630), Kalyanji (1630-1636), Tulsidas Parak (1636) and Mahidas Surji (1616-1636).⁴⁰ Some of them (Kalyanji and Tricumdas of Baroda) also worked for the Dutch, a practice discouraged by the English. The relations between the English factors and the Indian brokers were generally mutually satisfactory though complaints from the English about questionable business conduct are not rare, Kalyanji was accused of playing the English against the Dutch as also charging as high a brokerage as 6-1/2 per cent when he had agreed to ask for no more than 2%. But the brokers were indispensable to the European merchants. The brokers gave them loans, helped them circumvent the Mughal prohibitory orders by buying goods for their overseas markets secretly, and travelling from one area to another in the interior to buy goods for the European merchants. Some of the observations on the Indian brokers are interesting. A report of June 10, 1636 from Baroda says "on looking back to earlier times for the consideration of one per cent the English had always a broker of their own, who had immediate dependence upon them alone, and in their behalf bargained, measured, kept accounts, and delivered unto the washers, and performed all other offices on our behalf. The weavers have also their particular brokers who are well-contented with the like allowance of one per cent, so that they never paid more than two on both sides, until one man got credit to negotiate all, and so takes what he pleases". A letter from Surat of July 28, 1636, states, "the trouble with the brokers seems to have cost both sides dear; but in all business of public difference the custom of this country is such that what the lawyers in Europe take for wrangling, the judge here takes as his due or for convenience".

39. *EFI*, I, Pp. 93, 119, 121, 235, 345, 347; II, Pp. 98, 110, 149, 152, 153, 159, 201, 259, 261; III, Pp. 231, 238, 239, 269, 335; IV, Pp. 92, 114; V, Pp. 169, 272, 275; for the exchange value of the *Mahmudi* to the rupee see I. Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (Bombay, 1963), Pp. 383-384.

40. *EFI*, I, Pp. 87, 95, 98, 149, 150, 352; II, Pp. 116, 160, 168, 234; IV, Pp. 114, 115, 248; V, Pp. 169, 188, 264, 265, 272, 275, 278, 285, 287; VI, Pp. 2, 204, 310; VIII, P. 325.

The brokers controlled the weavers who dared not offend them and the brokers prevented the weavers from dealing directly with the buyers. Often the brokers suffered at the hand of the Mughal officers as stated in a report of September 11, 1636, saying that the Governor of Baroda had the weavers' brokers beaten up and imprisoned because they refused to work for him on his terms. The weavers then left Baroda *en masse* for Ahmadabad when the Governor sent his messengers to them pleading with them to return with the assurance that he would not mistreat them anymore. The broker, thus, was not simply a middleman for the English or the Dutch. He operated on his own account as a buyer and seller of goods in demand both in the internal and foreign markets and a source of credit to the artizans as well as the European companies. He often organized production on a large scale whenever the demand was great and persistent for a particular type of commodity. He possessed mercantile as well as organizational skills and was well-prepared to embark on a program of organized large-scale industrial activity with the large amount of capital at his disposal and his control of the artizans. Elsewhere such a type transforms itself into a vital element in the emergent capitalism. The number of such brokers working in the cities of Surat, Broach, Baroda and Ahmadabad, not to speak of places like Navsari, Ankleshwar, Hansot, Dabhoi and Sankheda, was considerable representing an extraordinary degree of capital accumulation and organization of mercantile and industrial organizational skills. Some of them, such as Virji Vohra, were reputed to be among the richest men of their time in the world.⁴¹

Overseeing all this commercial activity stood the Mughal Government. Each city had a high administrator called "Governor" in the English records and he seems to have a deputy of his own. He had under him a host of officials including a military force to ensure law and order. The nature and operations of the Mughal bureaucracy in the provinces, districts and cities depended to a significant extent on the character of the imperial administration in Agra. Under Akbar it was generally efficient and honest but these qualities began to decline gradually and steadily from the time of Jahangir (1605-1627).⁴² Some general characteristics may be noted here. The Mughal bureaucrats tended to act by themselves often in disregard of imperial orders. For instance, a

41. For the Indian brokers and their activities see *EFI*, I, P. 107; II, Pp. 20, 116; V, Pp. 264, 265, 270-271, 275, 285, 287, 290.

42. For a study of the Surat administration during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) see B. G. Gokhale, "Muiz-ul-Mulk: Governor of Surat" in the *Journal of Indian History*, XLIV (Pt. I, April 1966), Pp 55-65.

report of February 3, 1623, states that "the authorities at Ankleshwar will take no notice of the *parwana* of the Governor of Surat, but demand a toll of five *mahmudis* on each cart".⁴³ This may have been due to a dispute in jurisdiction though it is more probable that the motivation was to raise as much revenue as possible at Ankleshwar. Indeed, the English factors often complained of Mughal exactions, described as contrary to the terms of the *firman*s issued by the imperial authorities. Since the custom of farming out posts became very frequent and aspirants to office made rash promises in payment of these offices, the officers were forced by their circumstances to make as much money as possible. They were insecure in their tenure for changes in office-holders were very frequent and the urgency to make as much money in as short a time as possible became very natural. The Mughal governors also lived lavishly partly in imitation of the life of the imperial authorities in Agra and partly due to a sense of insecurity about their acquisitions which were subject to confiscation or escheat at the hands of the emperor.⁴⁴ Imitating some of the high Agra officers the provincial bureaucrats carried on trade on their own account and hindered private trade as well as European trade to suit the demands of their own commercial interests. Between 1619 and 1623 the Mughal officers issued orders forbidding the English from buying Indian commodities for sale in the Red Sea area which caused numerous complaints from the English factors. The matter was finally settled by a general agreement concluded in September 1624.⁴⁵

A frequent subject of annoyance on both sides was the matter of tolls and customs dues to be paid at various points and these exactions coupled with the fall in trade led to the periodic closing of the English factories at the two cities.⁴⁶ But the English had several remedies against such treatment. They could bribe the officers or could use their Indian brokers to circumvent the official orders, or they could bring the matter to the attention of the imperial government. Finally they could use force by seizing Mughal ships which could then compel the authorities to come to terms. But very often the relations between the officers and the English could also be cordial. Some of them entered into profitable business relationships with the English as when in 1628 Yaqub Khan of Broach bought sheet lead from the English or Pir Bhora, a brother of Ishaq Beg, sometime Governor of Surat, attempted to supply textiles to the English in 1622. They also lent money to

43. *EFI*, II, Pp. 189, 232, 288.

44. *EFI*, II, P. 347.

45. *EFI*, I, Pp. 80, 92, 95, 135, 138; II, Pp. 19-20, 285; II, Pp. 27-28.

46. *EFI*, II, Pp. 159, 233; III, Pp. 190-191, 272; VII, Pp. 160, 214.

the English factors and helped them negotiate their bills from one place to another.⁴⁷ The English, then, could live with the provincial administration in spite of occasional friction though the governmental attitude often became a factor of uncertainty and insecurity in the general economic development.

Commercial activity also suffered from other interruptions. Frequent and devastating wars increasingly interfered with the smooth flow of goods. The rebellion of Shah Jahan (1622-1625) and the Maratha Revolution (1660-1680) seriously affected Gujarat with the tramp of rival armies through its cities and towns disrupting communications and mercantilist activities.⁴⁸ The weakening of imperial control made the highways unsafe, encouraging various groups to indulge in predatory activities ruinous to the interests of commerce.⁴⁹ Finally floods and famine laid waste large areas in their path repeatedly during the period under survey as for instance in 1605, 1630, 1631 and 1632.⁵⁰ It took several years for an area to recover completely from these ravages.

The material on the economic history of Gujarat during the XVIIth century comes largely from English sources and contains many gaps. But even in its present state it sheds some very interesting light on the processes going on within the region. The English commercial impact seems to have been felt, at least during the first half of the century in Gujarat, with significant intensity. The great cities, Surat and Ahmadabad, felt it to the largest extent. But our survey above shows that it was also felt in the intermediate cities and many villages surrounding them. It is difficult to arrive at a quantitative estimate of this impact in the absence of the indigenous records but some suggestions and conclusions are both reasonable and called for. European trade provided a great stimulus in certain selected commodities, textiles, indigo, saltpetre, gum-lac, affecting a wide area far exceeding the great port and inland cities. This demand led to the concentration of production, weaving and bleaching for instance, in certain well-recognized centers and also brought into prominence a class of indigenous middlemen, financiers and bankers, whose fortunes became closely linked with foreign trade. This class was also found in the intermediate cities examined above. The demand for finished goods and agricultural products inevitably brought the surrounding countryside into the sphere of commercial operations which went far beyond the immediate region and the country. It is generally assumed that "the outstanding feature of the economy of India be-

47. *EFI*, II, Pp.169, 168; III, P. 269; I, P. 87; IV, P. 96.

48. See *EFI*, II Pp. xxviii, 234, 240, 268; XI, 209 ff; XII, Pp. 11 ff; XIII, Pp. 20 ff.

49. *EFI*, IV, P. 97; VIII, P. 129.

50. For the effects of these occurrences, see *EFI*, IV, Pp 165-166.

fore the advent of British power was the self-subsisting and self-perpetuating character of its typical unit, the village. India's villages functioned as little worlds of their own."⁵¹ The question that needs to be asked is whether such assumptions are completely valid, and if they are, are they valid for all of the period before the establishment of British power and for all parts of the country? The available material, scanty as it is, shows that the assumed isolation of at least some of the Gujarat villages had begun to break down much before the establishment of British power as they were being drawn into the operations of inter-regional and international trade. The villages surrounding the great and intermediate cities supplied a variety of goods for the market and were involved rather extensively in a money-economy whose influence was far from local. Some of the great trade routes linking one area with another lay athwart the areas surrounding these villages and the transport, if not gathering of produce, must have also affected them economically. It is difficult to accept that these villages continued to remain "self-subsisting and self-perpetuating" in their character during the period surveyed above. The markets they served showed distinct fluctuations and these must have affected their economy to an extent larger than is generally conceded in the generalizations such as the one quoted above. The movement of people and goods between these villages and the cities and towns, linked with the inter-regional and international trade, may be assumed to be frequent, if not sustained, and such movement in itself must have been a factor in shattering the isolation of these villages. It seems reasonable to argue that the more or less isolated nature of the economy of the Indian villages is more assumed than proven, at least in certain regions such as Gujarat and during the XVIIth century. A critical examination of the economic history of selected regions in the earlier periods may also support such a conclusion. The picture, then, is much too complex for easy, large and meaningful generalizations.

51. Daniel and Alice Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, (New York, 1962) P 51.

DUTCH COMMERCIAL AND TERRITORIAL INFLUENCE IN INDIA

By
OWEN C. KAIL

I. INTRODUCTION

The long Arab monopoly of the sea-borne trade with Western India ended in 1498 when Vasco da Gama sailed into the harbour of Calicut. By virtue of a series of papal bulls and briefs of fifteenth and sixteenth century origin, the Portuguese claimed the monopoly of European trade in the Eastern Seas. They were the best organised seamen of the age and their ships, guns and skill in navigation gave them a big advantage over their Moslem rivals. The expansion of the Ottoman Turkish Empire had blocked the usual routes through the Mediterranean and the Balkans and had more or less closed the overland route to India. Da Gama saw that a rich harvest could be reaped by opening trade with India and the Spice Islands.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had possessed a string of trading stations from the coast of Gujerat, through Bombay to Goa. No European rivals had broken this monopoly and rich cargoes passed into the warehouses of Portugal. The Dutch working through the markets of Lisbon and Seville traded with the rest of Europe in Asiatic goods brought by the Portuguese.¹

Long before the struggle with Spain and later with Portugal began, the merchants and mariners of Holland and Zeeland had secured the lion's share in the sea-borne carrying trade between the Baltic and West Europe². They worked their ships more thriftily, were able to offer lower freight rates and undersell competitors in Northern Europe. They had evolved the "fluit" or fly-boat, which was manned by relatively few hands, carried a bulky cargo, mounted few or no guns and could be built cheaply in large numbers. In some ways, it was comparable to the Liberty ships of World War II³. "By extraordinary enterprise and efficiency, they managed to capture between half and three-quarters of the traffic in timber; between a third and a half of that in Swedish metals. Three

1. W. N. Weech: *"History of the World."*

2. C. R. Boxer: *"The Dutch Sea-borne Empire."*

3. *Op. cit.*

quarters of the salt from France and Portugal that went to the Baltic was carried in Dutch bottoms. More than half the cloth imported to the Baltic was made or finished in Holland⁴. All this was in addition to the fact that they were the largest importers and distributors of such varied colonial wares as spice, sugar, porcelain and "trade-wind" beads. The grain trade with the Baltic engaged about 1,200 Dutch vessels and the Dutch ships passing the Sound outnumbered the English by thirteen to one⁵.

In the fifteenth century, Europe had witnessed the Reformation and the Netherlands was soon affected by the Lutheran movement because they contained many large cities where there was a large and prosperous middle class, sufficiently educated to appreciate the need of religious reform. Unfortunately, there was no strong independent prince who could shelter and protect these new beliefs, and as such the Protestants of the Netherlands suffered severe persecution by Charles V of Spain and later, by his son Philip II. Lutheranism could not withstand persecution and it was only the arrival of Calvinist missionaries from Geneva which stiffened the resistance of the Protestants in the northern provinces, which were soon converted to the new faith⁶.

In 1580, Spain and Portugal were united under Philip II and the Spanish being inveterate enemies of the protestant Dutchmen, closed all Portuguese ports to Dutch trade. The time had now come for the Dutch to challenge Portuguese supremacy and to establish direct commercial relations with those countries where Portugal enjoyed a virtual monopoly⁷. The Dutch challenge was really directed against Spain for its cruelty to and persecution of them, as well as an attempt to restock their markets with products of the East.

In the following year, Prince William of Orange and the northern provinces of the Netherlands renounced their allegiance to Philip II.

Jan Huighen van Linschoten, who had come to India as Secretary to the Archbishop of Goa in 1583, was a careful observer and a great believer in Dutch enterprise. He returned home in 1589 with sufficient information to indicate that the Portuguese claim to be "Lords of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia and Persia" was hardly effective.

Commercial companies for trading in the East Indies sprang up like mushrooms in the Netherlands until the States-General, on the

4. C. Wilson: *"Profit and Power. A study of England and the Dutch wars."*

5. C. R. Boxer: *"The Dutch Sea-borne Empire."*

6. *Op. cit.*

7. Anderson: *"Historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce."*

20th March 1602, ordered their amalgamation into one monopolistic corporation.

In the Charter granted by the States-General to the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company, the company was given the monopoly of trade and navigation east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan for an initial period of 21 years⁸. It was empowered to conclude treaties of peace and alliance, to wage defensive war and to build strongholds and fortresses in that region. The company therefore became a virtual "State within a State"—but the type of warfare envisaged was merely defensive action against the Portuguese who claimed a monopoly of European trade in Eastern Seas. The arrival of the Dutch in Eastern waters changed the whole political situation in India, especially in the South-West. The coastal princes saw that the Portuguese, who were till now supreme on the sea, were on the defensive against these intruders, whose power they could not resist.

Efficient business methods and a strong mercantile marine resulted in the Dutch building a great sea-borne empire, which could provide them with the wealth and power needed for defence against the Spaniards, the English and the French. The Dutch realised that foreign trade depended on the goodwill and friendship of the rulers who dominated the trade routes and who governed the areas neighbouring these trade posts; and by a fine combination of diplomacy, tact and religious toleration to which was added skillful defence and government, the Dutch made sure that their trade was protected from danger.

Early in the seventeenth century, England and Denmark, (France appeared much later on the Indian scene), had also established trading stations along the coast of India. The advent of the Dutch hastened the end of Portuguese supremacy already weakened by religious persecution and sixty years of subjection of Portugal by Spain. By 1663 all the Portuguese possessions in India, with the exception of Goa, Daman and Diu, had passed into the hands of the Dutch.

For centuries they had exercised a considerable influence on the trade and commerce of Gujerat, Coromandel and Bengal and for nearly a hundred and fifty years they were an important political force on the Malabar Coast.

8. The Dutch East India Company existed till 1798 when its charter was annulled by Art. 227 of the Constitution of the new Republic of Batavia, and in the following year it was dissolved, all its debts and possessions being taken over by the Batavian Republic.

The achievements of the Portuguese, the French and the English have been more or less fully chronicled, but the story of the Dutch in India is still comparatively a closed book because Dutch scholars devoted much of their energy to their island-empire rather than the affairs of a mainland on which their nation has retained no footing. Ignorance of the language has prevented many scholars from making use of even published materials in Dutch, most of which are superior to the English⁹. Today, hardly anything remains to remind us of "their one hundred and seventy fortified stations in India, except a few ruined bastions of their old forts, the massive tombs in the old cemeteries dotted about the coast and a few volumes of Dutch records in the archives at Madras and Bombay"¹⁰.

In 1825, the Dutch were dispossessed of all their commercial and territorial gains in India by the English.

The history of their transactions and institutions from the Gulf of Cambay to the Bay of Bengal forms a very important part of modern Indian History.

II. EARLY VOYAGES

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, northern India as a political whole, was under the Moguls. In the Deccan, the only Muslim States which retained a degree of independence were Golconda and Bijapur. The great Hindu empire of Vijayanagar had been destroyed at the Battle of Talikota in 1565. The Raja of Chandragiri, titular descendant of the Vijayanagar kings exercised a suzerainty over the local Naiks; and the rulers of Tanjore and Madurai were virtually independent in their own regions.

In the extreme south, Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Travancore were the only states of importance and of these, Calicut was the most influential—politically and economically, whose ruler, the Zamorin (Samudri=ruler of the sea) found his position being challenged by the alliance of Cochin with the Portuguese.

None of these states, including the Mogul, possessed a navy. Lords of the mainland, they were literally helpless at sea. The Portuguese consolidated their maritime supremacy by declaring the sea-routes to be the monopoly of the King of Portugal and did not permit any other nation to use them. Certain goods and products were singled out for export and all vessels plying along the coast were compelled to pay toll and obtain licences from the Portuguese. Thus, in the days of Akbar (1555-1605), Portuguese maritime supremacy was complete and the Moguls who had established

9. W. H. Moreland: *"From Akbar to Aurangzeb."*

10. G. W. Forrest: *"Cities of India."*

themselves in India 28 years before the coming of Vasco da Gama were paying tolls for their vessels to the Portuguese¹¹.

From the Persian Gulf to the China Seas, foreign traders of all nations, lived in separate residential areas, each under the administration and jurisdiction of their own chief or headman. They enjoyed a greater or lesser degree of what is now known as "extra-territoriality". Such was the case of the Arab trading communities in Canton and Zaiton (CH'UAN CHOU) in Marco Polo's time; the Tamilian, Gujerati and Javanese traders in Malacca; Indian, Arab and Chinese merchants at Bantam; and Arab and Egyptian merchants at Calicut.

When the Portuguese arrived in India they found that a form of mercantile extra-territoriality was already prevalent in India for the West-Coast rulers had permitted Chetty merchants from the East-Coast to form themselves into corporations with laws and institutions of their own. The Portuguese and later on, the Dutch accepted the prevailing arrangement and when they settled merchants at any port, their position towards the local authorities had to be carefully defined, for in the absence of their ships, the few Dutchmen on land would be dependent on them for protection. South Indian princes and governors were familiar with, and respected the institution of extra-territoriality, but the Great Mogul had the outlook of Central Asia where such ideas were unknown, and in his empire the grant of a concession was not a matter of course¹². The Dutchmen, however, could successfully wage war at sea because none of the Indian States had anything which resembled a navy.

The usual course of trade was often broken by incidents and events described as "Reprisals", which were coercive measures or action against Indian-owned shipping. These measures were acts of war. The state infringed a convention and current principles of international morality permitted the sufferers to exact redress by force. In the matter of efficiency, the superiority lay definitely with the Dutch¹³.

It was during the reign of Akbar the Great when Portuguese maritime supremacy was in its height that the Dutch made their first appearance in India. Their aim was to destroy the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly. Later they found themselves contending with the English, to whom they eventually gave way and the English emerged as victors. But, it was the Dutch and not the English who liquidated the Portuguese in India.

11. T.I. Poonen: "*Dutch beginnings in India Proper (1580-1615)*."

12. W.H. Moreland: "*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*."

13. *ibid.*

The first four vessels to round the Cape of Good Hope and to cross the Indian Ocean in search of trade, left Texel on 2nd April, 1595. They were owned by a group of Amsterdam merchants who had formed a company in 1592, three years after Linschoten had returned from Goa. Houtman who had served on Portuguese ships in the East Indies, was in charge of this fleet. He returned in 1597 with 3 ships "many natives of Malabar, a Gujerati sailor named Abdul"¹⁴ and no profit. The fact that he had accomplished the voyage was encouragement enough, and the pent-up enterprise of the Dutch commercial classes burst forth as if a dyke had been breached.

New companies for the Indian trade sprang up in several towns in Holland and Zeeland and 22 ships sailed for the East in 1598 and 40 more in the next three years. Some of the companies made enormous profits, but it was soon apparent that their keen competition would not only ruin the market in the East, but also in Europe. Furthermore, their mutual jealousy made it impossible for them to co-operate to secure the new trade against the Portuguese. On 20th March, 1602, the States-General of the Netherlands caused all these old Companies to merge and by its Charter the new United Company was made a great instrument of war and peace. The fifteen old companies united to form the "Algemeen Geoctroyeede Oost Indische Compagnie" and was granted the sole commerce with the East Indies for 21 years¹⁵. The Company was granted the power to make peace or war with the Eastern princes, build forts, choose its own governors, maintain garrisons and to nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice. A new State was created within the State and the Company, ruled by its Council of Seventeen (popularly known as the "Seventeen" or the "XVII") became an important instrument alike of commerce and conquest¹⁶.

Thereafter powerful fleets of 12 vessels set out from Holland each year. While their main purpose was trade in the Indian Ocean they boldly attacked the Portuguese empire at its vital points: Mozambique, Goa and Malacca, hindering and interrupting communications between Portuguese ports.

In 1602, the Dutch made their first attempt to trade in India. Two merchants, Hans de Wolff and Lafer, arrived in Surat then one of the foremost centres of commerce in India. Surat built on the site of an older city named Suryapur, was a great centre for trade. The Gujerat was a fertile land, many rivers discharged

14. Poonen: *op. cit.*

15. Pieter Geyl: *"Cambridge History of India, Vol. V."*

16. Moreland: *op. cit.*

KĀSĀRSIRSI COPPERPLATES OF DHURUVARĀJA

First Plate

Second Side

१. ॐ सा^१ दो (वो) व्याह्वेघसा घाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलं कृतं ॥[१॥] आसीद्वि^२
२. पत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रोध्वस्तं नयन्नभिम[मु]खो रणसर्व्वरीषु भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवास्तदिस [ग] न्तको
३. तिगोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिद्धहः ॥ [२] ध्व[द्]ष्ट्वा^३ चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहासा उन्नामितं स
४. पदि स [ये] न रणेपु नित्यं [।] द [दं] ष्ट्राघरेण दघता म्भ्रुकुटि ललाटे खङ्गं कुलञ्च हृदयञ्च निजञ्च सत्वं [।३॥]
५. खङ्ग[ङ्गं]^४ कराग्रान्मुखतश्च सेभा [श्वासा] मानो सनस्तः [मनस्तः] सममेव यस्य [।] महाह्वे नाम निशान्य सद्यस्त्रयं
६. रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४॥] तस्यात्मजो^५ जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरात्तीत्तिहारिहरिवि
७. क्रमघामघारी [।] भूपस्त्र[स्त्रि]विष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्वभूव [।५॥]
८. तस्य^६ प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्तिदत्तप्रहाररुचिरा [रो] लिल्लितांसपीठः [।] ध्मापः क्षितौ
९. क्षपु[पि]तशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रि रिवेन्द्रराकः [जः] ॥[६॥] तस्यांपाञ्जित^७महसस्तनय
१०. श्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याभोक्ता भुवः शतक्रनुसदृश(शः) श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[७॥] काञ्चीशकेरल^८
११. नराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविघानदक्ष [।] काण्णाटकं ब्र[व]लमनन्त्य [न्त] मजेयमन्यभृत्यै (त्यैः)
१२. कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[८॥] अरू^९विभंगमगृहीतनिसा[शा]तशस्त्र-मश्रान्तमप्रतिहताजमपेतयत्नं [।]
१३. यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डवलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप॥[९॥] तस्मिन्दिवं^{१०} प्रयाते वल्लभराजे [क्ष]^{१०}
१४. तप्रजावाधः [।] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्मर्माहीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[१०॥]

Second Plate

First Side

१५. यस्य^१ स्वभुजपराक्रमनिश्र [श्शे]वोत्सादितारिदिकचक्रं [।] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरित[तं] श्रीकृष्णराजस्य [।११॥]

1. Anuṣṭubh Metre.
2. Vasantatilakā.
3. Upendravajrā:
4. Gīli metre.
5. Āryā metre.
6. The letter is mutilated.

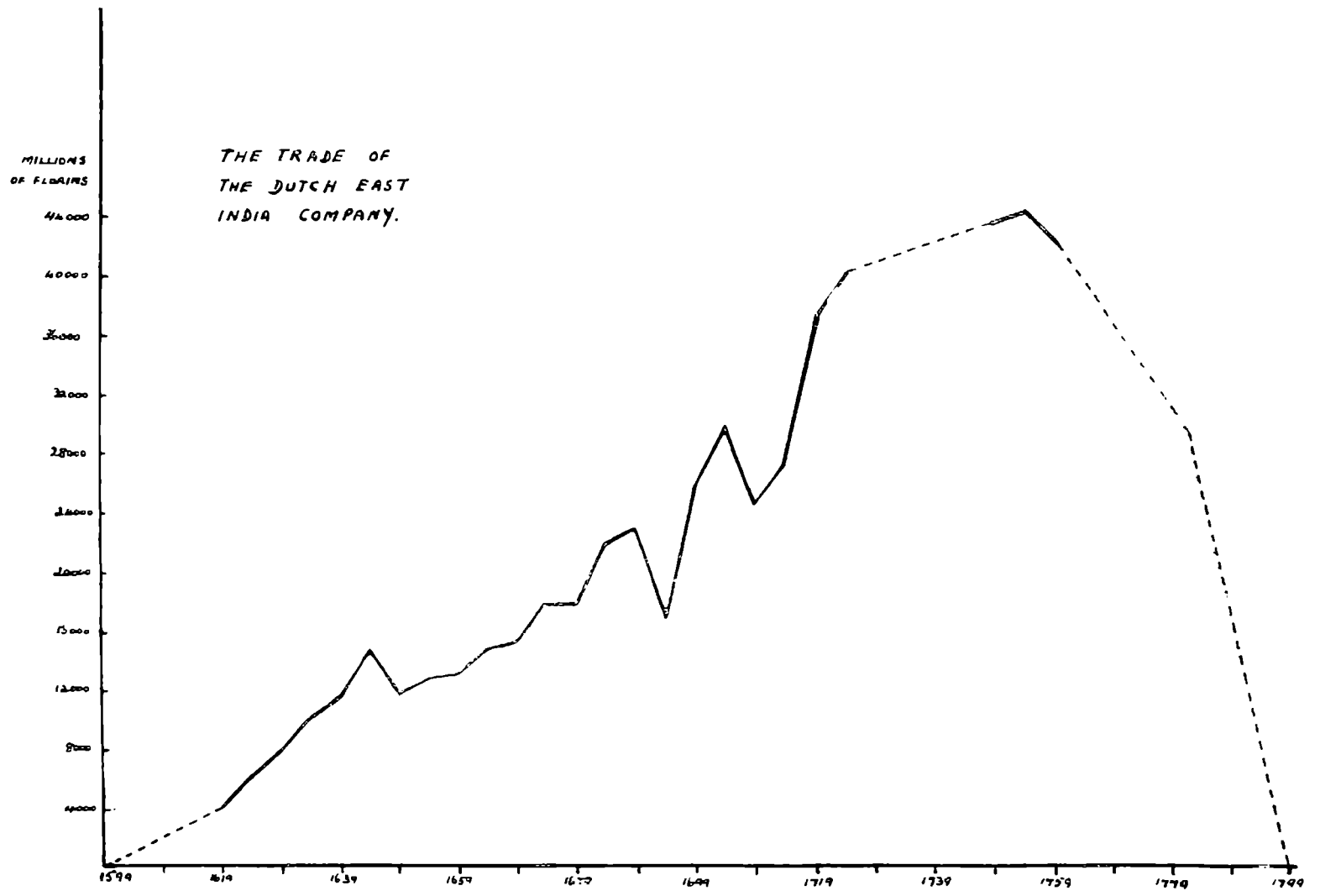
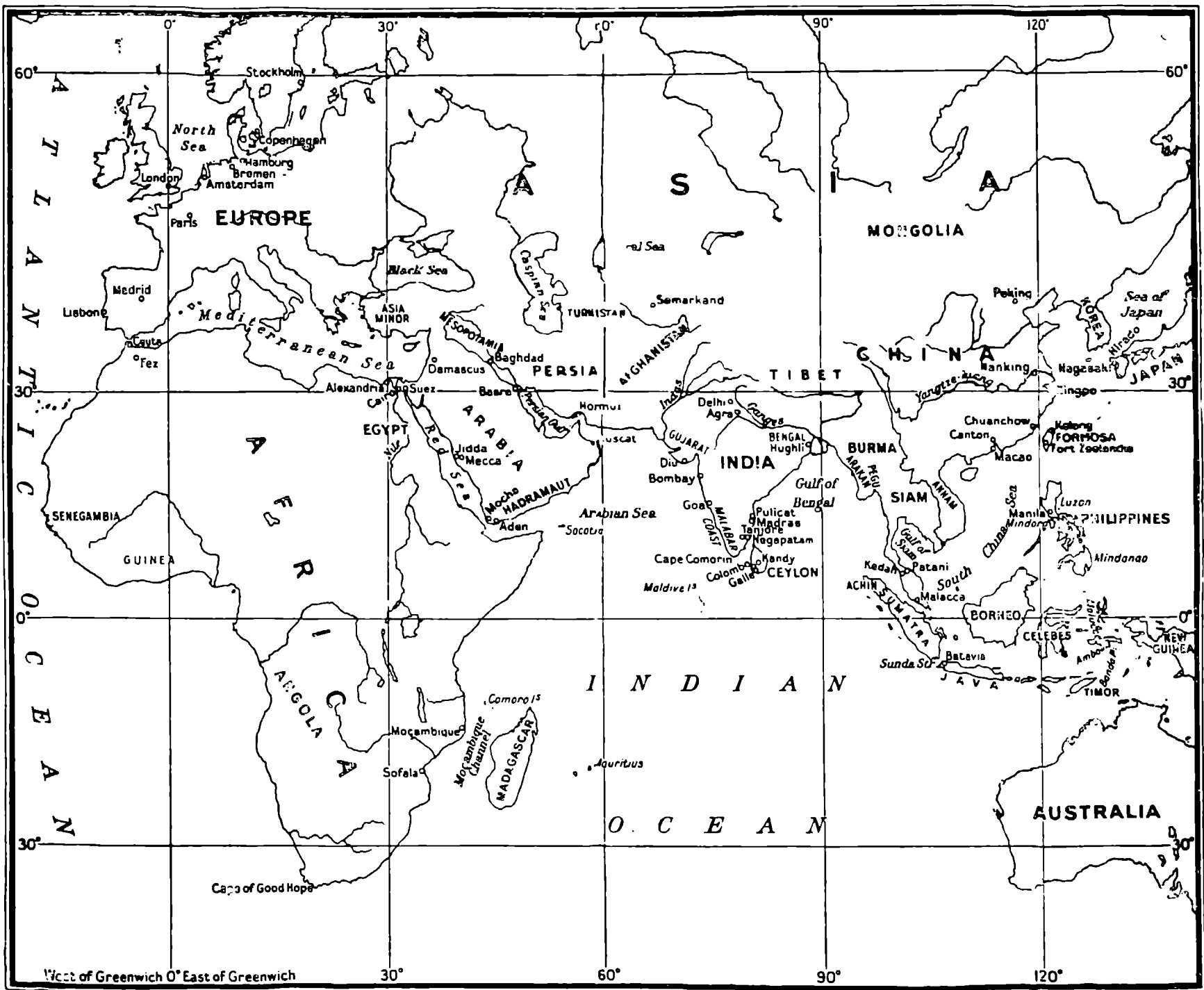


Fig. 1.



• Sphere of Dutch East-India Company's activities

Mercator's projection

Fig. 2

MAP OF INDIA
SHOWING IMPORTANT
DUTCH SETTLEMENTS
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

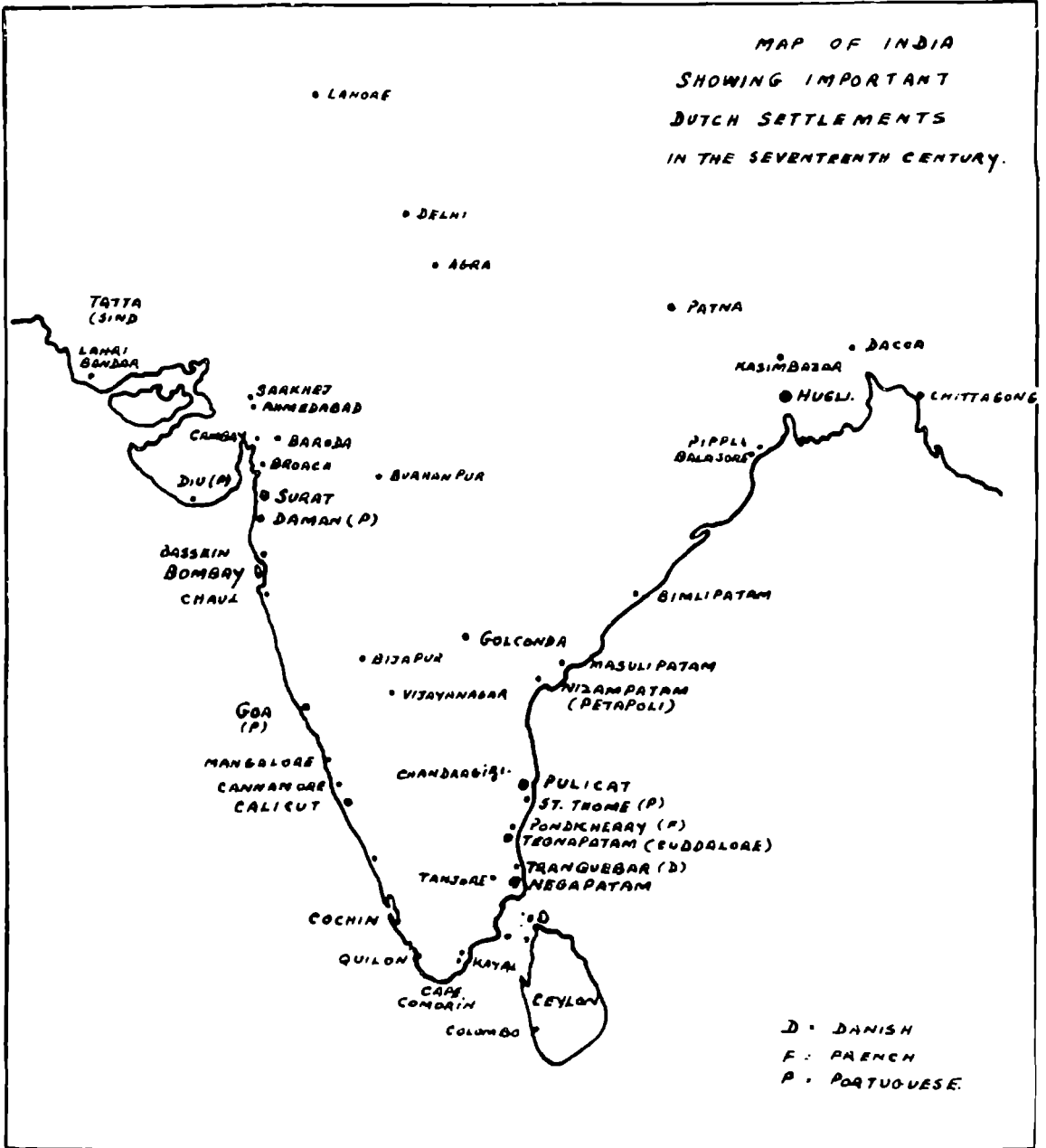
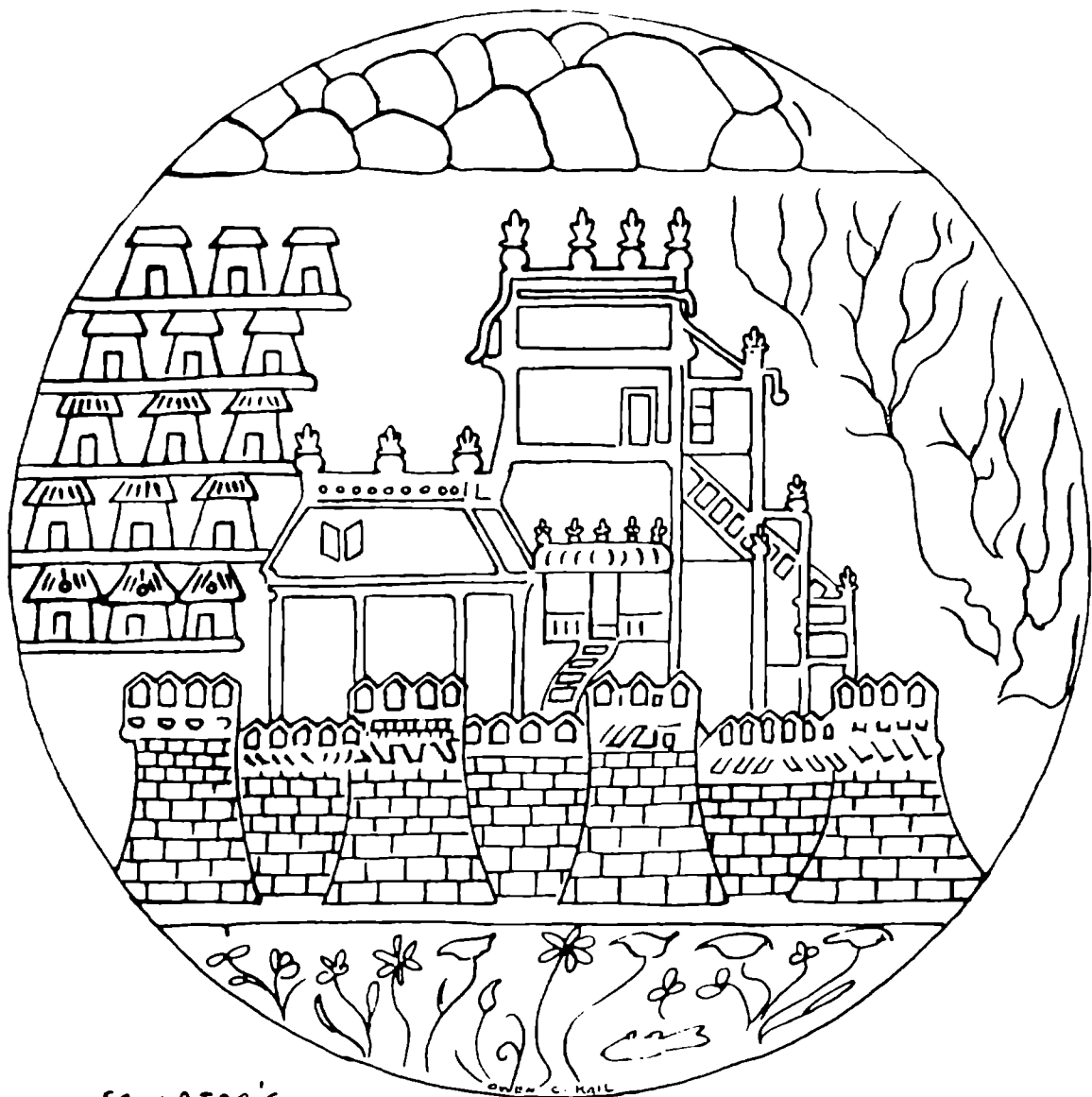


Fig. 3.



SCULPTOR'S
IMPRESSION OF
"CASTEL GELDRIA" ON THE GRAVE
OF ABRAHAM MENDIS AT PULICAT. (1684).

Fig. 4.

their waters into the Gulf of Cambay and various crops were grown in the valleys of these rivers. Besides grain and sugar, there were three other products important to the Dutch trade. Indigo for European markets, saltpetre for themselves and cotton cloth for the Malayan Archipelago. Surat situated at the mouth of the Tapti, commanded all the hinterland could produce, though much of it was consumed by the Mogul Empire, the Deccan States and the decaying rulers of Vijayanagar¹⁷. Unlike the territories on the East Coast of India where local chieftains were numerous and weak and unable to resist European attempts at building fortified places, in the Mogul Empire no foreigner would be allowed to establish a position by building a fort.

De Wolff and Lafer were hospitably received. They found that the merchandise generally in demand in Surat were lac, saffron, Danish fleeces, tin, coral, lead and guns. Local produce available was cotton, indigo and iron, and pepper brought from elsewhere. A 3% duty was payable on exports and 2½% on the price of imports. They wrote in detail on the possibilities of a good trade in Surat and also asked Bantam to send two ships to convey the merchandise they had purchased. Learning that there were places in the Malabar which the Portuguese did not control and where pepper could be bought cheap, they were tempted (or more likely decoyed) to sail for Calicut. Here they were captured by the Portuguese, taken to Goa and hanged. The first attempt at settling on the Gujerat Coast was unsuccessful.

De Wolff and Lafer did not die in vain. Their report was so encouraging that the Company were anxious to secure Gujerat cotton for the markets of the Moluccas and the West Coast of Sumatra.

Accordingly, Admiral van der Hagen was commissioned by the New United Company to sail for the East Indies with a fleet of thirteen ships (manned by 1180 persons) and to promise good peace to the Kings of Cambay, Dabol, Calicut and Ceylon, and to assure them that every year they would be visited by a fleet to help them against the Portuguese. He carried letters written in Portuguese to all the Indian princes and a private letter addressed to the Grand Mogul to whose kingdom Cambay belonged. Van der Hagen was instructed to send two ships to Surat and also to do as much damage as possible to Portuguese shipping¹⁸.

Experienced sailor that he was, van der Hagen had not reckoned with the South-West monsoon, which was in full blast when he entered Indian waters. He could neither detach two vessels to Surat

17. Poonen: *op. cit.*

18. Poonen: *ibid.*

nor was he successful in capturing or destroying any Portuguese craft. He sailed southwards and reached Calicut, the ancient capital of the Zamorin.

While the Zamorin's councillors received van der Hagen with much pomp and ceremony, the Portuguese fleet of 20 frigates emerging from Goa harassed and unsuccessfully raided the harbour of Calicut. On the 11th November, 1604, van der Hagen had a personal interview with the Zamorin near the village of Chettwaye¹⁹.

The outcome of this meeting was that Steven van der Hagen, in the name of the States-General and His Royal Highness Maurice, Prince of Orange, concluded a treaty with the Zamorin which stipulated:

1. A close alliance, eternal and unbreakable for the oppression of the Portuguese and for driving all their associates, out of all lands of His Majesty and also out of the whole of India;
2. That with the next opportunity ships and people should be sent to trade at Calicut and that merchants should be stationed for that purpose. To effect this on the best opportunity, a fortress should be built which should remain in the hands and dominion of the Dutch for all time.
3. No peace should be made by either side with the Portuguese without the other being informed and if the other side found it oppressive then the treaty of peace should not be entered into.
4. The inhabitants of the Coast of Malabar, south of Goa to Cape Comorin should not be permitted to set out on any navigation enterprise without first having received a passport of the Zamorin for the same, and if anything is caught it should be declared confiscated to the King.²⁰

Van der Hagen's visit to Calicut brought about the first political understanding between the Dutch and an Indian prince.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the "Seventeen" were not interested in the acquisition of territorial power in Malabar or anywhere else in India and as such did not take the fortress offered by the Zamorin.

The treaty with the Zamorin however outlines the Dutch policy in India. They allied themselves with Indian powers and openly attacked and raided the Portuguese whose monopoly of the Eastern trade was regarded as a grievance. In trying to obtain a share in

19. Poonen: *op. cit.*

20. De Jonge: Vol. III & Macleod Vol. I. (Quoted by Poonen).

the Indian trade for themselves, with a strange inconsistency, they endeavoured to get a monopoly of it on favourable terms, excluding all others.

Although the annual fleets anchored at Calicut and van der Hagen's treaty was renewed and confirmed and a fresh treaty of commerce and friendship was made in 1610 with the Zamorin, all these arrangements remained a dead letter. The Malabar was effectively controlled by a string of Portuguese forts along the coast. The Dutch had to wait till Portuguese power in Ceylon and South India declined before they established themselves on the Malabar coast. Dutch territorial and political influence in the Malabar commenced in October 1661 when Rijkloff van Goens captured Quilon.

While meetings and negotiations were in progress in Calicut, van der Hagen despatched the Yacht "Delft" to the Coromandel Coast. Early in 1605, this vessel reached Masulipatam (lit: the City of Fish). This seaport, famous for centuries for the export of cotton piece-goods was part of the Sultanate of Golconda whose ruler at that time was Mohamed Quli (1581-1611).

Largely due to the co-operation of a Jew named Azzelan, the Dutch were able to enter into commercial relations with the merchants of Masulipatam, who in spite of the presence of Portuguese in the town, welcomed them and supplied a cargo of cotton goods with which the Delft sailed for Achin and Bantam. Peter Ysaac Eyloff, Senior Merchant, remained behind with a few assistants to set up a permanent trading station²¹.

The first voyage²² of the Delft and the posting of Eyloff to Coromandel, laid the foundation of that cloth trade on the East Coast which later became so extensive and extremely important to the Dutch.

By 1605 the Dutch were known and accepted by the people of Gujerat, Malabar and Coromandel. The Golconda trade though lucrative was hazardous and uncertain and the Dutch turned their eyes towards Bengal, which also produced cloth, Pegu and Arakan which was famous for its rubies. They also considered the possibility of using the Bengal ports as substitutes for Surat for the transportation and purchase of indigo from the regions of Delhi and Agra. Peter Willemsz, Under-merchant at Masulipatam made the voyage to Bengal and returned in 1608 with high hopes but not much merchandise.

It was only in 1627 by which time the Directorate of Coromandel (East Coast) was well established at Pulicat when two junior mer-

21. Poonen: "*Dutch beginnings in India Proper (1580-1615)*."

22. The Delft returned to Masulipatam on 17 May 1606.

chants were sent to Bengal who opened a factory at Pippli. They later abandoned Pippli for Balasore and when Chinsura, further up the Hugli River was chosen as the firm establishment of the Dutch in Bengal, Balasore was still retained for the convenience of the ships²³.

III. SURAT

At Surat no appreciable progress was made for several years after the tragedy of de Wolff and Lafer. According to Peter van Dam, the Company's Advocate, David van Deynsen reached Surat in May 1606 with a cargo valued at 12,000 guilders to be used mainly for the acquisition of indigo. Van Deynsen till his untimely death in 1608 had a rough time in Surat. He was harassed and blackmailed by the Portuguese. His servants all died one after another ending with the Junior Merchant, Jan Hussen, and all the work of the factory had to be done by van Deynsen himself. Disheartened, harassed, mentally and physically tortured by the Portuguese, van Deynsen committed suicide by shooting himself²⁴. His goods were held in custody by the local authorities at Surat and Burhanpur.

The news of his death travelled to Coromandel whence it reached Pieter Both, the first Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, who declared "that they of Surat had employed cruel, godless and unheard-of means in destroying the person of our valiant servant David van Deynsen. When the deeds of the people of Surat are shown to them, they (the friendly Kings) shall ask satisfaction for that death and compensation for the losses suffered by the Company, by refusals and postponements; you shall by reprisals do justice and give satisfaction until according to justice they give you satisfaction"^{24a}.

The tragic end of van Deynsen was not forgotten. Pieter Both called upon the merchants at Masulipatam to look into the matter. The Dutch method of looking into the matter was to make reprisals on Mogul Shipping. Accustomed to barbarian island chiefs, they did not realise that they had come under the sway of an empire which not only insisted on good behaviour, but could crush petty infidel settlements by one stroke of the pen. The Mogul however was powerless on the high seas and realised the need of averting the vengeance of the Dutch who believed that one of their countrymen had been ill-used by the Mogul, and his goods detained. The Shahbandar (harbour master) of Surat accordingly wrote to the Dutch

23. Pieter Geyl: *Cambridge History of India, Vol. V.*"

24. Danvers: *"Dutch activities in the East."*

24a. Poonen: *"Dutch beginnings in India Proper (1580-1615)."*

at Masulipatam offering to hand over the goods left behind by van Deynsen.

Van Deynsen's goods and personal effects eventually became the subject of much dispute. Being worth about 20,000 guilders the Dutch were anxious to secure it. Wemmer van Bercham, the founder of Fort Geldria at Pulicat replied to the Shahbandar with typical arrogance, threatening to capture all Mogul shipping, as the goods were not properly acquired. The Shahbandar's rejoinder in the name of of Mukharab Khan, Governor of Surat, showed how improper such a threat was, as he had rendered the Dutch a service by taking the goods into custody. He added that they could either collect the goods or their price and further hinted that if one or more ships could be sent to Surat they could be used for capturing Daman and Diu from the Portuguese.

Finally, in 1615 the Coromandel Directorate decided to send Pieter Gilles van Ravensteyn, Senior Merchant, along with Hendrik Adriaansen and eight others, overland to Surat. They were to recover van Deynsen's goods or if they were lost or damaged, they were to claim compensation in cash or merchandise. Van Ravensteyn was personally instructed to inquire into the death of van Deynsen, as well as to collect all possible information on the state of Surat, conditions prevailing there, trade possibilities, and the influence of the English and Portuguese. He was furnished with letters introducing him to the Governor and Shahbandar of Surat, as the Plenipotentiary of the Dutch.

Van Ravensteyn left Masulipatam on horseback on 8th May, 1615. The details of his overland journey are unfortunately not known. Nevertheless, it was a remarkable achievement. Following the ancient caravan route across the Deccan he reached Surat on the 9th June and took up residence in one of the houses of the Shahbandar, near the Tapti river. It took van Ravensteyn seven long and difficult months of bargaining, haggling, arguing and manoeuvring before some satisfaction was received. In the meanwhile, Mukharab Khan was recalled and the Governorship of Surat was given to the Emperor's son, Prince Khurram, afterwards Shah Jehan. Khurram chose Zulfikar Khan as his adviser and agent in Surat.

Van Ravensteyn received 16 firelocks, 17 pistols, 6 pieces of lamlet, 75 lbs of velvet (damaged), 18 bottles, 8 lbs of Sea Horse Teeth, 30 packs of indigo (damaged), 600 pieces of corneban stones and some clothing (eaten by white ants²⁵). In addition, he was also given 3,275 mahmudis²⁶ in cash. He sold what he could and with

25. *op. cit.*

26. One mahmudi was equal to 2/5 rupee; one guilder about 5/6 rupee.

the scanty means at his disposal he visited Broach and Cambay buying all types of cloth.

The next problem was the despatch of these goods to Masulipatam. To send them overland would be temptation to greedy customs officers or highway robbers. Admiral Keeling who had brought the famous ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, to India agreed to transport all the goods to Bantam. The 30 packs of indigo, a pack of clothes and a chest of firelocks and pistols were assessed at one-and-a-half times their value at the Customs House for which van Ravensteyn had to pay 320 mahmudis. Finally, they were loaded on the "Dragon" for Bantam.

Van Ravensteyn had called on Sir Thomas Roe when the latter arrived at Surat and their early friendship went a long way in helping the Dutch. He travelled in Sir Thomas Roe's company to Burhanpur. The Burhanpur authorities cordially received the Dutchman but the subject of van Deynsen's goods was not referred to and negotiations here threatened to be more tardy than at Surat. Eventually Adriaansen (van Ravensteyn having fallen ill) succeeded in getting only 300 mahmudis in cash.

Disappointed the party set off for Masulipatam on the 15th December 1615 and travelling via Ahmedabad (the route across the Deccan being unsafe) they reached home on 9th February 1616.

Van Ravensteyn did not consider it advisable to establish a factory at Surat unless a firman from the Mogul was obtained. In his lengthy report to the Governor-General he set forth not only his reasons against establishing a factory there, but also the privileges expected in the event of an Imperial firman being granted.

Coen, the Director-General realised that the cottons of Gujerat were indispensable for the Malacca trade and despatched Pieter van den Broeck to Gujerat. After touching Mocha (on the Red Sea) which was the usual practice (as cash useful for purchases at Surat could be had there), he arrived at Surat in August 1616, and sought permission to establish a factory. Sir Thomas Roe did all he could to get rid of them²⁷. The Indian merchants of Surat had already experienced the might of the Dutch navy and they prevailed upon Zulfikar Khan to allow the Dutch to remain. Van den Broeck left four assistants at Surat and returned to Bantam.

Political conditions in the Mogul empire did not promise great security to foreign traders and though permits from local governors may be obtained, a firman signed by the Great Mogul himself would be required and would be difficult to get.

27. *Embassy of Sir Thos. Roe* (1926 ed.).

In the following year van Ravensteyn and Adriaan Goeree were back again in Surat. They faced the same disadvantages and difficulties which had caused van den Broeck to leave—interference by the English and intrigue by the Portuguese. It is however to the lasting credit of van Ravensteyn and to the mortification of Sir Thomas Roe that he succeeded in negotiating a treaty not with Jahangir but with Prince Khurram. Within a year, he, who saw no future in the Gujerat trade, had not only established the Dutch on the Gujerat Coast but succeeded in acquiring a considerable quantity of cotton piece-goods and indigo. In 1620, van den Broeck returned to take up his appointment as Director of the Surat group of factories. Shortly afterwards, the establishment was reinforced by the arrival of a number of Company's servants who had travelled overland from Masulipatam.

In Surat the Dutch had no territorial jurisdiction or possession such as their fortress of Geldria at Pulicat. They lived as foreign merchants on the strength of the firman received from the Imperial Court. This firman, by the way, was renewed 28 times between 1618 and 1729²⁸, and on each occasion considerable sums of money were paid for the grant of fresh privileges. This, and the changes in customs duty show how entirely the Mogul felt himself free to alter or cancel the charters granted by his predecessors. Factories were established at Broach, Cambay, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur²⁹ and Agra, where the main business was textiles, piece-goods and indigo.

The Charter of 1618 obtained by Ravensteyn granted the Dutch freedom from any special Customs house exactions; protection and security of their lives and property; the privilege of deciding their own disputes and specially ensured that there would be no conversions to Islam or Christianity. A prosperous time now followed, and the Directorate of Surat became one of the most profitable establishments of the Dutch East India Company.

In 1622, Asaf Khan, Prince Khurram's father-in-law, accused the Dutch of seizing a ship and confiscating its cargo which belonged to him. There was much truth in this accusation as the Dutch in their search for Portuguese shipping along the Arabian and Persian Coasts, often captured Mogul ships or ships carrying Mogul cargo. The factor at Cambay took a highhanded attitude and threatened Coens vengeance. He was arrested and sent to Agra and it was only after

28. This firman was confirmed in 1618, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634 (twice), 1638 (thrice), 1643, 1645, 1650, 1654. 1657, 1662, (four times), 1664, 1690. 1709, 1712 (six times), and 1729. Stavorinus-Voyages III.

29. The Burhanpur factory was maintained mainly for the sale of imported goods to the Mogul army camped there for the conquest of Ahmednagar. The volume of business was insignificant to warrant a permanent establishment.

van den Broeck paid a large indemnity that the Cambay factory could be recovered.

Incidents like this were common in a strong and despotic empire like the Mogul's, but they did not prevent the Gujerat factories from producing larger and larger profits. The indigo trade became more important than textiles and in 1624 the first Dutch ship sailed directly to Holland.

On gaining a footing in Surat, the Dutch were determined to make that their Chief City in India, next to Batavia (this was before they intervened in Malabar politics). Every ruse and device was used to exclude all other foreign merchants especially the English to the extent of accusing them of piracy. They tried to injure English trade in Surat by selling European goods at a loss and by buying Indian articles at high prices. Though none of these methods succeeded the Dutch trade in Gujerat was quite prosperous and Surat became the Directorate for 15 other factories:

Gombroon (Bandar Abbas), Basra, Lar, Shiraz and Ishapan in Persia, Mocha in Arabia.

Surat, Vengurla, Agra, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Broach, Baroda, Sirkhej and Tatta in India.³⁰

Many of these factories did not remain long under Surat. The Persian establishments were subordinate from 1622 to 1633. Mocha remained with Surat from 1620 to 1686 when it was placed under the direct administrative control of Batavia. Of the Indian factories only Broach remained under Surat. Vengurla was handed over to the 'Commandeur' of Malabar in 1677, Cambay, Sirkhej and Baroda were withdrawn in 1670. The Dutch retired from Agra in 1716 and from Ahmedabad in 1774.

From Surat they expanded northwards into Sind, to the ancient town of Tatta and its port Lahri Bandar³¹ where they traded in ivory, "good cloth" and toys³². From 1631 to 1652 a regular trade was carried on in Sind, which always remained subordinate to Surat.

Much of the early success of the Dutch was due to the services rendered by a Gujerati merchant named Virji Vora whom Rev. John L'Escalio in 1664 called "the richest merchant in the world"³³. For fifty-eight years ending with his death in 1677, he dominated the markets of Surat. He bought or sold such varied commodities as gold, silver, lead, coral, ivory, spices, opium, cotton and every-

30. J. M. Cambell: *Gaz. of Bombay Presidency* 1877.

31. Lahri Bandar has since disappeared.

32. Toys or novelties included such articles as drinking glasses, paintings of landscapes, mirrors, copper lanterns, watches, clocks, mastiffs and greyhounds.

33. *Indian Antiquary* 1921.

thing which changed hands in the wholesale market there. Syndicates controlled by him could buy entire cargoes valued at from five to ten lakhs of rupees. He also controlled the coasting trade to those Malabar ports which were not dominated by the Portuguese. He had agencies at Ahmedabad, Agra, Burhanpur and Masulipatam as well as at Calicut. He also exported goods (usually on English ships) to Java, Basra and Gombroon. In 1630 the Governor of Surat, Masih-uz-Zaman first proposed a partnership with him and when that fell through, on a trumped-up charge placed Vora in a Surat prison. But such was his influence that Masih-uz-Zaman was called to account and removed from office.

There is no reference to Virji Vora after 1677³⁴.

By this time the Danes, French, Swedes, Austrian and Greek³⁵ merchants had settled in Surat, yet the most successful of the European traders were the Dutchmen. Their success was to a great extent, not only dependent on the monopoly of the Spice Islands and the Far East, but also to a sound administration. The Council at Batavia was the epitome of efficiency and wise management: the chain of subordination was strict, each of the Chiefs at such centres as Surat and Pulicat being entirely responsible to the Council for the various factories under his control. Periodical inspections of these establishments were carried out to develop trade, maintain discipline and curtail abuses. In the early stages of Dutch expansion in India, the Company's servants with few exceptions were loyal and devoted, and astute merchants. This cannot be said of the other foreigners trading in India. By the end of the seventeenth century we find Dutchmen yielding to temptation.

By and large their factories and establishments in Surat and elsewhere in India, were run on sound business principles—all other considerations being subordinated to the development of trade. As a result these factories yielded the highest profits. Dutch imports³⁶ at Surat were gold, silver, lead, mercury, ivory, tin, copper, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, mace, porcelain and seventeen other items including "toys".

For the European markets the Dutch needed indigo which was used for dyeing wool. The area round Lahore, Delhi and Agra produced the purest indigo whereas the Sirkhej indigo was adulterated with mud. Saltpetre was an important ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder and was in short supply in Europe. It was made in India by outdated and primitive processes so the Dutch imported copper pans for the quick evaporation of saltpetre.

34. Moreland: *"From Akbar to Aurangzeb."*

35. The only reference to Greek merchants is by Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs I.*

36. Bal Krishna: *Commercial relations between India & England (1601-1757).*

In addition to these two items, the third important export was cloth of all descriptions³⁷; other items of export were (strangely enough) raw cotton and yarn, to which must be added wax, cinnamon, borax, carpets, diamonds, spices etc.

In addition to the monopoly of the finer spices they gained command over the supply of pepper by acquiring a hold on the Malabar Coast in 1663. This was further strengthened by the capture of Bantam whereby they controlled the Java pepper market.

By the end of the seventeenth century they were a power to be contended with. They guaranteed the security of the pilgrim traffic to Mecca and later undertook to suppress piracy in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Short of flaunting the authority of the Governor of Surat they had a big say in all matters in Gujerat and brooked no contradiction to what they declared and did. When a new Governor tried to interfere, they struck their flag and sent their shipping to Batavia³⁸ returning only in 1702 when the new Governor was replaced.

When their factors were imprisoned the following year, they blockaded the mouth of the Tapti. They seized all ships entering and passing Surat and continued the blockade for 3 years until the Governor agreed to pay a compensation of Rs. 810,000 abated the Customs duty by 1% and declared trade with Broach to be free³⁹.

From 1662 to 1670 the profit in spices alone was Rs. 304,150 or 520%; and from 1688 to 1698 it went up to Rs. 463,150 or 820%; other items yielded about 60% profit⁴⁰.

In 1709, they obtained a permanent place for the carrying on of their trade in the city. This included a house for the residence of the Director and another (the house of the Itabar Khan) for the residence of the factory staff. The firman of 1709 specified that no part of this property should be fortified. By the firman of 1729 they were allowed to purchase a strip of land seven or eight acres in extent outside the Mecca Gate near Jahangir Bandar where they constructed warehouses for the storage of their merchandise⁴¹.

From 1733 the tide began to turn; trade was failing and the consumption of spices in Europe and Asia declined. Added to this was the rising influence of the English and the corruption, defalcations and defections of their own officials. Dutch maritime power had also declined both in the purely naval and economic

37. See Moreland's *Akbar to Aurangzeb* generally, and particularly App. D.

38. Danvers: *op. cit.*

39. John Bruce: "*Annals of the Honourable East India Company.*"

40. Johan Splinter Stavorinus: "*Voyages to the East Indies.*" Translation by S. W. Wilcocke.

41. This place was known as Wallanda Bandar or Dutch Wharf.

spheres. In the first half of the seventeenth century Dutch vessels had outstripped all their competitors. A hundred years later this was not so; larger crews were required for outdated and clumsy rigging. There was no improvement in the science of navigation nor in the correction of their charts.

The Governor-General, Baron van Imhoff, complains "I am afraid to say how things are with us, for it is shameful—everything is lacking, good ships, men, officers—and thus one of the principal props of the Netherlands power is trembling in the balance"⁴². This does not however mean that the Dutch trade had been reduced to insignificance—it was still comparatively impressive. But the decline had set in and the Dutch working or middle class were no longer interested or inclined to seek a livelihood at sea in the eighteenth century.

A series of scandals at Surat now lowered Dutch prestige. Mynheer Phonsen, Director in 1736 was found to owe the Company 135,000 rupees, which he had no means of paying. He was permitted to resign quietly. Later when it was found that he had concealed his property he was expelled from Surat. He sought refuge at the English factory where he died shortly afterwards. Four years later van der Laer, a senior merchant, was accused of fraud and absconded. Within months van den Bern, senior merchant at Mocha, fled from justice. In 1747 another Director of Surat was expelled by his subordinates⁴³.

In 1759 they made an abortive attempt to capture the Castle of Surat⁴⁴. Their plans miserably failed and Stavorinus hints that the Dutch Director was bribed by the English factor, Mr. Spencer. Later in the year, Surat was overrun by the English and thereafter the Governors or Nawabs of Surat were English nominees or puppets. In the ascendancy of the English the decline of the Dutch quickly followed.

A second attempt to gain control of Surat in 1762 also failed. The Dutch were now ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 90,000 to dismantle their cannons and to shift their headquarters to Wallanda Bandar.

In 1780 some letters were intercepted showing that the Dutch Director had agreed to assist the Marathas in the capture of Surat. Stern measures were now taken to prevent them from interfering in the politics of Surat. They were completely disarmed, their privileges annulled and their movements were supervised and con-

42. C.R. Boxer: *"The Dutch Sea-borne Empire."*

43. Campbell: *op. cit.*

44. The administration of Surat was divided between the Governor and the Commander of the Castle who was a Sidli, one of the clan of sea-rovers whose inland fortress JANJIRA, stands 40 miles south of Bombay.

trolled and though they ceased to have any active influence in Surat, the value of their trade in 1794-95 exceeded Rs. 300,000.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the general disorder all over India, anarchy in Persia and Arabia, and in Surat the storm of 1782 and the famine a few years later, all combined to hasten the decline of what was once "the wealthiest city in India."

In 1783 only a public guarantee of the Dutch East India Company's shares enabled it to carry on. Everybody realised the State must take a hand in the affairs of that body, but the Netherlands was much too shaken by internal dissensions to be capable of energetic action⁴⁵. In 1795 France invaded Holland and the Statholder fled to England. The new Batavian Republic founded under French influence (and now automatically at war with England) annulled the charter of the Dutch East India Company and took over its debts and possessions. To prevent the Dutch possessions in India falling into the hands of the French, the Statholder addressed a circular to all Dutch colonial governors to permit English troops in their settlements, plantations, colonies and factories. Without waiting for their compliance the English occupied them.

Most of the Dutch settlements and factories which were taken over by the English were restored to Holland in 1814 but that Government made no effort or attempt to revive them and in 1825 they reverted to the English and with that all Dutch influence in India ceased.

IV. COROMANDEL

The first voyage of the 'Delft' in 1605 laid the foundation of the Dutch trade on the Coromandel Coast. The 'Delft' returned on 17 May 1606 bringing Paulus van Soldt and Dirk van Leeuwen. En route it anchored at Pulicat but the Dutch were unable to trade or enter into trade negotiations as the Portuguese who had been established there for nearly a century, blocked their every move. They departed for Petapoli (Nizamapatam) which was another port in the kingdom of Golconda. Here they were more successful—they were allowed to purchase a compound and van Leeuwen remained behind as head of the new factory. The 'Delft' loaded with 122 packs of cloth (besides some rice and peas) sailed for Masulipatam.⁴⁶

Two factories in the same kingdom gave the Dutch two openings for trade, especially since each place produced its own distinctive cloth; but they also incurred much expense and less co-ordina-

45. Geyl: *Cambridge History of India Vol. V.*

46. Poonen: "Dutch beginnings in India Proper (1580-1615)."

tion. It would have been better if one of these factories was in a neighbouring kingdom.

The governors of the King of Golconda at Masulipatam and Petapoli held office for one year. They therefore resorted to various means to enrich themselves before the end of their tenure, by levying additional duties on imports and exports beyond the rate prevailing in the south, which seldom exceeded four per cent; they sought to acquire commissions by acting as unofficial brokers and contractors between foreign traders and the local merchants, weavers and dyers. They also borrowed money (with no intention of repayment) and when that failed they used their position to intimidate local artisans. When harassment became excessive van Soldt went to Golconda where he succeeded in obtaining a firman from the king, fixing import and export duties at 4%, a guarantee of free access to all weavers, dyers, smiths and other craftsmen and an exemption from 'chappadalla' (the stamp duty on linen), a privilege hitherto not granted to any of his subjects. By a subsequent firman the King of Golconda remitted payment of the 4% duties for an annual payment of 3000 "old pagodas."⁴⁷ In spite of all these assurances the oppressions of the local authorities continued.

At this time two influential merchants, Godia Soheydar and Mir Cadebody were of great assistance to the Dutch and through them a considerable quantity of cloth (and some steel) was despatched to Bantam and Rs. 79,600 worth of rubies were exported to Amsterdam.

On board the 'Great Sun' which arrived in Masulipatam in April 1607 was Lodewijk Ysaac Eyloff who was to succeed his brother. It was now decided to unify the command, the head of each factory to preside in turn for one month.⁴⁸

In the following year further changes took place in the Golconda factories and Pieter Ysaac Eyloff returned as Chief of both factories with his headquarters at Masulipatam, van Wesick being posted at Petapoli as his 'second in command.' These two factors worked well and although they could not trade at Pulicat they were able, through Godia Soheydar, to secure woven material from there, for their trade in the Archipelago. Much solid knowledge was required for the office of Factor, and "it was necessary for these men to be honest and reliable and for newcomers to take lessons with regard to this business from the old."

Evidently Eyloff's tenure of service in Coromandel had expired, for in the same year Pieter Gerritsz Bourgonjie was sent to relieve

47. One 'old pagoda' was equal to 4 1/2 rupees and one 'new pagoda' was equal to roughly 3 rupees.

48. Poonen: *op. cit.*

him. By an adverse wind the ship reached Devanampatam⁴⁹ which was a port under the Naik of Gingi. With three assistants he set out for the capital to negotiate terms for trade in linen, large quantities of which were made there. They were well received and in addition to the offer of the disused Portuguese fort, they entered into an agreement which read:

"We promise. . . to take under our protection the Dutchmen who shall remain in Tegnapatam (Devanampatam) and to let them build the town, to deny the Portuguese and remain their enemies. Against this, we Dutchmen promise to bring all our merchandise and to trade with all merchants and that we shall pay 4% on the goods we take from here, except on that has once been paid, a further payment will not be made.

What has been written above we promise to swear and guard without breaking in any way. Amen. 30 Nov. 1608, in the Great Town of Gingee." (Poonen).

Ten Dutchmen were left at Devanampatam with Bourgonjie as head of the new establishment. Much was expected of this trade. There was a greater degree of safety, less oppression from the local authorities and the market promised well both for imports and exports. It was a favourable point on the coast for carrying on negotiations elsewhere and also made the Dutch trade on the Coromandel Coast less dependent on the kindness and favours of the nobles of Golconda. Bourgonjie for all his faults⁵⁰ was an able merchant. He imported camphor, sandalwood, cloves, nutmeg, macc, green velvet, porcelain and "yellow copper," with which he secured a considerable quantity of dyed and printed cottons as well as indigo at equitable prices. Until such time as the old Portuguese Fort was made habitable he was allowed to occupy "a large and beautiful stone house at the village of Tirupapuliyar," one and a half mile inland.

Unfortunately an incident occurred shortly after the Tirupapuliyar factory was opened which lowered Bourgonjie's prestige not only in the eyes of his countrymen but also of the local people. Cornelius Jacobs, a junior merchant and three others returned to the factory in a far-from sober condition. It is said they ran amok with naked rapiers, climbed the walls and the roof of the lodge, re-

49. The sea has receded from Devanampatam which is now one mile inland. It was also referred to as Tegnapatam and the English renamed it Fort St. David. For the purpose of this account the factories here will be referred to as the Cuddalore group.

50. He bought 5400 measures of land for himself for 500 pagodas and shut his eyes when his assistant, Hans Marcelis bought at the back door, cloth brought for the factory.

fusing to heed Bourgonjie. Eventually the local authorities had to arrest them.⁵¹ The output of the factory suffered due to the absence of four assistants and instigated by a Portuguese priest, the dyers and weavers abstained from work. Business practically came to a standstill. This setback was worsened by the Portuguese obtaining their old fort which they rebuilt with material purchased by Bourgonjie.

Dutch fortunes turned in 1609 when the Portuguese were expelled from Devanampatam, and in gratitude, it was decided to present the Naik with a pair of elephants which they proposed to acquire from the King of Kandy, with whom they had recently concluded a treaty against the Portuguese. These elephants on their arrival in India became the cause of much controversy between the factors of the Cuddalore group and those at Pulicat.

Unpleasantness with the local authorities at the Golconda ports continued and Eyloff and van Wesick even contemplated going over to Tirupapular. But all these inconveniencies were no more or less than in previous years. Ships continued to call at Masulipatam and Petapoli, the textile trade prospered and now and again an incident occurred to break the monotony, as for instance when Pieter Julis, junior merchant at Petapoli caught a thief breaking into the factory and flogged him. Three days later the thief was handed over to the authorities and died in prison. The Governor of Petapoli accused *Julis of murder and it was only after van Wesick went to Golconda, that the matter was settled.*

Early in 1610 Arend Maertssen was sent to Gingi to renew the earlier contract and to consolidate the position of the Dutch in the Naik's dominions. Through the influence of the Naik of Gingi he was able to negotiate a trade agreement for Pulicat with the ruler of Vellore, whereby the Dutch were allowed to settle at Pulicat. They were allotted a stone house for ammunition and merchandise and were to pay 2% on all imports and exports, except gold, rice and household necessities. The Portuguese and so were all European merchants who did not carry an authorization from the Dutch, were to be discouraged, and on either side men were not to dispute over religious matters. All deserters were to be handed over to the Dutch; and all weavers and dyers were to be compelled to fulfil their contracts; and any goods desired by the ruler of Vellore should be delivered to him at cost price. Hans Marcelis was left at Pulicat as Senior Merchant. Although he imperilled the Dutch interests here and elsewhere he succeeded in getting a further reduction in customs duties of half a percent and acquired three nearby villages.

15 Poonen: *op. cit.*

It was at this time decided to unify the control of the factories on the Coromandel Coast, so that there may be a "head to deal with enemies, to resist the craft and unreliability of the natives, and to foil the unceasing plots of the Portuguese". It was necessary for one person to exercise a strong hand of authority over the various establishments.

The appointment of a Director for the Coromandel was left to the first Governor-General, Pieter Both. But since he was late in arriving to take up his appointment, the "SEVENTEEN" recommended Jacob van Groenewegen or failing him, Jacques L'Hermite de Jonge. The former was murdered in Banda and the latter could not be spared from Bantam. The senior-most merchant in Coromandel was Pieter Ysaac Eyloff, but he had died by "overdrinking" while travelling from Petapoli to Masulipatam. The choice finally devolved upon van Wesick who became the first Director of Coromandel and Governor of Pulicat. He was ordered to reside at Pulicat (which now became the seat of the administration), and to send the Governor-General a memoir on: (a) the practicability of van Soldt's plan of trade with Cambay by camel caravan, (b) how conveniently to secure indigo from the neighbourhood of Lahore and Agra, (c) the trade possibilities of Bengal, (d) the reduction of the Petapoli establishment and (e) measures to prevent the smuggling of cloth. Pulicat remained the headquarters of the Dutch until 1689 when it was shifted to Negapatam. The establishments on the East Coast continued to expand and the situation was now favourable for the Dutch, who had several bases to operate from. Moreover Portuguese power was fading and reinforcements were not forthcoming from Portugal. The English at this time were handicapped by a shortage of capital and support from home.

Hardly had the Pulicat factory been established when the Portuguese made two attacks on it—one from St. Thomé and the other from Negapatam. The failure of these raids only showed their inferiority in sea power which was eventually to cost them the loss of their Indian possessions.

Early in 1612, Wemmer van Bercham replaced van Wesick as Director and in June the same year the Portuguese carried out a successful raid on Pulicat. The factory was destroyed, all the goods seized, and Adolph Thomassen⁵² Senior Merchant and six others were taken prisoner to St. Thomé. (Van Bercham was at the time of the raid, at Golconda). Three other factors were killed.

Van Bercham returned to a scene of desolation. He realised that the factory at Pulicat had to be fortified if it had to survive. The

52. Thomassen succeeded in escaping from St. Thomé a year later when files sewn to mules were smuggled to him.

Portuguese raid had aroused the indignation of the local authorities as well as the Raja of Vellore, and permission was granted to build a fort. Work commenced with the help of the crews of two ships anchored at Pulicat and the fort was completed in March 1613. Van Bercham named it Castel Geldria after his native province. A direct attack by the Portuguese on Geldria by land and sea was repulsed, and another, by a neighbouring chief, Ethiraj, was beaten off. Indirect means were also tried by sending two slaves in the guise of refugees from St. Thomé. They were detected trying to poison the factors and were executed.

Geldria played an important part in the affairs of the Coromandel. When the Carnatic was shaken by a disputed succession and civil war, Geldria was the centre of this troubled area and many refugees even from St. Thomé sought shelter here, so that it almost became a nucleus from which a new territorial power might have sprung.⁵³ Even when anarchy in the Carnatic led to it falling under the sway of Golconda, the position of Geldria remained unchanged, and the Dutch coined their own gold pagodas there much as the English later did at Madras.

Pulicat was favourably situated for their trade in cloth. Prices here were lower than elsewhere, (even before the factory was established the Dutch were buying Pulicat cloth through the merchant Godia Soheydar). Moreover it was in the middle of the coast from where the Dutch influence could spread north and south. Besides the price of cloth being low, there was a good market for lead, tin, copper, sulphur, nutmeg, mace, cloves, sandalwood, pepper, lac (of many colours), porcelain cups, tortoise shell, mercury and leaf brass. While the Dutch trade rose and expanded on the East Coast, Portuguese fortunes waned. They made several attempts to restore their influence and to impede Dutch activity, but to no avail. Castel Geldria was 535 metres in circumference and its walls and bulwarks were 7 metres in height. Initially it was defended by 70 marines drawn from vessels anchored there. These ships also provided 10 iron pieces and other small arms. Van Bercham estimated that 150 to 200 men were required to defend it, as well as 8 or 10 cannon, 150 swords and 100 muskets. In 1616 it was further improved by the addition of 4 bastions on which were mounted 26 cannon.

Geldria and its dependent township of Pulicat had about 1000 souls and the Dutch colonists formed 50 households made up by the marriage of soldiers to local women. These marriages were permitted by the Dutch authorities on the condition that the women were or became Christians.

53. Pieter Geyl *Cambridge History of India* Vol. V.

All that remains of the Dutch fortress are fragments of its sea-wall and an imposing cemetery, where on the grave of Abraham Mendis who died in 1684, can be seen the sculptor's impression of Castel Geldria.

In the early years of Dutch expansion on the Coromandel, Wemmer van Bercham stands out as a controversial figure. That he was loyal and devoted to the Company's interests, there is no doubt but many of his actions attracted considerable criticism. Marcelis his deputy besides being temperamental and moody, was also dishonest, yet van Bercham condoned his failings because he had obtained a further reduction in the Customs duty and had acquired the three neighbouring villages of Averipak, Sataioor and Cavecantoor. When Schover, Senior Merchant at Masulipatam was called upon to account for 1383 pagodas, van Bercham exonerated him on his declaration that the money was stolen. Van Bercham himself was accused of giving large bribes and handsome presents to local authorities and officials, including an arab horse which he had purchased for 300 pagodas.

All these incidents and irregularities must have reached Bantam and in 1616, de Haze was sent to put things right in Coromandel. He returned to Bantam the following year with a sheaf of charges and counter-charges and van Bercham. Shortly afterwards van Bercham sailed for Holland as President of a ship, his dignity undiminished and no action apparently was taken against him in Holland.

Even at the end he had his last word when Samuel Kindt was appointed to succeed him as Director. Van Bercham opposed this on the grounds that Kindt was sick in the head as a result of a fall from a window. Raphael Oliva was appointed instead.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had opened factories at almost all the ports on the South-Eastern Coast, where as a result of agreements and treaties with the local rulers they acquired a form of territorial jurisdiction over the villages and areas adjacent to or adjoining their factories. (In Bengal they held two villages as Jagir or Fief and in Gujerat they could hardly call their own, the land on which their factories stood). In the Coromandel they employed smiths, dyers, weavers and printers⁵⁴ and handled an amazing variety of cotton goods, purchased indigo and saltpetre and in lesser quantities exported diamonds and rubies from Golconda and pearls from the Tinnevely coast.

Masulipatam had for centuries been an important centre of trade on the South-East Coast of India, and at this period was the

⁵⁴ Printers. Though the cottons were called pintados or painted cloths the material was actually printed with wooden blocks much the same way as today.

major seaport of the kingdom of Golconda. Long before the Dutch, English, Danes and French came to India, Masulipatam was known to the Genoese and the Venetians who traded here as early as A.D. 1224.⁵⁵ They traded through Indian merchants in cloves, nutmegs, mace, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and gems, and took away cotton cloth, indigo, rubbies and diamonds.

The Dutch fort here was a large and spacious one and very well built to protect them from encroachments of the sea and attack by land. Dutch trade through Masulipatam was enormous and amounted to nearly Rs. 600,000 a year. In 1660 when the Dutch established a factory in the city of Golconda, whose Senior Merchant acted as their "ambassador" the importance of Masulipatam started to wane.

Lt. Campbell's description⁵⁶ of the old Dutch fort in 1833 is interesting: "the fort was originally built on a patch of dry ground surrounded by a swamp, which no living creature but a Dutchman, a frog or an alligator would have selected for his habitation."

Not long after the establishment of the Cuddalore group, the Dutch obtained Sadras⁵⁷ under an agreement with the Raja of Chandragiri. Sadras produced a fine muslin. This was followed by settlements at Porto Novo,⁵⁸ Kunimedu (Conimere) 13 miles south of Pondicherry, and a fort at Pambam which the Sethupati of Ramnad allowed them to build for having helped him in his rebellion against the Portuguese. On the South-West Coast of India, except for the fort at Vengurla built in 1637 north of Goa, the Dutch had no influence at all. The Malabar Coast was effectively controlled by a string of Portuguese fortresses. The several small rulers of Malabar were unable to prevent the Portuguese from acquiring large political powers which they used, in the first instance to secure the exclusive trade in pepper.

In 1658 Rijkloff van Goens, an Extraordinary Member of the Council for the Indies, who had served the Company in many capacities with striking success, was instructed to "clean up that whole corner"—the Malabar. He expelled the Portuguese from Tuticorin and sent a mission to the Naik of Madurai. He then advanced to Negapatam, which he captured in 1660. Negapatam was retained

55. Alexander Rea: *Dutch Monumental Remains in Madras Presidency*.

56. Kistna District Manual.

57. Sadras or Sadrasapatam. A town 45 miles south of Madras.

58. On the north bank of the Coleroon River. The sanads and deeds under which Porto Novo was granted were—1651 King of Vijayanagar; 1654 & 1664 Commander of Vijayanagar forces at Gingi; 1667 Shivaji when he conquered Gingi; 1680 Commander of the troops of Raghunath Rao; 1694 Zulfikar Khan; 1745 Anwar ud-din Khan, Nawab of Carnatic; in 1806 the factory building was claimed as private property by Mr. Topander, Dutchman.

under the Ceylon government till 1689 when it was made the administrative centre of Coromandel, replacing Pulicat.

Tuticorin was a flourishing town of over 50,000 inhabitants and had a harbour where the Dutch could anchor their large ships in the stormy season. Here they built a ship repair yard, several large warehouses and a small fort. As a result of van Goens' mission to Madurai the Dutch secured the monopoly of the pearl and conch fisheries off the Tinnevely Coast. They also exchanged Japanese leather and Malacca spices for Madurai cottons.⁵⁹

At Negapatam, an impressive fortress was built at the cost of 1,600,000 guilders (approx. Rs. 1,320,000). Castel Naarden as it was called, surpassed Geldria in size and strength.

The only possession left to the Portuguese on the Coromandel Coast was St. Thomé,⁶⁰ and in 1662 this last post was captured by the King of Golconda. It was occupied in 1672 by the French Admiral de la Haye, who had been driven out of Trincomali. In the following year it was retaken by Golconda and in 1749, the English Admiral Boscaven occupied it.

Generally relations with Golconda were friendly and in 1678 the King of Golconda visited Masulipatam and attended Service in the Dutch Church on Christmas Day. He thereafter invited the Dutch ladies to visit his wives and as a gesture of friendship, remitted all the annual payments which the Company owed him in respect of tolls and rents.

About this time Dutch society on the East Coast was shaken to its foundations by the arrival of Baron Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakensteyn. His first appearance in the East was as an Ensign in 1657 when he was twenty-two years of age. In 1662 at the siege of Cochin, when he captured the Dowager Rani Gangadhara Lakshmi, he was promoted to the rank of Captain by van Goens. He succeeded Ludolff Colster as "Commandeur" of Cochin in 1673. Shortly after he handed over command to Jacob Lobo in 1677, he was appointed Commissary-General by the SEVENTEEN, with extraordinary powers to put down corruption and reform abuses in the Dutch settlements in India.

Several officials, chiefs of factories⁶¹ included were broken by this ruthless reformer whose social position (he was a member of the Utrecht nobility, an unusual rank among the Company's servants) added to the awe he inspired.⁶²

59. Alexander Rea: *op. cit.*

60. A small township 4 miles south of Fort St. George. Also known as Mylapore or Mailapur. St. Thomas the Apostle is said to have landed here in A.D. 68.

61. The Chief of Hugli and six subordinates were dismissed.

62. Pieter Geyl: *op. cit.*

In addition to stamping out corruption and effecting economies in the administration, it was he who recommended, in the face of strong opposition, that the headquarters should be shifted from Pulicat to Negapatam, which was closer to their new stronghold of Ceylon. The majority of Dutch merchants were married and had their families with them. Van Rheeде considered this an abuse and sent many families back to Holland or to Batavia.

He died on 15 December 1691 "on board of the ship 'Dregentlant' sailing from Cochin to Souratte, abreast of the English fort of Bombaim."⁶³ Van Rheeде's tomb at Surat was built with the intention of eclipsing that of the English President, Sir George Oxenden. It was a double cupola of great dimensions with a gallery above and below, supported on handsome columns. It was originally adorned with frescoes, escutcheons and passages from the Scripture, and the windows were filled with beautiful wood carving. An old bill was in existence in 1877 charging a Dutch company repairs which cost Rs. 6000.⁶⁴

In spite of the existence of private trading, the misuse and misappropriation of Company's funds, the expenditure of large sums on the maintenance of garrisons and for pomp and ostentation, the profits of the Coromandel establishments, which varied around Rs. 430,000 a year, continued to rise until in 1684-85 it reached Rs. 960,000. After the conquest of Golconda by Aurangzeb in 1686, it fell to Rs. 356,000 and in the following year it was as low as Rs. 65,000. It never fully recovered from this recession, though in the middle of the eighteenth century there was an improvement and profits varied between one and three-and-a-half lakhs of rupees, which in comparison to the establishments elsewhere was quite good.⁶⁵

By the end of the seventeenth century the naval power of the Dutch was not only the despair of all the Indian rulers and rajas but of their rivals on the coast; and in the settlements where they had not taken up the responsibility of sovereignty the largest profits were recorded. During the seventyfive years ended 1757, Surat Bengal and Coromandel figure in the Company's books with annual profits of hundreds of thousands of guilders each. Malabar (and Ceylon) on the other hand showed heavy losses.

Negapatam gradually eclipsed Pulicat and in 1674 was formally conveyed to the Dutch by Vijaya Raghava the last of the Telugu Naiks of Tanjore. The extinction of this dynasty has been placed

63. J. M. Campbell: "Gaz. of Bombay Presidency, 1877".

64. *ibid.*

65. *op. cit.*

at 1674-75. This grant was confirmed by the Marathas. Both grants engraved on silver were preserved in the Museum at Batavia.⁶⁶

In 1686 a dispute arose in Masulipatam about an outstanding debt and before the argument was settled Aurangzeb's army appeared before Golconda, the Sultan was deposed and the country overrun. The Dutch however, took advantage of the situation and on the pretext that they had been insulted by the king of Golconda, took possession of Masulipatam.

Justifying this action Johann Pits, Chief of Masulipatam wrote to the English agent at Fort St. George, Madras:

"It cannot be unknown to your Honour how our Honourable Netherlands East India Company, for some years on the Coast of Coromandel, are abused and insulted in many unspeakable ways... whereupon the Right Honourable Council of India cannot swallow such innumerable and overgrown injuries and have been forced to resolve the better to come by our right... to take possession of the city of Metchlepatam⁶⁷ and by God's Blessings and the Company's arms, so effected that we now, for our Company, this 26 July are masters of the said city of Metchlepatam, wherein according to our orders and to the Maintaining of our Friendship, we shall not incommode or hinder Your Honour to imbarque in your ships."

As a result of the disturbed conditions prevailing in the North Coromandel Coast, after Aurangzeb's conquest of Golconda, the Batavian authorities decided to implement van Rheede's recommendation and to transfer the seat of government from Pulicat to Negapatam.

In 1673 after St. Thomé had been captured by Golconda (with van Goens' help), Francois Martin and 60 Frenchmen were allowed to settle at Pondicherry, 85 miles south of Madras. In the next twenty years, Pondicherry and the French settlement there, became a thorn in the side of the Dutch. So in 1691 the Dutch laid seige to Pondicherry which surrendered after 12 days. The Dutch retained their control there till 1697 when under the Treaty of Ryswick (when peace between Holland and England was restored) it was handed back to Francois Martin.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a depression slowly crept into the affairs of the Dutch. To maintain their superiority in trade and commerce, a large portion of their trade profits had to be spent in garrisoning their forts and in keeping their factories

66. Alexander Rea: *op. cit.*

67. The English had settled at Masulipatam (Metchlepatam) in 1611. They withdrew in 1628 and returned 4 years later.

fortified. Moreover, rivalry and competition with the English and the French had caused trade to fall off.

Obviously the Company's system suffered from grave defects. Great as it had been as an empire-builder, able as it still was as a merchant, it had failed as a colonial power. Its strict adherence (against the advice of almost all of its ablest Governors-General) to the policy of commercial monopoly was its greatest mistake. Another defect was the severe subordination of the whole system to the administrative and commercial centre at Batavia; and added to this was the prevalence of disloyalty, dishonesty and corruption, for no posts in the Company's employ were considered so lucrative as those in the "Western Quarter."

The War of the Austrian Succession had developed the French from a trading organisation to one which had its eye on political influence. At this time in the Carnatic, there were three European cities—Negapatam under the Dutch, Pondicherry under the French and Madras under the English. Each was a place of considerable trade; each a place of reputed strength; each had an Indian population of 2000 to 3000 souls. Behind them the country was divided between Hindu and Mohamedan. The first blow to Dutch prestige was in 1751 when Muzaffer Jang and Chanda Sahib granted Masulipatam to the French (to Dupleix), for having helped them in defeating Anwar ud din Khan. The Dutch never recovered Masulipatam which was taken from the French by the English Col. Forde in 1759.

Dutch naval power had now positively declined, their astute commercial diplomacy had degenerated to flattery and presents. No longer was the Company able to produce men like van Bercham, van Goens and van Rhee—on the contrary a person like Christiaan van Teylingen became Director of Coromandel and Governor of Negapatam.

Van Teylingen, on board the "Rotterdam" reached Fort St. George, and after the necessary salutes were exchanged, he came ashore with the captain and a writer. He then asked for his baggage to be brought ashore. While his baggage was being off-loaded, a small Dutch vessel approached the "Rotterdam" and seized it. Later in the evening a party landed from the small vessel with a letter addressed to the President of Fort St. George, stating that van Teylingen had deserted his post and should be handed over to the Dutch authorities. For four months a mass of correspondence ensued with the Dutch accusing van Teylingen of robbery; and the English complaining of bad etiquette.

It later transpired that van Teylingen had assisted the English in their trade in Madurai cotton at the cost of the Dutch, and naturally the President of Fort St. George did not surrender him.

In the American War of Independence, England was opposed by France, Spain and Holland. The English Company thereupon seized the Dutch settlements in the South. The peace of 1783 saw the restoration of these places⁶⁸ except Negapatam, which was retained until the States (Holland) could offer an alternative, which they had not. Many of the other factories were so badly damaged and ruined, that they were demolished. Those on the Godavari Delta were required to pay a "quit rent" to the English. Danvers refers to this period as "the deplorable condition of the Company".⁶⁹

In 1794 it was found that the factories at Palakolu and Jagadhapuram, which had to pay a "quit rent", were in arrears of two years rent—Rs. 240 for the former and Rs. 360 for the latter. The Palakolu rent was paid but in the case of Jagadhapuram, exemption was claimed on the grounds that the Netherlands Company had abandoned commerce here for the last two years. Thereafter the factory was run by a private Dutch trader.

On 1st February 1795 France declared war on England and Holland and the Statholder who had fled to England, addressed a circular to all Dutch colonial governors to permit English troops in their settlements, plantations, colonies and factories to prevent them falling into the hands of the French. All the factories on the Coromandel and Malabar Coast surrendered to the English.⁷⁰ In 1818 all of them except Cochin were restored to the Dutch with all their ancient rights and privileges, their lands, their forts, their factories, their bleaching grounds, the adjoining villages and their trade and also the rights of coining gold, silver and copper coins.⁷¹ But the Netherlands government did nothing to revive their commercial influence (their political and territorial influence was a thing of the past), and in 1825 all these possessions reverted to the English.

V. BENGAL

Bengal offered such obvious attractions that it is difficult to understand why the Dutch neglected that region for so many years. The explanation is to be found in local conditions—the Portuguese were established there, navigation of the Hugli was difficult and access to the sea-ports was dangerous due to the existence of pirates

68. Bimlipatam, Palakolu, Sadras, Pulicat, Jagadhapuram and Tuticorin.

69. Danvers: *"Dutch activities in the East."*

70. Cochin offered feeble resistance.

71. Hodgson's Report on the restitution of the Dutch settlements in the territories of the Presidency of St. George. (Rea).

(both Bengali and Portuguese) who thought nothing of selling the entire crew of captured ships into slavery. Furthermore the country was too unsettled for peaceable trade.

Dutch extension to Bengal was gradual. First ventures and voyages were in the region of Cuttack. Later on ships went further north to Pippli and Balasore,⁷² and in 1634 instructions were sent from Batavia to Pulicat to attempt trade with Hugli. The early experiences of the Dutch were not encouraging as the monopoly of all trade had been granted to two local merchants and the authorities were not inclined to extend any special concessions to the Dutch. So from Pippli and Balasore, buyers went up the river to Kasimbazar and distant Patna for raw silk, sugar and saltpetre.⁷³

Some time prior to 1650 the Dutch built a factory at Hugli on the strength of a firman from Shah Jehan whom they had met as Prince Khurram at Surat. Shortly after its construction the factory was swept away by floods. The new building further inland was retained solely for the storage of bulky goods. About this time Shah Jehan had also given orders to destroy the Portuguese settlements on the Hugli River, and Hugli became the Royal port of Bengal. Bengal attracted various European merchants—the French, the Danes, the Flemish and Germans, all of whom had settlements on the banks of the Hugli.

In 1656 a new factory was built further down at Chinsura. "There is nothing in it (Hugli) more magnificent than the Dutch factory. It is built on a great space at the distance of a musket shot from the Ganges for fear that if it were nearer, some inundation of the waters of the river might endanger it or cause it to fall. It has indeed more the appearance of a large castle than of a factory of merchants. The walls are high and built of stone and the fortifications are also covered with stone. They are furnished with cannon and the factory is surrounded by ditches full of water. It is large and spacious. There are many rooms to accommodate the Director, the other officers who compose the Council and all the people of the Company. There are large shops built of stone where goods that are bought in the country and those that our vessels bring here, are placed."⁷⁴ It was also referred to as, "the largest and completest factorie in Asia," and the English Agent, Streynsham Master called it, "very large and well built, with two quadrangles." This was Castel Gustavus. It became the headquarters of the Dutch in Bengal and Mathews van der Broucke (1658-64) became the first Director of Bengal.

72. The Dutch settlement at Balasore, known as Hollandais Shahi was ceded to the English in 1846, later than Chinsura.

73. W. H. Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*.

74. L. S. S. O'Malley: *Hooghly* (Bengal Dist. Gaz.).

Dutch trade in Bengal prior to 1650 was estimated at one lakh of rupees a year. After the establishment of Chinsura it reached nearly twenty lakhs of rupees.⁷⁵

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Dutch trade in Bengal was regulated by a firman granted by that Emperor in 1662. It provided: that their ships arriving before "Hougli, Piplely and Ballasore" shall have liberty to anchor in such places that they choose; that after the payment of the fixed duty of two and one half percent upon their goods they may convey them to such places as they may please, sell them to whatever merchants they may choose, purchase again goods from the same in the manner they may like best, and employ brokers in their business according to their own choice, without that anyone shall be permitted to intrude himself into their service contrary to their liking; that with respect to the piece goods, saltpetre, sugar, silk, wax and other articles⁷⁶ for which they trade in the places situated in Hougli, Piplely and Ballasore, they shall not in any way be molested.⁷⁷

The Dutch were also granted the villages of Chinsura and Baranagar in fief or as jagir, under the same firman. Besides Castel Gustavus at Chinsura and a small silk factory at Kasimbazar, they had a garden south of Chandernagar, a factory for salting pork at Baranagar north of Calcutta, and later at Falta, a station for outgoing ships.

Their settlements and trade were generally under a Director aided by a Council who were subordinate to Bantam and later Batavia. Occasionally an officer was deputed direct from Holland who was independent of the Director. Such a person was Baron Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakensteyn, who was sent to India as Commissary-General to put down corruption and reform abuses.

Considerable jealousy existed between the rival foreign settlements and no little friction with the Mohamedan subordinates in Bengal, who frequently interfered with the silk and cotton weavers and with the passage of the sugar and saltpetre boats. In the seventeenth century the Dutch seldom intervened in the political dissensions of Bengal—but on a few occasions they were compelled to abandon their policy of non-intervention.

In August 1684, when Martin Huysman was Director, a Dutch squadron arrived at Baranagar and enforced their demands on the

75. Moreland: *Op. cit.*

76. The other articles were: rice, oil, butter, hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, opium and long pepper.

77. Stavorinus III.

local governor, with the result that for some time there was no more interference with the passage of Dutch boats. A little later, they had another quarrel and withdrew from their factories, but on war breaking out with the English in 1686, they were again in possession and made a considerable profit in trade.

On the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712 the Dutch evacuated their womenfolk and their treasure from Kasimbazar to Hugli which they fortified as much as possible, retaining there one of their armed ships for its defence. But Jahandar Shah who succeeded Bahadur Shah granted a fresh firman to the Dutch Company, confirming previous grants, charging a duty of two and a half percent on Dutch goods and ordering that their vessels or authorised servants *provided with passes from the Dutch Director of Bengal should not be molested.*⁷⁸

About the time they settled at Hugli, they also established a factory at Patna, where saltpetre could be acquired cheaper than elsewhere in India. Tavernier who visited Patna in 1666 found it already "one of the greatest cities of India. . . the Holland Company have a house there by reason of their trade in saltpetre which they refine at Choupar (Chapra). Coming to Patna we met the Hollanders in the street returning from Choupar, who stopped their coaches to salute us. We did not part till we had emptied two bottles of Shiras wine in the open street, which is not taken notice of in that country, whose people meet with an entire freedom without any ceremony."⁷⁹

In the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-19, fourth after Aurangzeb), it was decided to lay the city of Patna under contribution. A list of rich men was drawn up, at the top of which was van Hoorn, Senior Merchant of Patna. His goods were declared confiscated which he succeeded in redeeming on payment of two lakhs of rupees.

The English President of Fort William writing in 1718 refers to the Dutch: "their strength is greatly superior to ours and all other Europeans joined together."⁸⁰ By the middle of the eighteenth century the Dutch were the most favoured European nation in this part of India, their Directors having had for at least twenty years the *right of precedence at the Nawab's Darbar* and also the right to buoy the Hugli which they claimed "argues a mastery over the river and a superiority of interests in matters relating to trade."

The story of the "Black Hole of Calcutta" does not form part of this account except that the Dutch station at Falta gave refuge to the

78. *ibid.*

79. J.B. Tavernier: *Travels in India* (Edited by V. Ball).

80 P. E. Roberts: *History of British India.*

women and children and also the English President Drake and the Commander of the garrison, Minchin who escaped in boats and reached Falta, when Siraj ud Daula attacked Calcutta on 17 June 1756. For sheltering these refugees, Siraj ud Daula called upon the Dutch to pay a fine of twenty lakhs of rupees. Rather than submit they threatened to leave the country, whereupon they were let off with a payment of four and a half lakhs. They subsequently asked for a refund, to which the Nawab replied by threatening to bastonade them if they did not keep quiet.⁸¹

Dutch maritime power now began to fade, the effect of the policy of economy all over their possessions in India and the increase of corruption, dishonesty and private trading, had begun to tell, as can be seen from the report of Adriaan Bisdome (1754-59) "we are not able to offer any resistance worth mentioning, for our palisades that have to serve as a rampart are as little proof against a cannonade as the canvas of a tent, and our entire military force consists of 78 men, about one third of whom are in hospital, while all our native servants run away for fear of the English, so that if matters come to such a pass we should have to man and aim the guns ourselves."⁸²

In 1759 the Dutch decided to abandon their peaceful role. They were anxious to share in the wealth acquired by the English in Bengal and their intrigues were supported by Mir Jaffar Khan who had deposed Siraj ud Daula. Mir Jaffar alarmed at the growing power of the English thought of counterbalancing it with the Dutch, but when an armed Dutch merchantman arrived, the Nawab failed to support them and Clive seized the vessel. The real power in Bengal was Lord Clive and not the Nawab.

In October the same year the matter became more serious and seven Dutch vessels arrived loaded with troops, and the Nawab vacillating between his new-found friends and the all-powerful English wrote to Clive saying that he had given the Dutch certain trade concessions and that they would send away their ships and troops as soon as weather permitted. But news soon came that the Dutch were busy recruiting soldiers and that their fleet was moving up the Hugli. The forces available to the Dutch were about 1500 infantry, and at Chinsura there was a garrison of 150, some artillery and a considerable body of sepoy.

"To allow the Dutch troops to land and form a conjunction with the garrison at Chinsura was to admit the establishment of a rival and superior force in the province, which coupled with the conduct

81. S. C. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-57, Vol II.*

82. S. C. Hill: *ditto Vol. I.*

of the Nawab was to submit to the certain ruin of English influence and power in Bengal—to prevent this, which could only be done by force, was to commence hostilities with a nation, with which the mother country was at peace.”⁸³

Clive despatched four armed vessels to protect Calcutta and reinforced the garrisons at Tanna Fort and at the Charnock Battery. The Dutch recapitulated their grievances and threatened vengeance if their vessels were searched or their troops and ships were hindered coming up the river. Clive replied that there was no intention to injure the Dutch trade or to insult their colours, but that it was impossible to allow their vessels or troops to pass, under the existing treaty with the Nawab. He referred them to the Mogul authorities; offering his services as mediator. The Dutch retaliated by capturing several small vessels and landing at Falta and Raipur, attacked and burned the English factories there. Colonel Forde who had come up from Madras seized the Dutch factory at Baranagar and crossed the Hugli to Chandernagar in order to keep the Dutch garrison at Chinsura in check and to intercept any Dutch troops which might land there. On the 23rd November the Dutch troops landed below Sankrail while their vessels anchored at Melancholy Point (Manikali).

Here under Clive's orders, Commodore Watson demanded a full apology and restitution of English property and withdrawal from the river. When the demand was refused, Watson attacked and captured all their ships except that of the second-in-command who reached Kalpi, where he was captured by two English vessels. On the same day the Chinsura garrison was repulsed and routed. In the evening Col. Forde learnt that a Dutch force was marching up from the south and wrote to Clive asking him for an official order to fight the Dutch, against whom war had not yet been declared. Clive received it while playing cards and without leaving the table wrote, "Dear Forde, fight them immediately, I will send you the Order of Council tomorrow."

Forde marched to Bedarra, which commanded the road to Chinsura, and gave his artillery and cavalry full scope. The action was short, bloody and decisive. In half an hour the Dutch were completely defeated and put to flight, leaving 320 dead, nearly 300 wounded and Colonel Roussel, 14 officers and 550 troops were taken prisoner. Only fourteen Dutchmen escaped to Chinsura.

The Dutch sued for peace and at the Convention of Ghiretti (Ghariati) the Dutch agreed to pay an indemnity and the English agreed to restore their ships, stores and prisoners, except those who

83. A. Broome: *Rise and progress of the Bengal Army.*

wished to enter their service.⁸⁴ Another agreement was entered into between the Dutch and the Nawab of Bengal by which they promised to send away all their forces except 125 Europeans; and not to allow more than one ship at a time to come up the river beyond Kalpi, Falta or Mayapur without the express sanction of the Nawab. The Dutch were permitted to rebuild and repair their establishments. Thus ended the dream of the Dutch Empire in India. At that time they had territorial rights at Baranagar and Chinsura, besides factories at Kalkapur near Kasimbazar, Patna, Dacca and Balasore, but they were impoverished. Their trade profits in Bengal for the eight years ended 1768 amounted to 290,900 guilders and territorial revenues were 65,300 guilders, against establishment charges amounting to 796,900 guilders.⁸⁵ In spite of a sizeable decline in profits, they still continued to export piece goods of various sorts which were carried not only all over India and the East, but to Europe as well; raw silk and fine and flowered tussar.⁸⁶ Trade whether corporate or private, continued in opium, rice, wheat, saltpetre, ginger, lac and long pepper; and in borax, musk, agate, furniture, leather harness, pottery, scented oils, fruits, sugar and elephants, but most of the profit no longer went into the Company's coffers. The authorities at Batavia bitterly complained to the SEVENTEEN: "for a series of years a succession of Directors of Bengal have been guilty of the greatest enormities and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty thrown open to their deprivations; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices; they have violated in the most disgraceful manner all our orders and regulations with regard to the purchase of goods, without paying the least attention to their oaths and duty." But the SEVENTEEN had problems of their own—the Company was virtually bankrupt.

In 1781 on the outbreak of war with Holland, Johannes Mathias Ross⁸⁷ surrendered Chinsura to the English. It was restored two years later only to be retaken in 1795, when France declared war on England and Holland. It was first administered by a Special Commissioner and then by the Judicial Magistrate of Hugli.⁸⁸ It was again restored to Holland in 1817 who apparently were no longer interested in it. By the Treaty of 1824 all the Dutch settlements

84. Desertions from the Dutch ranks to those of the English was a regular feature not only in Bengal, but also at Surat, Coromandel and Malabar.

85. Galletti: *Introduction to the Dutch in Malabar*.

86. Bal Krishna: *Commercial Relations between India and England*.

87. Ross was a friend of Lord Clive. He had amassed half a million rupees in commissions which he remitted through Bills of Exchange on the English East India Company.

88. During this period, Chinsura became heaven for thieves, cheats, swindlers and receivers of stolen goods. Fort Gustavus was in such a ruined condition that it would have been dangerous to fire the cannon mounted on its walls. "Not a blade of grass or a bush were to be seen anywhere."

were made over to the English and when they came to take possession in May 1825, Overbeck the last Director⁸⁹ and eight other Dutchmen were granted pensions.

VI. FACTORY AND FORT

The Dutch were eminently a nation of merchants and their early voyages to India and the Far East were purely commercial. Though their fleets went out prepared to fight as well as to trade, their policy was to reach those regions where the Portuguese influence was either weak or did not exist. Such "trading voyages" when ships anchored at a port for such time as was necessary to buy or to sell, did not involve a durable convention, at the most an arrangement regarding customs and port duties. But when it was decided to settle merchants at any port, their position towards the authorities had to be laid down with precision for in the absence of their ships the few Dutchmen on land would be dependent on them for protection, and would be at the mercy of other foreign merchants already settled there.

On the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, local rulers and princes were familiar with the institution of "mercantile extra-territoriality"—but elsewhere in India, "the Great Mogul had the outlook of Central Asia, where such ideas were not likely to be known, and in his Empire the grant of a concession was not a matter of course."

The Dutch "factorijen" and the English factories were directly descended from the Portuguese trading agencies or "feitorias", which were scattered along the African and Asian shores beginning with the castle erected in 1445 at Argium in Morocco and ending with the feitoria at Nagasaki in 1570. These feitorias had much in common with the "fondachi" the residential quarters of the Genoese, Venetian and other Italian merchants in the Muslim sea-ports of North Africa and in Ottoman harbours.⁹⁰ The Portuguese created

⁸⁹ So far as can be traced the following were Directors of Bengal:

Mathews van der Broucke	1658-64
Martinus Huysman	1684
W. de Rov.	1706
Antonio Huysman	1712
M. Vuist	1724
Patras	1726-27
Sichterman	1744
Huygens	1749
Louis Taillefort	1754
Adriaan Bisdome	1754-59
George Louis Vernet	1764-70
Johannes Mathias Ross	1780
Pieter Breuys	1783
Titsen	1789
Col. C. van Citte	1795
J. A. van der Braam	1817
Daniel Overbeck	

⁹⁰ C. R. Boxer: "The Dutch Seaborne Empire".

the fortified factory and later the fortified town for the greater security of their servants and merchandise in potentially hostile areas. The Dutch merely followed the Portuguese example and since they were determined to enforce the spice monopoly in the Moluccas and later the pepper monopoly in Malabar, a transition took place from factory to fort. The gradual change from trading voyage to factory; from factory to fort and from fort to territorial sovereignty resulted mainly from conditions prevailing in the Eastern markets, which as events proved were imperfectly realised by the first projectors.⁹¹

The establishment of coastal factories also necessitated the founding of a "general rendezvous" where their homeward and outward bound fleets could load and unload their cargoes, and where goods for the intermediary ports of Asia could be collected, stored and transhipped. Jakarta, which Jan Pieterszoon Coen seized on 30 May 1619 and renamed Batavia, became this "general rendezvous." It also became the strategic, administrative and economic centre of all their possessions from the Cape of Good Hope, to Timor, north of Australia.

Gradually they fortified those factories beyond the pale of the Mogul and in some places imposing castles were built. Castel Geldria at Pulicat, Naarden at Negapatam and Gustavus at Chinsura. Backed by their formidable sea power, their trade was safe. It was only when they tried to enforce a monopoly in Malabar that they were unsuccessful, for the Dutch in spite of all their castles and fortresses did not possess a base as strong as the Portuguese capital at Goa.

But the quest for spices and pepper in the Indian Seas, brought about a three-fold conflict; the Dutch against the Portuguese, the Portuguese and the English; and lastly the Dutch against the English. Dutch assault on Portuguese power was a continuation of their struggle against the despotic power of Spain, which they later transferred to Portugal. "Holland turned her despairing land revolt into a triumphant oceanic war and wanted no third competitor for the prize of victory."⁹² In this struggle for supremacy the Dutch East India Company outstripped the Portuguese and forged ahead of the English. Its immense power and prosperity and efficient administrative system were directly responsible for the success it achieved.

The ships which left Holland to trade in the East, were loaded with gold and silver in bullion, coins and jewellery; ironware and glassware; ingots of lead and pig iron, vermilion and coral; swords,

91. W.H. Moreland: *"From Akbar to Aurangzeb."*

92. Sir William Hunter: *"A History of British India, Vol. I."*

arms and ammunition and the material for making them; woollen cloth, hats and musical instruments such as trumpets; olives, dried fruits, oils, wines, cheese, pictures, curiosities and "toys".⁹³ Most of the requirements of Holland and Europe from Asia could be exchanged for these European goods, and what could not be so traded were paid for in gold, for the Dutch coined their own pagodas from the several mints they had in India.⁹⁴

Although Batavia became their general rendez-vous, the voyage to Holland was long and arduous and many vessels were damaged enroute. The Cape of Good Hope was convenient for ship repairs and for the transshipment of the piece goods and textiles which were traded along the coast of East Africa, Arabia and Persia. To the exports of Holland were therefore added the products of India, mainly cloth, which was exchanged for gold, ambergris, ivory and slaves from the East African ports; dates, conserves, gum, coffee, carpets, horses, quicksilver, gold, semi-precious stones and pearls from Arabia and Persia.

India had several rich and flourishing sea ports at that time, commanding hinterlands which yielded a variety of goods, commodities and produce, which were in demand elsewhere in India and in the other countries of the Indian Ocean. The Dutch traded at all these major ports, as well as the minor ones, and where Portuguese influence was exceptionally strong, as at Goa, Daman and Diu, their business was conducted through Indian agents and merchants.

From Tatta and Lahri Bandar⁹⁵ the Dutch obtained a variety of cotton goods (baftas and lawns), ivory, iron, indigo, sugar, rice, salt, tar and pitch, furniture, leather harness and toys.

Cambay was "the home and nursery of all that was best in India. It excelled in weaving, dyeing, embroidery and produced the finest cottons as white as snow"⁹⁶ as well as quilts, tortoiseshell, ivory and metal-work, furniture, pepper, indigo, wax, soap, sugar, wheat, rice, opium and perfumes and gems.

Surat, known as the Gate of Mecca, the City of the Sun, was one of the most eminent cities for trade in all India. Caravans from Golconda, Burhanpur, Agra, Delhi and Lahore passed through Surat; ships from Konkan, Malabar, Ceylon, Bengal, Malacca and Sumatra, from East Africa, Arabia and the Persian Gulf, bringing goods from

93. See Section III n. 33.

94. There were mints at Chinsura, Bimlipatam, Jaganadhapuram, Pulicat, Negapatam, Tuticorin, Cochin, and Surat. Dutch gold, silver and copper coins may be recognised by the Company's monogram "VOC" (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) on the reverse.

95. Changes in the Indus Delta reduced Lahri Bandar to insignificance and now even its site is doubtful.

96. Bal Krishna: *Commercial relations between India and England*.

Europe anchored here. Surat could produce and sell all that Cambay had to offer and more. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch had established themselves here and their trade and commerce was one of the most profitable.

The Malabar Coast produced pepper, ginger, cinnamon, coconuts, tamarind, rice, precious stones, painted and patterned tapestry, and Calicut a fine cloth which bore the name of 'calico.' Under the influence of the Portuguese and later the Dutch, Cochin supplanted Calicut as the main trade centre on the Malabar Coast.

Masulipatam on the East Coast of India and chief sea port of the kingdom of Golconda, provided diamonds, rubies and agate; indigo, rice, cowries and coir; besides an immense variety of cotton piece goods and chintzes. Marco Polo writes of the Masulipatam buckrams, "which looked like the tissues of a spider's web. . . . being exported to all quarters of the planet. There is no king or queen who might but be glad to wear them."

Finally there was Bengal, the "Paradise of Nations", producing an abundance of sugar, saltpetre, raw silk and cotton piece goods; as well as rice, wheat, opium, butter, scented oils, civet, ivory, black and red pottery, furniture and leather harness. In exchange for all these products of India,⁹⁷ the Dutch obtained from the Near East precious stones, silk and skins; from the Spice and Clove Islands, spice, cloves, camphor, resin, amber, and ivory. From Sumatra, gold, gems, silver, brass, copper, iron, sulphur and tortoise shell. From Borneo, considerable quantities of gold, the best diamonds, pearls, camphor, honey, wax and rice. From China, porcelain, silk, sugar, ginger, perfumes, gold leaf and wire, mother of pearl and tortoise shell; and from Japan, small quantities of indigo, sugar, rice and gold and silver.

India excelled all the nations of the world in spinning, weaving, and dyeing and Indian woven materials literally clothed all the peoples of the Indian Ocean and many in Europe as well.

The Dutch Company was primarily founded to trade in pepper and spices and these two commodities formed a valuable part of the homeward bound cargo in the first half of the seventeenth century. The European need for spices was due to the social life at that time in the North European countries; for, under the prevailing system, animals could be killed for meat only in summer and autumn. Provision for the rest of the year had to be made from animals killed in season. This was done either by "salting" or by "powdering". The latter process involved the use of a large quantity of mixed spices and its importance may be gauged by the frequent allusions to "pow-

97. *ibid.*

dered" meat in English literature. Gradually all kinds of food was spiced—meat, poultry, game, fish, fruit and even bread.⁹⁸

Initially pepper and spices had to be paid for in gold and silver brought all the way from Holland. As their trade expanded the Dutch found that these precious metals were available in Sumatra, Borneo, China and Japan,⁹⁹ which they obtained in exchange for Indian cloth. With this gold and silver they paid for the much needed pepper and spices from the Spice and Clove Islands and elsewhere. Finally they paid for pepper and spices in "imported cloth" as well. Sixty-five per cent of the spice production went to Europe and thirty-five per cent, east of Suez, where Surat was for a long time the most important factory for the disposal of cloves.¹⁰⁰

By the end of the seventeenth century, the European demand for Indian textiles and cotton piece goods and for Bengal silk, led to these goods taking priority over pepper and spices both in purchases and sales.

The eighteenth century saw the phenomenal growth of the tea and coffee trades which became more important than the textile group and as a result the business in pepper and spices declined still further.

This port to port trade of the Dutch yielded considerable profit. One hundred and fifty guilders invested at Surat could bring 450 guilders in the Moluccas, which reinvested at Masulipatam or again at Surat for the home market could earn over a thousand guilders in Holland.

There is no space here to consider all the ramifications of Dutch trade, but there is one aspect which is often glossed over—the existence of private trade alongside the Company's lawful business. In a way this was largely due to the inadequate salaries paid and the difficult and arduous conditions of service, and the temptingly easy opportunities to enrich oneself quickly by dishonest means. "Everyone from Governor-General to cabin boy traded on the side and everyone knew it."¹⁰¹ Its practice was denounced in the strongest terms both by the SEVENTEEN and by the Batavian authorities, and in spite of periodical checks, audits and inspections being carried out, the evil of private trading persisted. The Company even went to the extent of first allowing a 3% and then a 5% brokerage to their senior officials on the Company's merchandise in an attempt to control corrupt practices, but corruption and dishonesty remained.

Apart from bribery, opportunities for fraud and embezzlement were endless. The Company's accounts especially in the remoter

98. Moreland: *op. cit.*

99. Bal Krishna: *op. cit.*

100. Boxer: *op. cit.*

101. *ibid.*

factories could easily be manipulated. Purchased goods would be entered at higher prices in the ledger, stolen or damaged goods could be overvalued; subsistence and travelling allowance claims could be inflated. Building materials and workmen's wages could be charged at higher than actual rates. Johannes Ross, Director of Bengal in 1780 and a friend of Lord Clive, is said to have amassed half a million rupees in commissions, which he secretly remitted home through bills of exchange on the East India Company.

Bengal was the only region in India where the greatest illicit profits were made. Opium could be purchased at 70 to 75 rupees a measure, adulterated and sold at three times its price. The Inspecting Commissary General, van Rhee de dishonourably discharged the Chief of Hugli and several of his subordinates on account of private trade and embezzlement of Company's funds.

In the eighteenth century, Hendrik Becker the first reforming Governor-General tried unsuccessfully to stamp out these abuses, and not long after Becker had departed, there were two Governors in succession against whom the central authorities had to take harsh measures. The first was Pieter Vuyst, Governor of Ceylon and a man born in the East, who behaved like the worst type of oriental tyrant.¹⁰² In 1732 he was arrested by a commission specially sent by the SEVENTEEN and having been found guilty of the most revolting abuse of power, was executed in Batavia. The next was Versluys who was found guilty of private trading in rice. He was heavily fined and dishonourably discharged.

The exposure of these and other scandals had no lasting effect and contraband trade continued to flourish throughout the Dutch fort and factory system. It was private trade and the abuse of power which ruined the Company at the end of the eighteenth century. But it is also worth remembering that corruption in the English Company reached its zenith during the second half of the same century which was also the most prosperous period of that Company.

The division of duties¹⁰³ among the factory personnel depended on the size of the staff and the importance of the place. In some of the smaller agencies they were manned by two or three Dutchmen, whereas in a fortified harbour or garrison town like Pulicat, Negapatam or Chinsura there might be over a hundred Dutchmen.

The Chief Merchant or "opperhoofd" who carried the style of Senior Merchant (opper koopman), and whose salary varied between 80 and 100 florins a month exclusive of ration and subsistence allowance, dealt with the Indian merchants, ordered textiles, kept the

102. P. Geyl: *Cambridge History of India*. Vol V.

103. Boxer: *op. cit.*

money chest, received incoming cash and authorised the cashier to make payments.

The "tweede" or second in seniority kept the trading ledger, supervised the godowns and storehouses, helped to inspect the quality of the textiles and invoiced them for export. All outgoing correspondence had to be signed by the Chief and the second merchant.

The third merchant, either a "koopman" (merchant) or an "onder koopman" (junior merchant) whose salaries varied respectively between 40 and 60 florins and 36 and 40 florins, if available, were employed in buying goods in the interior. The other ranks; boek honder, writer or book-keeper (18 to 24 florins), assistant or clerk (16 to 24 florins) and the apprentice (10 florins) worked under the supervision of their superiors. Civilian control was the key-stone of the Dutch East India Company.

The senior-most merchant held the rank of "opper koopman" and even in highly fortified and strongly garrisoned settlements such as Pulicat, the person next to the Director or Commandeur was the opper koopman.

It may here be mentioned that the Dutch predikant or preacher received the same salary,¹⁰⁴ 80 florins a month, as the senior merchant (which needless to say was the cause of much discontent).

In India the nature of trade was mainly seasonal, where sea-borne traffic ran in the age-old routes dictated by the monsoon winds. Most of the factors would be busy in the trading season, but once the ships were loaded and despatched there was not much to do till the next season. During the off-season they disposed off all the unsold goods and tried to assemble merchandise for export.

The working hours¹⁰⁵ of the factors (which were seldom enforced) were from 6 to 11 a.m. and from 1 to 6 p.m. In 1750 the hours of work of the senior personnel were changed to 7 to 11 a.m.; and 2 to 5 p.m. Life in the remoter factories which had little or no communication with the outer world when the trading season was finished was the dulllest and the dreariest of routines and the day of the Dutch factor ended with a visit to the Chief which generally lasted till ten o'clock at night or even till midnight. A disagreeable way of life fit only for those who have no other way of spending their time than drowsing over a pipe of tobacco.

It is said that the Dutchman began his day with gin and tobacco and ended it with tobacco and gin; in the interval they drank grossly,

104. *ibid.*

105. *ibid.*

l lounged about, indulged in the essential siesta and transacted little business. Whether the latter statement is true or not, the fact remains that for 150 years their profits from trade were enormous. But one facet is conspicuous, that all Dutchmen had an insatiable thirst for strong drink, which became a well developed feature of their way of life in India and elsewhere—in the ranks of the Company's servants and the free Dutch traders. It seemed that the greater the earnings, the greater the thirst for strong drink.

The junior ranks—the clerks, sailors, soldiers and artisans led a “mean sort of life.” In fact the lot of a slave was much better than that of a Dutch sailor or soldier, who could be replaced for ten to twelve guilders. There were a considerable number of skilled artisans in the Company's service¹⁰⁶ carpenters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, armourers, furnituremakers, masons, bricklayers, cobblers, tailors, dyers, jewellers and so forth, whose salaries ranged from 12 to 16 florins a month (with the usual ration and subsistence allowances.) In the factories on the Coromandel Coast these artisans had their own “ambachtskwartier” or Craftsmen's Quarter, where Dutch and Indian artisans worked together. Besides these in the Company's service, there were those craftsmen who had retired and stayed on in India, setting up shop of their own and employing skilled slave labour. Such a person was Mr. Topander of Porto Novo.

Most of the senior officials, the Chief Merchants, the Commandeurs and the Directors lived in luxury and kept up considerable state. At Surat for instance the Director moved out in state with one (or two) elephants, a certain number of horses, chariots of ceremony and palanquins with trappings of silver and gold.¹⁰⁷ The Chief of Devanampatam, a secondary factory, appeared in public with a suite of standard bearers, trumpeters, musicians, twenty armed attendants and a swarm of coolies besides a body-guard of Dutch soldiers.¹⁰⁸ The intention was evidently to impress the local Indian population with their wealth, grandeur and power, and also to indicate that they were equal (if not superior) to the local governor and other European factors. Even in death their tombs and graves were imposing—probably a shade less impressive than the mausoleums of the Mogul governors and definitely overshadowing the tombs of the English Presidents. Their residences, gardens and factories were clean and tidy and were spoken of as the healthiest of all European settlements. At Wallanda Bandar, their estate had a battery mounted with twenty cannon, a company of soldiers and an elegant country house. The “common table” was loaded with

106. *ibid.*

107. J. M. Campbell: *Gaz. of Bombay Presidency 1877.*

108. Boxer: *op. cit.*

the best of food available, an abundance of wine, and gold and silver plate worth Rs. 30,000.

Most of the Dutch merchants were married and this often led to disputes on questions of precedence, until in 1755 orders were passed laying down not only the rank of each Company servant, but which of them might wear velvet, who may wear gold lace, and among the women settling the number of attendants, value of their jewellery and even the quantity of gilt on their children's chaises, for the ladies were prone to insist upon every prerogative attached to the station of their respective husbands.¹⁰⁹

VII. MALABAR

The west coast of India was effectively controlled by the Portuguese who possessed a string of fortresses along the shore, some of them commanding excellent harbours. There was Diu¹¹⁰ on the Kathiawar peninsula, Daman, Bassein, Bombay, Chaul and further south—Goa, Cochin and Quilon. A little to the north of Goa at Vengurla the Dutch had built a small fort in 1637. The Dutch did not venture into Malabar until they had firmly established themselves in Ceylon, and this took nearly 20 years, during which time they expanded their activities along the East Coast of India upto Bengal and Burma.

At this time certain political changes took place in Europe and in South America which had their repercussions in Ceylon and India. In 1640, the Duke of Braganza threw off Spanish rule and was proclaimed King John IV of Portugal. This caused a set-back to Dutch expansion as their attack against Portugal was in reality directed against Spain. A ten years truce followed, but in 1646 a revolution broke out in Brazil¹¹¹ and that province passed from the Dutch West India Company back to the Portuguese. This was sufficient cause for the Dutch to interfere and help their old friend Raja Singha in his war with the Portuguese, by seizing Negombo. They also gained for themselves the control of the pepper and cinnamon lands of Ceylon. Finally the ten years truce ran out, and the Dutch were morally free to re-commence their schemes of conquest which were interrupted in 1642. Although the Portuguese were successful in Brazil, they lost all they held in Ceylon and almost all they held in India.

With the arrival of more ships and men from Holland, the Dutch attacked and captured Colombo in 1656. Raja Singha now realised the insecurity of his position and broke off his alliance with the Dutch. It was feared that he might reconcile himself with the Por-

100. J. S. Stavorinus: *Voyages to the East Indies*. Trans. S. H. Wilcocke 3 vols.

110. Diu, Daman and Goa remained with Portugal till 1961.

111. The Dutch had a large colony in N.E. Brazil, called New Holland.

tuguese who still held Manar and Jaffnapatam in North Ceylon and Tuticorin and Negapatam in India. The Dutch could not feel secure until these regions were in their possession and until they had expelled the Portuguese from these last strongholds and "cleaned up that whole corner,"¹¹² which Rijkloff van Goens himself undertook to do.

Manar, Jaffnapatam, Tuticorin and Negapatam were captured and on 26 December 1658 he turned towards Quilon which he invested. Posting van der Meyden as commander of the garrison, van Goens sailed for Cannanore, in the far north. Enroute he received instructions to detach 500 men for Batavia. He returned to Quilon and thence to Ceylon, but hardly had his fleet departed when the Portuguese attacked the Dutch position in Quilon, recaptured the fort and compelled van der Meyden to retreat to Colombo.

Ever since their arrival in India, the Dutch had made agreements and treaties of friendship with the Zamorins of Calicut. For over two hundred years the Zamorins were the acknowledged leaders of the princes of the Malabar and champions against foreign aggression. They were also the enemies of the Rajas of Cochin, whom the Portuguese had elevated to the position of an independent ruler.

Calicut or Kozhikod the Cock Fort was the share of Cheraman Perumal which fell to the Zamorin on the departure of the former for Mecca.¹¹³ It was so small that the crow of a cock could be heard all over it.

Around the legendary fort of Velapuram built by the Zamorin to secure his possessions, grew up a great city noted for its trade and its security. Here came the Chinese in their large floating hulks "with huge wooden anchors which hold in all weather," and in Marco Polo's time they had the lion's share of the trade. They brought copper in ballast, gold, silver, silk cloths and cloves which they bartered for pepper, cinnamon, ginger and cotton cloth, known to the world as calico. When Ibn Batuta visited Calicut in the fourteenth century he found that the Arabs had supplanted the Chinese.

With the arrival of the Portuguese and their interference in the Arab trade, Calicut suffered. Under the influence of the Portuguese and later the Dutch, Cochin became the main centre of trade on the Malabar Coast and Calicut receded into comparative insignificance.

Cochin on the other hand had a fine harbour and wonderful inland water communications. It was in every way superior to Cali-

112. Instructions to van Goens.

113. Almost all the religious sects of South India—Islam, Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity—have claimed Cheraman as their convert.

cut. The first Portuguese fort built in India was at Cochin in 1503 which remained their headquarters till 1530 when Goa was made the capital of Portuguese India. Yet Cochin remained an important port and occupied a pivotal position on the Malabar Coast.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Dutch policy was not to defeat the Portuguese and to assume their political power. Their intention was to further their trade and commercial interests, or better still to obtain a monopoly of trade—to which end it became necessary to oust the Portuguese. "If we are so lucky as to defeat them, the whole coast of Malabar and the pepper trade will be ours. For once the Portuguese are turned out of Cochin they are turned out of India."¹¹⁴

The Dutch fleet was wintering at Pulicat, when van Goens received orders to proceed to the West Coast, (where he would be joined by a squadron under Commodore Roothers), and to renew the attack on Malabar. Quilon this time offered little resistance and was occupied on 5 December 1661. From here van Goens sailed for Cranganore, which was besieged for 13 days and which capitulated only after reinforcements from the Zamorin arrived. Van Goens' forces suffered heavy casualties, which seriously retarded his subsequent campaign.

The stage was now set for van Goens to strike at Cochin, for which purpose he occupied the island of Vaipeen. His plan was to use Vaipeen as a base for operations against Cochin which he realised would be a more difficult campaign than the conquest of Cranganore and Quilon. The siege of Cochin, a three-pronged attack from the south, the west and from the north dragged on for three weeks. Dutch forces were reduced to 1400 men and war materials were running short. When reinforcements for the Portuguese arrived in the form of the troops of the Raja of Champakasseri and five armed vessels from Goa, van Goens decided to raise the siege and withdrew to Ceylon.

The second attack on Cochin commenced after the monsoon, in October 1662. This time the Dutch were not taking "any chances." Two fleets were assembled under Hutstaart and van Goens. Reinforcements from Batavia arrived, to which were added a large body of Singalese troops. Cochin was bombarded for 42 days, when the Portuguese commander Don Ignatio Sarmiento, realising that further resistance was only adding to his already large number of casualties, surrendered on 6 January 1663. Dutch casualties amounted to 360 dead, 300 in hospital and 500 seriously wounded. Shortly afterwards

114. K. M. Panikkar: *"Malaar and the Dutch,"*

the last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar Coast, Cannanore fell to the Dutch.

As soon as the Portuguese were expelled from Cochin, van Goens established himself in the fort and took in hand the work of consolidating Dutch influence in Malabar. A commercial and political system had already been established by the Portuguese and the Dutch as their successors, claimed all the rights hitherto enjoyed by the Portuguese in Cochin. In fact all over the Malabar Coast the Dutch took over the Portuguese system and administered it with efficiency and greater attention to trade profits. The commercial power of the Arabs had been destroyed in the sixteenth century and in their place rose the Konkans¹¹⁵ who had worked as agents for the Portuguese and who were equally serviceable to the Dutch.

The Dutch also inherited from the Portuguese a system of political relations with the rajas and princes of the Malabar, on which they built their own commercial and territorial policy. The Cochin Raja from the beginning was accepted as a vassal whose rights and authority were derived from the Company. The Dutch looked upon him as a raja in whose affairs they had every right to intervene, more especially since the Chief of Paliyam (the minister of Cochin) had already become their liegeman.

With the Zamorin, their relations were even older. Before the attack on Cochin in 1662, van Goens signed a new treaty with the Zamorin, by which the Dutch secured the rights to the exclusive purchase of pepper in Calicut in exchange for which the island of Vaipeen was promised to the Zamorin. When the campaign was concluded the Zamorin demanded that the Cochin Raja be reduced to what he was before the Portuguese had elevated him to the status of an independent ruler and that Vaipeen should be annexed to Calicut. Van Goens ignored these demands, as a result of which the Dutch not only fell out with their old ally but they eventually involved themselves in a financially ruinous campaign against Calicut.

In 1662 a treaty had also been concluded with the Raja of Travancore by which the Dutch obtained the monopoly of the pepper trade in Travancore, in return for an annual present of munitions and 15,000 fanams.¹¹⁶

Van Goens decided to further strengthen his position. The dispossessed prince of the elder branch, the Pretender to the throne of Cochin died before he could be crowned and his nephew Vira

115. The Konkans (Canarese) had been imported into Cochin by the Portuguese. Most of them were brokers, agents, traders and wholesale merchants. The Dutch claimed jurisdiction over them.

116. About Rs. 5000.

Kerala Rama was crowned with a crown bearing the arms of the Dutch East India Company, which van Goens placed on his head.

Van Goens was succeeded by Jacob Hutstaart, as Chief of Cochin. Hutstaart was relieved by Pieter de Bitter, who was followed by Charles Valkenburg, who in turn was succeeded by Ludolff Colster who became the first "Commandeur" of Cochin.

In 1673, Baron Hendrik Adrian van Rheede tot Drakensten¹¹⁷ was appointed Commandeur of Cochin on the special recommendation of van Goens. Van Rheede decided to consolidate the Malabar trade by effective political power and forced the Cochin raja to make a family settlement which further reduced his authority. The junior princes were excluded from the management of the state which was to be exclusively administered by the Paliyam chief, and no adoptions to the Cochin Royal Family could be made without the consent of the Dutch Commandeur. All the actions and resolutions of the Raja and his ministers were subject to the approval of the Commandeur and all those who opposed¹¹⁸ the Company, without exception were liable to punishment. Another treaty in February 1764 was made between Eravi Varma the Second Prince and Goda Varma the Fourth Prince, whereby these princes promised that no chiefs would thereafter be elected rajas of Cochin, but such as are the descendants of the five lawful families, of which three are extinct and two existing. Finally, van Rheede negotiated an agreement with the principal nobles of Cochin: "the 30,000 Nairs of Karappuram, the 300 of Badathala, the 300 of Kandamthurithy, the Meloor Madathil Kaimal, the 300 of Bapeen and those of Paliyattu"¹¹⁹ by which they formed a league to resist the enemies of the Company and of the kingdom of Cochin.

In 1681, Vira Kerala Rama on the advice of the Dutch Commandeur, Martin Huysman adopted into the Royal Family, two princes and four princesses from the Chaliyur branch. This adoption was disputed for several years until in 1689, Mangat, Parur, Manakkulam and the Madampies of Karappuram decided to solve the issue by force. The Cochin raja had neither the support of his people nor of his nobles except the Chief of Paliyam. On the advice of the Dutch he appealed to the Zamorin of Calicut, who chose to forget his age-old quarrel with Cochin. For his help the Zamorin

117. Van Rheede came to Ceylon in 1657 at the age of twentytwo. He was a member of the Utrecht nobility and served the Company in several capacities—as Commissary-General, as an officer in the Armed Forces and Commandeur of Cochin from 1673 to 1677. With the assistance of Malayali and Portuguese scholars he compiled the "Hortus Malabaricus" an exhaustive work on the plant life of Malabar. He died on board the 'Dregelant' in 1691 and was buried in the Dutch cemetery at Surat. See Section IV.

118. This particularly referred to the Nair nobility who claimed immunity from punishment.

119. Panikkar: *op. cit.*

was promised Chettwaye which he had long coveted. The Vetta-thunad or Vettom faction was defeated at Alwaye and the Zamorin took possession of Chettwaye.

The War of the Vettom Succession established Dutch influence in Malabar, but it also saw the reversal of the traditional policy of the Zamorin, who by allying himself with his enemies and the enemies of Malabar, sacrificed the position of leadership held by the Mana Vikramans¹²⁰ for over two centuries.

In 1693, Ravi Varma succeeded Vira Kerala Rama. In his short reign of five years he tried to involve the Dutch with the Zamorin; but the Company scrupulously avoided any further conflict.

In 1698 Ravi Varma died. He was succeeded by Rama Varma with whom Hendrik Zwaadekroon made a fresh agreement, which reduced Cochin to an appendage of the Dutch East Company.

The chief attraction of the Malabar was pepper and all the Dutch activity on the coast was directed towards obtaining the maximum pepper trade at the minimum cost. After the subordination of Cochin, all the contracts and agreements with the princes contained a clause that pepper should only be sold to the Dutch. Such a system could only be imposed by political power backed by a considerable army, which could coerce the Malabar princes to proceed against their own merchants who sold pepper to other than Dutch factors. To this end Cochin was reduced to a position of utter dependence. The Dutch claimed the right of interfering in every matter of the Cochin state including the affairs of the Royal Family; they also claimed suzerainty over Mangat, Parur and Edappali, and even treated Quilon as a dependency. But the pepper monopoly broke down. The rajas and princes were openly selling pepper to outsiders and Kayamkulam not only harboured Captain Kydd the pirate, but also traded with him.

The failure of the policy of enforcing by arms the monopoly of pepper, was all too evident to the Dutch. So in 1697, the Company decided to reduce its garrisons and to withdraw from a number of outposts it had built. The garrisons at Cochin, Cannanore, Cranganore and Quilon were retrenched and the outposts at Papanetty, Procaud and Kayamkulam were withdrawn, the Senior Merchants there being instructed to watch affairs. Naval and artillery forces were also considerably reduced.

These wide-spread reductions were done because the ostentation of great power (which cost the Company so much) had not

120. Mana Vikrama is the the name which the Zamorin assumes on succeeding to the throne.

succeeded in producing in the Malabar princes that degree of awe necessary for carrying on an extensive trade. These economies also adversely affected the Company's interests. War broke out between the Zamorin and Cochin into which the Dutch were drawn. It led to three successive campaigns against Calicut which cost the Company two million guilders. In 1701 the Zamorin invaded Cochin territory. Rama Varma complained bitterly to the Batavian authorities that he was entitled to assistance by virtue of the existing treaty. The reply of Jan van Hoorn, the Governor-General, is interesting as it indicates Dutch policy in the Malabar: "I do not know how much treasure and how much blood has been spent by the Honourable Company to aggrandise your family. But I know one thing. Our advice to put the affairs of the state in order has been uniformly disregarded by your Highness. Your Highness has lent your ears to the selfish counsels of the Chetties, Nambudries and Pattars; still the Company are not averse to give support to Cochin agreeably to our treaty, but they will not at all times send soldiers to fight your Highness' battles. For the last 50 years Malabar has been a source of large expense and little gain."¹²¹

But the Company did intervene and informed the Zamorin that an attack on Cochin would be considered an attack on the Dutch themselves. This declaration had its desired effect and the Zamorin, against the advice of the Heir Apparent and the Commander of his army, withdrew and returned Chettwaye.

It was only when the Dutch began to fortify Chettwaye in 1714, that the Zamorin decided to strike again. In the early hours of the morning of 22 January 1715, when the soldiers were asleep, the Zamorin's troops crossed the river and occupied the incomplete fort of Chettwaye. When this news reached Cochin, Barent Ketel the Commandeur himself took the field. Ketel's attack failed and he had to retire to Cochin. A second attack in January the following year, ignominiously failed. The authorities at Batavia realised that unless their prestige was regained their days were numbered on the Malabar Coast. Orders were given to concentrate all available troops at Cochin. A large army¹²² was assembled whose command was given to William Jacobsz.

Jacobsz issued a letter to the 42 kings and princes of Malabar,¹²³ declaring that he had been sent to punish the Zamorin and to humble his power. His first action was to attack Pappanetty. The superiority of the Dutch forces was all too evident and the Calicut forces withdrew to Chettwaye. The next and final assault was at

121. Letter of Jan van Hoorn dated 15 November 1705. Quoted by Panikkar.

122. Approx. 25,000 troops.

123. Galletti has listed these 42 chieftains in his *'The Dutch in Malabar'*.

Oorakam, where the Zamorin's army was overwhelmed and he sued for peace. Chettwaye was returned to the Dutch, the Zamorin agreed to pay an indemnity of 85000 gold fanams¹²⁴ and granted the Dutch the right to trade in his territories. This campaign had cost the Dutch two million guilders.

After the Treaty of Chettwaye of 1717, the Dutch resorted to the policy of intervening and interfering in the affairs of the smaller princes whereby they sought to blockade the increasing trade and influence of the English. They even considered 'conquering' portions of the Malabar and holding them as estates. But political conditions in Java and retrenchment in the Malabar establishments made them unable to commence any large military operation. Malabar was a comparatively unimportant settlement as far as the Indian establishments were concerned. It was subordinate to Ceylon, whereas Surat, Bengal and Coromandel, and Ceylon were directly subordinate to Batavia. This extended control prevented the Dutch pursuing a forward policy in the Malabar, as adequate and timely support was seldom forthcoming. So they contented themselves by setting one Malabar prince against another, until the princes of Malabar learnt that they also could play the English against the Dutch, and the French against both.

The greatest rivals to Dutch trade were the English, who were prepared to buy pepper at higher prices. Both Travancore and Calicut were decidedly friendly towards the English; and since the Dutch could not exclude them, the Raja of Cochin was used to attack those princes through whose territory the trade was carried on to, and with, the English. The French also were at Mahe and the Danes obtained their pepper by supplying arms and ammunition to Calicut.

In 1729 Martanda Varma succeeded to the throne of Travancore. His early action against Quilon¹²⁵ and his later action against Kayamkulam, brought Baron van Imhoff, Governor of Ceylon to Travancore to negotiate an agreement whereby Martanda Varma would spare the principalities of Mangat, Parur, Vadakkumkur, Thekkumkur, Porakkad, Maruthurkulangara, Peritaly and Attingal.¹²⁶ Martanda Varma's attitude was simple and straightforward. He did not want Dutch interference in Malabar politics. Since peaceful methods had failed the Dutch resorted to war and fortified their bases between Kolachel and Cape Comorin. Martanda Varma attacked and defeated the Dutch at Kolachel on 10 August 1741. Of the 24 Dutch prisoners taken at Kolachel, two were officers,

124. About Rs. 30,000.

125. For a detailed account of the policy and aims of Martanda Varma, see 'The Dutch in Malabar' by P.C. Alexander.

126. Panikkar: *op. cit.*

Eustachio D'Lannoy and Doncaud, a Frenchman. Both officers entered the Travancore service and D'Lannoy was instrument in reorganising and remodelling the Travancore Army, making it equal if not superior to any force the Dutch could put into the field. Within the next two years the eight principalities mentioned above were absorbed by Travancore, and all the trade agreements with these princes became useless. Even the right of jurisdiction over the coastal Christians had to be given up.

Hardly had the Dutch recovered from Kolachel, when the Zamorin invaded Cochin and in 9 months regained all the possessions his predecessors had lost. He also recaptured Chettwaye.

Peace with Travancore was an immediate necessity. The main clauses of the Treaty of Mavelikara of 1754 were that the English factories were to remain in Travancore; the Dutch would give full support by land, sea and with war materials to Martanda Varma if any other European power attacked Travancore; that one and a half million pounds of pepper would be annually sold to the Dutch; and the Dutch undertook not to interfere in favour of anyone with whom Martanda Varma or his successors were at war.

The Dutch willingly and knowingly surrendered all pretensions of political power and betrayed their allies whose integrity they had pledged themselves to support. Cochin's position was insecure for if Martanda Varma chose to attack it the Dutch, bound by the Treaty were to remain neutral.

What really prompted the Dutch to agree to the clause of non-intervention (for they had not suffered a crushing defeat) was the loss of their pepper trade which they were most anxious to regain. In 1726 they had exported nearly two million pounds of pepper. In 1746 this had fallen to 5400 pounds. Since it was not possible to subdue Travancore it was expedient to obtain the best terms for their trade at any cost. After the Treaty, they collected ten million pounds of pepper in the four years ending 1756.¹²⁷

From the beginning the power of the Dutch Company was confined to Cochin and its environs. They were never sovereign anywhere in the Malabar and did not seriously entertain the idea of conquering the country. The Zamorin's territories were beyond their influence and Martanda Varma of Travancore was more friendly with the English than with the Dutch. All they had, and claimed was political authority over Cochin and its dependencies and the coastal Christians at Quilon. After the Treaty of Mavelikara, the Company was allowed to trade and to retain its influence in Cochin.

127. *ibid.*

With the neutrality of the Dutch established, Martanda Varma extended his boundaries from Cape Comorin to the Periyar River, and importing Maravar (Tamilian) mercenaries he suppressed the Malayalam princes. The subjugated princes saw the ruin of Malabar by a prince whose strength was drawn from Tamilian troops. The first revolt against Travancore saw the end of the power of Cochin. The second revolt in 1754 led by Purrakkad, and the deposed rulers Thekkumkur and Vadakkumkur caused Martanda Varma to seek the help of Hyder Ali of Mysore. It was also the cause of the subsequent disasters which befell Travancore.

Both the warrior chiefs of Malabar passed away in 1758. But the ancient feud between Cochin and Calicut continued, as a result of which the Cochin raja made an alliance with Rama Varma (the nephew of Martanda Varma) against the Zamorin. Travancore and Calicut independently realised that sooner or later Hyder Ali would turn towards Malabar. So the Zamorin agreed to make peace with Cochin, to withdraw from the territories his predecessor had occupied fourteen years earlier and to pay in indemnity of Rs. 15,99,999.¹²⁸ The Dutch and the Cochin raja also felt that an invasion by the Mysorean was imminent. In 1762 a treaty was signed between Travancore, Cochin and Calicut and in the same year Hyder Ali conquered Mangalore¹²⁹ and Bednur and extended his way into Malabar.

In 1764 Breekpote became Commandeur of Cochin and at the same time the Batavian authorities recommended the destruction of the fort at Cannanore. This was not done as Cannanore was ideally suited for trade. The establishment was reduced and the merchandise and ammunition was transferred to Cochin. They were prepared to sell Cannanore to Hyder Ali, provided the Dutch Chief Merchant would be allowed to reside there and carry on his trade. Hyder Ali ignored the proposal.

In 1766 Hyder Ali made himself master of Chirakkal and later in the same year took Calicut, the Zamorin committing suicide by setting fire to the palace. Breekpote watched these events with anxious eyes and decided to send a mission to Calicut to request Hyder Ali to respect the Company's rights in Chettwaye and Mapranam; and Cochin and Travancore should not be attacked as they were allies of the Dutch. Hyder Ali suggested that the Dutch enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him and provide him with 1000 European troops. He was prepared to respect the Company's

128. Accounts differ as to the amount of the indemnity.

129. The Dutch had a factory at Mangalore, which Hyder Ali spared.

rights in Chettwaye and Mapranam subject to his right to march through them. He also agreed to spare Cochin on payment of an annual tribute of four lakhs of rupees and 8 elephants, and Travancore for fifteen lakhs of rupees and 30 elephants. Since Breekepot was not able to accept such extensive commitments he replied that the matter would have to be referred to Batavia. This answer met the situation for the time, as Hyder Ali had to leave Malabar to meet the Maratha invasion. In 1773 Hyder Ali claimed the principality of Cranganore (a feudatory of the Zamorin) which the Company tried to prove was a fief of theirs. Sardar Khan, Hyder's general overran Cranganore.

In 1776, the Mysorean demanded the right of passage through Cochin to attack Travancore. Moens who was now Commandeur replied that no answer had come from Batavia, thereupon Sardar Khan invaded Cochin and captured Trichur, while the Dutch in their anxiety to secure their trade looked on as their ally (and vassal) was being humiliated. Chettwaye's turn came next when Sardar Khan claimed 20 years arrears of revenue and took the Dutch factors prisoners. Pappanetty was invaded, and the factory occupied. He then invaded Cranganore and laid seige to the Dutch fortress there.

Dutch prestige and influence in Malabar was on the verge of being extinguished. They had either to abdicate and withdraw from Malabar or stand up to Hyder Ali, which, with the forces then at their disposal they were unable to do. Travancore declined to help on the grounds that he had allied himself with the English and the Nawab of the Carnatic.

So the Dutch decided to stand their ground and urgently called the arrival of troops from Ceylon, the Mysorean did not open the for reinforcements from Ceylon.¹³⁰ Aya Kotta was fortified. With attack on Aya Kotta. Honour satisfied, Moens opened negotiations with Hyder Ali, but before any agreement could be reached, in 1778 war broke out with the English, which prevented Hyder Ali taking any further action in the Malabar for the present.

In 1788 Tipu Sultan who had succeeded his father proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch. He also offered to purchase the forts of Cochin, Cranganore and Aya Kotta. He was really interested in Aya Kotta whereby he could attack Travancore. John Gerard van Angelbeck instead of acceding to this request sold Cranganore and Aya Kotta to Rama Varma for three lakhs of rupees¹³¹ This transaction was made after mature consideration by the authorities in Cochin and Batavia. The Malabar establishments had al-

130. P. C. Alexander: *The Dutch in Malabar*.

131. *op. cit.* Appendix III.

ways been a matter of considerable anxiety to the Company as the income from trade was never commensurate with the expenses of government. In fact the Governor General of Batavia had once written that he "would rather wish that the ocean had swallowed the coast of Malabar a hundred years ago." Though the transaction concerning the transfer of these forts was carried out in the presence of the English agent Powney, it evoked criticism from the English governor of Madras and Tipu also claimed these forts on the grounds that they belonged to the Cochin raja who was now his tributary. The Dutch replied that nothing could now be done as the transaction was completed and it would be difficult to retrace their steps. Tipu Sultan thereupon marched upon Travancore regardless. The Travancore Lines built by D'Lannoy and defended by the Travancore Army succeeded in withstanding the Mysorean attack.

Tipu Sultan's second attack against Travancore succeeded to some extent, but while he waited on the northern bank of the Periyar for the floods to subside, he learnt of Lord Cornwallis' advance against Seringapatam. By the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) Tipu Sultan lost his Malabar possessions. The Cochin raja was restored and taken under the protection of the English and his age-old agreements with the Dutch were respected. But as Angelbeck in his memoirs wrote, "if the English were allowed to thrust their little finger into these regions, they would not rest until they had thrust in their whole arm." It was only a question of time before they thrust out the Dutch from Malabar.

The possessions of the Dutch were now reduced to Fort Cochin and to a few acres of land at Quilon. Their commercial and territorial influence in the Malabar had been shattered.

In 1793 Jan Lambertus van Spall became Commandeur. He was the last Commandeur of Cochin. The Dutch East India Company was virtually bankrupt—Dutch power in the east was declining and Holland was subjected to foreign invasion. On 8 January 1794 the Statholder fled to England. The English took measures to prevent the Dutch settlements in India from falling into the hands of the French and a proclamation was issued by the Dutch authorities to all governors and commandeurs overseas:—"We have thought it necessary to write to you that his Britannic Majesty's troops shall be admitted and take possession of the forts in our colonies and that they are to be considered as the troops of a kingdom in friendship and alliance with their Mightinesses, in case the colonies should be summoned by the French." But the danger to the Dutch in Malabar was not from the French but from the English.¹³²

Major Petrie Commanding the 77th Regiment marched from Calicut with instructions to take possession of Cochin Fort, by force, if necessary. When negotiations for a peaceful transfer of Cochin failed since van Spall decided to defend the Fort, Petrie decided to open fire. A well placed cannon ball landed in the powder magazine which blew up, and van Spall surrendered on 20 October 1795.

VIII. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUTCH

The Dutch East India Company:

The Chief Executive of the Company's eastern possessions was the Governor General whose headquarters was at Batavia. He was assisted by a Council of nine members¹³³ whose "qualifications" were:

The FIRST Member: The most able merchant who can be found.

The SECOND Member: A valiant and able sailor—a Vice Admiral.

The THIRD Member: A most able and experienced officer of the army.

The FOURTH Member: A person learned in law and equity.

The FIFTH Member: The Director General of all offices of trade in India.

The remaining four members were the Directors of the Moluccas, Coromandel, Amboyna and Banda.

Alexander¹³⁴ has distinguished six services in the Company—political, ecclesiastical, naval, military, medical and artisan. I am of the opinion that there were three services: the political which was actually commercial and which included the army and the navy, the ecclesiastical and the artisans.

All the Company's employees in addition to their salary received ration and subsistence allowance and latterly the senior officials were allowed a 5% commission on the profits of their establishment. The Commandeur of Cochin, who was comparatively junior to the Directors of Surat, Bengal and Coromandel could earn nearly Rs. 30,000 a year.

The strength of the Company lay in its sound system of organisation. The English acknowledged the superiority of the Dutch administrative system to the extent that Elihu Yale¹³⁵ Governor of Madras in 1687 sent the Directors of the English East India Company a book containing the Dutch methods "... as there appears in

133. Danvers: *Dutch activities in the East*.

134. P. C. Alexander: *The Dutch in Malabar*.

135. Yale University, one of the leading universities in the United States received its name from Elihu Yale who endowed it largely in 1716.

this, great wisdom and policy, we recommend to you frequent reading and consideration of what is contained in these papers, which the oftener you read the more you will discover the wisdom of the persons who contrived those methods... Our design is to get up the Dutch government among the English in the Indies, for the good of posterity..."

With a few exceptions, the Company's officers were men trained in administration—highly competent both in business and in government. The system of Councils and superintendance by Commissaries¹³⁶ kept the administrative machinery in good form. Every action was deliberated upon, every incident from the personal behaviour of their own subordinates, the activities of other traders (Indian and foreign) to the political changes in the land were faithfully recorded and communicated to the superior authorities. Every year the Governor General and Council would write a report to the SEVENTEEN on the state of trade throughout Asia.¹³⁷ Some of these "generale missieven" ran to over a thousand pages, with attachments in original or copies of letters from subordinate factories to Batavia or letters exchanged between factories. Each retiring Director or Commandeur usually left a memorandum describing the trade and other relevant matter of his region, for the guidance of his successor.

This bureaucratic system had all the advantages of bureaucracy without its disadvantages. Since the business of the Company was mainly commercial its method of work which reduced it to a machine did not have the evil of separating the officials from the people. Dutch merchants had at all times to deal with local princes, governors and merchants, with weavers, dyers, planters, farmers and carriers.

For one hundred and fifty years the Company was financially sound. Primarily created for trade, its officers were never allowed to forget that trade and profit came first. This is what made their business in India and in Malabar so prosperous even when their territorial and political influence had ceased.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, only a public guarantee of the Company's shares enabled it to carry on. Everybody realised that the State must take a hand in the affairs of that body, but the Netherlands shaken by internal dissension¹³⁸ was incapable of energetic action.

136. The most notable being Baron Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakensteyn.
137. T. Raychaudhari: *Dutch records relating to Indian History*. (By courtesy of the Royal Netherlands Embassy, New Delhi.).

138. Pieter Geyl: *Cambridge History of India Vol. V*.

In 1799 the Dutch East India Company was formally dissolved and its debts and possessions were taken over by the Batavian Republic. But before this, all the Dutch factories and settlements in India had passed to the English. They were all (with the exception of Cochin) restored to Holland in 1814, but that government made no effort to revive them and in 1825 all of them reverted to the English.

Administrative Policy:

The only policy the Dutch followed in India was maximum profits at minimum expense and to a large extent this was successful. Otherwise, Dutch policy changed to suit changed circumstances and differed with different princes, all over India. In fact theirs was a policy of adjustment.

The Dutch had three spheres of activity in India—the purely commercial, territorial and political. In the dominions of the Great Mogul where they had two separate directorates, one at Surat and the other at Chinsura for Bengal and modern Bihar, they had no territorial jurisdiction or political influence. They lived as foreign merchants on the strength of a firman received from the Imperial Court, which was renewed several times,¹³⁹ and on each occasion considerable sums of money had to be paid for fresh privileges. In spite of harassment by local officials and the rivalry and competition of other European merchants, the profits of these establishments were the highest in India.

In Coromandel, they commenced trading like all other foreign business communities in South India, where the institution of mercantile extra-territoriality existed. It was a short step from extra-territoriality to the acquisition of territorial rights of their own; and on the East Coast of India from Bimlipatam to Tuticorin, they owned or had leased under agreements, the ground on which their forts, factories and residences stood. They had territorial jurisdiction over the villages and lands adjacent to their establishments.

In the Malabar, which they entered after they were well-established in India and in Ceylon, they had to expel the Portuguese in order to obtain the pepper monopoly. To enforce this monopoly they had to use the force of arms becoming entangled in local politics, as a result of which they enforced their "sovereign rights." They tried to pursue their trade with the backing of political power and when they realised the folly of such a policy it was too late—they lost both their trade and their political power.

The merchants who captured Cochin Fort realised that the whole of Cochin could be subdued, and when the Cochin raja was

139. The Surat firman was renewed 28 times between 1618 and 1729.

crowned under the insignia of the Company,¹⁴⁰ the Dutch ceased to be traders and became a sovereign power responsible for protecting the prince whom they placed on the throne. Having established their supremacy in Cochin they tried to extend it to the other parts of the Malabar. Their fortifications at Cochin, Cranganore, Cannanore, Aya Kotta and elsewhere made them a power to be reckoned with, by the weak and divided princes and nobles of Malabar.

If they had confined themselves to the North, they might have succeeded in maintaining their possessions there. But when they interfered in the affairs of Travancore it was the beginning of the end. The rise of Martanda Varma altered the political system of the Malabar and in that revolutionary process of change, the Dutch found their position untenable. They tried to play the role of arbitrator in South Malabar, but Martanda Varma was not prepared to heed Dutch mediation, warnings and threats. This eventually led to disastrous wars with Travancore. Finally making the best of a bad bargain, they accepted Martanda Varma's terms at Mavelikara in 1753. The Treaty of Mavelikara was the inglorious end of the Company's activities in Malabar. It brought neither credit nor cash—it stripped them of all power and reduced the Dutch to their original position of merchants.

No longer did they interfere in the quarrels and wars of the local princes. By their treaty with Travancore they consciously abrogated all their former treaty obligations with the Malabar chiefs and rulers. In other words they let their old friends down. It was this policy of non-interference which completely annihilated Dutch influence in Malabar. During the Mysorean invasion, the Dutch displayed a timid diplomacy which made them look ridiculous in the eyes of the Malabar princes. Initially they tried to cultivate Hyder Ali's friendship. With Tipu Sultan they took care not to give offence, but Tipu realised their impotence. The Dutch had behaved in a typical trader-like manner. Political power had long ago slipped out of their hands and they had ceased to matter in settling the affairs of Malabar. Commercial interests had governed their administrative policy, and their administrative policy in Malabar was the ruination of their commercial interests.

Justice:

The administration of justice was a matter in which the Dutch took special pride. Even in those parts of India where they did not possess extensive territorial rights, Courts of Justice were established "to decide and grant executions both in criminal and civil

140. Alexander: *op. cit.*

matters" concerning their own countrymen, or Indians and others who had placed themselves under Dutch authority.

For over a hundred years the Chief or Commandeur or Director used to be the President of the Court of Justice. But after the trial and punishment of Pieter Vuyst in 1732,¹⁴¹ heads of establishment were expressly forbidden from interfering in judicial affairs, and the Second-in-Council in each settlement was given the presidency of the Court. All that the chief of the settlement was allowed to do was either to approve the decision or stay the execution of sentence and refer the matter to the Batavian Council.

A general complaint was the paucity of men who had studied law. There was no proper system of advocacy and pleading, the 'advocate fiscal' sometimes having to plead "pro" and "contra." Proceedings were conducted entirely in Dutch, with the help of interpreters.¹⁴²

In the Malabar, the Company administered justice over the "coastal christians". The Konkanis who were nominally under the Raja of Cochin had the right of appeal against the Raja's court to the Company. Since they had considerable dealings with the people of Cochin this was an encroachment on the judicial authority of the Raja.

Like all other branches of their administration, the Dutch judiciary was sound and honest.

Trade and Revenue:

The policy of complete monopoly which the Portuguese had followed with success was no longer possible in the middle of the seventeenth century. The English and later the French and the Danes were established on the Malabar Coast and they carried away a good deal of the trade. Although the Dutch stigmatised the selling of pepper to other nations as contraband trade and attempted to put it down by force, the Malabar princes themselves were unable to restrain their own subjects from carrying on this trade with other nations.

The Company's trade¹⁴³ in Malabar fell as elsewhere into two categories—goods bought in Malabar for sale in Europe; and goods sold in Malabar, which mainly consisted of sugar, copper, tin, lead, silks, camphor, vermilion, quicksilver, coffee, arms and ammunition. Besides pepper the next important item purchased in Malabar were

141. Pieter Vuyst was Governor of Ceylon. He was found guilty of the most atrocious crimes by a commission specially sent from Holland and was executed at Batavia in 1732.

142. Panikkar; *Malabar and the Dutch*.

143. For complete details of the Company's trade, see Alexander: *The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 188-190.

the fine linen cloths of Kottar in south Travancore. Cardamom was another product in which the Dutch dealt, but the English and the French paid such high prices for it that the Dutch abandoned this trade. Indigo, whose plant grows wild in the country was scientifically cultivated under Dutch supervision.

In addition to the revenue from trade the Dutch administered or farmed out considerable areas of land and derived much revenue from them. In the Malabar they had a total of nine islands, sixty-nine gardens of coconut trees, 500 acres of paddy land and 2200 acres of salt pans.¹⁴⁴

The following statement of finances¹⁴⁵ of the four Indian settlements during the period 1760 to 1768, show that in Malabar, in spite of strong competition, and in Bengal where they ceased to have a say in matters, profits from trade were still high.

	Territorial Revenues.	Trade Profit	Total Revenue	Charges
Surat	15,800	6,050,000	5,058,000	1,607,000
Coromandel	426,000	5,340,000	5,765,000	5,093,000
Bengal	544,000	2,424,000	2,969,000	6,689,000
Malabar	782,000	2,046,000	2,828,000	2,893,000

But the eighteenth century saw the phenomenal growth of the tea and coffee trades and the business in spices and pepper already on the decline, dropped still further, so that when they yielded Cochin to the English the trade and revenue of that port ceased to count in the trade of India.

Religion:

The Dutch were never guilty of religious persecution and strikingly contrast with the Portuguese who placed conversion before commerce. Their tolerant religious policy was most noticeable in the Malabar where they had extensive control, and where besides the Hindus, the Mohamedans, Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Roman Catholics and Syrian Christians had lived together for centuries.

The religious policy of the Dutch had one major difference in comparison to that of the Portuguese, and this can be summed up in the words of John Maetsuyker, Governor General of the Dutch East Indies from 1653 to 1678: "the nature of government is such that it cannot suffer two equally controlling powers, any more than a body can endure two heads; for which reason the civil power must always have full and unfettered control over the ecclesias-

144. Alexander: *op. cit.*

145. Galletti: *Introduction to the Dutch in Malabar.* (The figures given have been converted to rupees at the rate of 5/6 rupee to the guilder).

tical.¹⁴⁶ To Maetsuyker as to all Dutchmen, the nature of government was the furtherance of trade and commerce.

In the Malabar there were three classes of Christians; the Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, English and others foreigners); the *topasses*¹⁴⁷ who sprang from the union of Europeans, mainly Portuguese and Indians; and the "native" Christians—either new converts or Syrian (or St. Thomas) Christians. There were also many Jews in the Malabar especially at Cochin. The Chief Jew settlements besides Cochin were at Cranganore, Parur and Paluthi. They had always found protection at the hands of the Malabar princes and in the days of the Portuguese had suffered persecution, which was one of the reasons why they supported the Dutch, when they arrived in Malabar. The communities of Buddhists and Jains were small and insignificant.

In the Treaty of 1663 between Cochin and the Dutch, all the Christians who formerly had been subject to the Portuguese government of Fort Cochin were placed under the protection of the Dutch Company, in matters of religion only. They were however liable to the laws, punishments and taxes of local rulers. All that the Dutch did to ensure that justice was done to them was to bring pressure on the rajas. As a result, the Dutch protected the Roman Catholics who were formerly under Portuguese jurisdiction and strangely enough the Syrian Christians were excluded from this protection because they had special rights and privileges granted to them by their local rajas. Where the Syrians Christians were concerned the Dutch initially fanned their hostility against the authority of Rome to suit their own ends.

The Dutch were however mainly Calvinists and though they built several churches in India at Surat, Chinsura, Masulipatam, Pulicat, Negapatam, Tuticorin and Cochin, mainly for their own nationals, most of the Dutch who married local women eventually turned over to the religion of their wives, for the only women whom they could marry were the "Luso-Indians" or women converted to the Roman Catholic faith. The children of such marriages, in spite of all the Dutch authorities tried to do followed the Roman faith. As van Gollennesse observes: "what can the zeal of the reformed preacher whom nobody can understand, do to combat the bustle of the thousand Romish priests on this coast, who are perfectly equipped with the necessary knowledge of the languages."

140. C. R. Boxer: *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*.

147. A name in use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for dark skinned half-caste Portuguese Christians. In the course of time it was applied to the sons of European men and local women, who affected European dress and wore hats. According to Mill, it denotes the Indo-Portuguese—either the mixed descendants of Portuguese and Indian parents or converts to Roman Catholicism.

Calvinism had no missionary zeal and made little or no impression in India. It merely served to strengthen and extend the influence of Roman Catholicism. It suffered from a three-fold disadvantage:

1. Roman Catholicism was already established in many regions.
2. Roman Catholic missionaries were far more active and more numerous than their Protestant rivals.
3. The colourful cult and gorgeous ceremony of the Roman church had a greater appeal than the harsh words and white-washed churches of Calvinism.

For example in 1647 between Coromandel, Ceylon, the Moluccas and Formosa there were only 28 Calvinist ministers.¹⁴⁸ Batavia which had a population of 20,000 souls had only 6 predikants. In the case of Islam, just as the Portuguese had learnt, the Dutch also realised that they had no chance of converting Muslims to Christianity in any significant numbers. Only in Ceylon did the Calvinist missionaries attain a modest degree of success. But the loss of Ceylon in 1795 and the labours of Fr. Joseph Vaz and his successors soon brought the Calvinist Singalese back to the Roman Church.

The cause of this can be traced back to the Reformation. Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and other Protestant reformers had given little thought to the spreading of Protestantism outside Europe. The SEVENTEEN had soon to face this evangelistic problem for they had to cater to the needs of their employees, if only as an aid to discipline and morale on long sea voyages and during their stay in tropical lands where the Portuguese had earlier established themselves. They had also to reckon with the deep-rooted religious and social systems of Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism.

Although the original charters of the Dutch East India Company made no provision for the maintenance of a Calvinist clergy to spread the light of the "true Christian Reformed religion among the benighted Papists and the blind heathen" the Company soon recognised its obligations and predikants or preachers were sent out from Holland. One of the main difficulties under which these predikants laboured was the short duration of their stay in their parishes. Apart from the personal inconvenience caused by frequent moves if these ministers were married, it also gave them insufficient time to learn the local language. Conversely if they succeeded in learning the language, a transfer meant that such knowledge was useless.

148. Boxer: *op. cit.*

The reasons for the persistence of Roman Catholicism in India (and in Ceylon) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are easy to recognise. The external observances of the Roman Church were strikingly similar to some of those in the Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, which it sought to replace—the use of images, rosaries, the cult of saints and so forth. The veneration accorded to the Brahmin or the Buddhist Bhikshu was parallel to the respect by the Roman Catholics for their own priesthood and contrasted strongly with the unimpressive status of the Calvinist predikant. The sacro-magical elements in all three religions gave their believers a feeling of spiritual security, which Calvinism was unwilling or unable to supply.¹⁴⁹

Realising that Calvinism could make no headway, the Dutch adjusted themselves to the people of various religions around them. They respected the temples, mosques, synagogues and chaityas, and opposed the slaughter of cows. They cultivated the friendship of the Bishops of Antioch and welcomed back the Roman Catholic priests whom they had earlier banished.

The charitable and tolerant policy of the Dutch was so evident that Pope Clement XIV addressed a letter to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar: "Greetings to our Reverend Brother. Our beloved son Stephen Boyd Secretary to the Congregation for the Propagation of Christians has communicated to us in detail, the attention paid and the trouble taken by the Dutch governor for the safety of the Christians who are there yonder. And as such Christian acts of kindness undoubtedly concern us greatly and as on their account we are indebted to him, so it is our earnest desire that at least our feelings of gratitude for the same be made known and clear to this man. Therefore to show our gratitude we have hereby to recommend to your reverence, to assure him of our grateful sentiments in the most forcible and the most striking manner and at the same time to testify that we feel ourselves so much indebted to him for what he has done as we flatter ourselves that he will continue in this way to lay the Christians and us under further obligation." Given at Rome 23rd July 1772 in the 4th year of our Papal reign
Stephen Borgia.¹⁵⁰

IX. CONCLUSION

"One of the reasons the Dutch East India Company flourishes is because it is more rich and powerful than all others, it being absolute and invested with a kind of sovereignty and dominion more

140. *ibid.*

150. Panikkar: *Malabar and the Dutch.*

especially over the many ports, provinces and colonies it possesses in those parts. For it appoints magistrates, admirals, generals and governors—sends and receives embassies from kings and sovereigns; makes peace and war at pleasure and by its own authority administers justice to all."¹⁵¹ Yet this flourishing and powerful company great as an empire builder and able as merchants faded into insignificance within 40 years of this observation being made. Obviously the company's system suffered from some grave defects both in Holland and abroad, which were aggravated by the rising power of the English.

In the East, the policy of a monopoly of trade had been proved a failure and the strict subordination to Batavia ruined the Dutch system. For Batavia depended on Holland for men and ships, and when these were not forthcoming, the subordinate establishments suffered. Van Imhoff who was Governor General in the middle of the eighteenth century complains: "I am afraid to say how things are with us—for it is shameful. Everything is lacking, good ships, men, officers, and thus one of the principal props of the Netherlands power is trembling in the balance."¹⁵² Summed up it meant that the Dutch middle or working class were no longer interested or inclined to seek a livelihood at sea. Their ships had become outmoded, their charts were inaccurate and the men who came forward to join the "mercantile colonial service" were of poor character and inferior calibre. All that kept the company going was the momentum of its erstwhile greatness.

In India the decay was visible in other directions. The English had risen to a position of supremacy in Bengal and it was not long before most of India would come under their sway. In 1757, "the Dutch expedition to Bengal failed and their fleet was defeated."¹⁵³ Seventeen years later they retired from Ahmedabad. During this period what is most noticeable is the corruption of the Company's officers and the large number of defections to the English by Dutch merchants who had defalcated their company's accounts. Danvers refers to this period as "the deplorable condition of the Dutch East India Company." Deplorable it was, for in 1783 only a public guarantee of the Company's shares enabled it to carry on. Everybody realised the State must take a hand in the affairs of that body, but the Netherlands was much too shaken by internal dissension to be capable of energetic action. The Company had outlived its usefulness. In 1795 Napoleon's invasion of Holland, which led to the hereditary Statholder fleeing to England and the annulment of the Charter of the Company by the new Batavian

151. Grose: *Voyages Vol. II.*

152. Boxer: *The Dutch Sea-borne Empire.*

153. Danvers: *Dutch activities in the East.*

Republic brought to an end all its activities in India. All Dutch establishments were taken over by the English, and when these were restored to Holland twenty years later, that government made no effort to revive them. In 1825 all of them reverted to the English.

For over two hundred years the Dutch had lived on the shores of India and played an important part in the social and economic life of the mercantile communities of the coast. Yet there is hardly any trace of these sea-faring people and their "one hundred and seventy fortified stations."¹⁵⁴ Their lodges, castles, fortresses and fortified cities have disappeared; their churches (few in number) have been taken over by other denominations, and all that remains today are their ornate graves within imposing cemeteries. Their language is nowhere spoken and neither is any Dutch tradition followed anywhere in India. Apparently their influence was unimportant and it left no permanent mark.

We must not however overlook van Rheede's contribution to Botany. The "*Hortus Malabaricus*"¹⁵⁵ compiled under his direction, extended to 12 folio volumes and described in detail all the plant life of the Malabar.

But what is their greatest contribution, is the Dutch Factory Records¹⁵⁶ which are now receiving the attention they deserve. In the seventeenth century the Dutch, and not the English, were the major partners in India's trade with the rest of Asia. These records are an economic history of India's overseas trade.

Another aspect of these Dutch factory records is that they fill the gaps in Indian administrative and political history. The seventeenth century chronicles of India tell us little of the outlying provinces of the Mogul empire, Bengal for instance, and even less about the Deccan kingdoms and the Hindu territories of the south. The administrative and political ups and downs in these regions are often described in day-to-day detail by the Dutch merchants whose reports on the great events of the day also provide supplementary evidence for the main trends of Indian political history.¹⁵⁷

This nation of merchants unconsciously left to posterity the single largest source of information of the early-modern history of India—the Dutch Factory Records.

154. Forrest: *Cities of India*.

155. Literally: *The Malabar Garden*.

156. The National Archives of India has acquired microfilm copies of material relating to India. These copies cover several hundred thousand folio pages and yet do not account for more than a portion of the material available.

157. Raychaudhari: *Dutch records relating to Indian History*. By courtesy of the Royal Netherlands Embassy, New Delhi.

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION FOR
THE SURRENDER OF PULICAT

Articles of Capitulation by the underwritten Governor and Council on the part of the General Netherlands East India Company, on account of their inability to defend their possessions, on the summons made by the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Hobart, Governor and President of Fort St. George. According to the resolution of the 10th and 16th instant proposed to the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Hobart Governor in Council at Fort St. George, by which it is agreed to deliver over Pulicat and its dependencies to the power and authority of his Brittanick Majesty.

Article 1st

That an exact inventory of all public property in Fort Geldria at Pulicat, as it stands on the 15th inst. shall be delivered to the British Commissary and the said public property delivered according to the above inventory, to the gentlemen appointed by the Govt. of Madras to receive it. The said gentleman granting his receipt for the same.

Approved.

Article 2nd

That all books, charters, letters and other papers belonging to the Hon. Dutch East India Company shall as a Holy Depositum not be removed from Pulicat but carefully kept distinct in the different departments to which they belong in the charge of the present Chiefs or Heads of those departments, for the reasons mentioned in the following article.

Approved.

Article 3rd

As there is much arrear in the offices, especially in that of the trade and in the Pay-books of this Head factory since the year 1792-93 and the gentlemen of the Dutch service shall be allowed to bring up arrear to the present day and it is requested as an indulgence to our Governor that he may send the annual books statements &c to Europe and Batavia, as opportunities may occur.

Agreed, that attested copies of such books &c be sent to Europe and Batavia, but the originals remain in Pulicat, subject to the inspection of the Govt. of Fort St. George.

Article 4th

The Governor and Council of Pulicat wishes to be favoured with an explanation whether the Dutch Company's servants, who by the present arrangement are deprived of their employes; and other private gentlemen such as free merchants &c under their jurisdiction, though not in the service are to be considered as free subjects of the States-General and at liberty to go elsewhere even to Europe if they please or is it expected that they shall apply to the Govt. of Madras for that purpose. It is proposed also that on account of the Governor in Council and other servants of the Dutch Company being deprived of their pay and emoluments, a subsistence shall be granted to them.

Leave will be granted unless under particular circumstances by the Govt. of Madras to the Dutch Company's servants and free merchants, to go to Europe or elsewhere but any allowances by way of subsistence must cease for the period of that permission being granted.

Article 5th

The garrison which consists of 75 sepoyes as also their native officers are not to be made prisoners of war but may be dismissed and permitted to deliver over their arms and accoutrements to their commanding officer who will deliver the same to the British Commissary.

Agreed.

Article 6th

That all the said Company's servants and other inhabitants of Pulicat and its subordinate Company's factories, as well as Europeans shall retain the right of possession of private property of every description, without being molested in any manner.

Agreed.

Article 7th

That all the said servants and others under the government of Pulicat shall be granted permission to trade on equal terms and enjoy the same immunities as His Brittanick Majesty's servants in India.

Whatever may be done upon this article must be a subject for future consideration. It cannot be admitted as part of the Capitulation.

Article 8th

The cash belonging to the orphans, and that which the vestry has charge of, for the Consistory, being money collected by private charity shall of

Agreed.
But liable to the control of government.

course be considered as Private Property and shall remain under the administration of those whom they have entrusted.

Article 9th

The above Consistorial Fund having been found insufficient to maintain the widows and other indigent persons, proper objects of that charity, the Dutch Company have since 1st January last, contributed to their support, 37½ pagodas per month—the objects of the above charitable donation are strongly recommended to the Humanity of the British people. Proper information will be given of the particulars of the station of these poor people.

Agreed.

Article 10th

The exercise of Divine Service such as hitherto prevailed in the Dutch ports and Malabar churches shall be permitted to be performed in the usual places.

Approved.

Article 11th

That all civil causes shall be decided according to the Dutch laws and regulations of the Dutch Company by the same gentlemen who now compose the Court of Civil Judicature.

Until the King's pleasure be known.

Article 12th

The Vendumaster, the Curator Adlites (administrator of the estates of those Company's servants who die intestate) and Sequestrator (the person with whom such sums are deposited and who administer to those who die insolvent) do keep their right to Summons before the above Court and proceed as by law directed, against all who are deficient in paying the cash belonging to the various departments, and the said Court shall have every protection and support of the British government in the exercise of their lawful functions.

Approved.

Article 13th

The Secretary of the Political Department as also his deputy in the capacity

Approved.

of Sworn Clerk and Secretary of the above Court shall be continued in the exercise of his office of Notary and that the same be granted to the Secretaries or other authorised persons in the subordinate factories.

Article 14th

The publick Notarial deeds already entered, registered and passed by the above-mentioned officer in behalf of individuals for their safety and security should remain as Secret Documents that officers are entrusted with, and of which deeds no person may require inspection or copy except in cases in which the Sovereign or Magistrate are concerned, whose commands as well as those of the above Civil Court the Notary is to obey.

Approved.

Article 15th

The Company's interpreter named Mandelelum Venkatachellum Naiq, Bramin named Coupiah and merchants not subject to any other jurisdiction but that of the Dutch Company, consequently not amenable to the Nabob's Court and to that of his Dewan should be entitled to the privileges mentioned in articles 6th and 7th and the two former do keep their usual ways or shall receive subsistance as serving both for the affairs of the Dherbar and for the explanation of the Dutch Company's rights and privileges, the customs and usages at Pulicat in case any dispute should happen about this with the Nabob's Dewan here.

Unnecessary and inadmissible.

Article 16th

The duties of Pulicat collected by the Nabob of which the Dutch Company are entitled to a share, and not paid up by him to a later date than 31st August 1794, and therefore this arrear and what is further to be collected shall be duly paid to the British Commissary.

This will be a subject of arrangement between the British Government and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Article 17th

The Company's villages, Erikan, Manguvauk, Aurewauk as also the pieces of ground named Ranatoray be-

This suggestion will be attended to, but can-

ing publicly rented once every three years were on the 1st September 1794 rented to Magadalla Ramayah for the sum of 785 star-pagodas per annum for which amount he is to be yearly responsible and it is proposed that the above farm given on the faith of the Dutch Company should be continued to the said renter, his paying his rent to the British Government.

Article 18th

To the Chiefs of the Dutch Company's factories on the Coast of Coromandel shall be sent a copy of these articles and they shall be directed to draw out their capitulation and deliver over the factory and castle on the terms here stipulated.

Article 19th

To prevent all misunderstanding and to insure punctual performance of these conditions, the above articles be written twice in Dutch and twice in English and signed by and delivered to the contracting parties on both sides.

not be admitted as an article of the Capitulation.

Agreed.

Agreed.

Pulicat 16th July 1795

Jacob Eilbracht

Fk. Wm. Bloeme

H. M. Hasz

I. Hanter Visscher

Hobart

Edwd. Saunders

E. W. Fallofield.

SOME RECENT WORK ON THE KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

By

R. P. KANGLE

It is proposed to notice briefly some articles having a bearing on problems connected with the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (henceforth KA), which have appeared in the last few years. I have been able to take note of only such articles as came my way. There are so many journals devoted to Oriental studies, some of them not accessible here, that it is not possible to keep track of everything that may have been written on the subject. Some of the articles mentioned below could be noticed only because of the courtesy of the authors who very kindly sent offprints of the same to me.

Professor J. Duncan M. DERRETT has written on 'A Newly-discovered Contact between Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra: the Role of Bhārucci'.¹ Bhārucci (this, rather than Bhārucci, would appear to be the correct form of the name) is an ancient commentator of the *Manusmṛti*, who preceded Medhātithi, the earliest commentator available so far, by at least a century. A fragment of his *Manusāstra-vivaraṇa* recently came to light and DERRETT undertook the task of editing it with translation, introduction and notes.² In his commentary on Adhyāya VII of the *Manusmṛti*, Bhārucci (henceforth Bhā.) was found to have made considerable use of KA. What is more, many of the passages apparently quoted by him from KA are reproduced by Medhātithi (henceforth Medh.) in his *Manubhāṣya*. It is DERRETT's purpose to find out what light, if any, is thrown on the mutual relation between Bhā., Medh. and KA. He sets forth in parallel columns six passages as they occur in the three places (with the exception of passage II where parallels from KA are not given).

DERRETT has expressed the opinion that Medh. has taken over these passages from Bhā. and not directly from KA, since he thinks that a complete copy of the latter work (under the name of the *Kauṭilīya*) was probably not available to him. Where Medh. apparently refers to Arthaśāstra as a *samānatantra* it is to be understood

1. ZDMG, Vol. 115, 1965, pp. 134-152.

2. This work is probably already published by the Centre du sud-est asiatique, University of Brussels. But owing to the difficulty in obtaining books published abroad, I have been unable to procure a copy so far.

as a reference to an 'anonymous work' which was essentially an excerpt from the Arthaśāstra. Besides Medh. also used 'another section passing under the name of *Adhyakṣapracāra*'. So far as Medh.'s deviations from Bhā. are concerned they are understood as being mainly due to the single manuscript of Bhā. which he had with him being illegible or unintelligible, perhaps also due to his 'rethinking of the notions which Bhā. adopts'. Bhā.'s own deviations from KA are considered to be due to his role as a commentator of Manu, who on some points differs from KA. But since Bhā. used a version of KA anterior to those known from surviving manuscript material, he may, in places, provide superior readings. One such case is *-prajñāprahāṇaṇi mitrahāṇiḥ* for *-prajñāprāṇavittamitrahāṇiḥ* of KA, 8.3.61.

It would seem to be fairly obvious that Medh. used Bhā.'s *vivaraṇa* when writing his *bhāṣya*. But it does not appear to be necessary to suppose that he had no direct access to the Arthaśāstra sources that were available to Bhā. It is true that some of the readings in Medh. appear to be due to a corruption of Bhā.'s text, but they may as well be supposed to be due to a corruption of the original Arthaśāstra source or even to a corruption of Medh.'s own text during its transmission. Besides, in two places at least he supplies material that is not found in Bhā., viz., *mānino 'pyupahāsyatā gambhīraprakṛterapi yatkiṃcanavādītā* (in *pānadoṣāḥ*) and *taptāyusapiṇḍavat pariharato na pratyayate ca, kṣudhite durgate 'nnādyupapattiyupekṣā viṣayatā sarvagūṇasampannasyāpi tṛṇavad avajñāyeta* (in *dyūtodoṣāḥ*). It is clear that he had access to Arthaśāstra material independently of Bhā.

That Bhā. used KA and that his text would help in determining readings in the latter may be granted. That he, in places, deliberately deviated from KA because Manu held a different view regarding the relative seriousness of the *vyasanas* is also understandable. But from passage II, for which no exact parallel from KA could be quoted, it would seem to follow that Bhā. knew some Arthaśāstra material that was different from KA. That is the point made in connection with Medh. by Dr. Dieter SCHLINGLOFF in an article written at about the same time.³ Bhā. was not available to him then but in an appendix added at the end of the article he takes note of DERRETT's article mentioned above.

SCHLINGLOFF's aim is to seek fresh light on the problem of the text of KA and to find out how this text, which admittedly is a compilation made on the basis of earlier writings on the Arthaśāstra, was in all probability composed. For this purpose he has compared nineteen passages from Medh.'s *bhāṣya* on Ch. VII of Manu with

3. 'Arthaśāstra-Studien I: Kauṣilya und Medhātithi', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd und Ostasiens*, IX, 1965, pp. 1-38.

corresponding passages from KA, placing them in parallel columns. His conclusion is that Medh. may be said to have derived these passages from Arthaśāstra sources other than KA. He not only shows markedly different readings as compared with the text of KA but also reproduces some passages that are different in substance from what is found in KA. For example, his description of *bhayopadhā* (on Manu, VII.54) is altogether different from that in KA, 1.10.9-12. The discussion of the relative seriousness of the three vices springing from *krodha* (which is not reproduced by SCHLINGLOFF but is found in DERRETT) is substantially different in Medh. from that in KA. In some cases, e.g. in the enumeration of the *pānadoṣāḥ* and *dyūtaḍoṣāḥ* Medh. supplies more details than are to be found in KA. On the other hand, in some other cases, e.g. in the enumeration of the *amātyasaṃpad* or *janapadasaṃpad* or *kruddhavaṅgaḥ*, KA is more detailed than Medh.

It may be conceded that Medh. knew and made use of works on the Arthaśāstra other than KA. In two places (on VII.61 and VII.81) he quotes from an *Adhyakṣapracāra*. Neither of the passages quoted is to be found in Book II of KA, which is entitled *Adhyakṣapracāraḥ*. Clearly a different work on Arthaśāstra was known to Medh. Viśvarūpa, a little before Medh.'s time, was able to quote from the works of Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa, two predecessors referred to in KA. So the survival of earlier Arthaśāstra works in Medh.'s time need not be doubted. But it does not follow from this that Medh. has not used KA at all. To dismiss KA, 10.5.58 (a stanza about the king stationing himself among the reserves in the rear of the battle-array) as belonging to the category of verses wandering in many entangled ways through literature is to be just neither to Medh. nor to KA. Medh. is specific on the point that it is taken from a *samānatantra*. Moreover, the topic is of a technical nature, which hardly lends itself to be so floated about. The theory of 'floating' stanzas has certainly been overworked.

A passage considered at some length by SCHLINGLOFF as throwing light on the method followed in the compilation of KA is that dealing with the relative seriousness of the four vices springing from *kāma* (8.3.38ff) to which parallels are given from Medh. on Manu, VII.52. Manu's order in accordance with successively decreasing harmfulness is *pānam*, *akṣāḥ*, *striyaḥ* and *mṛgayā*, while that in KA in accordance with successively increasing harmfulness is *mṛgayā*, *dyūtam*, *striyaḥ* and *pānam*. In order to discuss the comparative defects and merits of these vices, KA takes up each neighbouring pair for consideration and follows the method of first putting a prima facie view in the mouth of some predecessor, Piśuna, Kauṇapadanta and Vātavyādhi respectively in the three cases and then

stating the correct view in each case in his own words. The quotations in Medh. show nothing of this dramatization of the discussion, but contain only a straightforward enumeration of the comparative disadvantages and advantages of the four vices in conformity with Manu's order. However, most of these quotations in Medh. are found, with slight changes, in KA. SCHLINGLOFF argues that KA could not be the source of Medh. here and that KA itself has derived this material from the same sources as Medh. The artificial scheme in which the discussion is moulded in KA is regarded as throwing significant light on the method of its composition. The views attributed to earlier teachers in it are not considered to be a reflection of those actually held by them. The opinion (i.e. expressed by WILHELM that these are the views of earlier teachers worked up by the author in his own words is also regarded as untenable. SCHLINGLOFF thinks that all the arguments for and against the vices were found in earlier works in a linguistically fixed form, and that the author of KA has simply taken them over and distributed them among ancient teachers and himself, always coming out on top himself.

That there is something 'contrived' in the method of discussion in KA here and some other places cannot be denied. The suspicion that the opinions put in the mouth of earlier teachers are perhaps not such as were actually held by them is also not without some justification. But it is difficult to believe that KA reproduces whole passages from earlier sources not only here but practically throughout as indicated by the other quotations in Medh. One wonders if the Śāstra is to be regarded as conceived in a linguistically fixed form right from its inception. If not, which teacher can be thought of as having given it such a fixed form for KA to borrow wholesale? None of the quotations available from earlier teachers, Bṛhaspati, Uśanas or Viśālākṣa shows any trace of a linguistically fixed form vis-a-vis KA. Moreover, it is not at all unlikely that Bhā., whom Medh. follows, had KA before him but selected from it passages in such a way as to make them conform to the different scheme of Manu.

SCHLINGLOFF concludes his article with a dig at BRELOER for his wishful thinking that KA is the work of a statesman of the stature of Bismarck. That comparison, originally made by JACOBI, was in any case not very happy.

Dr. E. RITSCHL and Dr. M. SCHETELICH have jointly written on 'Some problems of ownership-relations in KA with special reference to land'.⁴ They investigate the meaning of such terms as *sva* (in

4. 'Zu einigen Problemen der Eigentumsverhältnisse (speziell an Grund und Boden) im Kauṣīliya Arthaśāstra', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orient-forschung*, Berlin, XI, 1966, pp. 301-337.

svadeśa and *svabhūmi*), *sītā*, *svāmī*, *bhoga* etc. with a view to find out in what relation the king stood to the land in his territory and to determine the exact significance of the idea of ownership according to KA. After a thorough examination of all the passages where these and other allied terms occur, the authors have come to the following conclusions. *sva-* in *svabhūmi* etc. does not convey the idea of ownership and hence does not indicate that all land belonged to the king. The word *sītā* is used in two senses in the text, 'arable land' in general as well as 'king's land or crown land'. Three types of land are to be distinguished—(1) land belonging to old villages, (2) land in newly settled villages and (3) land belonging to the king. The authors find no evidence in support of the view of BRELOER that all land in the state is the king's domain. As regards the idea of *svāmīya* or ownership they point out that in the case of property falling within the category of *vāstu*, the right of ownership is not at all absolute; it is restricted by the obligation not to allow it to fall into disuse. *bhoga* is use of the property, not mere possession of it as JOLLY understood it. The authors think that the emphasis on land, tanks etc. being maintained in use is due to two factors, one, climatic conditions in India which make land etc. go waste and become useless very soon, and the other, the responsibility of the village community as a whole to pay state dues, which would not allow any member to shirk his share of work.

The article contains a very fair appraisal of what evidence there is in KA on the question of the ownership of land and on the concept of ownership. The authors have added their own translations of important passages from the text. In that connection one or two points may be noted. KA, 3.9.7-9 is understood as referring to the distress sale of the property of a debtor unable to repay his debts (p. 322). The idea might appear to be better. The difficulty, however, is that in s. 8 *pratikruṣṭaḥ* (which is taken to refer to the owner of the property) is in the nominative and the subject of *vikrīvāta*. How can the owner who, though called, has not shown up for a week, be understood to be making the sale? The translation of 9.7.11 (p. 334) is faulty. *balavatsāmantām* (not *-sāmantam*) is an adjective to *bhūmim* and is a Bahuvrīhi compound not Karmadhāraya; and *ādātum* is not 'zu geben'.

In an article contributed to the Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. V. V. Mirashi⁵ I have considered the question of the relation between the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya and KA afresh. Selecting fourteen passages from the Smṛti which show a very close verbal similarity with passages in KA, I have tried to demonstrate that not only

5. 'Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya', Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, Nagpur, 1965, pp. 240-253.

can KA not be supposed to be indebted to the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti (as was believed by JOLLY and others) but that, on the other hand, the latter must be assumed to have derived the relevant material from KA itself. This is indicated by the fact that many stanzas in Yājñavalkya are found inserted in sections with which they have no connection whatsoever, that in places Yājñavalkya can be understood clearly only with the help of KA (e.g. *tryaṅga* in 2.297 with the help of *vāmahastadvipāda* of 4.10.14), that sometimes Yājñavalkya apparently misunderstood words like *yukta*, *āśumṛtaka*, etc., which have a technical sense, and so on. The possibility that Yājñavalkya may have been indebted to some Arthaśāstra work other than KA was taken into consideration, but the verbal similarity between Yājñavalkya and KA is so great that this possibility is shown to be very unlikely.

Dr. Friedrich WILHELM has made a very detailed comparison, especially in point of construction and style, between Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and KA.⁶ Both works are divided into Adhikaraṇas, Adhyāyas and Prakaraṇas, an *adhyāya* and a *prakaraṇa* not always coalescing in both. WILHELM finds some symbolical significance in the numbers, 64 *prakaraṇas* in Vātsyāyana corresponding to 64 *kalās* and so on. As regards the number of *prakaraṇas* in KA, he rejects KOSAMBI's contention that some *prakaraṇas* have dropped out and that roughly one-fourth of the original text is now lost. WILHELM thinks that the author or redactor was inclined to calculate liberally and that arriving at a number much higher than that calculated by KOSAMBI rounded it off to 6,000.

WILHELM shows at length how there is a great similarity in the style of the two works. We have mention of the opinions of 'ācāryāḥ' as well as to those of individual teachers in both. The method of arguing is often similar. WILHELM concludes that it is the *Kāmasūtra* that is the imitator. The opposite view cannot be sustained because the *Kāmasūtra* uses political terms, *saṁdhi* and *viḡraha* as *guṇas*, etc. WILHELM points out in this connection how technical terms, types etc. originating in one science are often adopted in other sciences. For example, the theory of four *varṇas* is taken over in the Hastiśāstra. He thinks that Vātsyāyana deliberately avoided mentioning the name of the author whose plan of work and style he was copying and that we need not suppose (with JOLLY) that both are indebted to a third source or that between the two there was a long series of intermediaries. As regards DERRETT's statement (in the article noticed above) that Bhā. does not mention Kauṭilya by name 'because he expected the source

6. 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Kāmasūtra und Arthaśāstra', *ZDMG*, 116 1966, pp. 291-310.

to be recognized automatically', WILHELM thinks it more likely that it may be rather because of the stigma attached to the name of Kauṭilya, as is now the case with the name of Machiavelli. It is extremely doubtful if Bhā. really thought that the name of the author, from whom he quotes so profusely, carried a stigma about it.

From the place-names occurring in the *Kāmasūtra* WILHELM finds no definite indication about the date and home of its author. He, however, approves of the explanations of the words *nāgarikāḥ* and *nāgarakāḥ* given by the commentator as 'residents of Pāṭaliputra' in some cases, suggesting that that city may have been the home of the author. Finally WILHELM compares the economic conditions reflected in the two works. Whereas KA represents a highly centralised state economy using even prostitutes as only a source of state income, the *Kāmasūtra* reveals a state in which by the side of a brilliant princely court flourished also a prosperous 'burgher' class.

There can hardly be any disagreement with the conclusions reached by WILHELM. I, however, still do not see eye to eye with him when he accepts the view that KA consists of both *sūtra* and *bhāṣya*.

The second Arthaśāstra study by D. SCHLINGLOFF deals with the building of a fort as described in what is probably the most difficult chapter in KA, viz., 2.3.⁷ In order to find out if what is prescribed in this text is based on actual practice or is only a theory thought out in learned schools without any relation to reality, he has made detailed comparisons with archaeological findings as recorded in the publications of the Arch. Survey of India and monographs on excavations at various sites. He has also referred to parallels in non-Indian writings on the subject since problems of construction for military protection tend to be solved in the same way everywhere. In addition he has made use of other Indian literary sources. At the end there is a glossary of technical terms, the meanings being given in English, followed by over thirty sketches, two of them obviously made by the author himself on the basis of rules prescribed in KA.

The result of this thorough-going investigation, accompanied, in places, by a fresh interpretation of words and expressions in KA, appears to be that so far as the earthen rampart (*prākāra*) and the brick-or stone-wall on it (*vapra*) are concerned, rules in the text agree more or less completely with archaeological discoveries at Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Ujjayinī and other sites. Only there is no trace

7. 'Arthaśāstra-Studien II: Die Anlage einer Festung (*durgavidhāna*)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, XI, 1967, pp. 44-80 with illustrations

of three moats recommended in KA; there is at most one moat. SCHLINGLOFF, however, refers to Pali sources for the mention of three moats. As regards towers (*aṭṭālaka*) he finds evidence of agreement with KA at Kauśāmbī, Bhīṭā, old Rājagṛha, etc. Similarly the description of the gate-way in KA is found to be in agreement with what is discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, Taxila, etc., but especially at Śrāvastī.

SCHLINGLOFF concludes that where the text is set by the side of archaeological evidence the obscurities become overwhelmingly clear, that the difficulties of the text are due to our insufficient knowledge of the matter, not to any lack of clarity of expression or absence of any connection with reality in the text, and that on the contrary the text is precise and clear in its exposition. The chapter, he says, may have been derived from a manual on building-construction; it is, however, not meant for actual builders, but for those who are to have only a general idea regarding these things.

There can be no doubt that SCHLINGLOFF'S very interesting study has helped to clear up some of the obscurities in KA. However, a few doubts regarding interpretation may perhaps be permitted. Concerning the *vapra* as described in KA is there any indication that we have to think of it as brick- or stone-work only on the two sides, the intervening space being filled with earth or mud, so that timber-work would be necessary to lend mutual support to and strengthen the two sides? And can palm-stems (*tālamula*) be considered as timber that would in any way be useful for that purpose? The difficulty about the supposed earth-filling between brick-work on two sides crops up again in the interpretation of *vāpī* mentioned in connection with the *puṣkarinī-dvāra*. In that case, moreover, assuming that the *vāpī* is formed by the digging out of the earth between the brick-work, would that 'well' not disappear when gates are made in the brick-work on the two sides, as they certainly would have to be made in the case of a *dvāra*? If the floor of the well is supposed to be on a level much lower than that of the bottom of the gates, what conceivable purpose can it be supposed to serve but the one suggested by me in the Notes? Another point. If *viṣkambhacaturaśra* is taken to mean merely 'rectangular', what are we to understand as the length and breadth of the *aṭṭālaka*-plan? Can we suppose that these have been left unspecified in this particular case only?

Professor T. BURROW has written on 'Cāṇakya and Kauṭalya' with a view to throw fresh light on the question of the authorship and date of KA.⁸ In order to state the nature of the controversy

8. ABORI, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1968, pp. 17-31.

on this question he reproduces the arguments of JOLLY, STEIN, WINTERNITZ and others against an early date for the text. He accepts Jolly's interpretation of *rasa* as mercury, relies on his assessment of the relation between KA and Yājñavalkya, to Stein's equation of Greek *syrix* and Sanskrit *suruṅgā* adds two of his own Gk. *peristrōma* and Skt. *paristoma* 'a kind of blanket or carpet' and Skt. *vāravāṇa* and a Middle Iranian form of a word representing Old Iranian **varopānaka*, argues that the statement of Megasthenes that Indians in his day were ignorant of writing must be regarded as reliable since no evidence has turned up to disprove it, and so on.

It is in order to overcome the difficulty that faces those who accept a late date for KA and yet look upon the author Kauṭilya as the minister of Candragupta Maurya that BURROW develops a theory originally proposed by E. H. JOHNSTON. The theory is that Kauṭilya, the author of KA is different from Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta and a period of about six centuries may well be supposed to separate them. His main arguments are two: (1) most versions of the story of Candragupta's minister, the *Bṛhatkathā* (as represented by the Kashmirian recensions), the Jain and the Buddhist accounts mention only the name Cāṇakya, never Kauṭilya. The only exceptions are the *Mudrārākṣasa* which identifies the two and the Purāṇas which mention only the name Kauṭilya. The identification may be due to Viśākhadatta. (2) Cāṇakya is not a patronymic as is usually understood, but is also, like Kauṭilya, a *gotra*-name, formed according to *Gargādibhyo yañ* (Pāṇini, 4.1.105). And since one and the same individual cannot have two *gotra*-names, the two names must be understood to refer to two different individuals.

BURROW has made out a strong case; it merits separate consideration. For the present I shall only refer to a few points incidentally made by him. He has decided in favour of the form Kauṭalya because of manuscript evidence and urges that it should be generally adopted. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Grantha manuscript on which the *editio princeps* of SHAMA SASTRY is based has the form Kauṭilya throughout. And it is in connection with that manuscript that the question, what motivation is discernible for changing Kauṭalya to Kauṭilya with its unpleasant association, can be more justifiably asked. In the other case, the motivation is fairly obvious, a desire on the part of a scribe or commentator to dissociate the name of the author from its possible connection with the neuter *kauṭilya* 'crookedness'.

On the strength of the stanza *dr̥ṣṭvā viprapattim* etc. occurring after the final colophon of KA, BURROW assumes that Kauṭilya himself had written a *bhāṣya* on his work, which, he agrees, is en-

tirely in *sūtra* form. He thinks that the stanza originally stood at the end of the *bhāṣya* and that it has survived though the *bhāṣya* itself is lost. In support of his contention he refers to three passages quoted as from Kauṣilya by Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on the *Amarakośa*. But none of the three passages lends any such support. As for the first passage, it is true that Kṣīrasvāmin identifies *aṭṭa* with *aṭṭālaka*. It should be remembered, however, that *aṭṭa*, the word in the *Amarakośa*, on which he is commenting, occurs in the midst of a group of words, *śuddhānta*, *aṅgana*, *dehalī* etc., referring to parts of a mansion or palace, whereas *aṭṭālaka* refers to a series of towers all along the parapet-wall of a fortress. Kṣīrasvāmin, therefore, does not appear to be right in identifying the two. Moreover, *raṇagrha* would seem to be an inappropriate description of the *aṭṭālaka* as it appears in KA; for in that text the place for the archers on the parapet is between an *aṭṭālaka* and a *pratolī* (*aṭṭālakapratolīmadhye tridhānuṣkādhīṣṭhānam*, 2.3.12). It is, therefore, quite unlikely that the same author would describe the *aṭṭālaka* as a *raṇagrha* in a supposed *bhāṣya* by himself. In the second passage we have a *sūtra* similar to the one in KA, not a *bhāṣya* on it; in a *bhāṣya* we should expect an explanation of *vanājīvali* in the *sūtra* and not substitution of a meaning not directly derived from it. The third passage gives the etymology of the word *udghātana* from *udhan*. The word in KA is *udghāṭa* which can in no way be connected with the root *han*. It is clear that whatever work Kṣīrasvāmin had in mind in these cases it could not be any *bhāṣya* on KA. The stanza, about the genuineness of which BURROW has allowed himself to be so easily persuaded, appears to reflect the stand-point of the commentators (who are all unanimous in this) that the *prakaraṇa*-titles constitute the only *sūtra* part of the text, the rest being all *bhāṣya*. There is no instance of a *Sūtrakāra* being his own *Bhāṣyakāra*.

Agreeing with those who regard the author of KA as a southerner, BURROW cites what he regards as evidence in support. He thinks that the fact that the text mentions the exact amount of rainfall (2.24.5) only in the case of two regions, Avantī and Aśmaka, indicates that the author belonged somewhere in this region. But even if Aśmaka (i. e. Mahārāshtra) be considered as a southern region since it is 'south of the Vindhya', can Avantī (i. e. Mālwā) be so regarded? And is not the text admittedly based on earlier sources, so that this as well as much other information of a similar nature may well have been derived from earlier treatises and may have no particular relevance to the question of the home of the

author? I have tried to show elsewhere that following this kind of reasoning it is possible to make out, on the strength of other indications in the text, that the author was a northerner.

D. SCHLINGLOFF has recently written on 'bhūmiḡṛha' the underground chamber as described in KA.⁹ In that description at 2.5.2 occurs the expression *tritalam anekavidhānaṃ kuṭṭimadeśa-sthānataalam*, which has presented a difficulty. With *tala* understood in the usual sense of 'floor', the underground chamber was assumed to be a three-storeyed structure, which appeared rather strange. SCHLINGLOFF offers a fresh interpretation of the expression, according to which the three *talas* refer rather to the three layers of different kinds of material of which the ceiling of the underground chamber is made. The *kuṭṭima-tala* is the paved flooring which really is that of the room above the cellar; the *sthāna-tala* 'the standing-floor' is the lowest layer of the ceiling of the cellar, consisting of matwork, planks etc. and placed on the beams which form the *pañjara* referred to earlier; and the *deśa-tala* is the layer placed in between the *kuṭṭima-tala* and the *sthāna-tala* and consisting of the natural soil of the territory (*deśa*). SCHLINGLOFF regards this last as a verily Kauṭilyan idea; for, he states that robbers who have broken into the upper room and who start digging there for buried treasure would, after removing the pavement, come up against soil to be found in the region round about and would come to think that there was nothing underneath this soil. Thus they would give up their quest and the treasure in the underground chamber would be saved. This is indeed a very ingenious idea and the interpretation offered by SCHLINGLOFF appears to be preferable to those proposed earlier, though *tala* is understood in an unusual sense. There is no doubt that the primary purpose of the under-ground chamber is the concealment of treasure etc.

Thomas R. TRAUTMANN considers the question posed by the reference to 6,000 ślokas in KA, 1.1.18 as well as in Daṇḍin's *Daśa-kumāracarita*.¹⁰ He first rejects STERNBACH's view that Daṇḍin refers to any collection of aphorisms going by the name of Cāṇakya. For, nothing that is said to be contained in the Daṇḍanīti by Daṇḍin has anything corresponding to it in the Cāṇakyanīti. Daṇḍin could have meant only KA. TRAUTMANN then shows that the theory that KA was originally composed in verse, which was maintained by D. R. BHANDARKAR in an article in the *ABORI* (but apparently abandoned by him later) is untenable. He points out that the prac-

9. 'Bhūmiḡṛha'. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, XVII, 1968, pp. 345-352.
10. 'A Metrical Original for the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra?' *JAOS*, 88, 1968, pp. 347-349.

tice of considering 32 syllables of prose as constituting a śloka is very ancient, and the practice of counting the total number of syllables in a text is even older, going back to the *Anuvākānukramāṇī*, which states the total number of syllables in the Ṛgveda. As to the number 6,000 itself TRAUTMANN seems to agree with KOSAMBI that the actual shortfall is due to losses suffered by the text. Though I have not been able to offer any satisfactory explanation of the discrepancy, I still believe that the text cannot be said to have suffered losses to any serious extent.

By the way, Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta* is in prose and cannot be described as 'a metrical recast'.

ĀSOKA'S EDICTS AND INDIAN TRADITION

By

L. B. KENY

Introduction

Āsoka's edicts and their contents are familiar to all students of ancient Indian history. It has often been postulated by some eminent scholars that Āsoka's edicts were considerably influenced by Persian and Greek Practices, that the preamble of Āsoka's edicts reflects an Achaemenian formula and that the animals represented on the abacus of the Mauryan pillars and the title of Āsoka—*devānām piya piyadassi rājā*—suggest Greek influence.¹

An attempt is made here to indicate that such foreign influence on and resemblance with Āsoka's edicts are only superficial and that Āsoka's *dharma* ideal, expressed through his edicts, only brings into sharp focus the deep-rooted indigenous tradition traceable since the pre-Āsokan times up to the present day. There is remarkable continuity throughout Indian history of that sublime ideal which forms the very core of the cultural heritage of India.

Āsoka and Darius

In form and contents the Āsokan edicts are different from the Achaemenian columns in every detail. While Darius' Aramaic inscriptions describe his proud imperial attitude, Āsoka's Brahmi inscriptions reflect his humanitarian mission. The Behistun inscription, for instance, reads: "Says Darius the king: Then that Phraortes with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled from thence to the district of Media, named Rhages. Subsequently I despatched forces (in pursuit) by whom Phraortes was taken and brought before me. I cut off both his nose and his ears. . . . He was held chained at my door; all the kingdom beheld him. . . .' And the chief men who were the followers at Ecbatana, within the citadel I imprisoned them."² In contrast with these dreadful narration by Darius intoxicated with victory, Āsoka's XIII RE of Kaliṅga humbly records in the context of the Kaliṅga war—the first and the last war—he waged and won: "If a hundredth, nay, a thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away captive or done to death were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter of remorse to His

1. Cf. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, pp. 5, 231; Sen, *Āsoka's Edicts*, pp. 5, 9, 12, 40; Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, chapter IX.

2. Rawlinson, *Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun deciphered and translated with Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscription in General and on that of Behistun in particular*, p. 224.

Majesty." Renouncing war for ever, he declares that "The conquest of the Law of Piety alone is a conquest of delight," and that from now on he intends to substitute the 'Drum of the Law of Piety' for the Drum of War, throughout the land. The VI RE of Girnar also states: "I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men." Even the officers called *lājukas* were appointed by Aśoka to "bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country." In fact Aśoka maintained that "no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men."³ While the Kandahar inscription refers to "ten years expiation", RE XIII states, "that even a person who wrongs. . . must be forgiven for wrongs that can be forgiven." "Whatever effort" says Aśoka elsewhere, "I am making (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world)".

Apart from the humane ideal expressed in his edicts in contrast with that of the Achaemenian ruler, Aśoka's title too is very modest in comparison with the one of Darius. The contents of the Aśokan edicts thus indicate that the Indian and the Achaemenian traditions are different from each other.

Indigenous elements in Architecture

The form of Aśoka's monuments also essentially reflects indigenous architectural tradition of India. Though some foreign architectural influence cannot be ruled out, one cannot fail to notice the indigenous Indian elements embodied in them.⁴ The custom of erecting near sacrificial altars tall poles with a fluttering pennant at the top, and of setting such columns in front of palaces, temples, city-gates and public squares was indigenous.⁵ Aśoka seems to have simply erected them in stone and used them as a commanding medium of propagating his *dharma* to the people.

Aśoka's ideals: genesis and survival

It is in the age-old Vedic respect for righteousness as the essence of kingship that Aśoka was a true votary of Indian tradition. Like the Brahmanic ruler '*dharmasya goptā*'⁶ Aśoka revered morality and moral virtues.⁷ Aśoka's edicts stated that the humane ideals propagated therein were "an ancient rule"⁸ and that it was Aśoka's wish that the humane ideals were continued to be practised by his

3. VI RE Girnar; VII RE Girnar; cf. edicts at Jaugada, Dhauli.

4. Cf. Zimmer, *op.cit.*, I, p. 248; Sen, *op.cit.*, p. 46 Goetz, *India Five Thousand Years of Indian Art*, p. 47.

5. Goetz, *Ibid.*

6. *Art. Br.* VIII, 26.

7. Cf. RE Brahmagiri; PE VII.

8. Cf. RE Brahmagiri.

"sons, grandsons, great-grandsons and descendants" . . . "until the end of the universe."⁹

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is replete with evidences to show that the concept of *dhamma* propagated by Āśoka's edicts was nothing but a continuation of a similar tradition respected by Āśoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya. Āśoka's solicitude for the Brahmanas and Śramaṇas, the dutifulness to parents, reverence to elders and teachers, kind treatment to slaves and servants, kindness to the poor and the suffering, gifts to the aged, the orphans, the infirm and the afflicted, and abstention from injuring or killing animals, seem to have had the precepts of Kauṭilya before him.¹⁰ The release of prisoners by Āśoka was not also a novel feature introduced by him as Kauṭilya has already expressed that "on such of the days to which the birth star of the king is assigned, as well as on full-moon days, such prisoners as are young, old, diseased or helpless, shall be let out from the jail."¹¹ Like Āśoka, Kauṭilya too is satisfied with *dharma-vijaya* and prefers it to *asura* and *lobhavijaya*. Though Kauṭilya appears a rationalist and justifies secret attacks on enemies, yet he respects the traditional cannon of the *Trayī*, and the Vedas are objects of veneration for him, and he does not consent to the violation of the sacred institutions of property, family and caste, and the tampering with the sacred rules of Aryan morals and ethics.¹² Even the paternal theory of Āśoka is not his invention as the same is referred to by Kauṭilya.¹³ It is also interesting to note that '*priyadarśana*' was the epithet used by the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to describe Chandragupta Maurya.

Āśoka's successors Daśaratha and Samprati patronised the Ājivikā and Jain sects and raised *stūpas*, like Āśoka. Daśaratha continued the title of *devānāmpriya* borne by Āśoka, as is indicated in the inscription of the Ājivikā cave at the Nagarjuni hills.

Samprati, on the other hand, was influenced by the Jain monk Suhastin and distributed free alms and food to the poor and the orphans. The *Bṛhatkalpasūtra Bhāṣya* also states that he became an *upāsaka* and informed the frontier kings of the importance of the Jain precepts. Like Āśoka, he too undertook tours, planted trees, proclaimed the prohibition of the slaughter of animals and built temples. Samprati's humane activities, thus, breathe the same tolerance and well-being as those of Āśoka.

9. IV and V RE Kalsi; *yāvatśamvartakalpa* . . .

10. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. I, 8; ch. XIX, 39; Bk. II, ch. I, 48; ch. XVI, 122;

11. *Ibid.*, Bk. II, ch. XXXVI, 146-47; Bk. XIII, ch. V, 409.

12. ch. XXIX, 129. Chs XIII-XIV, Bk. III, ch. I, 150; chs; XIII-XIV; Bk. IV, Ch. X 226, ch. XII, 232, Bk. XIII, ch. V, 409.

13. व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः ।

नृप्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥

13. *Ibid.*, Bk. II, ch. I, ch. I, 47: निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितृवानुग्रहिष्यात् ।

The *dharma* ideal had also become a guiding principle of the Buddhist works. The *Jātakas*, for example, repeatedly speak of the Buddha as *dharma-chakravartī* and his lieutenants as *dharma-senāpatīs*. The fatherly attitude of Aśoka is also reflected in the *Jātaka-mālā* of Āryasura, as one of its stories¹⁴ describes the Śibi ruler as a father to his subjects and distinguishes him for his charities, construction of alms-houses and relief of the distressed people.

The influence of the *dharma* ideal on ancient Indian polity is seen in the *Catuhsatika* of Aryadeva, who pleads for the reign of righteousness and condemns rulers who substitute violence for paternal care and justify their conduct by the rules of *dharma*.¹⁵ The *Avāśyakacūrṇi* of Haribhadra refers, on the other hand, to king Nahavahana of Bharukaccha exhausting his treasury in constructing temples, Stupas, roads and wells. According to the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*:

To serve father and mother,
To cherish wife and child,
To follow a peaceful calling,
This is the greatest blessing.
To bestow alms and live righteously,
To give help to kindred.
Deeds which cannot be blamed,
This is the greatest blessing.¹⁶

One who kills birds and animals, and does not treat animals with compassion, should be considered to be an outcaste, according to the *Vasala Sutta*.¹⁷ Even thieves should be given reformatory training and should be treated with compassion, as the same *sutta* states elsewhere. Describing the various gifts, the Buddha says that the gift of *vihāra* is the best gift.¹⁸ The *Dighanikāya* states that the Vajjians will not be defeated as long as they worship their *caityas* and give protection to the religious persons and other mendicants.

The two Indian epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have innumerable evidences to show the continuity of respect to the humane ideals of Aśoka's edicts.

While addressing an assembly of kings, Daśaratha boasts that his excellent kingdom was nourished by his predecessors "as father nourishes his son."¹⁹ Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa elsewhere that "in pay-

14. Story II; Cf. *Dhamma Jātaka, Mahājeṇi Jātaka*.

15. cf. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, I, p. 129.

16. *Sutta Nipāta*, Mahāmaṅgala Sutta, vs. 5-6. cf. *Vasala Sutta*, 9-10.

17. *Ibid.*, *Vasala Sutta*, v. 2.

18. *Nidānakathā, Anāthapiṇḍikassa: vihāradānam samghassa aggam Buddhena vannītam*.

19. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, I.

ing due respect to parents and superiors lies great and unequalled merit."²⁰ The *Rāmāyaṇa*, again, appears to continue the tradition of Aśoka's edicts when it says that gifts to priests, cherishing servants and subjects, observance of moral duties, respect to aged persons, reverence to ascetics, gods and *caityas*, suppression of the wicked, control of passions, forgiveness, piety, firmness and truth are eternal royal duties and virtues.²¹ The number of *caityas*, water-sheds, and tanks indicate prosperity of the provinces.²² King Rāma describes the importance of the opinions of the citizens in shaping the king's opinions²³ and refraining from meat eating.²⁴ A king observing virtue is compared with a deity²⁵ and a person engaged in the destruction of animals is made to suffer in hell.²⁶

The *Mahābhārata* too eulogizes the humane tradition reflected in Aśoka's edicts. The duties of a king, for example, included protection of subjects, knowledge of the Vedas, practice of all kinds of penances, good conduct, gifts to the deserving, mercy towards all creatures, abstention from cruelty, mercy towards the aged, relief of the oppressed, protection of Brahmanas, and favour and rewards to the righteous.²⁷ Construction of roads and water-sheds have been additional duties of a ruler.²⁸ Forgiveness, self-control, purity, humility, abstention from injury, truthfulness, tranquility, simplicity and righteousness have been the important royal virtues.²⁹

The *dharma-śāstras* upheld the *dharma* ideal and the state became moral and spiritual rather than material and political. Respect to parents, reverence to teachers and elders and non-injury to living beings have been preached by Manu as noteworthy duties.³⁰ The "paternal ideal" is alluded to by Manu,³¹ Kātyāyana³² and Yājñavalkya.³³ Maintenance of widows, orphans and the aged was an additional duty of the ruler, according to Kātyāyana. Protection of the people, offering of gifts, performance of sacrifice and study are the main duties of a king, according to Manu.³⁴ Protection of all

20. *Ibid.*, XXVI, vs. 14: धर्मज्ञपुरजयां धर्मश्चाप्यतुना महान् ॥

21. *Ibid.*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, LXXV, C; Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, XVII.

22. Cf *Ibid.*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, C.

23. *Ibid.*, Uttarakāṇḍa, LIII.

24. *Ibid.*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa XVII

25. *Ibid.*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, CII.

26. *Ibid.*, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, XVII.

27. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, XXI, 13-16; XXIII, 9-12; LXVI, 6, 20, 22, 40. LXVIII, 45.

28. cf. *Ibid.*, Śāntiparva, LXIX, 52-53.

29. cf. *Ibid.*, Śāntiparva, VII, 6; XII, 17.

30. cf. *Manusmṛti*, II, 71-73, 145-48, 225-37; IV, 154, 162, 179-80, 182, 238, 246; V, 43-47, 56.

31. Kane, *Dharmasāstra*, III, p. 35.

32. अपि तुः पायिवः पिता ।

33. I, 351: स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजामु च यथा पिता ।

34. *Manusmṛti*, I, 89.

beings, award of just punishment, preservation of *varṇas* and *āśramas*, according to the rulers of the *sāstras*, and support of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas have been prescribed by Gautamas as additional responsibilities of the king.³⁵ The law-givers, in fact, seem to continue the conception of the traditional welfare-state looking after the protection of people, relief of the poor and freedom from hunger.

Śūdraka describes an ideal king as one well-versed in the *Vedas* and obedient to the laws of *dharma*. Aśvaghōṣa's *Saundarānanda* also indicates that the king-elect of Kapilavastu accepted royalty for maintaining the precepts of *dharma*.³⁶ While Bhāsa stands for the traditional supremacy of *dharma*, Kālidāsa believes in the paternal ideal of kingship in as much as he describes the king as the real father of his subjects, though their parents begot them.³⁷ The *Dāśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, like Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, extols the value of *dharma* and emphasises the importance of moral discipline in princes. The *Purāṇas* too hold the *dharma* to be the basis of moral order and the maintenance of *dharma* to be the chief duty of a king. The *Agni Purāṇa* states that the king should give patronage to Brahmins and ascetics, build temples, feed the aged, the imbecile, the widow and the orphan and respect and reward the Brahmins.

Somadeva, the author of the *Nītvākyaṃṛtam*, recognises self-control, education, discipline, association with the aged and the wise as the primary qualifications of a king; and deprecates severity and treachery in war. And the *Śukranītisāra* of Śukra maintains that a good king combines in himself all the functions and virtues of a father, mother, preceptor, protector and friend; and considers construction of roads, building of serais, improving the moral and material condition of his subjects, and spending a large amount in charity as important royal duties.

The advice given by Ramdas to Shivaji after the death of Afzal-khan reflects the importance of the *dharma* ideal even during the 16th century. The *Dāsabodha* states that the progress of a kingdom depends on the progress of *dharma* which, therefore, needs royal protection.³⁸ It maintains that the royal duties of worshipping the gods, taking care at the Brāhmaṇas and protecting people are "god's gifts".³⁹ Even Tukaram writes to Shivaji that "protection of the helpless" was a royal duty.⁴⁰

35. Gautama, *Dharmasūtra*, X, 7-10.

36. I, 60-63: धर्माय नेन्द्रियसुखाय जुगोष राष्ट्रम् ।

37. स पिता पितरस्तासाम् केवलम् जन्महेतवः ।

38. धर्मवृद्धीर्न राज्यवृद्धि आहो. धर्मस्थापनेषु कीर्ति । साम्भारली पाहणे ।

39. cf. *Dāsabodha Dāsaka* 18, Somas 6, vs. 19.

40. c. *Gāthā* of Tukaram, Part III, 4443: सांगणे नलये सर्वज्ञ तू राजा ।

अनाथांच्या काजा साहच व्हावे ॥ ५ ॥

Later Epigraphic evidences

The humane ideals of Aśoka are reflected in innumerable epigraphic sources of later times from the first to the twelfth century A. D. The Nasik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī states that he "never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity with dharma,"⁴¹ sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens⁴² and was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy" and "stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*."⁴³ Nahāpaṇa, the Western Satrap, is known to have built many temples while his son-in-law Ushavadāta gave alms, built cells and dedicated caves and cisterns.⁴⁴ One of the inscriptions of Vākāṭaka Pravaraśena glorifies his *dharmavijaya*,⁴⁵ and the Valabhī inscriptions repeatedly speak of the rulers' regard for the rules of morality. One of the Valabhī kings Droṇasimha, for example, followed the laws of Manu and the sages, and was devoted, like Yudhiṣṭhira, to the path of *dharma*.⁴⁶ The Sanskrit inscription of the Pallava ruler Viṣṇugopa, too, describes him not only as a virtuous ruler and well versed in good government, but also as one who had assumed royalty merely as an ascetic with a vow of protecting and maintaining subjects according to *dharma*.⁴⁷ The Girnar inscription of Skandagupta not only describes his minister as engaged in doing good to humanity, but also discharged from moral liabilities by his performance of duties.⁴⁸ In fact in his kingdom there was no man devoid of *dharma* or suffering from wants.⁴⁹ The Kadamba rulers of Banavase too did not lag behind in recognising the importance of the *dharma* ideal. One of the Talguṇḍa stone inscriptions of Mysore State praises king Kākusthavarman as kind to the needy, just, protector of the people and helper of the humble.⁵⁰ The Kadambas are also styled in the Nilambur copper plates of king Ravivarman, as rulers "who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them)."⁵¹ The intellectual attainments of Dhārasena are repeatedly mentioned in the Valabhī inscription which compares him with Dharmarāja; and other Valabhī rulers were proud to protect the weak, preserve religious grants, and avert calamities of subjects. Even the mediaeval ruler

41. धर्मो गजित करविनियोग करस ।

42. पोरजन निविसेस सममुखदुखस ।

43. cf. Senart, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 61;

44. cf. Luder's List Nos. 1131, 1132.

45. Cf. I. A. II, 243.

46. मानवादिप्रणीतविधिविद्यानधर्माधर्मराज इव विहित विनय व्यवस्था

—G. I. No. 38.

47. I. A. V. 51-52: प्रवृद्धधर्मसञ्चयस्य प्रजापालन संरक्षणीद्यत गतत समग्रत दोक्षितस्य ।

48. आश्रणय भावोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः

49. तस्मिन् नृपे शासति नैव कश्चित् धर्मादपतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।

आतो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दण्डेन नवायोभूषण पीडितः स्यात् ॥

50. Cf. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 176, p. 114; *Ep. Ind.* VIII, pp. 24ff

51. Cf. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 148.

Vikrama Choḷa boasts that he followed the laws of Manu and protected all his subjects like a loving mother.

The title '*dharmā-mahārāja*' borne by the Pallava, Kadamba, Gaṅga and other rulers indicates the respect these Indian rulers had for the *dharmā* ideal.

Cultural Heritage

Aśoka's edicts and subsequent evidence thus prove that India cherished and maintained throughout the ages, political ideals which respected humanity more than narrow social groups, love more than hatred, tolerance more than fanaticism and pacifism more than violence.

It was in this land that several oppressed races and nomadic barbarians were sheltered and made to realise the importance of living a life of peaceful co-existence inspite of differences. The debt of conquerors like Darius and Alexander was paid but in quite a different manner. Though they succeeded in their mission of violence, this land returned violence by pacifism. Though the barbarian Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushans and Hunas inflicted destruction, this land offered them in return tolerance and humane receptivity. Aśoka's moral pacific teachings have been a great source of inspiration even in modern India where the teachings and work of Gandhiji largely convey the basic ideals of non-violence, human freedom, tolerance, communal harmony and mutual respect, universal brotherhood and peace. Aśoka's edicts preaching harmony and co-operation, have become relevant and meaningful in the world today when national and international problems have become moral problems.

A NOTE ON THE SĀSANAVAMSA

By

B. C. LAW

The *Sāsanavamsa* or the history of Buddha's religion was written in Burma in 1861 A.D. by a monk named Paññāsāmi who was the tutor to the then king Meng-dun-Mong of Burma and himself a pupil of the Saṅgharājā or the head of the church at Mandalay. He wrote the following books: *Sīlakathā* and *Upāyakathā* (these are of an ethical character),¹ *Alkcharavisodhanī* (a treatise on Pali Orthography), *Āpattivinicchaya* (a treatise on morality), *Nāgarājuppattikathā* (written to commemorate the founding of the new capital, Mandalay—Pali *Ratanapuruṇṇa*—composed in ślokas throughout), *Vohāratthabheda* and *Vivadavinicchaya* (monastic discipline), *Rājasevakadīpanī* (a treatise on serving the king), *Nirayakathādīpaka* (edifying stories of punishments in hell), *Uposathavinicchaya* (a treatise on the Uposatha rules), and *Saddanīti*.² The then king of Burma conferred on him the title of *Sirikavidhajamahādhammarājādhirājaguru*. At the end of his book the author says that the text has been completed in every respect on the full moon day of *Migasira* (November-December) in the year 1223 of the Kali age. The *Sāsanavamsa* is an interesting non-canonical text. It is no doubt important from literary and ecclesiastical standpoint. This text contains the history of how Buddhism came to nine places, history of Buddhism in Ceylon, in *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* (Pegu),³ in the Yonaka country,⁴ in the Aparanta country,⁵ in the Kāsmīr-Gandhāra country, in the Mahīmsaka country,⁶ in the Mahārāṭṭha⁷ and in the Cina country.⁸

1. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 93.

2. *Sāsanavamsa* Ed. by M. Bode, P.T.S., p. 154.

3. The general opinion is that it is lower Burma with adjacent districts.

4. It is the country of the Yavana people. The *Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka* mention the Yonas as a subject people, forming a frontier district of Asoka's Empire. Cf. *Milinda*, p. 82; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XXXI.

5. It is Western India. The Burmese identify it with upper Burma. Aparantaka is the region lying to the west of the upper Irawaddy.

6. The Mahīmsaka mountain was near the mount Candaka. It is the Malayagiri, the Malabar ghats. Bode says that it has been identified with Andhaka or Andhra country.

7. It is Mahānagararāṭṭha or Siam. Mahārāṭṭha is situated near Siani (siyāma country). Mahārāṭṭha is the present Mahārāṣṭra country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between this river and the Kṛṣṇā.

8. What is Himavanlapradeśa in the *Mahāvamsa* is stated to be Cinarāṭṭha. The *Papañcasūdanī* states it is 3000 yojanas in extent. The *Sāsanavamsa* (p. 169) says that Kasmīra and Gandhāra and Cina countries being adjacent often came into conflict with each other and sometimes the latter country brought the former under its sway.

The table of contents given in the text promises a general history of Buddhism based on the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vinayaṭīṭaka*, *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa*. The text narrates the events upto the time of the Third Council in the time of Aśoka and the despatch of missionaries by the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of 9 chapters which fall into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from ancient commentaries as well as from Buddhaghosa's works *Dīpavamsa* and other texts. The second part treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. The text also supplies us with some useful information concerning the nine regions visited by the first Buddhist missionaries and some other places of Burma. A study of the *Sāsanavamsa* convinces us of the fact that the author was intimately acquainted with the Pali commentaries. The style in which the book is written imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. The text gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. The peace of Burma was disturbed by the Chinese army from time to time." I should refer the readers to Mabel Bode's thoughtful paper on the author of the *Sāsanavamsa* in JRAS., 1899, pp. 674-76. Her book entitled "*The Pali Literature of Burma*" (London 1909) is mainly based on the *Sāsanavamsa* and her another book entitled "*A Burmese Historian of Buddhism* (London, 1898) is equally useful. The *Sāsanavamsadīpa* and *Sāsanavamsadīpaya* should be consulted while studying the *Sāsanavamsa* for a better understanding of some knotty points.

The *Sāsanavamsa* gives us an outline of the Buddha's life and deals with three Buddhist councils held during the reigns of Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Aśoka. After the third council was over, Buddhist missionaries were sent to different countries by Moggaliputta Tissa for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Of the nine regions visited by the missionaries, five are placed in Indo-China. The author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for southern countries and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the southern countries and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. We learn from the text that Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy besides three others who visited Laos and Pegu. He took special care for the religion of Maramma (Burma proper or Myanmā), Mahinda was sent to Ceylon for the spread of Buddhism during the reign of Devānañpiyatissa, who was king Aśoka's contemporary. Soṇa and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi or Sudhammapura or Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung river. The author holds that before the advent of mission-

aries in Suvannabhūmi Buddha came here personally to preach his doctrine. Thera Mahārakkhita spread Buddhism in the country extending along the valleys of the Me-nam and Me-ping rivers and including the Shan states to the north of them. The country of Vanavāsī or the region round Prome was visited by the Elder Yonakarakkhita who propagated Buddhism there. Kasmīra and Gandhāra were visited by Majjhantika and the whole country became a Buddhist stronghold. The Thera Mahārevata spread Buddhism in Mahimsakamaṇḍala. Mahādhammarakkhita and Majjhima spread Buddhism in Mahāraṭṭha (Mahānagararaṭṭha or Siam) and Cīraraṭṭha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books). Buddhism was propagated in Aparantaraṭṭha which is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese. The Sunāparanta is the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The *Sāsanavamsa* refers to the mutual dependent relations of the state and the church (*saṅgha*) in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, a great hero of Burma, with his constant adviser Arahanta to the time of Meng-dun-Meng (1852 A.D.) with his council of *Mahātheras* (great elders). The Order was enriched by the gifts of pious laymen. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese monk, peaceful atmosphere necessary for the study or writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies—all these are secured by the king's favour and protection. Mabel Bode is right in pointing out that at the lowest the royal gifts of *vihāras* and the erection of shrines are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder. The despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation that later births may hold in store for him, if she injures or neglects the church.¹⁰ The king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical matters. Really speaking the *saṅgharājā* is not the elected head of the order. He is appointed by the king. It appears from the *Pārupana* controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by a royal decree is fully recognised by the *saṅgha* (church). The king was under his *ācariya*'s (teacher's) influence.

The history of religion in Maramma (Burma) is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa, which includes the districts of Pagan, Ava, Pinya, Myenzain and also the upper portion of Thayet (modern Thayetmyo) district on the east bank of the Irawaddy. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities namely Pagan, Sagamg, Pinyā, Amarapura, Mandalay, each having the royal seats. Sudhampura, the capital of king Manohari of Pegu was the early Buddhist stronghold in Burma. King Anuruddha of Pagan at the instance of

10. *Sāsanavamsa* (Bode), Conclusion, p. 54.

the thera (elder) named Arahanta made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pagan. All the members of the Church in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pagan. Anuruddha sent for copies from Ceylon which were compared by Arahanta with those of Pegu to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisu (1167 A.D.) Uttarājiva a celebrated teacher came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada was educated in Ceylon for ten years. He returned with four colleagues to the capital.¹¹ After Chapada's death separate schools came into existence. They have their origin in some differences that arose between the three surviving teachers Sivali, Tāmalinda and Ānanda. They are not in agreement concerning the application of Vinaya rules to the keeping of tamed elephant received as a present from the king. The schools are known as *paccāgana* (later school) to distinguish them from the earlier school (*purimagana*) in Arimaddana founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā (581 of the Kali age) is highly important for the history of Buddhism, He was a pious king who furthered the cause of religion. He loved everybody, read and became the master of every book, held public disputations, and instructed the household seven times daily. He built the monastery at Sagu and a great tank. There were no wars or commotions during his reign.¹² He was the author of two manuals *Paramatthabindu* and *Saddabindu*, for the use of his wives. One of his daughters wrote the *Vibhatyattha*. This text refers to the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana and also contains anecdotes of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit.

An ancient *sīmā* or boundary in the island of Ceylon was the subject of dispute among the monks of the Amarapura school. Two rival parties were formed. The *saṅgharājā* delivered judgement after consulting many sacred texts. This is the last controversy recorded in the *Sāsanavaṁsa* which points to the influence of the Burmese church in Ceylon.

11. *I. A.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 29 ff.—*Kalyani Inscription account*.

12. Crawford, *Journal of an embassy to the court of Ava*, Vol. II, 288.

BOMBAY'S THEATRE WORLD—1860—1880

By

KUMUD A. MEHTA

The British did not pattern Bombay into a replica of any city of their own country. The Portuguese sought to create in Goa a baroque atmosphere of churches and convents; the Dutch modelled Batavia on the lines of dam-studded Amsterdam.¹ But Bombay was basically of little interest to the early British settlers except as a frontier outpost against the Maratha power. Even as late as 1825, a Minute of the Council dismissed Bombay as a possession 'of little Importance to the Company'², though by that date the military victory over the Peshwas had made free and uninterrupted trade with the mainland possible. As a result, there was a substantial rise in Bombay's population.

Early travellers had pointed to one distinctive characteristic of Bombay's inhabitants. They had been surprised at the huge number of foreigners residing in the Island. For instance, Capt. Hall, describing his walks in the bazaars in 1812, wrote that he had been struck by the sounds of every language he had heard spoken in any other part of the world, but uttered here 'not in corners and by chance, as it were, but in a tone and manner which implied that the speakers felt quite at home'.³ Mrs. Elwood, writing of the years 1825-28, commented on the presence of English, Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Armenians and Arabs in the City.⁴ In addition to this, these years saw a steady inflow into Bombay of the indigenous population. Murphy states that the Parsis arrived in large numbers after the decline of Surat and the transfer of its trade to Bombay, while the influx from the Maharashtra interior increased substantially after the British settlement with the Peshwas.⁵

In 1826, Major Jervis, in his Survey of Bombay's Population, estimated it at 1,62,570 persons.⁶ Four years later, Lagrange placed

1. See article entitled 'Aspects of the City in South Asia' by O.H.K. Spate in *Confluence*, Vol. 7, 1958, No. 1, p. 19.
2. D. Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937*, London, 1938, p. 126.
3. Capt. Basil Hall, R. N., *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*, Second Series, 3 vols. London, 1832, Vol. III, p. 11.
4. Mrs. Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England*, 2 vols., London, 1830, Vol. I, p. 377-78.
5. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, 3 vols., Bombay, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 161-62.
6. 'Population of the Islands of Bombay and Salsette in 1826-27' communicated by Major T. B. Jervis, F.R.S. to *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Bombay, Vol. III, 1840, p. 72.

it at 2,30,000.⁷ Murray's *Hand-book* published in 1859 records that the number of Bombay's residents had risen to 5,66,119.⁸ The half million mark had been reached. From a back-water, Bombay had already been transformed into the capital of an important province. Its commercial prosperity in the ensuing decades was to render it an effective challenge to Calcutta's position as the metropolis.

One important factor adding the commercial expansion of the City was the improved system of communications by land and sea. In 1830, the Bhore Ghat Road to Poona was opened and by the same year, a project was afoot for regular communications with England by steamers navigating the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Proposals for railway transport began to be considered and the first railway track in India with a distance of twenty-one miles from Bombay to Tannah was inaugurated in 1853. The institution of a regular system of coastal steamers and the introduction of a fortnightly mail service between Bombay and Aden further contributed to an improvement in trade.

The story of Bombay's commercial prosperity in the middle years of the nineteenth century has been narrated by R.J.F. Sullivan in his *One Hundred Years of Bombay, History of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1836-1936*. The Chamber began its work in 1836 and four years later the Bank of Bombay supplanted the old system of houses of agency.⁹ Towards the end of the fifties cotton and spinning mills began to pioneer Bombay's industrial activities. By 1860 there was an extension into allied fields. But quite apart from the factory chimney stacks and the mechanized transport, it was the frenetic atmosphere of the share mania days which imprinted on Bombay the stamp of urbanism.

The outbreak of the Civil War in America cut off the supply of American staples to England. This caused an enormous and sudden demand for Indian cotton, most of which found its way to Bombay in order to be exported to England. Prices soared, mushroom financial associations sprang up, colossal profits were reaped by speculators. It was estimated that these five years (1861-65) gave Bombay roughly eighty-one millions sterling over and above what she had in former years considered a fair price for cotton. But the boom could not last. In 1865 with the collapse of the Southern American armies, the blockade ended and cotton prices fell drastically. Companies crashed and investors faced dire ruin. It was only in 1867 that there was some return to normalcy. The founding

7. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 162.

8. Murray, *A Handbook for India*, 2 parts, London, 1859, Part II, p. 243.

9. R.J.F. Sullivan, *One Hundred Years of Bombay, History of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1836-1936*, Bombay, 1937, p. 3.

of the new Bank of Bombay in 1868 and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 helped to mitigate the disaster of the previous years.

During these five troubled years, wild dreams of easy fortunes had lured thousands to Bombay. In 1864 the population figure touched the peak of 8,16,562, a figure not reached again till 1891. Bombay's residents were now finding themselves in an urban matrix face to face with all the endemic problems that urbanism creates.

In the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, sojourners in Bombay had found its cool bungalows and modest residences a refreshing contrast to the vulgar ostentation of Calcutta, 'the City of Palaces'.¹⁰ The Town or the City of Bombay was enclosed in the area of the Fort. The best buildings, the offices, the Church and the bigger shops were all concentrated there. The richer among the Indian merchants also resided in the Fort in picturesque houses with high, conical, red-tiled roofs. The buildings here were so huddled together that in 1850, the Fort seemed like 'a large basket so full of goods that they threatened to tumble out of it'. 'The Black Town', housing the bulk of the Indian residents, clustered around the area of the fortifications in closely-built suburbs among cocoanut groves. It comprised our present day areas of Girgaum, Khetwadi, Dhobi Talao. Parel was fairly populated, while Sion and Matunga were right out, on the fringes of the City. The richer Europeans lived in villas on the outskirts of the town, at Malabar Hill and Mazgaon. Others lived in the summer months on the Esplanade in temporary bungalows or tents. The gradual rise in the population in the mid-century years made public improvements in the City a matter of urgent necessity. With the construction of the Colaba Causeway in 1838 and the Mahim Causeway in 1845, no vestige of the old Heptanesia remained.

The face of the city was changing. A part of the wealth of the 'munificent speculators' of 1861-65 went to aid the new spurt of building activity. Governor Frere was keen on embellishing Bombay with 'a series of structures worthy of her wealth, her populousness and her geographical situation'.¹¹ His contemporaries extolled the public buildings that were projected or commenced during his tenure of office. These comprised the Government Secretariat, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Telegraph Department, the Post Office, all constructed in one grand line facing the sea. But modern verdict on these structures has been harsh in the extreme. One foreign observer has derided the more grandiose architecture

10. D. Kincaid speaks thus of the social atmosphere of Calcutta at the beginning of the century: 'the hordes of thievish servants, the tasteless luxury, the legal confusion... reminiscent of the Rome of Clodius'. Kincaid, *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

11. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Op. Cit.*, Vol. 2. p. 173.

of the Port for its 'Arabian Nighmarish medley of styles'¹² and Aldous Huxley decried the decades during which these structures were designed and executed as 'perhaps the darkest period of all architectural history'.¹³

Governor Frere was equally keen on sanitary reform. Maclean describes graphically the Bombay of 1855, with its foul and hideous fore-shore and its gaping open sewers.¹⁴ Reforms in municipal administration, the construction of new water-works and the draining of the flats helped to improve the sanitation. But the City remained intolerably filthy and congested. Many schemes were undertaken to make it spacious and salubrious. The most immediate step was to reclaim land from the sea. By 1872 there was an increase in the area of the whole Island from eighteen to twenty-two square miles. New roads were constructed, old tracks were widened. The site of the old Bombay Green was transformed into the Elphinstone Circle.¹⁵ The obsolete fortifications and useless ramparts of the City were demolished.

The rate of new building activity was accelerated by contributions from private citizens who diverted part of their newly acquired wealth to modernise the city. Their philanthropic gifts were earmarked in particular from building educational establishments and hospitals. Their gesture harmonised with the general orientation in favour of progress in health and education.

The famous Despatch of the Court of Directors for 1854 enunciated the Government's policy in the field of education. In 1857 the University of Bombay was created. The Elphinstone College and the Grant Medical College had commenced their labours earlier. The decades to come witnessed the direct results of this occidental system of education. A university-trained stratum was created which, in the word of Toynbee, had 'effectively cultivated the Western arts of peace'.¹⁶ Indian opinion began to be represented not merely by wealthy merchant interests as in the earlier decades of the century, but by a new intelligentsia which had already suffered the impact of an alien culture in the fields of technology, language, literature, law and administration. In the field of the drama, to watch plays and to patronise the theatre was by no means enough.

12. O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, London, 1954, p. 613.

13. Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate*, London, 1936, p. 8.

14. J. M. Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay*, 6th ed., Bombay, 1881, pp. 186-87.

15. 'The Green is to be extended; and already has the pick-axe been heard on the structure which was known as the old Bombay Theatre, but which no longer exists, it being necessary to clear away that and some other of the neighbouring buildings to admit of the desired extension'. From an article entitled 'Some Changes in Bombay from 1829 to 1862', *B. Gazette*, May 30, 1862.

16. A. Toynbee, *The World and the West*, The B.B.C. Reith Lectures, 1952, London, 1953, p. 37.

The educated had to band themselves into amateur dramatic groups and produce plays on their own. Towards the later half of the nineteenth century, these dramatic societies pushed the theatre movement on lines different from those traced in the preceding decades.

ACTORS AND COMPANIES

In the new urban setting there was little occasion for the older forms of entertainment. The early tradition of folk dance persisted in some of the religious festivals. But on the whole, the city dwellers were passive and non-participant consumers of popular culture. And for their benefit, a new class of entertainers came into being whose sole vocation was to afford amusement. Bombay was now a halting place for troupes and entertainers on their way to and from Calcutta, Australia and the Far East.¹⁷ Particularly, in the cooler months, there seemed to have been no dearth of amusements, for in 1875 an article on 'Public Amusements' in the *Times of India* reported that of late Bombay had become quite gay with a variety of entertainments which were 'highly satisfactory, if somewhat unusual'.¹⁸ In 1875, for instance, the magician and mesmerist Prof. Bushell performed at Morley Hall, Colaba, Prof. Michel, the prestidigitateur attracted a predominantly Indian crowd for his 'decapitation' sequences. Year after year, the circus on the Esplanade continued to be a great success. Soon the Blondin craze caught on and numerous indigenous imitators arose, keen on displaying their acrobatic skill and physical prowess. Louis Frank, the illusionist, Spiller, the champion skater, Pro. Vanek, the electro-biologist all advertised their talents in the newspaper columns and drew large houses. Towards the close of the seventies yet another attraction came into vogue in the shape of the Diorama, while marionettes and minstrels still retained their old popularity. Where the new media of diversion were patronised with such enthusiasm,¹⁹ the Theatre could scarcely be neglected. The emergence of a number of Indian dramatic groups and the keen support given to English touring dramatic companies indicate that theatre activities had already begun to reap rewards in Bombay in the 'sixties and seventies' of the last century.

17. A commentator on 'Il Barbiere at the Italian Opera' wrote in the *Bombay Saturday Review*, 'The terrors of the black water and a tropical climate have disappeared'. *Bombay Saturday Review*, Vol. 7, 1865, p. 3.

18. *Times of India*, Feb. 8, 1875.

A report in the *Bombay Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1870, speaks of 'such a host of public entertainers—musical, histrionic and equestrian—as that with which Bombay will in a few days be so greatly favoured.'

19. 'Novelty is the order of the day in Bombay, at the present time we have balloon ascents, new things in equestrianism, etc., and now we are to have skating'. *B. Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1867.

Individual Performers

The old type of individual entertainer still continued to perform. But with his niggardly resources, he could barely compete with the enterprising showmen who had more spectacular goods to offer their public. It was almost impossible for a performer to work single-handed relying solely on his own talent. Miss Grattan who was congratulated for her perseverance in trying to improve the dramatic taste of the people of Bombay was so desperately short of professional assistance that she was forced to advertise in the *Bombay Gazette* for 'a few respectable members of both sexes to sustain minor part in the Legitimate Drama'.²⁰ That she added a P.S. to the advertisement stating that 'None need apply that cannot read correctly',²¹ simply suggests that she was a little more particular about the minimum competence of her support than the other managers of the time.

In vain the newspapers tried to be charitable to the efforts of individual entertainers particularly when they happened to be women.²² But they realised that such theatrical ventures could hardly prosper in the new cultural climate.²³

Even the more conscientious among the actors and actresses found it increasingly difficult to succeed, if they were not part of regular dramatic companies. Mr. and Mrs. Bennee, introducing themselves as 'talented English comedians', relied at the start on their own resources and staged skits like *Snapping Turtles* and *A Happy Pair* or scenes from *Romeo and Juliet*.²⁴ They returned to Bombay after a trip to Australia, and tried hard to produce more serious plays. During their first visit they had helped to form a Bombay Dramatic Society composed wholly of European amateurs whom they had coached with some success. Now they revived these contacts and started acquainting Bombay audiences with the favourites of the London boards. They produced plays such as Leopold Lewis' *The Bells*²⁵ which was Irving's first success at the Lyceum or Dumas' *Catherine Howard*.²⁶ When they performed Boucicault's *London Assurance*, they at great expense introduced in the last three Acts, 'The London Style Of Box Scenery (A Novelty For Bombay)'.²⁷ But their audience was too restricted, their amateur support was as usual far too restive under criticism while they themselves were often far from word-perfect. It was time for the

20. *B. Gazette*, April 12, 14, 1862.

21. *Ibid.*

22. For instance there were words of encouragement for Miss Stanley who visited Bombay in 1860. *B. Gazette*, May 4, 1860.

23. The *B. Gazette* commented editorially on Miss Grattan's difficulties. *B. Gazette*, April 24, 1862.

24. *B. Gazette*, April 23, 1872.

25. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 5, 12, 1873.

26. *B. Gazette*, June, 19, 1873.

27. *Times of India*, April 9, 1873.

regular dramatic companies with a systematic repertoire to make their début.

Dave Carson

An individual performer could not carry a whole show on his shoulders but one excellent farceur or mimic could make all the difference to the performance of a troupe. Dave Carson's entertainment was a case in point. Describing himself as 'the only Anglo-Indian comedian in the world',²⁸ he succeeded in making his shows an annual event in the cultural life of the City. Initially, he could boast of only a modest troupe of four, but gradually he increased the number of actors in his company. If he found an entertainer with some talent in him, he did not hesitate to recruit him and he thus added to the variety of his own repertoire. Towards the end of the seventies his shows became almost an established institution²⁹ and Bombay an important port of call in his circuit of Indian towns.

D. E. Wacha writes affectionally of his early memories of the Grant Road Theatre and particularly of Dave Carson's immense popularity with the Parsi section of the audience. He remarks that Dave Carson was a facetious actor of ready wit and humour 'and knew how to catch his audience, specially with local topics of interest'.³⁰ Dave Carson cultivated all the virtues and the vices of showmanship. The advertisement heralding his shows were punctuated with Hindustani words and phrases. A part of an advertisement in the *Times of India* of April 11, 1865 reads thus:

'Ahre-e !!! there is a grand Nautch
at
Royal Theatre in the Grant Road
Dave Carson Sahib
Say must ticket take,
Suppose not take, then what? . . .
P. S. Soundy Sahib will ticket give but must early go,
for there is a great crowd'.³¹

With him punning was a constant and abominable habit. An example of what he calls a quadruplicated pun is:

'Like a *grate-full* of coals we'll glow,
A *great-full* house to see;

28. *B. Gazette*, April 25, 1877.

29. A comment about a special benefit for Dave Carson notes that he and his troupe had amused Bombay's playgoers for the last four months—'a length of time unparalleled by any other professional company that has ever visited Bombay'. *B. Gazette*, April 4, 1870.

30. Sir D. E. Wacha, *Shells from the Sands of Bombay being my Recollection and Reminiscences—1860-1875*, Bombay, 1920. pp. 350-51.

31. *Times of India*, April 11, 1865.

And if we are not *grate-full* then,
What great-fools we would be'.³²

In the beginning he concentrated on minstrel songs. But in later days he depended more and more upon skits and songs, with a definite bearing on local events and personalities. In the days of the Share Mania, one of the favourite songs was:

'Shares are down
the banks are breaking'...³³

He used to sing another called 'Tight Little Island' about the various reclamation schemes in Bombay.³⁴ The popular items in his repertoire were 'a burlesque of the eccentricities sometimes witnessed in a Mofussil Magistrate's Court'³⁵ or 'scenes in the Bombay Police Court'.³⁶

To quote D. E. Wacha again, Dave Carson was 'Protean in many respects' and amused his audiences by donning the garb of a Parsi masher of the period and crooning the tune 'Ratai Madam is my name'.³⁷ His biggest song-hit was the 'Bangalee Baboo'. D. E. Wacha states that the Indian *Nan-Khatai* bands continued to play the tune till the end of the century at Hindu weddings or at the doors of the Parsis on their New Year's Day. In trying to make his asides and jokes intensely topical, Dave Carson could not quite help being personal. Occasionally feelings could be ruffled, but on the whole his remarks seem to have been received with good humour.³⁸ His style was neither refined nor subtle. There was plenty of room in it for bufoonery and absurdity. For instance, in his item on the 'Bombay Palkheewala' he had a real *palkhee* brought on the stage and jumped into it at one bound.³⁹

Dave Carson did not acquaint Bombay's audience with the serious aspects of dramatic writing then current in England. He concentrated on a lower species of dramatic effort, placed it on the boards of the Grant Road Theatre a bit too crudely in an idiom which appeared to please more easily the untutored part of the new audience.
Fairclough

If Carson played almost entirely to the gallery, Fairclough, who performed for a brief season in February-March 1878, appealed more

32. *B. Gazette*, April 11, 1870.

33. *Times of India*, April 11, 1865.

34. *Times of India*, May 17, 1865.

35. *Times of India*, April 20, 1874.

36. *Times of India*, April 22, 1865.

Times of India, April 13, 1866.

37. Sir D. E. Wacha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 351.

38. *Times of India*, April 7, 1866.

B. Gazette, June 8, 1877.

39. *Times of India*, April 20, 1874. *Palkhee-Palanquin*.

to the refined sensibilities of the educated section of the audience. As an actor, he was obviously far above the average that Bombay was used to. With the exception of Miss Elcia May, who played opposite him with some credit, the rest of support he managed to collect in Bombay seemed hopelessly inadequate.⁴⁰

Fairclough stuck primarily to Shakespearean tragedies and consequently found an appreciative hearing among students. When he played *Hamlet*, the *Bombay Gazette's* reporter was pleasantly surprised to find the pit of the house 'nearly filled with native students who with text-book in hand carefully followed the rendering and sense of the play...'⁴¹ His readings from Edgar Allan Poe, Macaulay, Tennyson, Byron and Shakespeare, which took place at the Town Hall, were welcomed as 'an intellectual treat'.⁴² Twice he was invited to give dramatic readings at the Elphinstone College and created such an impression that when he left the College, 'the students followed him, and loudly cheered him until his carriage disappeared'.⁴³

Fairclough's abilities were so much above the average that the *Bombay Gazette* compared him with the world renowned Salvini,⁴⁴ and D. E. Wacha wrote that Fairclough played Shakespeare's tragic roles 'almost to perfection such as one sees on the stage in England'.⁴⁵

Dramatic Companies

In the seventies, the Lewis Dramatic Company made a mark in Bombay. By then it had already become popular in Calcutta. After a trip to Australia, it played its first theatrical season in Bombay in October 1872, where it was awaited with mixed feelings. On the one hand, the prospect of Bombay being looked upon by theatrical companies with as favourable an eye as the 'City of Palaces' was quite attractive. On the other hand, Lewis, on his benefit night at Calcutta had remarked that he intended 'to see what they are made of Bombay',⁴⁶ and it was feared that the theatre being 'ill-fitted and ill-decorated',⁴⁷ Lewis might not find even moderate patronage in the city.

Lewis and his company were welcomed as a joyous relief in dull times. It was hoped that their performances would satisfy the desire of Bombay's old English residents 'to renew their acquaint-

40. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 7, 18, 1878.

41. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1878.

42. *B. Gazette*, March 13, 1878.

43. *B. Gazette*, March 19, 1878.

In his reminiscences of The Elphinstone College V. R. Patwardhan is reported to have stated that Fairclough's readings helped to enhance the students' understanding of *The Merchant of Venice*. See S. B. Mazumdar, *Natak Kase Phave*, Poona, 1902, pp. 33-34.

44. *B. Gazette*, March 2, 1878.

45. Sir D. E. Wacha, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 352-353.

46. *B. Gazette*, May 27, 1872.

47. *Ibid.*

ance with good acting and fresh plays'.⁴⁸ Playgoers were now served with a new variety of dramatic fare. In Robertson's *School* they found a drama removed from the ordinary themes of love and intrigue. As the *Bombay Gazette's* review explained, 'we have humour struck out from a parcel of school-girls, and we have a plot encompassed in a boarding-house'.⁴⁹ This troupe in their one month's season introduced to Bombay audiences⁵⁰ Boucicault's Irish drama *The Colleen Bawn* as well as his *The Octoroon*, dealing with the slave question in Southern America.

In April-May 1874, some of the members of his troupe staged a come-back in Bombay as members of Miss Cary George's Company. On the whole, they too favoured Boucicault and Robertson. In 1876, Lewis came again with the same kind of repertoire except that he now added Byron's burlesques and Tom Taylor's *Plot and Passion*,⁵¹ *Nine Points of Law*,⁵² *Masks and Faces*⁵³ and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pygmalion and Galatea* to the usual fare.⁴⁵ A few members of Lewis' company banded together and, calling themselves the Star Company, offered the audience H. J. Byron's burlesques such as '*La! Sonnam-bula!* and *The Maid and the Magpie*.⁵⁵

Only a narrow circle could approve of a repertoire that relied mainly upon the works of Robertson and Boucicault. As a correspondent writing to the *Times of India* remarked:

'As at present, to me and to almost all the educated Hindus of the town, *School*, and *Black-eyed Susan* etc. are so many sounds without any meaning.'⁵⁶

The same correspondent suggested that the companies should 'circulate cheap acting editions or at least handbills containing detailed stories of the plays intended to be acted' and the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* seconded the idea.⁵⁷

The touring companies may have failed to draw Indian audiences. But their organisation was worthy of the notice of the more theatre-conscious elements among the educated Indian youth. In the bigger companies responsibilities were properly apportioned. The advertisements inserted by the management carried in addition to the name of the cast, the names of the pianist and the machinist.⁵⁸ The

48. *B. Gazette*, August 21, 1872.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *B. Gazette*, Sept. 2, 9, 1872.

51. *B. Gazette*, March 4, 1876.

52. *B. Gazette*, March 16, 1876.

53. *B. Gazette*, March 27, 1876.

54. *B. Gazette*, March 28, 1876.

55. *B. Gazette*, April 25, 1876.

B. Gazette, May 9, 1876.

56. *Times of India*, Aug. 29, 1872; Letter signed "T.B.M."

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Times of India*, April 20, 1874.

Times of India, May 18, 1874.

name of Herr Maurice Freyberger, who as scenic artist, created intricate effects for the 'Sensation' scenes in Boucicault, began to figure prominently in the notices of plays. The new amateur groups formed among Indians could not remain unaffected by the style and organisational methods of the foreign professional companies.

DRAMATIC CLUBS

A noticeable feature of theatre life in the sixties and seventies was the rapid growth and hectic activity of amateur groups and clubs. This phenomenon evoked adverse comment from different sources.⁵⁹ In 1864, the *Times of India* published a letter voicing the complaint that young Parsis spent 'a major portion of their time in attending the club and preparing their parts of the performance, instead of allotting their time towards the preparation of their school lessons'.⁶⁰ Some issues of the *Rast Goftar* of 1865 published a controversy about certain Parsi teachers who were rebuked for neglecting their duties.⁶¹ In his description of Bombay, Govind Narayan prints a rather gloomy picture of Hindu youth corrupted by the enticements of the theatre. But he was inconsistent and applied double standards in judging actors. He conceded that drama was a force for education and enlightenment in England and that there were beautiful plays in the Sanskrit language. His real objection was to the actors of his own time whom he found illiterate and crude.⁶²

Throughout the 'sixties' and 'seventies' the atmosphere was one of liveliness and vitality. Professional companies, both Hindu and Parsi, prospered. Student amateurs banded themselves in groups. Some broke away and re-formed themselves into new clubs. There were the usual squabbles, the insistence on asserting the priority of a group or on appropriating a particular name for it and the correspondence columns of the newspapers were utilised to resolve these personal conflicts and rivalries.⁶³

59. When the students of the Elphinstone College staged *Othello* in 1867, a commentator wrote in the *Native Opinion* that the time required for a theatrical performance 'might perhaps have been spent better in more useful pursuits' and he could bring himself to tolerate this diversion because it took place only once or twice a year: *Native Opinion*, March 10, 1967.

60. *Times of India*, May 7, 1864, Letter signed 'J.D.S.'

61. *Rast Goftar*, Oct. 15, 29, 1865.

62. Govind Narayan, *Bombay Past and Present: An Historical Sketch in Marathi*, Bombay, 1863, pp. 329-30.

A letter in the *Times of India*, signed 'H.M.B.C.S.' expressed similarly inconsistent views. Referring to the letter by 'J.D.S.' published in the *Times of India* on May 7, 1864, the correspondent wrote that 'P.D.S.' in his structures about neglect of studies had in mind only those clubs which performed in Gujarati.

Times of India, May 10, 1864, Letter signed 'H.M.B.C.S.'

Times of India, May 7, 1864, Letter signed 'J.D.S.'

63. See *Times of India*, April 29, 1865.

Times of India, May 2, 4, 5, 1865.

THE PARSİ ELPHINSTONE DRAMATIC SOCIETY

Among the better-known amateur companies which performed English plays with a certain degree of regularity over some years was the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society and the Kalidas Elphinstone Society. That Elphinstone figures in the name of both these dramatic clubs is indicative of their indebtedness to the new education and its sponsor.

The Elphinstone Dramatic Society was mainly composed of students and ex-students of Elphinstone College. It began its dramatic activities in 1861 with light pieces such as *Lovers' Quarrels*, *Bengal Tigers*⁶⁴ and Moliere's *Mock Doctor*.⁶⁵ Those amateurs continued with a repertoire of comedies and farces which included Troughton's *Twelve Months' Honey-Moon*,⁶⁶ Morton's *Going to the Derby*⁶⁷ and Stiling's *A Lucky Hit*.⁶⁸ Their first Shakespearean venture was *The Taming of the Shrew*⁶⁹ which they staged quite early in their career and which always retained its popularity with amateur groups. Later on in 1864 they attempted *Othello*⁷⁰ and aided by Mr. and Mrs. Bennee *The Merchant of Venice* in 1873.⁷¹ A dissident group which split from them in 1865 tried its hand at *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, but met with less success and encouragement.⁷²

The moving spirit behind every activity of the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society was C. S. Nazir. One of his rivals testifies without realising it himself, to Nazir's early interest in theatricals, when he refers to Nazir's being 'drawn from the school room to take a minor female part' in the plays staged by the club. Nazir combined the duties of playwright, actor and manager. In the sixties he concentrated mainly on amateur production in English. He was also later actively connected with the Victoria Natak Mandal which specialized in Gujarati and Hindustani plays.

Nazir wrote his first book in English in 1866. The book was in verse and he called it *The First Parsi Baronet*. Subsequently he wrote a play *Kadak Kanyane Khisele Parnya* which was based upon *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Honeymoon*.⁷⁴ In the sixties he

64. *B. Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1861.

65. *B. Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1861.

66. *B. Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1861.

67. *Times of India*, March, 7, 1864.

68. *B. Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1866.

69. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1861.

70. *B. Gazette*, Oct. 22, 28, 1864.

71. *B. Gazette*, June 9, 11, 1873.

72. *Times of India*, May 28, 1865.

Times of India, June 2, 1865.

73. *Times of India*, May 4, 1865, Letter signed 'One of the True Stock'.

74. S. D. Shroff (Phirozgar), *Parsi Natak Takhto*, Bombay, 1950, p. 11.

wrote most of the Epilogues and Prologues to the productions of the Society. The more topical songs, like the popular hit 'Ratai Madame is my Name' which described 'the Parsee girl of the period' were penned by Nazir.⁷⁵ For full thirty-eight years, he kept up a sustained and intimate association with the theatre. He was either proprietor, agent or actor in most of the big theatre ventures of the later decades of the last century.

Among his associates there was Dr. D. N. Parekh, who was later to become a Lt. Colonel in the Indian Medical Service. As an amateur, D. N. Parekh was well-known for his talented playing of female roles, such as Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* or Mrs. Smart in G. O. Trevelyan's *The Dawk Bungalow*.⁷⁶ D. C. Master was the comedian of the group. Dr. N. N. Parekh, another of their colleagues, began to write independent Gujarati plays very early in life. As a student of the Grant Medical College he embarked on his first play *Sulemani Samsher* and later wrote *Pakdaman Gulnar* for the Elphinstone Stage Players.⁷⁷ On September 5, 1874, the Club staged *Langdedin, or the Lame*, 'a new 5-act Romantic drama written expressly for the Club by Mr. N. N. Paruck'.⁷⁸

The young student actors of the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society were trained by the English professionals who had settled in Bombay. For example, in the beginning, Hamilton Jacob was director and manager of their troupe.⁷⁹ Mr. and Mrs. Bennee co-operated with them in the production of *The Merchant of Venice*,⁸⁰ while Grace Egerton incorporated some of their items like 'The Parsee Girl of the Period' in her own repertoire.⁸¹ In the course of a controversy with his rivals, Nazir wrote in a letter to the *Times of India* that some of the European gentlemen serving in the Education Department of the Government took an active interest in the work of the Club.⁸² The shorter pieces that the Club produced such as 'That Voice' or 'Solid Reasons' were written expressly for the Club by 'a gentleman of Her Majesty's Civil Service'.⁸³ Another comedietta entitled 'Upstairs and Downstairs' was written for the Club

75. The first stanza will give the reader some idea of what the song was like:

I've seen a deal of gaily, and lead a jolly life,
My name is Ratai Madame, the Parsee Doctor's wife,
The thing I most excel in, is dressing neat and tight,
In silken suits and patent boots, the brightest of the bright'.

76. *B. Gazette*, May 7, 1870.

77. Some of the details of the careers of these amateur-actors are found in Dr. Dhanjibhai Patel, *Parsi Natak Takhtani Tawarikh*, Bombay, 1931, pp. 28-34.

78. *Times of India*, Sept. 5, 1874.

79. *B. Gazette*, Aug. 5, Oct. 31, 1861.

80. *B. Gazette*, June 5, 9, 1873.

81. *B. Gazette*, Dec. 16, 1873.

82. *Times of India*, May 2, 1865.

83. *B. Gazette*, March 7, 1864.

83. *B. Gazette*, March 7, 1864, *B. Gazette*, April 1, 1864.

by an English merchant of Bombay.⁸⁴ On March 15, 1867, the Club advertised a 'Grand Comical, Lyrical, Satirical, *but not personal*, Extravaganza, written expressly for the Club by an European gentleman of Bombay, and entitled *King Commerce or Sink or Swim*,⁸⁵ This allegorical piece had been inspired by the recent history of Bombay and the anxious days of the Share Mania.⁸⁶ The Parsi amateurs were encouraged by friendly members of the European society and the Masonic fraternity sometimes lent its patronage to their performances.⁸⁷ But on the whole, European Society was not drawn towards the activities of the Club, although, individually a few of its members did sympathise with its aims.

On the other hand, the more influential sections of the Indian community were completely committed to supporting the Club's productions, and performances were held under the patronage of local notabilities like Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy⁸⁸ and Jagannath Sunkersett⁸⁹ or of visiting dignitaries like the Maharaja Holkar.⁹⁰

It is easy to detect in the dramatic reviews of the time a patronizing note, a tone of encouragement for an effort which was not adequately successful but nevertheless worth the making. The critics were at pains to tell their readers that the young actors were performing in a foreign tongue. But even the kindest of reviewers could not help pointing out that the actors were inaudible,⁹¹ spoke their lines too fast and though 'the performance was in English—the words were at least, the gesticulations were decidedly Oriental'.⁹² The incongruity made itself felt sharply in female roles which were assigned to young students. The student actors found it most impossible to cope with their responsibility and the reviewer of the *Bombay Gazette* wrote with his tongue in his cheek that 'they were just rather *too true* to nature in this artificial age.'⁹³

It is clear that the versatile student amateurs turned their apprenticeship in the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society to good account. Right from 1861 they had busied themselves every season with the production of either a Shakespearean play or of English comedies or farces. Towards the late sixties and in the seventies they began simultaneously to write and produce plays in their own language. The Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society was generally assigned first rank among amateur societies and most drama-lovers

84. *B. Gazette*, April 1, 1864.

85. *B. Gazette*, March 15, 1867.

86. *B. Gazette*, March 18, 1867.

87. *Times of India*, May 2, 1870.

88. *B. Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1861.

89. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 9, 1861.

90. *Times of India*, Jan. 31, 1874.

91. *Times of India*, May 7, 1870, *B. Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1864.

92. *B. Gazette*, Jan. 31, 1871.

93. *B. Gazette*, May 7, 1870.

were impressed by the enterprising spirit and stage experience of its Manager, C. S. Nazir.⁹⁴ In a long article, the *Bombay Gazette* congratulated the members of the Society for surmounting difficulties which would have staggered many a European. It wrote that but for their performances all that European society in Bombay would have had of drama would have been dim recollections of nights at the Strand and Haymarket.⁹⁵

The dissident group which split from the Society, produced English plays on its own, but less regularly. This Club numbered among its members P. N. Wadia, who was later to become Managing Agent of the Byramji Jeejeebhoy Trust Fund, D.N. Wadia, who was later Principal of the Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy Charity School and many others who afterwards occupied eminent positions in Bombay's educational and legal world.⁹⁶ But the Club had no single individual who could devote his entire time and energy to theatricals. It could therefore neither perform plays regularly nor attract sufficient talent for the task.

THE KALIDAS ELPHINSTONE SOCIETY

While the Parsi amateurs congregated in these clubs, the Maharashtra amateurs formed their own Society called 'The Kalidas Elphinstone Society'. The name itself indicates the intention of the sponsors. They venerated the new learning but could not be satisfied unless they found at the same time some inspiration from their own heritage. Their choice of plays also suggests the same impulse. The English newspapers referred to these actors as 'the Prabhu amateurs',⁹⁷ because the members of the Society were drawn predominantly from the Pathare Prabhu community of Bombay which also provided the Society's strongest supporters. Most of the actors were young Prabhus, either students or young enthusiasts drawn from the medical or legal professions. Its most active member was B. V. N. Kirtiker, a leading Bombay Solicitor. But its members were not all Prabhus for according to S. N. Karnataki, Dr. Bhau Daji took a leading part in founding the Society.⁹⁸ Other non-Prabhus also participated in its activities.⁹⁹

94. *B. Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1873.

95. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1871.

96. Dr. Dhanjibhai Patel, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 21-27.

97. *Times of India*, Oct. 8, 1873.

98. S. N. Karnataki, *Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Yanche Charitra*, Bombay, 1931, p. 78.

Dr. Bhau Daji was an important figure in Bombay's social and intellectual life. He was one of the first medical practitioners of the City, a Sanskrit scholar, a collector of rare manuscripts and indigenous plants and a protagonist of social reform.

99. V. D. Rao, *The Pathare Prabhus of Bombay*, Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the Ph.D. degree, Bombay, 1945, pp. 628-29. There are references in the thesis to non-Prabhus, like K. K. Dalvi, who was entrusted with the decor of the productions, to a young Portuguese, John Fernandes and to Jivanji Pestonji Tarachand, a fair looking Parsi who both played female roles.

At the start of the Society's career the amateur actors were trained by Mr. Hamilton Jacob, who had also helped to coach the Parsi amateurs.¹⁰⁰ The Society was frequently a little too ambitious in its projects. Its earliest attempt was *Julius Caesar* and the newspapers were justifiably doubtful about these young Hindoo gentlemen being able to tackle 'this heaviest tragedy of Shakespeare.'¹⁰¹ But, what the Society was really well-known for, was its production of Prof. Monier Williams' translation of the Kalidas classic *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*. Their production used to be designed on a lavish scale. A. V. Kulkarni cites one example of their extravagance. He states that Rs. 400 were spent on the *valkale* which clothed Shakuntala and they were specially ordered from Madras, while two wagons of flowers were brought from Poona to decorate the stage.¹⁰² *Vikrama and Urvaśi* was also staged with similar gorgeous effects.¹⁰³

The amateurs concentrated on the main classical play of the evening. But in the style of the English dramatic companies of the time, they also provided a comic sketch or a topical song for the less sophisticated section of their audience. For instance, when *Śakuntalā* was staged in 1867, the evening's entertainment ended with a 'screaming extravaganza' called *The Happy Man*¹⁰⁴ and in 1873, they even resurrected *Bombastes Furioso* to keep their audiences amused.¹⁰⁵ In the intermission they provided songs like the local comic song 'The Bombay Loafer' sung by a European,¹⁰⁶ or displayed 'The Lo Studio', a tableau of Grecian statues.¹⁰⁷

Acting standards were far from satisfactory and the faults stood out only too sharply in the Shakespearean productions. The reviewer of the *Bombay Gazette*, appalled by the strong nasal tone, the shrill child-like treble of the performers in *Julius Ceasar* wrote sarcastically:

'We take shame to ourselves for not knowing that the sturdy and matter-of-fact old Romans sang out their conversation through the nose like the modern Yankee, only much more lugubriously'.¹⁰⁸

The defects were far more noticeable in the female parts because 'the long hair streaming down over the shoulders and the

100. *Native Opinion*, Oct. 13, 1867, *Times of India*, Oct. 21, 1867.

101. *B. Gazette*, May 24, 27, 1867.

102. A. V. Kulkarni, *Marathi Rangbhoomi*, Poona, 1903, pp. 40-41. *Valkale*—garments from bark.

103. *Times of India*, Oct. 8, 1873.

104. *Native Opinion*, Oct. 13, 1867.

105. *Times of India*, Oct. 8, 1873.

106. *B. Gazette*, May 27, 1867.

107. *B. Gazette*, June 10, 1871.

108. *B. Gazette*, May 27, 1867.

wreaths of flowers on the heads' could hardly conceal the true sex of the actors.¹⁰⁹

COLLEGE DRAMATICS

Another group of theatre enthusiasts was responsible for dramatic activities in the Elphinstone College. In some of the records of the Director of Public Instruction investigated during the Centenary Celebration of the College in 1957, there is mention of readings from *Hamlet* in 1861, and the representation of a few scenes from other plays of Shakespeare in 1863-64. In 1864 the Shakespeare Society of the College was born and the *Times of India* of April 8, 1864, records that the Professors of The Elphinstone College had 'sanctioned the formation of a dramatic corps for private theatricals within the walls of the College building itself'.¹¹⁰ A Shakespearean production became an annual event of some significance. *Othello* was staged on two occasions in early 1865,¹¹¹ *Twelfth Night* in 1866¹¹² and *The Taming of the Shrew* was specially produced in 1867 in honour of Sir Bartle Frere and Lady Frere.¹¹³

Considering that these plays were produced barely once or at the most twice a year by the students, the newspapers gave them far more attention than was perhaps warranted. There were full-length reviews with names of the cast and usually the talents of the actors were highly commended. Mary Carpenter who watched one of the rehearsals for the performance of 1867 was 'astonished at the spirit with which those young Hindoos entered into the meaning of the original'.¹¹⁴ In fact a similarity suggests itself between these annual performances staged by Indian students for their foreign governors,¹¹⁵ and the representation of Greek and Latin plays in the English Universities at the behest of Queen Elizabeth in the Tudor era. There is in both cases the same fusion of academic purpose and entertainment value. The young scholars at Oxford and Cambridge had regaled their sovereign with the plays of Plautus and Terence.¹¹⁶ The

109. *Times of India*, Oct. 8, 1873.

110. *Times of India*, April 8, 1864.

111. *Times of India*, Feb. 21, March 6, 1865.

112. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1867. The review of *The Taming of the Shrew* lists the performances of previous years.

113. *Native Opinion*, March 3, 1867.

114. Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India*, 2 vols., London, 1868, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

115. In 1879 when Sir Richard Temple went on a tour of Kathiawar, the young princes studying at the Rajkumar College entertained the guests with scenes from *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*. *B. Gazette*, April 3, 1879.

116. Compare the examples cited by F. S. Boas of the school boys at St. Paul's Grammar School acting Terence's *Phormio* before Cardinal Wolsey or the boys of the Grammar School of Westminster appearing before Elizabeth in *Heautontimoroumenos* of Terence and *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus.

F. S. Boas, *An Introduction to Tudor Drama*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 18-19.

See also F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, Chap. V.VI.

educated elite of Bombay approached Shakespeare with the same awe and reverence. The Epilogue delivered by B. E. Modie, one of the student actors during the representation of *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1867 suggests in some measure this attitude.

'Bethink ye, that your sweet Avonian swan,
Still flutters strangely over Hindustan
We know not yet the fulness (sic) of its tone,
Its modulations are not yet our own,
We fain would hope that, as it flies along,
'Twill scatter, sybil-like, its leaves of song
And o'er our parent East new triumphs win,
With but that touch which makes the whole world kin'.¹¹⁷

The leading lights of the Dramatic Society were Parsis, but when *Othello* was staged, 'the Duke of Venice was personated by a Gujaratee Hindoo, and Montano, the Governor of Cyprus, by a Portuguese gentleman'.¹¹⁸ When *The Taming of the Shrew* was represented the cast numbered at least three Maharashtrians, W. B. Lad, N. S. Kale and B. M. Wagle.¹¹⁹

Like most amateurs, the young student actors being extremely diffident were 'tempted to forget a few of the nicer matters of articulation and enunciation'.¹²⁰ Perhaps the talent at their disposal was so little that they could not be too fastidious about the casting, and the 'fair Desdemona' was 'several shades darker in countenance than Emilia'.¹²¹ H. P. Bennet, who played *Othello*, found it difficult to pronounce the English word 'wife', but this failing was excused by the reporter of the *Times of India* with the frivolous remark that in any case neither could a Frenchman ever pronounce the word.¹²² Another reporter wrote half-sympathetically that while it would not be difficult to find a "'mild" young Hindoo' to play the role of 'Sweet Bianca', one would have 'to search for awhile before finding a native with such a command of a tongue not his mother's as to be able to do justice to the character of "Curst Katherine"'.¹²³ The staging of the play was more or less in the nature of an exercise in elocution, with the accent more on recitative effect than on the dramatic. The properties were of the barest kind. For instance, 'an aperture in the screen' did duty on the stage of the Elphinstone College for the 'Stones of Venice'.¹²⁴ But if the properties were not

117. *Native Opinion*, March 3, 1867.

118. *Times of India*, March 6, 1865.

119. *Times of India*, Feb. 28, 1867.

120. *Times of India*, March 6, 1865.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.*

123. *E. Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1867.

124. *Times of India*, March 6, 1863.

impressive, the gems and diamonds were all real and the reporter of the *Times of India* wrote appreciatively that there had 'seldom been on any stage at once such an amount of value in jewels as on the boards of the Elphinstone College last Saturday'.¹²⁵

The passion for a new kind of drama could not be satisfied by merely presenting a Shakespearean production annually. For the theatre-conscious, the next logical step was to attempt translations of English plays and their adaptation into the vernacular languages. Later, with more experience they could try that hand at original plays in the mother-tongue. It is, therefore, not surprising that Edulji Khoree who had played Iago in 1865 and Petruchio in 1867 was later closely associated with K. N. Kabraji and wrote some of the earliest Gujarati plays such as *Hajambad and Thuggnaji*.¹²⁶ His dramatic treatment of the well-known episode from Persian history, the fight between Sohrab and Rustom, won for his Gujarati play *Sohrab and Rustom* a prize of Rs. 300 in a drama competition instituted by the Victoria Natak Mandal.¹²⁷

An even more significant illustration of this trend is that Vinayak Janardan Kirtane's historical play *Thorle Madhavrao Peshwe* about Maharashtra's immediate past was published in 1861, when the playwright was only twenty years old and in all likelihood he commenced writing it when he was still a student at the Elphinstone College.¹²⁸

The respect for Shakespeare was accompanied with a straining for the past, an effort to draw inspiration from Indian classical sources. This duality in intellectual activity manifested itself in most fields, and in the field of the drama it became evident in the choice of plays for translations. Marathi historians of the drama, for instance, speak of this period, as one when 'bookish' plays were most in vogue and by 'bookish' they mean, in contradistinction to Puranic plays, plays translated from either Sanskrit or English. Parshurampant Godbole took the lead with his *Veṅṣamhāra*, *Uttara-Rāma-Carita*, *Sākuntala* and *Mṛcchakaṭika* which were Marathi translations from the original Sanskrit. Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar began the cycle of translations from Shakespeare. His translation of *Othello* was published in 1867. Other translators followed in his wake. Translations of *The Tempest*, *Julius Caesar* and *The Comedy of Errors* were all tentative attempts in the general direction of

125. *Ibid.*

126. Sir D. E. Wacha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 357.

127. B. B. Patell, *Parsee Prakash*, 2 vols, Bombay, 1888, Vol. II, p. 253.

128. B. N. Deo, *Vinayak Janardan Kirtane Yanche Charitra*, Indore, 1904, pp. 16-18.

rendering Shakespeare into Marathi.¹²⁹ It was, however, V. M. Mahajani's translation of *Cymbeline* which evoked praise from every quarter. When the Ichalkaranjekar professional dramatic company staged the Marathi version *Tara*, it was welcomed as an important contribution towards improving the taste for dramatic literature.¹³⁰

The eminent Indologist and Sanskrit scholar, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar tried to use recitations from and performances of English and Sanskrit plays for pedagogical purposes. His biographer states that as a school-master in Ratnagiri he trained his older students to recite passages from Shakespeare from a small platform in the class specially erected for the purpose.¹³¹ One of his students, Narsingrao Divatia, records that Prof. Bhandarkar encouraged his students at the Elphinstone College to declaim from Shakespeare and that he personally supervised the production of Sanskrit plays such as *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* and *Vikram Urvashi*.¹³²

A. V. Kulkarni describes a similar practice in the Deccan College, Poona, where in 1872, the students did a reading of *Julius Caesar* in the Chowk of the Vishnubaug School¹³³ and staged three Sanskrit plays including *Veṇī-Saṁhāra* and *Mudrārākṣasa*. An eminent literary personality of the time Nibandhmalakar Vishnu Shastri Chip-lunkar played the role of Dharmarāja in *Veṇīsaṁhāra*.¹³⁴

On the whole, the varied dramatic activities, viz., recitation and readings from Shakespeare, annual Shakespearean productions, the avid turning to Sanskrit drama, the keen interest in translating and adapting Shakespeare and the Sanskrit dramatists demonstrate that this was a period of preparation, when acting, producing and actual writing of plays went hand in hand. These were the conditions under which a native school of drama was born.

What is most striking about the young amateurs in these Clubs and societies was their undivided passion for the drama and their versatile talent. They acted in English and vernacular plays, busied themselves with translations, adaptations and original plays. Some like Nazir chose play-production as their profession in life. Others like Khoree, who later became a prominent barrister in Rangoon and Parekh who served in the Indian Medical Service, found time between the intervals of their professional work to associate themselves with the theatre.

129. S. B. Muzumdar, *Maharashtriya Natakkar*. This is a collection of articles on Marathi playwrights, published in the *Rangbhoomi*, a Marathi periodical devoted to the drama and the theatre. These articles were published in the journal from August 1907 to September 1912.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

131. S. N. Karnataki, *Guruvarjya Doctor Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar Yanche Charitra*, Poona, 1928, p. 61.

132. *Native Opinion*, May 11, 1873; *Native Opinion*, Oct. 1, 1876.

133. A. V. Kulkarni, *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.

134. A. V. Kulkarni, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The dramatic societies performed the usual run of topical plays, skits, sketches, but they did not feel that they had accomplished a season's work unless they staged at least one play from Shakespeare. Shakespeare was for them synonymous with the new learning. Fortunately, they had an audience, part of which at least was susceptible to the beauties of Shakespeare's text. The *Times of India* commenting on the good response, attributed it mainly to Shakespeare's text. It wrote that it was a text, 'at once comprehended by men of any race who have ever learned the English language'.¹³⁵

AUDIENCES

The audiences of the sixties and seventies were neither as ill-mannered nor as undiscerning as their immediate predecessors. Of course, the newspaper columns continued to rebuke the antics of drunken Jacks,¹³⁶ to frown upon late-comers¹³⁷ or to censure the Parsis for their rotund *Pugrees*.¹³⁸ But there was a noticeable change in the atmosphere as well as in the composition of the auditorium. Perhaps the English theatre in Bombay never found an audience as representative of the different strata in the city as the one which frequented the Grant Road Theatre in these two decades. The Theatre was not exactly the resort of 'silks and plush and all the wits' but it did approximate closely to this description. It was really the presence of the 'wits', that made for the difference in the audience.

When the students' clubs like the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society and the Kalidas Elphinstone Society staged their productions, the University youth crammed the Pit and the galleries. The new rates of admission for English productions were quite reasonable. Rs. 4 for the Dress Circle, Rs. 3 for the Stalls, Rs. 2 for the Gallery and Re. 1 for the Pit was the usual price range. On some special occasions, even these rates were revised and reduced in order to attract larger crowds. The Gujarati and Marathi productions which had an appeal for only Indian spectators, priced their admission tickets even lower and attracted quite often overflowing houses.¹³⁹

It seemed such a far cry now to the thirties and forties when theatres were unknown and when two young Parsis could, during what might, in our present day idiom, be termed a 'study-tour' of England, describe their first impression of English theatres thus:

135. *Times of India*, March 6, 1865.

136. *B. Gazette*, August 29, 30, 1862.

137. *B. Gazette*, April 7, 1866.

138. *Times of India*, April 20, 1865.

Pugree—Parsi iap.

139. A letter signed 'P.M.' in the *B. Gazette*, June 16, 1870, speaks of the rage for Gujarati plays and notes that some had 'a success and a run which would make the fortune of an English provincial theatre'.
B. Gazette, June 16, 1870. Letter signed 'P.M.'

'It was the last evening upon which Taglione, the favourite French dancer, was to dance in England and an English friend who accompanied us very frequently asked us how we liked her dancing. He for his part, was very much delighted with it, but to us it appeared of very little interest, and we were very much surprised to hear that for every night that she had appeared upon the stage she had been paid one hundred and fifty guineas! Only think—one hundred and fifty guineas every night to be paid in England to a woman to stand for a long time like a goose upon one leg, then to throw one leg straight out, twist round three or four times with the leg thus extended to courtesy so low as to nearly seat herself upon the ground, to spring occasionally from one side of the stage to the another, all of which jumping about did not on her part, occupy an hour and to get more money for that hour every evening than six weavers in Spitalfields (who produce beautiful silks for dresses) could earn all of them working fourteen hours every day in twelve months. Had we not seen instances that convinced us the English were clever people we would have thought them very foolish indeed thus to pay a dancing puppet.'¹⁴⁰

The students who crowded the theatres in the 'sixties' and 'seventies' were neither cold nor indifferent spectators. They made their presence in the auditorium felt. On the whole, they were a fairly appreciative section of the audience. But when their own colleagues and friends acted on the boards of the Grant Road Theatre, they found it hard to restrain their spirits.¹⁴¹

Among the wealthier Indians theatre-going had by now become really fashionable. It is possible to gauge the extent of their interest by the reception which they accorded to the opera troupes which visited Bombay in the 'sixties.' As was usual in any such projects, the names of Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy and Nana Jagannath Sunkersett added dignity to the Managing Committee. Signor Cagli went out to Italy and specially arranged for a troupe of musicians.¹⁴² Subscribers were enrolled and Bombay audiences were introduced to the operas of Verdi and Rossini. Like all troupes, the operatic troupes tried to solicit the patronage of Indians. On the occasion of a grand benefit performance for Signor Usiglio, Verdi's *Il Trovatore* was followed by 'a new Polka' dedicated to Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy'.¹⁴³ But the opera habit did not catch on. A

140. Jehangir Nowroji and Hirjibhoy Merwanji Wadia, *Journal of a Voyage to England*, London, 1841, pp. 102-4.

141. *Times of India*, April 20, 1865, carries a letter referring to the habits of 'certain Parsees of the "Young Bombay" class' who whistled old tunes and passed loud remarks in Hindustani or English. *Times of India*, April 20, 1865. Letter signed 'Reason'.

142. *Times of India*, May 10, 1864.

143. *Times of India*, Dec. 24, 1864.

part of the explanation is suggested by D. E. Wacha. He quotes Sir George Birdwood's frank condemnation of the troupe as 'being composed of belles, who were "fair, fat and forty"'.¹⁴⁴ J. M. Maclean corroborated this estimate of the operatic stars and acknowledged that the experiment of importing an opera company from Italy did not succeed.¹⁴⁵

A letter on 'Operatic Importunities' reveals how dependent the opera troupes were on Indian backing. The letter writer objected strongly to the manner in which the operatic-singers and the corps de ballet allowed the dancing girls to trot about 'from office to office and from one native house to another all over the island',¹⁴⁶ in their endeavours to dispose of tickets for their Benefits. In the late 'seventies, Mme. Carlotta Tosca's operatic troupe concentrated more on the *opera bouffe* and was more popular than the companies of the preceding decade.

It was not merely that the local merchants, landowners and professional men became regular theatre-goers. A visit to the theatre became part of the programme of visiting dignitaries. Indian princes were now regarded as important patrons of the theatre. The *Bombay Gazette* of February 19, 1870 writes of the visit paid by H. E. Sir Salar Jung accompanied by an entourage of sixty persons to the theatre.¹⁴⁷ In November 1872 the princes from Gujarat and Kathiawar were present at special programmes of Gujarati plays held in their honour. On November 22, 1872, the Maharaja of Travancore was the chief guest when the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society staged *Robber of the Rhine* and *Hunting a Turtle* at the Grant Road Theatre.¹⁴⁸

European society was not at all cordial and warm-hearted in its support to the theatre. The prejudice against the site and the unpleasant interior still acted as a serious deterrent. A letter signed 'Tom Cringle' poked fun at the Malabar Hill folks who did not throng to the theatre but came there furtively.¹⁴⁹ In later years the newspapers were far more explicit. When tragedian Fairclough performed his Shakespearean repertoire, the *Bombay Gazette* wrote with deliberate intention to hurt:

144. Sir D. E. Wacha, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 349-50.

145. J. M. Maclean, *Recollections of Westminster and India*, Manchester, p. 26.

146. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1867, Letter on 'Operatic Importunities' signed 'Merchant'. If strong support from the affluent among the Indian community was not forthcoming, the results could be disastrous. The *B. Gazette* cites one instance where two managers of an opera troupe left surreptitiously, leaving seven girls from their troupe stranded in Bombay. *B. Gazette*, March 4, 1867.

147. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1870.

148. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 20, 21, 22, 1872.

149. *Times of India*, May 1, 1965. Letter signed 'Tom Cringle'.

'We regretted to observe, as we have all along, that for the most part the leading members of society were absent, and to feel that our Aryan brethren are more appreciative of the works of our great Poet than ourselves—verily, a Prophet hath no honour in his own country'.¹⁵⁰

On some very rare occasions, however, European society stirred itself. For instance, when a company like Lewis' played their season, the more important members of European society would make an appearance. Then the reviews in the newspapers would go out of their way to comment on their presence in the Theatre's auditorium.

Conditions inside the Theatre were still far from satisfactory though some measures to ensure minimum comfort were implemented. For instance, the use of *Pan* and tobacco was prohibited inside the theatre.¹⁵¹ The interior of the theatre was uncomfortably hot and the Kalidas Elphinstone Society inserted in its announcements that fans would be supplied gratis in the Dress Circle and iced water provided free of charge in the compound.¹⁵²

Performances still continued to be exhaustingly long. They commenced at half past eight or nine and went on till after midnight. The advertisements counselled the theatre patrons to order their carriages at 1 a.m.¹⁵³ In the 'seventies this suggestion began to be substituted by a new announcement. For example, when the Star Company performed in Fort, it inserted a note in its advertisements:

"Tram Cars will leave from Elphinstone Circle and Church Gate Street after the performance".¹⁵⁴

The new tempo of city living was asserting itself in the sphere of theatre habits and conventions.

Now that theatre going was quite the fashion, theatres become a profitable investment. The Grant Road Theatre could not meet the demands of all the dramatic groups and professional companies. Morley Hall at Colaba was often used by European amateurs or by the amateur-actors of the army and navy. English society found the location of what they referred to as the 'little extemporised Drury Lane at Colaba'¹⁵⁵ quite congenial. Near the Apollo Bunder on the newly reclaimed land a temporary structure called the Apollo Theatre was erected. It was just a 'commodius shed' transformed into a theatre with one specific advantage, namely, that it 'possessed tolerably good acoustic proportions'.¹⁵⁶ The Star Company performed

150. *B. Gazette*, March 8, 1878.

151. *B. Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1870.

152. *Native Opinion*, Oct. 13, 1867. *Native Opinion*, May 29, 1867.

153. *Native Opinion*, Oct. 13, 1867.

154. *B. Gazette*, March 24, 1876.

155. *B. Gazette*, April 15, 1872.

156. *Times of India*, Feb. 10, 1871.

its repertoire of burlesques and skits at what was called the Fort Theatre, but was actually just a room in Apollo Street.¹⁵⁷ The Town Hall was still the venue for special concerts. But the Indian audience preferred the Grant Road region as the appropriate habitat for their theatres and the Marathi-speaking section sometimes selected the area around Girgaum to stage their plays.¹⁵⁸

The Grant Road Theatre was now generally leased to the English companies on tour or to local amateurs producing English plays. The new groups intent on performing in Gujarati or Marathi had to find new theatres. So the vogue of 'iron-clad' theatres began. The first of such theatres situated at the junction of Falkland Road and Grant Road is described at length in the *Native Opinion* of February 6, 1870. It was 'a large wooden structure built on a ground-plan forming an oblong rectangular parallelogram and clothed on all sides as well as covered with corrugated iron'. It was so stark in its outside appearance that it resembled more a cotton ware-house than an attractive theatre'. The commentator of the *Native Opinion* was, however, quite satisfied that the indispensable requirements of a modern playhouse namely 'that from all the seats the performers on the stage should be seen and their voices should be heard' had been met.¹⁵⁹

The *Bombay Gazette* of February 12, 1876, reports the opening of another theatre called the New Elphinstone Theatre and built specially for the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Club by C. S. Nazir. It was described as more elegant and comfortable than the other theatres and equipped with 'four splendid crystal chandeliers, a magnificent drop-scene and entirely new scenery'.¹⁶⁰ It had private boxes for families and special *Zenana* arrangements for ladies.

The area around Grant Road was now the hub of theatre activity, though none of the theatres in its was really either imposing to look at from the outside or particularly prepossessing inside. The compound of the Grant Road Theatre was described as 'full of weeds' and in such a dismal condition that some of the spectators complained that they were afraid of being bitten by snakes.¹⁶¹ They were repelled by 'the wretched accommodation in every part of the house' and by the Theatre's 'mean and barn-like appearance'.¹⁶²

SCENIC EFFECTS

The scenery used was still quite inadequate. Every one recognised that it was scanty and that most of it had 'served its day

157. *Times of India*, April 15, 1876.

158. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 9, 1867.

159. *Native Opinion*, Feb. 6, 1870.

160. *B. Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1876.

161. *Times of India*, Aug. 31, 1872.

162. *B. Gazette*, Aug. 31, 1872, Letter signed 'A Lady'.

and a great deal longer'.¹⁶³ A reviewer reporting a performance wrote ironically of 'the plainness of our dramatic sanctum', and of 'the wonderful drop-scene with the steam-boats that can't get through the bridges, the thousand feet high column, the canopy, the blazing factory, the red brick houses. . . .'.¹⁶⁴ The reviewers of the newspapers selected the worst adjectives to describe the stage appointments at the Grant Road Theatre. The scenery of one of the productions of the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society was termed as 'occasionally independent of perspective' for the moon was 'handy and brilliant, and was loudly applauded on each of its appearances at a startling juncture'.¹⁶⁵

Yet, decisive efforts were being made to improve staging methods. The audiences which flocked to watch 'decapitation' sequences or the wonders of electro-biology had to be held back for the theatre partially, at least, by startling stage devices. Naturally enough, there were breakdowns and accidents but the attempts to introduce sensational effects were never forsaken. For instance, Mr. Freeman of Dave Carson's Company was very adept at depicting scenes for pantomines. A reviewer in the *Bombay Gazette* speaks thus of one of his scenes:

'A snow covered street and house in Dublin, the snow falling from the clouds so wonderfully like reality as to make one think of his overcoat'.¹⁶⁶

The Italian Opera Company made one important contribution to staging methods. Apart from re-painting and re-decorating the Grant Road Theatre, they installed gas-lighting in the house at their own cost.¹⁶⁷ One major step in the development of the theatre interior was thus taken and the basis laid for more flexible and lavish lighting effects. The Lewis Company's visits played their part in improving stagecraft. Their scenic designer Herr Freyberger always came in for special mention for his talent in creating the atmosphere of the 'sensation scenes' of Boucicault's plays.¹⁶⁸ The old proscenium was repainted and 'the unsightly lion and unicorn obliterated'.¹⁶⁹ But the advance was, as yet, quite halting. On the whole Freyberger managed the effects well, but the *Bombay Gazette* quotes an instance where in a performance of Boucicault's *Octoroon* there was a scene where 'the illusion was spoiled by the motive power becoming visible'.¹⁷⁰ How uneven the development in stag-

163. *B. Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1870.

164. *B. Gazette*, June 15, 1872.

165. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1871.

166. *B. Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1870.

167. *B. Gazette*, Nov. 9, 1866. *Times of India*, Nov. 9, 1866.

168. *B. Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1872.

169. *B. Gazette*, August 21, 1872.

170. *B. Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1872.

ing methods was, is indicated by the attempts of Mr. and Mrs. Bennee. On the one hand they were enterprising enough to introduce 'Box-Scenery' in Bombay.¹⁷¹ But on another occasion they were so indifferent to the scenic background that the landscape at the back was totally disproportionate. In a scene described as 'A Street in the City', Mrs. Bennee looked like a giant with 'her head and shoulders considerably higher than the first floor', and reaching nearly up to the windows of the second.¹⁷²

The Indian amateurs copied the stage-craft of the foreign companies quite assiduously and the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society employed the most intricate mechanical contrivances for its productions.¹⁷³

COSTUMES

The managers preferred the use of Italian costumes for Shakspeare's plays, staged both in English and in the vernacular. The Italian mode of dress for actors consisted of tights, a doublet and a beret with plumes sticking on it.¹⁷⁴ There is practically no mention of how the actresses dressed, but with gorgeous décor as a background, the trend seems to have been in favour of flashy and extravagant dresses. Hardly any attention was paid to the costumes of small characters. In a song item 'If I had a donkey vot wouldn't go', Parsi amateurs clothed a cockney costermonger in a Parsi *pugree* and *āngarkā*.¹⁷⁵ Boots and pantaloons were so much in fashion that in one letter a correspondent deplored the fact that 'poor antiquated *dhotees*' had come 'to be considered at a discount'.¹⁷⁶

The amateur troupes relied on the theatrical wardrobes of foreign artistes. For example, when Miss Grattan was about to return to England in February 1864 an editorial in the *Times of India* suggested that the 'complete sets of costumes for various periods, principally of English make' which she possessed, could be purchased by a 'liberally disposed gentleman' and presented to the Elphinstone College or the Parsi Theatrical Committee.¹⁷⁷

The 'sixties' and 'seventies' were decades when the theatre thrived

171. *Times of India*, April 9, 14, 1873.

172. *B. Gazette*, March 3, 1873.

173. '...the spring-up of gardens in the midst of deserts, and the re-appearance of deserts by the touch of the magician's wand; a piece of rock turning into a bed of roses; an ancient castle guarded by a dragon which shivers into fragments by the touch of Solomon's swords; a sparkling fountain out of which emerges one of the chief characters of the play'. *B. Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1873.

See also *B. Gazette*, Jan. 3, 5, 1872.

174. The Photographs, reproduced by Dr. Dhanjibhai Patel, of the amateurs of the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society suggest what the current concept of Italian costume was. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-5.

175. *Pugree*—Parsi cap. *Āngarkā*—Parsi liner or muslin shirt. *Times of India*, June 2, 1865.

176. *Native Opinion*, Oct. 8, 1876, Letter from 'An Observer'.

177. *Times of India*, Feb. 24, 1864.

in Bombay as never before. They were formative years in the life of the Marathi and Gujarati stage and palmy days for the English theatre. Audiences were by no means very critical and besides, the division of the theatre-fans on a purely linguistic basis had yet to be effected. The auditorium was still a medley, composed of patrons who spoke different languages and the repertoire was sometimes multi-lingual in character. For example, the Chawool Wadi Hindu Natakhar Mandali advertised a farce called 'Sadak Chabeli' in several different languages and dialects.¹⁷⁸ Again on January 31, 1874 the *Times of India* carried a special announcement regarding the staging of *Noor-Jehan* in honour of the Maharaja Holkar. It was to be 'followed by an amusing farce in the English language.'¹⁷⁹

Dramatic fare was devised to suit all tastes. Amateur groups concentrated most of their energies on a Shakespearean production or a Kalidas classic. This used to be a prestige performance calculated to draw the élite and to satisfy the students. The well established foreign troupes brought Robertson, Boucicault and Tom Taylor on the Bombay boards. Dave Carson fed the more uninformed minds with light sketches, mimicry and minstrel songs. All these varied forms of dramatic entertainment co-existed happily on the Bombay stage during these two decades, but the balance could not be maintained indefinitely. And therefore 1880 is more than just a chronological turning point. The last two decades of the nineteenth century constitute a new and different chapter in Bombay's theatre history. The Gaiety Theatre opened on December 6, 1879, but its career and its organisation link it more naturally with the 1880s. It marks a parting of ways. The English drama took leave of the sordid yet vigorous atmosphere around the Grant Road area. Indian professional and amateur groups entrenched themselves in the theatres in this locality. The Gaiety Theatre opposite the Bori Bunder in the Fort became the venue for English dramatics. Besides, dramatic effort in the vernacular was now maturing. The staging of Annasaheb Kirloskar's *Saṅgita Śākuntala* in the Diwali of 1880 was a portent of new movements in Marathi writing. K. N. Kabraji's plays represent a similar trend in Gujarati drama. Indian professional companies increased in number and size, began to tour the Central and Northern Provinces and grew in importance. Indian drama began to reflect the conditions generated by social reform, the moods created by the growing national awareness. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the English theatre seemed somewhat isolated from this course of development but it still retained its position as a model whose techniques and styles the Indian theatre continued to imitate.

178. *Vivid Dnyana Vistar*, Vol. 3, No. 8, 1871.

179. *Times of India*, Jan. 31, 1874.

A NOTE ON THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE TECHNIQUE OF EDGING BURINS

By

K. PADDAYYA

Burin is a distinctive and one of the rarest tool forms devised by the Stone Age man for purposes of a highly specialised order. Its chief and in fact the only characteristic feature is a chisel-edged working end formed by the intersection of two series of thin and narrow flake-scars commonly referred to as facets. It may be made on cores, flakes or blades. The thread-like character of its working edge amply testifies to the delicate nature of the purposes intended to be performed by it. In Europe, Africa and Western Asia this tool forms the type-fossil of the so-called Upper Palaeolithic or 'blade and burin' culture-complex. It was used for working pliable materials like bone, wood, antler and soft stone—both in etching out works of art and finishing off finer tools like needles and awls.

Burin as a tool-type is extremely rare and numerically forms an insignificant portion in the Indian Stone Age artefactual assemblages. Specimens supposed to be burins and easily countable on fingers are reported from a few but otherwise widely scattered Middle Stone Age sites.¹ Industries rich in burinate tools are known from Kurnool,² Bombay³ and Nagarjunakonda.⁴ Very recently Dr. M. L. K. Murty of the Deccan College has made a representative collection from Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. A similar series is made known from Singhbhum in Bihar.⁵ From technological and typological points of view, these seem to represent a stage past the flake-tool traditions of the Middle Stone Age and are often christened under the 'blade and burin' complex. Whether these really bespeak of a distinctive phase—a phase similar to that of the Upper Palaeolithic of Europe—however still remains to be established by strati-

1. Mohapatra, G. C. *Stone Age Cultures of Orissa*, 1962, pp. 113-4, Pl. XLII, Nos. 1-4; Misra, V. N. and Mate, M. S. (ed.), *Indian Prehistory: 1964, 1965*, p. 47; *Ibid.*, p. 49.
2. Cammiade, L.A., and Burkitt, M.C.: "Fresh Light on the Stone Ages of South-east India", *Antiquity*, Vol. IV, 1930, p. 338, Fig. 3, Nos. 4 and 5; Isaac, N.: *The Stone Age Cultures of Kurnool*, Ph.D. Thesis, Deccan College Library, 1960, pp. 324-9, Pl. LXXIV, Figs. 244 and 246.
3. Todd, K.R.U.: "Palaeolithic Industries of Bombay," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXIX, Part 1, 1939, pp. 261 and 67. Fig. 29.
4. Soundara Rajan, K.V.: "Studies in the Stone Age of Nagarjunakonda and its Neighbourhood", *Ancient India*, No. 14, 1958, pp. 59-60. Fig. 12, Nos. 49-58, 72, 103 and 104.
5. Misra, V.N. and Mate, M.S.: *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

graphical data. Burins are also known from many Late Stone Age sites. To mention a few: Langhanaj and other places in Gujarat,⁶ Birbhanpur in West Bengal,⁷ Jalhalli in Mysore⁸ and the coastal sites near Bombay.⁹ Further, this technique seems to have survived into the Neolithic-Chalcolithic periods.

To exclude a few and doubtful micro-burins, the examples found in all these industries are of the simplest type and belong to what Noone¹⁰ terms as the 'spalled order'. That is to say, the working ends of these specimens are formed by the intersection of scars left by the removal—in vertical, horizontal or oblique fashions—of two divergent series of narrow and thin slices. Attempts have not been made as yet to understand how exactly this specialised tool made its way into the Stone Age industries. Recently Clark and Piggott have opined that it was a 'fortuitous product in the initial stages and its utility recognised only later by the Stone Age man.'¹¹ While classifying the Late Stone Age or microlithic artefacts collected from Shorapur doab, Gulbarga District, Mysore State, the writer has come across some instructive evidence seeming to shed some light on this topic. These observations are recorded below:

The collection comprises a wide variety artefact types: asymmetrical and fluted cores, blades, points, borers, lunates, trapezes; triangles and, not the least, a small number of burins. The evidence pertaining to the present study is furnished by the fluted cores.

On the basis of the shape of the base, these cores have been classified earlier by several writers into three groups, viz., pointed, oblique-ended and flat-based. This method no doubt sounds simple but, as is evident, is purely subjective and of little help in our understanding of the Pre-historic tool-making traditions. Therefore, and in accordance with the shifting emphasis on technological criteria in modern classificatory systems, it has become expedient to group them according to the number of directions in which flaking was carried out. If this be the criterion, these cores fall into three main groups: worked in one direction, in two directions and in three directions. The working of one and the same piece in varied directions suggests that the artificer was primarily concerned in securing the maximum number of blades from the parent body.

6. Sankalia, H.D.: *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan*, 1963, p. 148, Fig. 65A, Nos. 32-4.
7. Lal, B.B.: "Birbhanpur, a Microlithic Site in the Damodar Valley, West Bengal," *Ancient India*, No. 14, 1958, pp. 30-1, Fig. 11, Nos. 6-9.
8. Todd, K.R.U.: "A Microlithic Industry in Eastern Mysore", *Man*, Vol. XLVII, 1948, pp. 28-30, Fig. 2, Nos. 52 and 53.
9. Todd, K.R.U.: "The Microlithic Industries of Bombay", *Ancient India*, No. 6, 1950, pp. 6 and 7, Fig. 3, Nos. 55-7, Fig. 6, Nos. 99-104.
10. Noone, H.V.V.: "A Classification of Flint Burins or Gravers", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXIV, 1934, p. 82.
11. Clark, G. and Piggott, S.: *Prehistoric Societies*, 1965, p. 67.

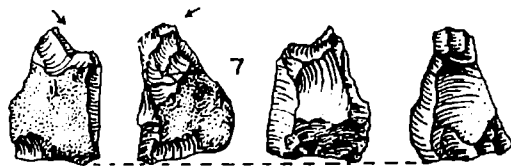
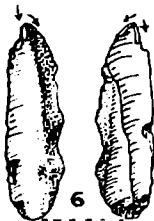
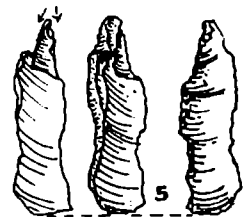
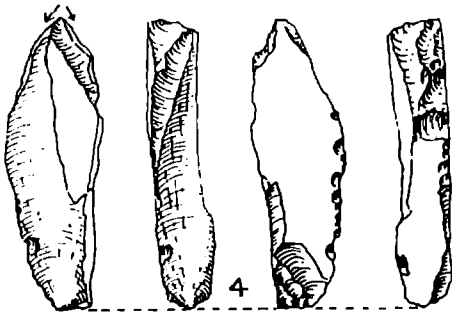
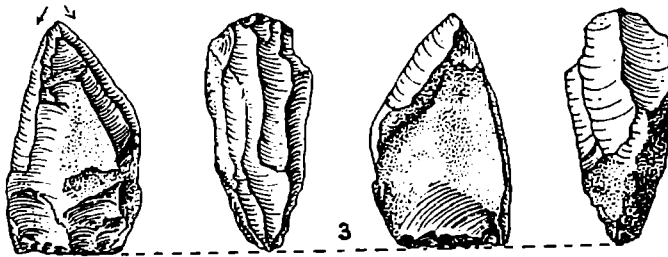
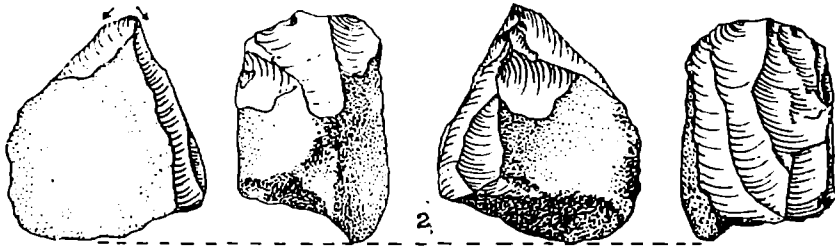
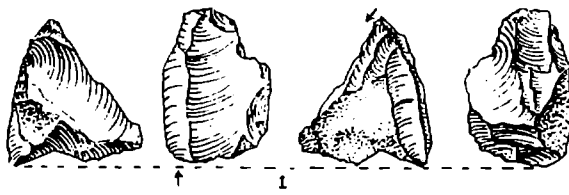


Fig 1

Fig. 1.
Nos. 1-3 Fluted Cores.
Nos. 4-7 Burins.

Whatever it may be, the two directionally worked specimens are again of a varied nature. Some are worked from the opposing ends either on the same side of the core or alternately from one end and on one side. In some others flaking is done at right angles, i.e. one side from one of the ends and the other in a transverse fashion. Over and above these are specimens worked in such a manner that a chisel-edged form is left behind on one of the ends. These may be further grouped into two categories. In the examples of the first category one of the sides of the core is first flaked from one of the two opposing ends in a more or less vertical fashion (Fig. 1, No. 1). Taking the tail-end of this worked surface as the platform, another series of blades are struck off in an oblique manner from the opposite (under) side. The intersection of the two series of flake-scars has invariably imparted a chisel-edged form to the tail-end (or, in other words, the flaking end of the second series) of the first series of flake-scars. Far more interesting are the specimens of the other category. These are flaked from one and the same end in two not only divergent but also oblique directions, so to say, in a way exactly similar to the method employed in the preparation of burin edges (Fig. 1, Nos. 2-3).

Now, if judged superficially, these chisel-ended cores would very much look like burins. But a closer study made in conjunction with the burins of the same collection establishes that these have been not only not intended as such but are far from the burins *sensu stricto*. The following reasons should be cited. Firstly, the flake-scars are too large to be regarded as mere facets. Secondly, more often than not these run off along the entire length of the sides of the core. Thirdly, the chisel-edge, by virtue of its accidental nature, is coarse and thick-set, and as such cannot be invested with any functional value. The confirmatory evidence is furnished by the burins themselves. These are made on fluted cores and thick flakes detached from them. The formation of working-ends of these tools is unmistakable—both regular and sharp. The contributory scars are smaller and thinner in size, and live only to a part of the length of the margin or side. Furthermore, the orientation of the two series is also varied and may be oblique/oblique (Fig. 1, No. 4), oblique/vertical (Fig. 1, No. 5), convex/vertical (Fig. 1, No. 6) or oblique/transverse (Fig. 1, No. 7). Thus the differences between these two kinds of chisel-edge are striking.

Despite the fact that the chisel-ends of the cores under consideration are accidental, that there exists a fundamental morphological similarity between them—those of the second category in particular—and the burin-edges is fairly certain. Therefore, one is left asking whether it would not be worthwhile to trace the technique of edging burins ultimately to the working of cores. And it may be that the

Stone Age craftsman transformed and adapted what was purely an incidental result observed by him in working his cores, into a specialised technique, and practised it on cores themselves and later extended the same to flakes and blades. The ubiquitous occurrence of burins made on various types of cores may be of some corroborative value in this regard. It is worth recollecting here that the examples reported from the Levallois-Mousterian, Acheulian and the Tayacian levels of the Mount Carmel caves of Et-Tabun and Mugharet Es-Skhul—perhaps the earliest of their kind—are made on flakes, blades, irregularly worked pieces and, significantly enough, on cores of Levallois and fluted types as well.¹² Attention should also be drawn to what Garrod calls as the 'Prismatic' burins of the newly recognised Emiran industry.¹³ This industry has been found at a number of sites in Palestine and Lebanon, and is now taken to represent a transitional phase between the Mousterian and the Aurignacian. No less significant is the coincidence of the supersession of the earlier flaking traditions by the fluted core technique and the appearance of burins, at any rate, on a prolific scale and that too in multiple forms (about 30 specialised types have been recognised so far) in the 'blade and burin' group of industries. The account sketched above makes it clear that the burins made on cores occur from the very entry of the tradition into the Stone Age industries.

To conclude, a case does seem to exist for deriving the technique of edging burins from the knapping of cores in general and of fluted or prismatic cores in particular. The absence of any other conceivable method(s) of stone-working involving the employment of these distinctive blows makes the probability hinted at here all the more lively.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank his research guide Dr. H. D. Sankalia for his kind interest, and his valuable suggestions which have been incorporated here. Thanks are also due to Dr. V. N. Misra for having offered some very helpful comments.

12. Garrod, D.A.E. and Bate, D.M.A.: *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel*, Vol. I, 1937. See Chapters V and VII and the figures in the accompanying Plates.
13. Garrod, D.A.E.: "A Transitional Industry from the Base of the Upper paleolithic in Palestine and Syria," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951, p. 121-30, Pl. III, Nos. 6 and 7.

BOOK REVIEWS

LINGAT, Robert, *Les sources du droit dans le système traditionnel de l'Inde* (Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, études XXXII; also *Les systèmes de droit contemporain*, vol. XX). Mouton & Co., Paris and La Haye. 1967. Pp. 322.

This work on 'the sources of law in the traditional system of India' is an outstanding contribution to the study of Dharmaśāstra and its role in determining ancient Hindu Law. Its aim is not to set forth this law in all its details as it evolved during a period of over two millenia, but rather to examine the basic assumptions and principles underlying its formulation.

The work is divided into two parts. In the first part, entitled 'Dharma', M. Lingat passes under review the entire Dharmaśāstra literature from its beginning in the early Dharmasūtra works to its culmination in the latest *nibandhas* or digests. While giving an account of these works, he touches on the question of their dates. In that respect he generally follows the views of Bühler, Jolly and Kane. However, in an Appendix added at the end of the first part he takes note of divergent views and expresses doubts concerning the validity of some of the arguments advanced for determining the relative chronology of the Smṛti works. His comments on arguments based on the supposed development of legal concepts (pp. 148-150) are particularly illuminating. Such scepticism regarding currently accepted criteria is to be welcomed. It may be added that what M. Lingat says here in connection with the Smṛtis would appear to be equally true in the matter of the relative chronology of the early Dharmasūtras, as is shown by the work of Meyer, Ghosh and others.

In a chapter following the one on the Dharmasūtras M. Lingat draws a picture of Indian society as reflected in the rules contained in those works. He naturally discusses first the theory of four *varṇas* and the question of the origin of castes. He refers to Senart's views in that connection but finds them rather too harsh on the priestly class inasmuch as they attribute an exaggerated importance to the influence of that class on the organisation of society. He would rather agree with Dumézil, according to whom the upper three classes, organised in a hierarchical order in conformity with their social functions, were already a feature of Indo-European Society (pp. 51-52). That classes corresponding to the three higher *varṇas* are known to the Avesta shows that something like a *varṇa*

system existed at least since the Indo-Iranian period and that the system need not be thought of as a purely Indian creation. In the matter of the last two *āśramas*, again, M. Lingat defends the authors of the Dharmasūtras against the unmerited reproach by Senart that what was more or less exceptional was made obligatory for everyone by them. He points out that these authors tend to prescribe an ideal, at the same time taking note of actual social conditions. M. Lingat also discusses here questions arising from statements concerning the various forms of marriage, the recognition of various kinds of sons, rules about *prāyaścittas*, the king's duties and so on. All in all we have in this chapter a very fair presentation of the kind of society visualised by these authors, which at the same time largely corresponded to actual reality.

In the second part, entitled 'from Dharma to Law', M. Lingat considers how the rules of Dharma came to be regarded as the sources of Hindu Law in modern times. The question, what was the law, especially private law, to be applied to Hindus, assumed importance during the period of Muslim rule, but more particularly when India came under British rule. After much debate the British courts adopted a procedure whereby different texts like the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Dāyabhāga* and others came to be accepted as authoritative in different regions of India. These works, written mostly during the Muslim period, were really meant to be universally applicable, claiming only to set forth the law as found in the ancient texts. Their interpretations, however, differ greatly on some important points. M. Lingat examines at length, with well-chosen examples, the method of interpretation, mainly based on Mīmāṃsā rules, followed by the authors of these works. He then discusses the relation between Dharma and custom and carefully examines the difference between the sphere of Dharma and the king's jurisdiction, as brought out in these works. We find here a very perceptive exposition of the nature of these works, with which, he remarks, a real judicial science may be said to have begun in India. A traditional system based on authority was transformed into a system based on legality, thanks largely to the British courts.

In the concluding remarks M. Lingat draws special attention to the spread of this traditional system of India to Indo-China, Thailand and Burma. Evidently this system, with the authority of Manu's name behind it, is still prevalent in those lands, though in the land of its origin it has now been replaced by a code enacted by its legislature. This account of the vicissitudes of this system is extremely interesting.

It might appear churlish to refer to the few errors in diacritical marks and one or two inaccuracies that have crept into this ex-

cellent work, otherwise so beautifully produced. But though *bhujyamānāya* for *-mānāyā* (p. 182), *svariyā* for *svasriyā* (p. 190), *naita* for *naite* (p. 224), *labdha* for *lubdha* (p. 234), *dr̥ṣṭha* for *dr̥ṣṭah* and *dr̥ṣṭhas* for *dr̥ṣṭas* (p. 274 n.) etc., could pass muster as printing errors, that can hardly be said of *mīmāṃsāka*, which invariably appears for *mīmāṃsaka*. On p. 112 there is a reference to the 'great *mīmāṃsāka* Śāṅkārācārya'. Apparently Śāṅkarācārya is meant, but he was a Vedantin rather than a Mīmāṃsaka. On p. 293 the Widow Remarriage Act which was passed towards the middle of the nineteenth century is erroneously referred to as the Sarda Act. The latter is concerned with the prevention of Child Marriages and was passed in the third decade of the twentieth century. On p. 189 we should read XI instead of IX. But these are very minor blemishes.

M. Lingat pays a very handsome tribute to Dr. Kane's monumental work on the History of Dharmasāstra (p. 143) and frankly admits in the preface that without the five volumes of that work this treatise would not have been possible. However, Dr. Kane's volumes do not render this work superfluous. It brings a fresh outlook to bear on the subject and bears eloquent testimony to the vast erudition, acute intellectual powers and clarity of expression of the author. The work deserves to reach a much wider circle of readers than would be possible if it remains available only in French.

R. P. K.

KHAIR, Gajanan S., *Mūla Gīteca Śodha*. Anātha Vidyāthi Gṛha Prakāśana, Poona. 1967. Pp. 8+200. Rs. 5/-.

The many inconsistencies and contradictions which strike critical students of the *Bhagavadgītā* have led some of them to try to discover what could be regarded as its original form and to separate it from subsequent additions. Two such attempts, one by Richard Garbe and the other by Rudolf Otto, are well-known. The present work by Dr. G. S. Khair 'in search of the original *Gītā*' is a fresh attempt in Marathi in that direction. His method is one of analysis often aided by statistics. Apart from the differences in the teaching, he has analysed and tabulated various kinds of differences in form, such as the use of the pronoun in the First Person by the speaker or its absence, the use of peculiar words or expressions and so on. The conclusions which Dr. Khair arrives at may be stated as follows. The present *Bhagavadgītā* is the work of three different authors who wrote in three different epochs. The original *Gītā* consisted of only the first six chapters, with the exception of some passages interpolated by the 'third author'. It was written in an age when a life of renunciation was proving a great attraction; it therefore sought to preach *karmayoga*, a life of activity without attachment. About a century later, the 'second author' added six more chapters, viz.,

8, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18, in which again the third author inserted some interpolations. The purpose of these new chapters was to provide a philosophical basis for the original teaching and at the same time to give guidance to men in leading a practical life. Later still the third author added not only a further set of the remaining six chapters but also interspersed stanzas in each of the earlier twelve chapters. His purpose was to set forth the doctrine of *bhakti*, which had an appeal to the common man as well as to bring about some kind of integration in the entire teaching of the *Gītā* as it now finally emerged.

There is, no doubt, a sort of plausibility about this thesis. Thus it is true, generally speaking, that the passages in which Kṛṣṇa appears as the Highest God and recommends the path of devotion above all else easily differentiate themselves from the rest. So too the doctrinal dissertations found towards the end appear to be different in character from the exposition of *yoga* in the opening chapters. Nevertheless doubts do arise about the correctness of the conclusions reached.

A point concerning the context in which the *Bhagavadgītā* is set, which does not appear to have received sufficient attention so far, is brought into sharp focus in Dr. Khair's analysis. He has retained in the original *Gītā* Kṛṣṇa's opening argument based on the indestructibility of the soul (2.11-13, 18-30), but has assigned to the third author the accompanying argument from Arjuna's duty as a Kṣatriya to fight (2.31-37). This makes the former argument altogether unacceptable as a solution to Arjuna's problem. Arjuna, it needs to be remembered, was flabbergasted at the idea that in this particular war he would have to fight with his own kinsmen and such revered elders as Bhīṣma and Droṇa. There is nothing to show that he had developed an aversion to war as such. His question was '*svajanaṃ hi kathaṃ hatvā sukhinaḥ syāma Mādhava*' (1.37) and '*kathaṃ Bhīṣmam ahaṃ saṃkhye Droṇaṃ ca Madhusūdana/ iṣubhiḥ pratiyotsyāmi pūjārhāvarisūdana*' (2.4). To these specific questions of Arjuna there is no answer anywhere in the *Bhagavadgītā*. To say by way of a reply to them that only the body is perishable, the soul is indestructible and all talk of slaying and being slain is meaningless and that therefore Arjuna should fight is little short of cynicism. As Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that argument would justify even murder. In fact most of these stanzas appear to be concerned with a different situation altogether. They have the appearance of offering consolation to a person grieving over the death of someone, as shown especially by stanzas 11, 27, 28 and 30. The only possible reference to Arjuna's specific problem is perhaps to be found in Chapter 11, where Kṛṣṇa manifests his terrible form (*ugrarūpa*,

31), which shows Bhīṣma, Droṇa and others entering his many frightful jaws to their destruction, and where Kṛṣṇa adds that all these persons have already been slain by him and that Arjuna is going to be only a means to that end (32-34). Perhaps that is why Otto regards Chapter 11 as forming the core of the original *Gītā*. In any case, if the context of Arjuna's puzzlement is to be retained, the original *Gītā* as conceived by Dr. Khair can hardly be said to have taken that context into any sort of consideration. To conclude, as the first author does according to this analysis, with an exhortation to Arjuna to become a *yogin*, since a *yogin* is superior to *tapasvins*, *jñānins* and *karmins* (6.46) shows that he is totally unaware of the situation thought of at the beginning. It is true that the context is only a peg on which to hang the teaching. But surely there must be some reasonable connection between the peg and what is hung on it. The extreme tenuousness of such a connection raises doubts about any part of the *Bhagavadgītā* being contemporaneous with the *Mahābhārata* in its earliest stage. At any rate, the attempt of Dr. Khair to correlate the work of the three authors as conceived by him with the three hypothetical stages in the growth of the *Mahābhārata* can hardly be regarded as successful. The philosophical disquisitions of his first and second authors are not characteristic of the first two stages of the *Mahābhārata* as usually understood.

Again, it may well be that not all the work attributed by Dr. Khair to the third author is by one and the same person. For example, Chapters 9 and 12 do not show the same mood or attitude as Chapter 11 or Chapter 16, and Chapter 10 seems to present a different outlook. Otto's view that we have in the *Gītā* independent tracts added by different hands is not altogether fanciful. Besides, one cannot be quite sure that all the insertions in the work of the first two authors are by a single writer, the third author. Some of them may well stem from one or more other writers. The possibility cannot also be overlooked that insertions may have been made later in the work of the third author himself. One may point to 7.7-11, 9.15-21, 15.12-15 etc. which appear to break the line of argument or are out of context as likely interpolations of a later date.

All this is not meant to belittle the importance of Dr. Khair's work. A great deal of labour and much thought have gone into the preparation and presentation of the thesis. It will undoubtedly stimulate fresh thinking on the subject and will help in a better understanding of this text. If not everyone may accept the conclusions reached, that is only to be expected in the case of a work like the *Bhagavadgītā*.

It is not clear why the word *vaiṣiṣṭya* is always written as *vai-
ṣiṣya*. Surely even in Marathi the former is the only correct form?

R. P. K.

KRISHNA MOORTHY, K., *Dhvanyāloka and its Critics*. Kavya-
laya Publishers, Mysore. 1968. Pp. xx 352. Rs. 30/-.

This is a comprehensive study of Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* and of the criticisms to which his theory was subjected. As is well-known, the *Dhvanyāloka* heralded a revolution in Sanskrit literary criticism. The earlier rhetoricians had mostly concerned themselves with the externals of poetry, *alaṅkāra*, *gūṇa*, *rīti*, etc. Ānandavardhana emphasised the importance of looking for the essence of poetry which alone can lead to aesthetic experience. It is in order to explain the process by which such experience becomes possible that he elaborated the theory of *dhvani*, ascribing to the poet's words and their meanings a special function or power, that of *vyañjanā* or suggestion. In the major part of his work Dr. Krishna Moorthy sets forth this theory in full detail, presenting the different topics in a rearranged order for the sake of a clear exposition.

Before starting on the exposition of the theory Dr. Krishna Moorthy passes briefly under review the work of Ānandavardhana's predecessors in one chapter and in another discusses the question of the authorship of the *Dhvanyāloka*. He sets forth at length his view about Ānandavardhana being the author of the *kārikās* as well as of the *vṛtti* thereon, and in an Addendum, appended to the chapter, defends it against Dr. Kane's criticism of it. On this point the testimony of Abhinavagupta would appear to be decisive. In many places he leaves no room for doubt that Ānandavardhana himself is the author of the *kārikās*. Incidentally reference may be made to an additional passage in the *Abhinavabhāratī* where the *kārikā* 'śṛṅgārī cet kavīḥ' etc. (3.42) is also said to be by Ānandavardhana (on Nāṭyaśāstra, 6.37, p. 294). As regards the passages where he seems to make a distinction between the *kārikākāra* and the *vṛttikāra*, it is possible to explain them, as Dr. Krishna Moorthy and others do, as due to the usual practice of commentators. Perhaps expressions like 'etiquette of exegesis' or 'rules of the game', used to signify this idea of practice or conventions were not very happily chosen.

After an appreciative appraisal of Abhinavagupta's contribution to the theory of *dhvani*, especially the stress laid by him on the evocation of *rasa* as the essence of poetry and his refutation of the objections raised against the theory of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dr. Krishna Moorthy proceeds to examine the criticism of the theory by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dhanika, Kuntaka and others, a special chapter being set apart for Mahimabhaṭṭa's criticism. He points out that there is

some substance in these criticisms and that not all of them were destructive. In particular he clears up certain misconceptions about the attitude of Kuntaka towards the role of *dhvani* in the evaluation of poetical merit and rightly pays a high compliment to his critical acumen. He has also high praise for Mahimabhaṭṭa's acute intellect and mastery of subtle dialectics. However, Mahimabhaṭṭa's own positive contribution, namely, the theory of *anumāna* to explain the process of aesthetic experience was more or less completely ignored by later writers, not without justification it seems. Syllogistic reasoning is too closely associated with scientific and philosophical discussions to be considered adequate to explain aesthetic experience as well, even for its analysis at a later stage.

While discussing the subsequent history of the *dhvani* theory Dr. Krishna Moorthy suggests that the lack of original thinking among writers on Poetics after Mahimabhaṭṭa is to be explained by the strong criticism to which Ānandavardhana's theory was subjected (pp. 298-9). One wonders, however if a person really seized of an original idea would be deterred from giving expression to it for fear of adverse criticism. The fact may well be that with the elaboration of the *dhvani* and *rasa* theories by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, taken in conjunction with the earlier theories of *alaṅkāra*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, etc., there was little scope left for any original theorising. The main features of literary criticism in Sanskrit may be said to have been well-nigh fixed by now and the need seems to have been felt for presenting an integrated theory of literary criticism in which these features were given their due place. Such was the nature of the work of Mammaṭa and the subsequent writers. There still was scope however, for some modification here, some elaboration there and these writers do show much ingenuity in this respect, as Dr. Krishna Moorthy's own remarks, especially those in connection with Jagannātha, show.

In the concluding chapter Dr. Krishna Moorthy quotes from a large number of Western writers to show similarities between the ideas of Western and Indian thinkers on the subject. There are of course some similarities, which is not surprising, considering the universality of the aesthetic experience and man's effort to understand it. One may question, however, the necessity for reproducing such a vast array of Western opinion. By the way, isn't Daphne (p. 334) the name of a lady?

Dr. Krishna Moorthy's work is undoubtedly a very important contribution to the study of Sanskrit Poetics. It shows a thorough grasp of the subject and is very lucidly written. It certainly deserved a better printing.

R. P. K.

SHASTRI, Ajay Mitra, *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1965. Pp. v+175. Rs. 12/-.

As the sub-title states the work is intended to give 'a historical survey of Buddhology, Buddhist Schools and Saṃghas mainly based on the study of pre-Gupta inscriptions'. Of course, there have been numerous works dealing with early Buddhism before the rise of Mahāyāna, but they are based mainly on Buddhist canonical literature, making use of inscriptional evidence only incidentally. Dr. Shastri concentrates his attention on the inscriptions, those of Aśoka, and those of the Kuṣāna and Sātavāhana period in the main.

The outline agrees with what is known about early Buddhism from canonical sources about Buddha's personality, his deification in course of time, the doctrine of past and present Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and so on. Where it adds fresh information is about the numerous sects that arose, some of which are unknown to the canon. Dr. Shastri discusses the origin of some of the sects (e.g. Pūrvaśāila and Aparāśāila), the localities where influential and, where possible, their peculiar tenets. While referring to the *saṃgha* and the administration of the monasteries he emphasises the fact that the word *goṣṭhī*, used in the inscriptions to designate the committee of management, is not found in that sense in the canonical literature.

This is no doubt a very useful work, for which the material has been collected with great care and in which the information so gathered is interestingly presented. However, the printing is most unsatisfactory, which detracts from the presentability of the volume.

R. P. K.

SĀYAṆA, *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*, critically edited with Introduction by K. Krishna Moorthy. Karnatak University, Dharwar. 1968. pp. 16+249+39. Rs. 10/-.

It is not generally known that Sāyaṇācārya, the great bhāṣyākāra of the Vedas, also wrote a number of other works on different subjects, among them some ending with *-sudhānidhi* in the title. Thus he wrote besides the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*, the work under review, the *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* on rhetorics, the *Āyurveda-sudhānidhi* on medicine, the *Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi* on Dharmasāstra, the *Yajñatantra-sudhānidhi* on Vedic ritual and the *Puruṣārtha-sudhānidhi* on the four ends of human life; he also wrote the *Dhātuvṛtti*, a treatise on verbs. When one remembers that his active life was spent as a minister in the service of four Vijayanagara kings, the amount of his literary output on so many diverse subjects must indeed appear astounding.

As the name indicates, the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is an anthology of stanzas on various topics which have something striking about

them. The stanzas here are grouped under four main heads, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, which is a novel arrangement. The selection of the stanzas reflects the author's wide reading and catholicity of interests. A few stanzas appear to be composed by Sāyaṇa himself.

It appears from the Preface that Sāyaṇa's original work is preserved only in a fragmentary form and that the complete manuscript contains only an abridgment of the original work. Dr. Krishnamoorthy has edited the work on the basis of this material. The footnotes mention the sources of the stanzas where it is possible to identify them. But these references are given only in a general form, such as *Manu*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa*, etc., and they are mostly derived in this form from the edition of the *Subhāṣitaratnahāra* of Sūryapaṇḍita in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Had the editor himself tried to trace the stanzas to their sources at least in such cases, he might have been able to suggest emendations in place of obvious corruptions in the text, e.g. *dhanvadurgam mahīdurgam abdurgam vārṣam eva vā* from *Manu* 7.70 for *dhanyadurgam mahaddurgam adurgam tārṣam eva vā* (p. 137, st. 2). With a little more effort more exact references could have been given and a few more stanzas could have been traced to their source in existing literature. However, Sanskritists will be thankful to Dr. Krishnamoorthy for making this work available.

In the Introduction Dr. Krishnamoorthy brings together all available information about Sāyaṇa. Incidentally, he makes it appear very probable that the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* is not his elder brother Mādhava, but his son who bore the same name.

R. P. K.

VARADARĀJA, *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī*, edited with Introduction, Translation and Critical and exegetical Notes by G. V. Devasthali. University of Poona, Poona. 1968. Pp. xvi+239+271.

The *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* of Varadarāja has been extremely popular with beginners who wish to study Sanskrit grammar in the traditional manner. That is an abridgment of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Varadarāja made two other abridgments of the same work, one, *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī*, larger than the *Laghukaumudī* and the other, the work under review, shorter than the *Laghukaumudī*. The latter utilises only 723 items consisting of Pāṇini's *sūtras* together with some *vārttikas*. In this short compass, however, all the important topics of Sanskrit grammar, *saṃdhi*, declension, conjugation, syntax, compounds, noun-formation etc. are adequately treated.

Dr. Devasthali has edited the text, which is here published for the first time, on the basis of four manuscripts. He gives a translation of the text on the same page and adds at the end exhaustive notes in elucidation of the text. In the Introduction he draws attention to some features of Varadarāja's work. Two Appendices, a useful Index and a select Bibliography enhance the value of this publication. There is no doubt that the work will be extremely useful to those who wish to be initiated into the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar as studied in the traditional way.

R.P.K.

Briefly Noticed

The Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit at the University of Poona regularly publishes in brochure form articles written by scholars attached to it and originally appearing in the University's Journal. The subjects with which the Centre mainly concerns itself are Veda and Vyākaraṇa, as is shown by the following received for review. Not much can be said here beyond a bare indication of their subject-matter.

Some Primary and Secondary Suffixes known to Yāska by Saroja Bhate shows that Yāska's word-analysis implicitly recognises the existence of suffixes, some of them not enumerated by Pāṇini.

A Note on the Sandhi 'Ācāryovāca' in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.1.13 by Hukam Chand Patyal is undecided as to whether the reading should be amended to *ācārya uvāca* or whether it should be regarded as a case of peculiar *sandhi*.

The Ritual Teachers cited in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra by P. D. Nawathe discusses the views, the significance of the names and the relative dates of seven teachers mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

Some Primary Nominal Formations Missing in Pāṇini by G. B. Palsule refers to twenty suffixes with which well-attested nouns in Sanskrit may be said to have been formed, but which have not been recognised as suffixes by Pāṇini. None of the possible explanations of this circumstance is found satisfactory.

The Avestan paomainyotama by M. D. Pandit suggests that the word means 'the best flyer' or 'the greatest possessor of wings'.

Word-integrity and Syntactic analysis by S. D. Joshi argues that the conflict between meaningful and structural relationship of constituents, indicated in modern linguistics, is known to Sanskrit grammarians.

God in Hindu Thought by R. N. Dandekar analyses Indian religious thought from pre-Vedic times to the latest schools of philosophy

and concludes that Hindu thinkers do not start with the certainty of god, who is accepted more as a workable hypothesis.

Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic Exegesis by G. V. Devasthali shows, by referring to two *ṛcs*, how the rules of Pāṇini help in arriving at a correct interpretation of the Ṛgveda.

The Sphere of Reference of the Technical Term Trjādi according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali by S. D. Laddu argues that *trjādi* should be understood to stand for all *kṛt* suffixes and only exceptionally for *ṇvul*, *trc* and *ac* only.

The Role of √kṛ-in the Sanskrit Grammatical Terms by G. B. Palsule examines the large number of words derived from the root *kṛ* with or without preverbs which supply technical terms to Sanskrit grammar.

À propos of the Vājapeya by G. U. Thite argues that the Vājapeya was in origin a popular fertility rite, was later included among the *soma* sacrifices and was thus given an exalted position among Vedic sacrifices.

On haryāt vis-a-vis hāryat by K. P. Jog shows that in view of the difference in accent the two forms must be derived from different roots and suggests that the latter is derived from a denominative formed from *hari* (or *hara*) in the sense of 'longing for', adding illustrations from *ṛcs* in support.

Lexicographical Notes on pelava- 'delicate, fine, tender' by P. D. Nawathe finds the etymologies suggested so far for the word *pelava* unsatisfactory, and indicates that it may have a non-Indo-Aryan origin.

On the baliharaṇa rite in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra and others by Hukam Chand Patyal discusses the nature of this rite and compares it with its description in other Gṛhyasūtra works.

R. P. K.

Clarence A. Stern, *Resurgent Republicanism: The Handiwork of Hanna*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963.

Marcus Alonzo Hanna was a man of perseverance. Since 1880, when he began "to count as a politician", for sixteen long years he channelled most of his considerable energy and financial resources towards his goal of putting an Ohioan friendly to business in the White House.

Hanna had clear cut views on government and politics. He learned from intimate personal knowledge that, if properly controlled, politics could contribute to business prosperity. Government, he

firmly believed, must be made useful to business. American industry must be protected by a high tariff wall and the American producer must have an exclusive control of the home market. The supremacy of the business and financial interests in the nation must further be enhanced through the device of sound money, which those days meant gold standard.

Working hard, planning well ahead and infusing money into politics on a large scale, Hanna virtually carried Mckinley to victory and to the Governor's mansion in 1890, a year of Democratic victories in the nation. From 1895 on Hanna began his single minded campaign to put Mckinley in the White House. He scouted for delegate votes all over the nation without any regard to customary considerations of geography or "favourite sons". Camping in Thomasville, Georgia, Hanna initiated his so called "arrangements" to line up the southern delegations for his man. His opponents accused him of "buying" delegates, not an entirely unjust charge. His drive gained such strength that the proud Eastern bosses made an offer, which he shrewdly rejected. Hanna's untiring efforts paid off and Mckinley won the GOP nomination on the very first ballot.

Winning the party nomination was only the beginning. Hanna did not underestimate the silver crusader and the great orator William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate for presidency. Hanna took full advantage of the "Bryan scare". He raised huge contributions from banks, insurance companies, railroads and manufacturers, in the form of "assessments" based on their ability to pay. He flooded the nation with an avalanche of pamphlets. Hired every orator he could get hold of. Organised huge parades and brass bands. Word was spread that if Mckinley was defeated mortgages would not be extended, orders for manufacturing materials would be cancelled, wages would be reduced and unemployment would increase.

Mckinley won finally and Hanna became the most important Republican in the nation after the President. Hanna could have joined the Cabinet. But he wanted to be the Senator. When the opportunity came a little later, even the unfriendly Governor had to give in and nominate Hanna to the Senate. Once there Hanna jumped right into the Senate establishment, without passing through the customary period of oblivion forced on new members, because he was very close to the President. Hanna continued in the Senate, continued as the Chairman of Republican National Committee, and succeeded in winning renomination and reelection for his protégé. If Mckinley did not succumb to wounds inflicted by the anarchist assassin in September 1901, Hanna could have easily become a serious contender for the GOP nomination in 1904.

Clarence Stern writes well and brings out the salient features of the times. While the monograph does not tell us anything new, the extensive footnotes reveal Stern's intimate acquaintance with much of the relevant primary and secondary source material. In its limited way it tells us the story of the political ascendancy of business interests in an era when farmers and workers were waging a losing battle.

B. Ramesh Babu.

PATAÑJALI'S VYĀKARAṆA-MAHĀBHĀṢYA SAMARTHĀHNIKA
edited with translation and explanatory notes by Dr. S. D. Joshi,
published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Poona-7.

Fortunately for the students of Sanskrit grammar a great impetus has been given to Pāṇinian studies in recent years. No wonder that Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya which performs the double function of commenting upon Pāṇini's rules on the one hand and Kātyāyana's Vārtikas on the other has considerably attracted the attention of scholars. The book under review is a laudable attempt on the part of Dr. S. D. Joshi of the Centre of Advanced Study of Sanskrit, Poona University, to translate and interpret the Samarthāhnikā of this extremely important treatise.

Although the text of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya given here is reproduced from Kielhorn's edition Vol. I, published by B.O.R.I. in 1862, the editor has presented it in a very useful manner by dividing it into 14 sections with convenient titles 'vidhīśabdārthanirūpana', 'paribhāṣātvanirūpanas', ending with 'samāsayogyapada-saṁkhyānirṇayādihikaraṇa'. The bracket headings like *praśnabhāṣyam*, *uttarabhāṣyam* or *pratipraśnabhāṣyam* have also been appropriately chosen in the text so as to enable the reader to understand the internal links between the arguments involved. Sections are further divided into paragraphs which are also serially numbered for the facility of ready references.

The editor has given a good account of himself precisely translating the Mahābhāṣya with the help of the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṣa and *Udyota* of Nāgeśa. At times he records his difference of opinion with illustrious commentators but never fails to bring out the value of their commentaries especially that of *Pradīpa* reflecting the development in the field of grammatical thoughts by translating the relevant portions. Differences between the view-points of the two commentators have also been explained clearly in the notes. The carefulness in giving the Sanskrit text of such portions in the footnotes is indeed very commendable.

The editor is also to be complimented for briefly discussing all important topics connected with the text in his introduction. Thus

it has been rightly pointed out that the new interpretations of Pāṇini's aphorisms offered by Patañjali are primarily intended to harmonize Kātyāyana's trend of philosophization with the purely descriptive approach of Pāṇini. The Index of Sanskrit words defined or discussed in the translation, notes as well as introduction also speaks of the carefulness of the editor in presenting the work in a systematic manner. One cannot help saying, however, that a critical edition of the work like the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya is naturally expected to print the text with परसवर्ण where necessary i. e. किञ्चिदेत्येपोऽर्थो and not किञ्चिदेत्येपोऽर्थो (p. 7, L. 9). Nevertheless the editor deserves compliments from all lovers of Sanskrit grammar who I am sure, will eagerly await similar editions of the remaining Āhnikas of the Mahābhāṣya. It is needless to add that the Centre of Advanced Study of Sanskrit, deserves thanks of all students of Sanskrit grammar for bringing out this book.

M. D. P.

Divisiveness and Social Conflict—An Anthropological Approach by Alan R. Beals and Bernard J. Siegel, Standard University Press, Sandford, California, 1967.

This is a study of the nature of conflict in social organisation among the lower social or tribal groups represented by the Namhallis of South India and the Puehlo Indians of America. In any society, whatever its status be in the larger civilized society surrounding it, the seed of conflict is embedded in organization. The authors have taken two communities from two different continents and have endeavoured to analyse, the nature of 'divisiveness' which is detrimental to the organization.

The one community is primarily agriculture and a part and parcel of the larger Hindu community while the other community of the Puehlo stands apart from the surrounding white American civilization.

While analysing the problem of the various forms of internal conflicts of the Namhallis, the authors have isolated them from the rest of the agricultural communities and have visualized the background of their culture by enumerating vague and isolated facts of the Hindu culture.

I am no judge of the Puehlo culture and its background. But though the methodology of choosing two units isolated by culture, history and territory and pick up common points of the culture conflict appears to be seemingly fruitful, it is hardly illuminating. From meagre facts a large amount of theorization is done. American scholar's short stay in distant countries, especially in a country like India with a complicated cultural history is hardly sufficient to bear

tangible results. The difficulty of language, and knowledge of customs can hardly be overcome by interpreters and other official and non-official agencies as are mostly used by the foreign scholars. Compared to the old solid British administrative scholarship, the hits of information by these new and young scholars, appear to be meagre. The theories are more pedantic and the comparative method used more as a vogue than as a natural judge of the units chosen.

The Namhallis are an indigenous Indian community and the surrounding civilization is also indigenous. But such is not the case with the Puelo Indians and the Spanish civilization surrounding and overpowering them. Hence the very base of comparison seems to be made up to suit the research in hand.

D. N. B.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Historical Geography of Ancient India, Second and Revised ed.; by B. C. Law, Paris, Société Asiatique De Paris, 1967, p. 427.
2. Veda Samikṣā, ed.; by Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, Tirupati, Sri Venkateswara University, 1967, p. 128, Rs. 6=00.
3. Call it a day: A selection of Modern Indian stories; Gwen Gabriel, Delhi, Siddhartha Publications (Pvt.) Ltd., 1968, pp. xix, 200. Rs. 8=40.
4. Syādvādamuktāvalī or Jainaviśeṣatarka and Bhāvasaptatikā by Śrī Yaśasvatsāgara; ed by S. A. Upadhyaya, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969, p. 44. Rs. 3=00.
5. Īśvara va Jīva Svarūpa by G. V. Kulkarni, Ahmednagar, Law Publications, 1889, p. 4, 40, 4. Rs. 1=00.

Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona. Reprint from the Journal, University of Poona. Class A—Nos. 1-13, 1965-67.

1. Post-Vedic Literature; by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona, University of Poona, 1965, p. 37.
2. Śleṣa as a Means of Economy in the Bhāradvāja Maṇḍala, by Dr. G. V. Devasthali, Poona, University of Poona, 1965, p. 39-44.
3. The Puruṣa-Sūkta (RV 10-90) in the Vedic Literature by Dr. N. J. Shende, Poona, University of Poona, 1965, p. 45-51.
4. Two Methods of Interpreting Pāṇini by S. D. Joshi, Poona, University of Poona, 1965, p. 53-61.
5. The Three Pāṇinian suffixes ṆaC, in UṆ and Ktri, by M. D. Balasubramanyam, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p. 123-138.

6. Mathematical Representation of some Pāṇinian Sūtras, by M.D. Pandit, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p. 139-152.
7. Hinduism and Modern Culture, by R. N. Dandekar, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p. 1-17.
8. Adjectives and Substantives as a single class in the "Parts of Speech", by S. D. Joshi, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p. 19-30.
9. 'Samjñāyām' in Pāṇini, by G. B. Palsule, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p.31-75.
10. Patañjali on the Pre-Pāṇinian Anubandhas N and C, by M. D. Balasubramanyam, Poona, University of Poona, 1966, p. 77-82.
11. Gṛtsamada and Kūrma Gārtsamada—A Statistical study, by M. D. Pandit, Poona, University of Poona, 1967, p. 135-163.
12. Amāvasyā: An Accentual Study, by M. D. Balasubramanyam, Poona, University of Poona, 1967, p. 1-25.
13. On the Ṛgvedic denominative adhvariya-, by K.P. Jog, Poona, University of Poona, 1967, p. 27-35.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES BY DR. D. D. KOSAMBI

By

DR. L. B. KENY

I. *Books:*

1. Introduction to the Study of Indian History. Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1956.
2. Exasperating Essays: Exercise in the Dialectical Method. Poona, People's Book House, 1967.
3. Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture. Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1962.
4. The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical outline. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

I-A. *Works edited by Dr. D. D. Kosambi:*

1. Śatakatrāyām of Bhartṛhari with Comm. of Rāmarṣi—Edited by D. D. Kosambi and Ramakrishna Krishnamurthi Shastri. Poona, Gangadhar Bapurao Kale, 1945.
2. Śatakatrāyām of Bhartṛhari. (The Southern Archetype) Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1946.
3. The Epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari including the Three Centuries. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1948.
4. Śatakatrāyām of Bhartṛhari with the Commentary of Dhana-sāragani. Bombay, Singhi Jain Shastra Shiksha Pee'h. 1951.
5. Kosambi, D.D. and Gokhale, V.V. eds.—The Subhāsita Ratna-koṣa, Compiled by Vidyākara, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1957.

II *Articles:*

1. Precessions of an Elliptical Orbit.
(Notes on: Vibrating Strings; Planetary Orbits; The Raman Effect). The Indian Journal of Physics, Vol. V, Pt. III, Sept. 1930, pp. 359-364.
2. On a generalization of the second theorem of Bourbaki.
(Proceedings of the Academy of Science, U.P., Vol. I, Dec, 1931, pp. 1-3).
3. Modern Differential Geometrics.
(The Indian Journal of Physics, Vol. VII, Pt. II, 1932, pp. 159-164).

4. On the Existence of a Metric and the Inverse Variational Problem, (The Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences, U.P., Vol. 2, August 1932, pp. 17-28).
5. Giometric differentielle et calcul des variations. (Rendiconli Della R. Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, Vol. XVI, Serie 6, 1932-XI, pp. 410-415).
6. On Differential Equations with the Group Property. (The Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, Vol. XIX, 1932, pp. 215-219).
7. Affin-geometrische Grundlagen der einheitlichen Feldtheorie. Sitzungsberichten der Prew B. Akademic der Wissenschaften, Physikalisch-mathematische Klasse, Vol. 28, Juli 1932, pp. 1-4).
8. The Classification of Integers. (Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. II, Pt. II, Sept. 1933), pp. 18-20).
9. The Problem of differential Invariants. (Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, Vol. 20, 1933, pp. 185-188).
10. Observations sur le mimore precedent. (Mathematische Zeitschrift, Vol. 37, 1933, pp. 619-622).
11. Parallelism and Path-Spaces. (Mathematische Zeitschrift, Band 37, Heft 4, 1933, pp. 608-618).
12. Collineations in Path-space. (Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, Vol. I, No. 2, August 1934, pp. 69-72).
13. Continuous Groups and two Theorems of Euler. (The Mathematics Student, Vol. II, 1934, pp. 94-100).
14. Systems of Differential Equations of the Second Order. (The Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, Oxford Series, Vol. 6, No. 21, March 1935, pp. 1-2).
15. Path-Spaces of Higher Order. (The Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, Oxford Series, Vol. 7, No. 26, June 1936, pp. 97-104).
16. A Statistical Study of the Weights of the Old Indian Punch Marked Coins. (Current Science, 1940, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 312-314).
17. A Note on 2 Hoards of Punch-marked Coins found at Taxila. (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, No. 4, Jul. 1940, pp. 156-159).

18. The Concept of Isotropy in Generalised Path-Spaces.
(Reprinted from the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, N.S., Vol. IV, No. 2, 1940, pp. 80-88)
19. A Note on Frequency Distribution in Series.
(Reprinted from the Mathematics Student, Vol. 8, 1940, pp. 151-155).
20. Path-Equations Admitting the Lorentz. (Group-I).
(Journal of the London Mathematical Society, Vol. XV, April 1940, pp. 1-4).
21. The Emergency of National Characteristics Among Three Indo-European Peoples. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XX, 1940, Part II, pp. 195-206).
22. On the Study and Metrology of Silver Punch-Marked Coins.
(Reprinted from New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, 1941-42, pp. 1-60).
23. Path-Equations Admitting the Lorentz (Group-II).
(The Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, Vol. V, No. 2, 1941, pp. 62-72).
24. A Bivariate Extension of Fisher's Z Test.
(Reprinted from Current Science, 1941, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 191-193).
25. On the Origin and Development of Silver Coinage in India.
(Current Science, 1941, Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 395-400).
26. On Valid Tests of Linguistic Hypotheses.
(New Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, No. 1, April 1942, pp. 21-24).
27. The Effect of Circulation Upon the Weights of Metal Currency.
(Reprinted from Current Science, 1942, Vol. II, No. 6 pp. 227-230).
28. A Test of Significance for Multiple Observations.
(Current Science, Vol. II, No. 7, 1942, pp. 271-274).
29. The Maximum Modulus Theorem.
(Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, Pt. II, Sept. 1943, pp. 11-12).
30. Race and Immunity in India.
(New Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, No. 2, May 1943, pp. 29-33).

31. Statistics in Function Space.
(Journal of Indian Mathematics Society. Vol. VII, No. 3, 1943, pp. 76-88).
32. George David Birkhoff, 1884-1944.
(Reprinted from the Mathematics Student, Vol. XII, No. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. 1944, pp. 116-120).
33. The Estimation of Map Distances from Recombination Values.
(Reprinted from Annals of Eugenics, Vol. 12, Pt. III, 1944, pp. 172-175).
34. Direct Derivation of Balmer Spectra.
(Reprinted from Current Science, Vol. 13, March 1944, No. 71-74, pp. 1-2).
35. The Law of Large Numbers.
(Mathematics Student, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 & 2, March/June 1946, pp. 14-19).
36. Early Stages of the Caste System in N. India.
(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. Vol. 22, 1946, pp. 33-48).
37. Early Brahmins and Brahminism
(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 23, 1947, pp. 39-46)
38. System of Partial Differential Equations of the Second Order.
(Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, (Oxford), Vol. 19, Dec. 1948, p. 204-219).
39. Chronological Order of the Punch-marked Coins—I: A Re-examination of the Older Taxila Hoard.
(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. Vols. 24-25, 1948-1949, pp. 33-47).
40. The Avatāra Syncretism and Possible Sources of the Bhagavad-Gītā. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. Vol. 24-25, 1948-1949, pp. 121-134).
41. Characteristic Properties of Series Distributions. (Proceedings of the National Institute of Sciences of India, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1949, pp. 109-113).
42. Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture. (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXIX, Pts. I-IV, 1949, pp. 277-281).

43. The Differential Invariants of a Two-Index Tensor. (Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society, Vol. 55, No. 2, February 1949, pp. 90-94).
44. The Origin of Brahmin Gotras. (Journal of the Bombay Branch, of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 20, 1950, pp. 21-80).
45. Series Expansions of Continuous Groups. (Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, Oxford (2), 2 (1951), pp. 244-57).
46. Chronological Order of Punch-marked Coins II: The Bodena-yakanur. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 26, 1951, pp. 214-218).
47. Urvaśi and Purūravas. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 27, 1951, pp. 1-30).
48. Ancient Kosala and Magadha. (Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, N.S. 1951-52, pp. 180-213).
49. On a Marxist Approach to Indian Chronology. (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXI, 1951, pp. 258-266).
50. The Sanskrit Equivalent of Two Pali Words. (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXII, 1951, pp. 53-60).
51. The Cintāmaṇisāraṇikā of Daśabala. Introd. & Edited by D. D. Kosambi. (Journal of the Oriental Research, Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, Supplement to Vol. XIX, pt. II, 1952, pp. iii-viii).
52. Path-Spaces Admitting Collineations. (Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, Oxford (2), 3 (1952), pp. 1-11).
53. Path Geometry and Continuous Groups. (Quarterly Journal of Mathematics, Oxford (2), 3(1952), pp. 307-20).
54. Chronological Order of Punch-marked Coins III: The Paila Hoard, (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 27, 1952, pp. 261-271).
55. Brahmin Class. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 73, No. 4, October/December 1953, pp. 202-208).
56. Origins of Feudalism in Kashmir. (The Sardhaśatābdī Com-memoration Volume, 1804-1954, pp. 108-120).
57. What Constitutes Indian History? (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXV, pp. 194-201, 1955).
58. The basis of Ancient Indian History-I. (Journal of the Ame-rican Oriental Society, Vol. 75, No. I, January/March 1955, pp. 34-45).

59. The Basis of Ancient Indian History-II. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 75, No. 4 October/December 1955, pp. 226-237).
60. Dhenukākāṭa. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. 30, Pt. II, 1956, pp. 50-71).
61. On the Development of Feudalism in India. (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), Vol. XXXVI, Parts III-IV, 1956, pp. 258-269).
62. Classical Tauberian Theorems. (Journal of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, Vol. X, Nos. 1-2, 1958, pp. 141-149).
63. The Text of the Arthaśāstra. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 78, No. 3, July/September 1958, pp. 169-173).
64. Urvaśi and Purūravas. (Indian Studies: Past & Present, Vol. I, No. I, Oct. 1959, pp.141-175).
65. Indian Feudal Trade Charters. (Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. II, Part 3, 1959, pp. 281-293).
66. The Method of Least-Squares. (Journal of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, 1959, pp. 48-57).
67. At the Cross-roads: Mother Goddess Cult-sites in Ancient India. Part II. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October 1960, pp. 135-144).
68. Social and Economic Aspects of the Bhagavadgītā. (Reprinted from Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. IV, Pt. II, 1961, pp. 198-224).
69. Combined Methods in Indology. (Indo-Iranian Journal VI, 1963, pp. 177-202).
70. The Autochthonous Element in the Mahābhārata. (Journal of the American Oriental Society 1964, pp. 31-44.)
71. Scientific Numismatics. (Scientific American, February 1966, pp. 102-111).
72. "Living Prehistory in India", Scientific American, February 1967. (Reprinted in The American Review, October 1967).
73. On the Zeros and Closure of Orthogonal Functions. (Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, N.S. Vol. V, No. 41, pp. 16-24).
74. The Village Community in the "Old Linguists" of Goa. (Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XV, Pt. 4, pp. 63-78).

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

The 28th International Congress of Orientalists will be held at the Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T., from 6th to 12th January, 1971. All scholars of the languages, history, literature and culture of Asia are welcome.

Enquiries should be addressed to :

**THE SECRETARY—GENERAL,
28th International Congress of Orientalists,
Australian National University Post Office,
via CANBERRA CITY. A.C.T. 2601 AUSTRALIA.**

Statement about ownership and other particulars about the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1. Place of Publication | ... | Bombay. |
| 2. Periodicity of its Publication | ... | Annual. |
| 3. Printer's Name | ... | P. H. Raman. |
| Nationality | ... | Indian. |
| Address | ... | Associated Advertisers & Printers,
505, Tardeo Arthur Road,
Bombay-34. |
| 4. Publisher's Name | ... | Shri Raman K. Desai. |
| Nationality | ... | Indian. |
| Address | ... | Hon. Secretary,
The Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Town Hall, Bombay-1. |
| 5. Editor's Name | ... | Editorial Board :—
(i) MM. Dr. P. V. Kane.
(ii) Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar. |
| Nationality | ... | Indian. |
| Address | ... | The Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Town Hall, Bombay-1. |
| 6. Names and Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital. | | The Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Town Hall, Bombay-1. |

I, Raman K. Desai, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Raman K. Desai

Signature of Publisher.

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	।	ऀ	.....	au	;	.....	th	भ	.....	bh
आ	.....	ā	।	क	.....	k	ड	.....	ḍ	म	.....	m
इ	.....	i	।	ख	.....	kh	ढ	.....	ḍh	य	.....	y
ई	.....	ī	।	ग	.....	g	ण	.....	ṇ	र	.....	r
उ	.....	u	।	घ	.....	gh	त	.....	t	ल	.....	l
ऊ	.....	ū	।	ड	.....	ḍ	थ	.....	th	व	.....	v
ऋ	.....	r̄	।	च	.....	c	द	.....	d	श	.....	ś
ॠ	.....	r̄	।	छ	.....	ch	ष	.....	ṣh	ष	.....	ṣ
ऌ	.....	l̄	।	ज	.....	j	न	.....	n	स	.....	s
ॡ	.....	e	।	झ	.....	jh	प	.....	p	ह	.....	h
ऐ	.....	ai	।	ञ	.....	ñ	फ	.....	ph	ळ	.....	ḷ
ओ	.....	o	।	ट	.....	ṭ	ब	.....	b			
— (Anusvāra)				ṁ				× (Jihvāmūliya)				ḥ			
~ (Anunāsika)				ṁ				≻ (Upadhmāniya)				ḥ			
(Visarga)				h				s (Avagraha)				’			

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC

ا	.....	a	|	ز	.....	z	|	ق	.....	q	—	.....	i or e
ب	.....	b	|	س	.....	s	|	ك	.....	k	ُ	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t	|	ش	.....	sh	|	ل	.....	l	َ	.....	ā
ث	.....	th	|	ص	.....	s	|	م	.....	m	ي	.....	ī, e
ج	.....	j	|	ض	.....	ḍ	|	ن	.....	n	و	.....	ū, ō
ح	.....	h	|	ط	.....	ṭ	|	و	.....	w	ی	.....	ai, ay
خ	.....	kh	|	ظ	.....	ẓ	|	ح	.....	h	و	.....	au, aw
د	.....	d	|	ع	.....	‘	|	ي	.....	y	silent t	.....	h
ذ	.....	dh	|	غ	.....	gh	|	ع	.....	‘		
ر	.....	r	|	ف	.....	f	|	ل	.....	l			

PERSIAN

پ	p	|	چ	ch	|	ژ	zh	|	گ	g
---	-------	---	--	---	-------	----	--	---	-------	----	--	---	-------	---

REGULATIONS CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOURNAL:

1. Papers submitted for publication in the Society's Journal may be offered by any Fellow or Member of the Society. Papers by Non-Members must be communicated through a Member unless the Non-Members have been specially invited to contribute.
2. All editorial communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay-1.
3. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Papers should be typed on one side of each sheet in double spacing on paper, leaving a margin of at least 3.5 cms. at the left hand side. Sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner. Foot-notes, numbered consecutively through the article, should be typed on a separate sheet at the end and not at the foot of each sheet. Footnotes, however, will continue to be printed at the bottom of relevant page.
4. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed, and, if printed, in what form.
5. Contributors are urgently requested to use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet will be appended in the issues of the Journal.
6. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the style of citation of books and periodical articles, and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of reviews. Titles of books cited should be given in full at the first citation; thereafter reference should be made by using only significant words in the title, but with sufficient clearness to avoid doubt or confusion. Uniformity of abbreviations must be observed throughout the paper.
7. Titles of articles in periodicals should be cited in quotation marks; the name of the periodical should be printed in italic. The following abbreviations for the Journals of the principal Oriental Societies should be adhered to:—*Ep. Ind.*, *Ind. Ant.*, *JA.*, *JAOS.*, *JASB.*, *JBBRAS.*, *WZKM*; *ZDMG*. Volume and pagination should be indicated as in the following example:—*ZDMG.* 27, 360 ff. (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Volume 27, pages 369 and following).
8. The greatest possible conciseness in their papers is desired of contributors for the sake of economy. Additional printer's charges for alterations other than corrections of printer's errors must be borne by the contributor. Later corrections which would involve over-running will not be accepted without express permission of the Board of Editors.
9. Galley proofs will be sent to the contributors residing in Bombay, but no page proofs will be supplied.
10. Thirty off-prints of each article will be supplied to the contributor free of charge. Additional copies, if desired, may be obtained by giving due notice to the Hon. Secretary, on payment.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

(Formerly the B.B.R.A. Society)

PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

NEW SERIES

XXVI	1 & 2	1950-51	20.00	XXXIV-XXXV	1950-60	25.00
XXVII	1 & 2, & Supp.	1951-52	25.00	XXXVI-XXXVII	1961-62	
XXVIII	1 & 2	1953	20.00		& Supp.)	20.00
XXIX	1 & 2	1954	20.00	XXXVIII	1963	25.00
XXX	1 & 2	1955	20.00	XXXIX-XL	1964-65	35.00
XXXI-XXXII	...	1956-57	30.00	XLI-XLII	1966-67	30.00
XXXIII		1958	25.00	XLIII-XLIV	1968-69	30.00

(Volumes I-III of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Volumes I-XXVI of the Old Series, and Volumes I-XXV of the New Series of the Journal are out of stock and arrangements for reprinting them have been made with Messrs. Kraus Reprint, F. L. 9401, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, Europe. Of these, Volumes I-XXVI (Old Series) are available with Messrs. Kraus Reprint at \$088.00 for Cloth bound and \$588.00 for Paper bound edition. For further details, please contact Messrs. Kraus Reprint at the above address.)

EXTRA NUMBERS AND MONOGRAPHS

Folklore Notes compiled and edited by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S., from materials collected by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., 2 Vols. *(Vol. I-Gujarat). (Vol. II-Konkan). Each volume ...	3.00	Yoga-Yajnavalkya; ed. by Shri P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M., (B.B.R.A. Society's Monograph No. 3) ...	5.00
Buddhaghosa by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D., D.LITT. (B.B.R.A. Society's Monograph No.1) ...	6.00	‡ On the meaning of the Mahabharata by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., PH.D. (Asiatic Society of Bombay Monograph No. 4) ...	10.00
Some Jain Canonical Sutras, By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D., D. LITT. (B. B. R. A. Society's Monograph, No. 2) ...	15.00		

* Out of stock; ‡ Sole Distributors : Messrs. Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

CATALOGUES OF THE LIBRARY

Yearly Catalogues of the Library of the B. B. R. A. Society 1922; 1924-1942; 1944 each	0.50	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Society. Compiled by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Vol. I : Scientific Literature ...	5.00
Do. 1946-47 each	1.00	Vol. II Hindu Literature ...	8.00
Do. 1948-03 each	2.00	Vols. III-IV. Jain and Vernacular Literature ...	4.00

N.B.— This price list cancels all previous lists prior to 1970.

Printed by P. H. Raman at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505 Tardeo Arthur Road, Bombay 34, Published by Raman K. Desai B.A., B.Sc. (London), Bar-at-Law, Honorary Secretary for the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay 1.