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TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic

ا	.....	*a*	ز	.....	*z*	ق	.....	*q*	ـِ	.....	*i* or *e*
ب	.....	*b*	س	.....	*s*	ك	.....	*k*	ـُ	.....	*u* or *o*
ت	.....	*t*	ش	.....	*sh*	ل	.....	*l*	ـَ	.....	*ā*
ث	.....	*th*	ص	.....	*ṣ*	م	.....	*m*	ي	.....	*ī*, *e*
ج	.....	*j*	ض	.....	*ḍ*	ن	.....	*n*	و	.....	*ū*, *ō*
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خ	.....	*kh*	ظ	.....	*ẓ*	ه	.....	*h*	ـَو	.....	*au*, *aw*
د	.....	*d*	ع	.....	‘	ي	.....	*y*	silent t	.....	*h*
ذ	.....	*dh*	غ	.....	*gh*	ء	.....	’			
ر	.....	*r*	ف	.....	*f*	ـَ	.....	*a*			

Persian

پ	.....	*p*	چ	.....	*ch*	ژ	.....	*zh*	گ	.....	*g*

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APROPOS TO THE COMPOUND ARDHA-HRASVAM

M. S. BHAT

Dr. Jani[1] claims to have thrown fresh light on Pān 1·2·32 and particularly on the compound Ardha-hrasvam which according to him was borrowed by Pāṇini from the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* 1·41. and in this he was anticipated about two hundred years earlier by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe[2], the author of a sub-commentary entitled *Bhāvaprakāśa* on the *Laghu-śabdaratna*, a commentary on Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Prauḍha-Manoramā* which is itself an auto-commentary on the *Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-kaumudī*).

It was incumbent upon Dr. Jani to have explored and exhausted all the indigenous commentaries on the works referred to by him in the course of his research paper before pronouncing an authoritative opinion on the subject.

According to him the analysis : Hrasvasya ardham restricts itself to the Hrasva-svarita and thus excludes the Dīrgha- and Pluta-svaritas, whereas the second analysis : Ardham ca tad hrasvam refers to the Dīrgha-svarita and "includes hrasva and pluta varieties" (sic.)[3] It is obvious from the foregoing that he was influenced by the Sanskrit Tippaṇī of Pandit Vāsudeva Śāstri Panshikar[4]. No doubt Patañjali[5] allows the Ekadeśi-samāsas to be converted into the Samānādhikaraṇa-samāsas, but Nāgojibhaṭṭa[6] is emphatic in declaring that the compounding of words capable of forming the Karmadhāraya is not observed by the Sūtrakāra (Pāṇini).

It would be advisable now to examine more closely the indigenous commentaries. Patañjali[7] interpreted Ardhahrasvam to mean Ardhahrasvamātram with the addition of Mātrac (Pān 5-3-37) and its elision (Vār on Pān 5-3-37). It is evident that Patañjali understood it in its Rūḍhi sense,

1. "Fresh light on Pāṇini's Sūtra — 'Tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam' — (1.2.32.) pub. in *Proc. A. I. O. C.* 24th Session, Varanasi, 1968 (1972) pp. 257-59.
2. anyaśākheti. "ādirasyodāttasamaḥ śeṣo' nudattasama iti ācāryāḥ" iti, Taittirīya-prātiśākhyam, tatra pūrvasūtrād "yāvad ardham hrasvasya" iti vartate.
   Prauḍha-Manoramā with *Laghu-śabdaratna* and its three comms. *Bhairavi*, *Bhavaprakasa* and *Sarala* (KSS. 125), Benares, 1937, p. 66.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 258.
4. *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, Bombay. 1929, p. 4. Subsequent editions have reproduced the same matter.
5. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pān 2.4.26.
6. Karmadhārayayogyapadānāṁ sūtrakṛtā samāsāḥ karaṇāc ca. *Bṛhacchabdendu-śekhara*, Varanasi, 1960, pp. 30-31.
7. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pān 1.2.32.

and the comments of Kaiyaṭa[8] and Nāgojibhaṭṭa[9] on the above passage tend to confirm it. It must be remembered that Kaiyaṭa is following the lead of Bhartṛhari[10] who elucidates the term as follows :

Pramāṇam ardhahrasvādāv
anupāttam pratīyate.
hrasvasyārdham ca yad dṛṣṭam
tat tasyāsaṁnidhāv api,
hrasvasya lakṣaṇārthatvāt
tadvad evābhidhīyate.
dīrghaplutābhyāṁ tasya syāt
mātrayā vā viśeṣaṇam,
jāter vā lakṣaṇā yasmāt
sarvathā saptaparṇavat. .2-307 cd — 309

The authors of the *Kāśikā* held the same view[11] which was closely adhered to by its commentators, Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta.

In his *Śabdakaustubha*, a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which is chronologically earlier than the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* and its commentary entitled the *Prauḍha-Manoramā*, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita states at first that Ardhahrasvam implies Ardhamātrā and later on remarks that the duration of the Udātta is either a half Mātrā or exact half the length of the syllable, the latter being out of deference to the long and prolated vowels[12]. Practically the same view is found recorded in the *Prauḍha-Manoramā*.[13] At both the places he cites the *Ṛk prātiśākhya* 3·2 in support of his contention. From the occurrence of the expression Hrasvagrahaṇam atantram in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, one might be tempted to surmise that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has copied it from the *Kāśika*. That by Atantra he meant Avivakṣita is sufficiently clear from the *Sabda-Kaustubha*,[14] and the *Prauḍha-Manoramā*.[15] On the other hand,

8. *Pradipa* : ardhahrasvaśabdaḥ pramāṇavāci rūḍhiśabdaḥ. Vyutpatty-arthaṁ tu hrasvopādānam ardhamātrātvenābhidhīyate.
9. *Uddyota* : ardhahrasveti. rūḍhyā' rdhamātrā rūpapramāṇaviśeṣo' nenocyate, na hrasvasya ardham ityartha iti bhāvaḥ. vyutpattyartham iti. anulomādivad iti bhāvaḥ.
10. *Vākyapadīya* ed. by K. V. Abhyankar and V. P. Limaye, Poona, 1965, p. 42.
11. Ardhahrasva iti cārdhamātropalakṣyate. hrasvagrahaṇam atantram, *Kāśika* with the comms. of Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta, Vol. I, Varanasi, 1965, p. 313.
12. Ardhahrasvaśabdenārdhamātrā lakṣyate...hrasvagrahaṇam avivakṣitam... ardham eveti.. dīrghaplutayor anurodhenedam. *Śabda-Kaustubha* (Chowkhamba Skt. Series), Vol. II, Benares, 1929, p. 15.
13. *Op. cit.* p. 59
14. *vide supra* f. n. 12.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 59,

Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta have rendered it by Apradhānam[16] since it implies something in addition (Upalakṣaṇā), viz., the Dīrgha- and Pluta-svaritas.

While Patañjali as interpreted by Kaiyaṭa understood Ardhahrasvam in its Rūḍhi sense of half Mātrā, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita took it in its secondary sense (lakṣyate — lakṣaṇā).[17] The latter's suggestion with regard to the elimination of the word Hrasva from Pān 1·2·32 was possibly influenced by Kaiyaṭa's comment : Vyutpattyarthaṁ tu hrasvopādānam.[18] As stated earlier, he was influenced to a large extent by the *Ṛk prātiśākhya* 3·2 and particularly by the word Eva in the expression Ardham eva vā therein. It is obvious that such an interpretation would render the particle Vā superfluous and this has been aptly pointed out in the *Laghuśabdaratna*.[19]

According to Pān 2·2·2, Ardham (neu.) is compounded with nouns in the genitive expressive of the constituted whole, of which Ardham as interpreted by Patañjali[20] forms 'exact half'. The reasoning adopted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita becomes apparent when we concede this point. He was not unaware of other Prātiśākhyas which favour Ardhamātrā in such instances and in fact, he had cited them later[21] in a different context.

Both Haridīkṣita and his disciple Nāgojibhaṭṭa held a view which is syncretic and hence acceptable. While the former[22] interpreted Ardham in the compound Ardhahrasvam to mean 'a small portion' (leśa) in order to get over the difficulty presented by the formation of the compound and to accommodate the views of the Prātiśākhyas other than the *Ṛk prātiśākhya* and the popular usage which favour Ardhamātrā in such instances, the latter[23] interpreted it in its Rūḍhi sense of Ardhamātrā and cited the *Vākyapadīya* 2·307 cd in support.

It is apparent from the above that Haridīkṣita and Nāgojibhaṭṭa refused to follow the one-sided view of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita since they did not want the Vyakaraṇa-śāstra to be confined to any particular school of the Vedas.[24]

16. *Op. cit.* p. 313 Cp. *Amarakośa* 3.186ab (Oak's Ed.) : tantram pradhāne siddhante.
17. *vide supra* f. n. 12.
18. *vide supra* f. n. 8
19. Vāśabdas tu padapūraṇāyeti bodhyam. *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
20. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pān 2.2.2: Samapravibhāge napuṁsakaliṅgaḥ, avayavavāci puṁliṅgaḥ.
21. *Prauḍha-Manoramā* Op. cit., p. 69.
22. Ardhaśabdo na samāṁsavāci api tu leśavāci. leśas tu 'Vibhāṣāchandasi' ityanena vihitānām ekaśrutyādīnāṁ tat tat prātiśākhya-anurodhena vyavasthāvat kasyacicchākhāyām samāṁśaḥ kasyāñcicchākhāyām ardhamātreti vyavasthāpanīyam. *Prauḍha-Manorama* with *Sabdaratna*, Poona, 1966, p. 33.
23. *Bṛhacchabdanduśekhara*, p. 31 cf. *Laghuśabdaratna*, *Op. cit.* pp. 66-67
24. Cp. Sarvavedapāriṣadaṁ hīdaṁ śāstram, *Mahabhāṣya* on Pan 2.1.57 and 6.3.14.

Dr. Jani states that "the expression 'Yāvad ardham hrasvasya' at once makes it clear that Pāṇini had before him the tradition preserved in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* and that the expression 'ardham hrasvasya' is contracted by him as ardhahrasvam."[25] This is rather a bold statement to make. Although chronological uncertainty surrounds the Prātiśākhya treatises and even the controversy as to the relative priority or otherwise of Pāṇini to them remains still unresolved, we can assign the Prātiśākhyas in their present shape to a date later than Pāṇini.[26] In conclusion, one cannot but get exasperated at the casual treatment meted to Pan 1·2·32 by Dr. Jani.

25. *Op. cit.* p. 259.

26. Thieme, *Panini and the Veda*, Allahabad, 1935, pp. 95-96; Sivaramakrishna sastri, *Svarasiddhantacandrika*, 1936, intro. p. XLIV; Misra, *The descriptive technique of Panini*, p. 14.

BHOJA'S ŚṚṄGĀRAPRAKĀŚA : PRĀKRIT TEXT RESTORED

V. M. KULKARNI

With a view to correctly presenting the Prakrit verses in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (*SP*) I published five different papers[1] covering the entire text of 36 chapters. It was, however, not possible for me to restore each and every Prakrit verse in those papers for a variety of reasons. On closer study I have been able to restore scores of these corrupt Prakrit passages. In this paper I present fifty such passages for the benefit of scholars interested in Alaṁkāra literature, and more particularly in the SP.

(1) Aviddha – padaṁ yathā —

Eso khu vajja – nigghāda ..... (Vol I p. 122)

This prose passage, as printed here, is highly corrupt. It is drawn from the well-known play *Mālatī-Mādhava* (Act III v. 15 — v. 16) : This passage is also cited in *Sāhitya – Mīmāṁsā* (p. 72 and p. 91)

एसो खु ...वज्जणिग्घाददारुणचवेडामोडणपाडिदाणेअणरतुरंगजंगलुग्गारभरिदगलगुहा-
(गब्भ) गंभीरघग्गरोरलिगल्लूरणसद्दसंदब्भपडिरवाभोअभीसाविदगट्ठ–
विद्दाविदासेसजणणिवहो.....दुट्ठसद्दूलो कुविअ-कअंत-लीलाइदं करेदि ।

[एष खलु ... वज्र–निर्घात-दारुण-चपेटामोटन-पातितानेक-नर-तुरंग-जाङ्गलोद्गार-भरित-गल-गुहा-(गर्भ)-गम्भीर-घर्घरोरलिगल्ल-पूरण-शब्द-संदर्भ-प्रतिरवाभोग-भीषित-नष्ट-विद्राविताशेष-जन-निवहः.....दुष्ट-शार्दूलः कुपित-कृतान्त-लीलायितं करोति ।]

(2) Etena guṇa-kalpanā naiyāyiky-api vyākhyātā । Yathā – Candaṇihiekkacalaṇa..... ....(Vol I p. 271)

चंद-णिहिएक्क-चलणा णह-भमिर-मराल-णिहिणु (? णिहिअ) अवर-वआ ।
कमल-वण-दिण्ण-हत्था अणु (? णह-) सिरी भुवणमोअरइ ।।

[चन्द्र-निहितैक-चरणा नभो-भ्रमणशील-मराल-निहितापर-पदा ।
कमलवन-दत्त-हस्ता नभःश्रीः भुवनमवतरति ।।]

1. (i) The Śṛṅgāraprakāśa : Prakrit Text Restored
— Journal of Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2 July 1968.
(ii) ,, — Journal of Shivaji University, 1971, Vol. IV.
(iii) Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Chapters XV - XXIV) : Prakrit Text Restored
— Journal of the University of Bombay, Arts No. Vol. XXXIX No. 75, October 1970.
(iv) Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Chapters XXV to XXX) : Prakrit Text Restored
— Proceedings of the Seminar in Prakrit Studies, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1973.
(v) Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Chapters XXXI to XXXVI) : Prakrit Text Restored
— Sambhodhi, Vol. IV, 1975-76, Nos. 3-4.L. D.Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

(3) Vyavasāyaśca Vijñeyaḥ pratijñā – hetu-sambhavaḥ । Yathā Ratnāvalyām, Aindrajālikaḥ... ... ...(Vol. II p. 521)
Hariharabahma—ppamuhaṁ... ... ...

हरि-हर-बम्ह-प्पमुहं देवं[1] दावेमि देवराअं च ।
[2]गअणे वि सिद्ध-विज्जाहर-वहु-सत्थं च णच्चंतं ।।

[हरि-हर-ब्रह्म-प्रमुखं देवं दर्शयामि देवराजं च ।
गगनेऽपि सिद्ध-विद्याधर-वधू-सार्थं च नृत्यन्तम् ।।]

—Ratnāvalī IV-10

The printed text of the *Ratnāvalī* reads :
1. दंसेमि for दावेमि
2. गगणम्मि सिद्ध-चारण-सुर-वहु-सत्थं for गअणे वि, etc.

(4) Dhīroddhata-dakṣiṇa-madhyamo yathā—
Jaṁ ca aliovaāraṁ— — — — — (Vol III p. 603)
Tentatively, this verse may be restored as follows :—

जं च अलिओवआरं जणस्स दक्खिण्णआए घेप्पइ हिअअं ।
जइ सो वि सिणेहो च्चिअ ण णाम सब्भाव-केअवाण विसेसो ।।

[यच्च अलीकोपचारं जनस्य दाक्षिण्येन गृह्यते हृदयम् ।
यदि सोऽपि स्नेह एव न नाम सद्भाव-कैतवयोर्विशेषः ।।]

(5) Dhīroddhata-dhṛṣṭa-madhyamo yathā —
Sira (? sura)— kusumehi kalusiaṁ.. .. .. (vol III p. 603)
This verse is cited in the SK (P. 655. v. 287) to illustrate ' Premapramāṇārthānvayaḥ '.
As pointed out by Dr. Ghatage it is from *Harivijaya*.

सिर (? सुर) कुसुमेहि कलुसिअं जइ तेहिं चिअ पुणो पसाएमि तुमं ।
तो वे० म म (? पेम्मस्स) किसोअरि अवराहस्स अ णे मे खमं भोइ कअं ।।

[सुर-कुसुमैः कलुषितां यदि तैरेव पुनः प्रसादयामि त्वाम् ।
ततः प्रेम्णः कृशोदरि अपराधस्य च न मे क्षमं भवति कृतम् ।।]

। ण मे कअं अणुरूअं (पा. भे. अणुरूवं)

(6) Uttamā adhiroḍhamugdhā yathā —
Bālattaṇa-dullaliāe .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 618)
This very gāthā is cited further on (p. 841) with the introductory remark ' tatra mugdhāyā uttamatvaṁ sambhoge yathā'. It is also cited in the SK (p. 686) to illustrate "Pāṇigṛhītā ūḍhā."

बालत्तण-दुल्ललिआए अज्ज [1]सुण जं कअं णववहूए ।
भाआमि घरे एआइणि त्ति एंतो[2] (? णितो) पई रुद्धो ।।

[बालत्व–दुर्ललितया अद्य शृणु यत् कृतं नववध्वा ।
बिभेमि गृहे एकाकिनीति नियन् पती रुद्धः ।।]

1. सुण – SP (P. 841): अणज्ज (Sk अनार्य)—SK P. 686
2. णिद्धो (Sk स्निग्धः) — SP (P. 841)

(7) Madhyamoḍhā mugdhā yathā—

Vāhittā padivaaṇaṁ ṇa dei... ... ... (Vol. III p. 622)

This gāthā occurs in the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* (V. 16). It is cited in the SK (p. 336 v. 51) to illustrate 'Pratīyamānaṁ iṅgitalakṣyaṁ' (a variety of 'Sūkṣma' alaṁkāra) :

वाहित्ता पडिवअणं ण देइ रुसेइ एक्कमेक्कस्स ।
असई कज्जेण विणा पइप्पमाणे णईकच्छे ।।

[व्याहृता प्रतिवचनं न ददाति रुष्यत्येकैकस्य ।
असती कार्येण विना प्रदीप्यमाने नदीकच्छे ।।]

(8) Madhyamānūḍha-madhyamā yathā —

Tam siddha — kumāraṁ ... ... (Vol. III p. 623)

This gāthā, with slight corrections, agrees with the *Līlāvaī* (No. 489) :

तं सिद्धकुमारं पेच्छिऊण एएहि महि अजाज्जेहि (? अणज्जेहि) ।
अविण अमग्गं हअलोअलेहि (? हअलोअणेहि) णीअम्ह (? णीअम्हि) किं भणिमो) ।।

[तं सिद्ध-कुमारं प्रेक्ष्य एताभ्यां मखि अनार्याभ्याम् ।
अविनयमार्गे हतलोचनाभ्यां नीतास्मि किं भणामः ।।]

(9) Madhyamā dhīranūḍhā madhyā yathā —

Tā kiṁ bahuehi ... ... (Vol III p. 623)

This gāthā is corrupt and carelessly presented. On closer scrutiny it is found to be the same as the *Līlāvaī* (No. 323)

ता किं बहुएहि वि चिंतिएहि णहि...परो (? णलकूवरो) परो
(? वरो) भोज्जा (? होउ)।
वित्ताहिवस्स तणओ ममहअमुहं (? मम गअमुह) तुह पसाएण ।।

[तत्कि बहुभिश्चिन्तितैः नलकूवरो वरो भवतु ।
वित्ताधिपस्य तनयो मम गजमुख तव प्रसादेन ।।]

(10) Madhyamoḍhapragalbhā yathā —

pahavinti cci (?) .. .. (Vol III p. 624)

This gāthā is incomplete and very corrupt for some constituent letters are missing and the phrase 'Surisāmabhioṇaṁ' is erroneously repeated — rendering the gāthā unintelligible. It could, however, be restored with the help of the SK (p. 607, v. 109) where this gāthā is cited to illustrate 'Priyādiṣu vyāja-nindotprāsaḥ'.

पहवंति चिअ पुरिसा महिलाणं सुहअ[1] किं थ विल्लिओ–
(? वीलिओ, अथवा वीडिओ) सि ।
अणुराअ-णोल्लिआए को दोसो आहिजाईए ।।

[प्रभवन्त्येव पुरुषा महिलानां सुभग किमत्र व्रीडितोऽसि ।
अनुराग-नोदितायाः को दोष आभिजात्याः ।।]

1. SK reads : किं थ सुहअ विहिओसि.

The reading वीलिओ seems to be superior to विहिओ.

(11) Kaniṣṭhā dhīrānūḍha-madhyā yathā —

Keli-pasaro viambhai ... ... (Vol. III p. 627)

केलि-पसरो विअंभइ लज्जा तणुआइ गामकुमरीणं ।

एस सहाओ सहि किं इमाण महुमास-दिअहाणं ।।

[केलि-प्रसरो विजृम्भते लज्जा तनुकायते ग्राम-कुमारीणाम् ।
एष स्वभावः सखि किम् एषां मधु-मास-दिवसानाम् ।।]

(12) Adhīrānūḍhā yathā —

Varagottuggiā ... ... (Vol. III p. 629)

वर-गोत्तुग्गीआअण्णणेण रोमंच-सेअ-सलिलेहिं ।

विउडिज्जइ होंतवहूए उअ भवारज्ज (? वारिज्ज—) मंडणअं ।।

[वर-गोत्रोद्गीताकर्णनेन रोमांच-स्वेद-सलिलैः ।
विनाश्यते भविष्यद्वध्वाः पश्य विवाहमण्डनम् ।।]

(13) Ūḍhā yathā —

Josuaidiṇṇapaḍivakkha— ... ... (Vol III p. 630)

This gāthā may be corrected in the light of the corresponding gāthā which is cited in the SK (P. 594 v. 64) to illustrate suptam.

ओसुअइ दिण्णपडिवक्खवेअणं पसिढिलेहिं अंगेहिं ।

णिव्वत्तिअसुरअरसाणुबंधसुहणिब्भरं सोण्हा ।।

[ओ स्वपिति (अथवा, अवस्वपिति) दत्त-प्रतिपक्ष-वेदनं प्रशिथिलैरङ्गैः ।
निर्वर्तित-सुरतरसानुबन्ध-सुख-निर्भरं स्नुषा ।।]

(14) Adhīrānūḍhamugdhā yathā —

Hiaicchiavarahure (?) .. .. (Vol. III p. 630)

हिअ इच्छिअ-वर-हूरे (? हूए) सुअम्मि घण-पुलअ-झंपिआ बाला ।

सेअ-ण्हविआ हविआ (? हूआ) पच्छा सलिलेण सहिआहि ।।

[हृदयेप्सित-वरभूते श्रुते घन-पुलकाच्छादिता बाला ।
स्वेद-स्नपिता भूता पश्चात् सलिलेन सखीभिः ।।]

(15) Anūḍhamadhyā yathā —

Varakittaṇabalia .. .. (Vol. III p. 631)

Tentatively, this gāthā may thus be restored :

वर-कित्तण-वलिअ-परम्मुही [ए] सूएइ होंतवहुआए ।

अणुरायं दूर-दलंत-सीवणीकंचुओ चिअ ।।

[वर-कीर्तनातिशयपराङ्मुख्याः सूचयति भविष्यद्वध्वाः ।
अनुरागं दूर-दलत्-सीवन-कञ्चुक एव ।।]

(16) Adhīrānūḍhapragalbhā yathā —

Jāṇāmi ccia pia-sahi .. .. (Vol. III p. 632)

This gāthā, with the exception of the opening words, is the same as occurs in the *Līlāvaī* (No. 490)

जाणामि च्चिअ पिअसहि दूरविरुद्धं कुमारभावस्स ।
तह वि हअवम्महेणं अलज्जिराणं धुरे जुत्ता ।।

[जानाम्येव प्रियसखि दूरविरुद्धं कुमारभावस्य ।
तथापि हत-मन्मथेन अलज्जनशीलानां (=अलज्जावतीनां) धुरि नियुक्ता ।।]

In the Līlāvaī we have the reading जाणंती वि हु (SK जानाना अपि खलु) in place of ' जाणामि च्चिअ '.

(17) Anūḍhapragalbhā yathā —

Hiaicchaassa .. .. (Vol. III p. 632)

हिअ-इच्छिअस्स दिज्जउ तणुआअंतीं ण पेच्छह पिउच्छा ।
हिअ-इच्छिओ म्ह कत्तो भणिउं मोहं गआ कुमरी ।।

[हृदयेप्सितस्य दीयतां तनुकायमानां (= तनूभवन्तीं) न प्रेक्षसे पितृष्वसः ।
" हृदयेप्सितोऽस्माकं कुतः " भणित्वा मोहं गता कुमारी ।।]

(18) Uttamā dhīroḍha-mugdhā yathā —

Niddāvasa-maanummīla .. .. (Vol. III p. 634)

णिद्दा-वस-मअणुम्मील-तारआवंग-घोलिरे णअणे ।
गिम्हावरण्हसुत्तुट्ठिआए दिअरो तुहंण्णिअइ (? तुहं णिअइ) ।।

[निद्रा-वश-मदनोन्मील-तारकापाङ्ग-घूर्णनशीले नयने ।
ग्रीष्मापराह्ण-सुप्तोत्थितायाः देवरो तव पश्यति ।।]

(19) Uttamā adhīrānuḍha-mugdhā yathā —

Tihalaapaha-kuppiggae (?) .. .. (Vol. III p. 635)

The first quarter of this gāthā is very corrupt. It is, however, possible for us to restore the gāthā as it is cited further on (p. 1192) by Bhoja to illustrate the festival called "Navalatikā". It is quoted in the SK. (p. 623) to illustrate 'cakitaṁ striyāḥ.' Weber records it in his Saptaśatakaṁ (No. 862)

णवलअपहरुल्लट्ठाएं[1] तं कअं किंपि[2] सुहअ कुमरीए ।
जं अज्ज वि जुअइजणो घरे घरे सिक्खिउं [3]महइ ।।

[नवलता-प्रहारोल्वस्तया तत् कृतं किमपि सुभग कुमार्या ।
यदद्यापि युवतिजनो गृहे गृहे शिक्षितुं काङ्क्षति ।।]

1. Weber reads पहरुल्लत्थाए. SK (p. 623) reads पहारतुट्ठाई.
2. Weber reads हलिअ-वहुआएं. (v. l. सोण्हाए).
3. SK reads भगइ.

(20) Uttamā adhīrānūḍha-madhyā yathā —

Samuha-pasāria-bāhe .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 636)

समुह-पसारिअ-बाहे तुमम्मि चित्ताणिए कुमारीए ।
मुक्को अंदोलअवीडआहि (? अंदोलण-पीढिआओ) अप्पा मुहच्चेव ।।

[संमुख-प्रसारित-बाहे त्वयि चित्तानीते कुमार्या ।
मुक्तोऽन्दोलनपीठिकादात्मा मुधैव ।।]

(21) Uttamā adhīranūḍha - pragalbhā yathā —

Ṇisesapasuttajaṇammi .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 636)

णीसेस-पसुत्त-जणम्मि अद्धरत्ते वहिब्भ (? अद्धरत्तम्मि गिम्ह) मज्झण्हे ।
अहिसारेमि सउण्णं कुमारि कं गामतरुणाण ।।

[निःशेष-प्रसुप्त-जने ऽर्धरात्रे ग्रीष्ममध्याह्ने ।
अभिसारयसे सपुण्यं कुमारि कं ग्राम-तरुणानाम् ।।]

The first half of this gāthā almost agrees with the first half of the gāthā occurring on p. 1183.

णीसेसपसुत्तजणम्मि अद्धरत्तम्मि गिम्हा (?) मज्झण्हे ।

Instead of the reading वहिब्भ in the present gāthā we have there ' गिम्हा '. Both are corrupt and make no sense.

(22) Madhyamā adhīrānūḍhā yathā —

Sāaṇṇavara-vivāhe .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 637)

सा अण्ण-वर-विवाहे साहारिज (? ज्ज) इ महीहि णिउणाहि ।
चंडाल-हत्थ-गअ-सअणि (? सउणि) व्व जए (? जीए) णिरासंधा ।।

[सा अन्य-वर-विवाहे संधार्यते सखीभिर्निपुणाभिः ।
चाण्डाल-हस्त-गत-शकुनिरिव जीविते निरिच्छा ।।]

This gāthā deserves comparison with G. S. (W) No 810

सा तुह विरहे णिक्किव संधारिज्जइ सहीहि णिउणाहि ।
चंडाल-हत्थ-गअ-सउणिअव्व जीए णिरालंबा ।।

[सा तव विरहे निष्कृप संधार्यते सखीभिर्निपुणाभिः ।
चाण्डाल-हस्त-गत-शकुनिकेव जीविते निरालम्बा ।।]

These two gāthās *mainly* differ with regard to their first quarter. The variant reading 'Sandhārijjai'. ' saunia ' and ' nirālambā ' do not alter the sense of the gāthā.

(23) Madhyamā dhīrānūḍha-madhyā yathā —

Ua māha-māsa gosagga-majjarī .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 639)

उअ माहमास-गोसग्ग-मज्जिरी जइ वि [थर] थरइ सीएण ।
अज्झा तह वि ण इच्छइ पामर-पज्जालिअं अग्गिं ।।

[पश्य माघ-माम-गोसर्ग (= प्रभात)–मज्जनशीला यद्यपि कम्पते शीतेन ।
आर्या तथापि नेच्छति पामर-प्रज्ज्वालितमग्निम् ।।]

(24) Kaniṣṭhā adhīroḍha-mugdhā yathā —

Diaro paṇihii.. .. .. ..(Vol. III p. 642)

This gāthā is somewhat corrupt. It could be restored, *tentatively*, with the help of the text of this very gāthā cited by Bhoja (on p. 810) to illustrate sāmānya-viṣayaḥ (Prakāśānurāgaḥ)

दिअरो परिणिहइ फुडं सुण्हा सुणिउं दुड्डुक्किआ (? खु दुक्खिआ) जाआ ।
सेसिअघरवावारा ओरुण्णमुही परिब्भमइ ।।

[देवरः परिणेष्यति स्फुटं स्नुषा श्रुत्वा खलु दुःखिता जाता ।
शेषितगृहव्यापारा अवरुदितमुखी परिभ्रमति ।।]

(25) Dhīra-mugdhā yathā —

Andolaṇa — laṁghia .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 645)

अंदोलण-लंघिअतट्ठिआए (? लंघिअवइसिहाए) दिट्ठे तुमम्मि मुद्धाए ।।
आसंखिजन (? आसंघिज्जइ) काउं करपेल्लणणिच्चला दोला ।।

[आन्दोलन-लङ्घित-वृति-शिखया दृष्टे त्वयि मुग्धया ।
आशास्यते कर्तुं कर-पीडन-निश्चला दोला ।।]

This very gāthā is further on (p. 843 and p. 1196). cited by Bhoja. It is also quoted in SK (p. 664).

(26) Adhīra-mugdhā yathā —

Suṇhāe hiaa — guṇiaṁ .. .... (Vol. III p. 645)

सुण्हाए (? सुण्हा अ) हिअअ-गुणिअं दाएइ दिअरस्स छण-पईवेण ।
सज्झस-पअंपिअ-त्थण-णीसासंदोलिअ-सिहेण ।।

[स्नुषा च हृदय-गुणितं दर्शयिष्यति देवरस्य क्षण-प्रदीपेन ।
साध्वस-प्रकम्पित-स्तन-निःश्वासान्दोलित-शिखेन ।।]

The gāthā, as printed in the text, is somewhat corrupt. This very gāthā is further on (p. 1195) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'Dīpotsavo Yakṣa-rātriḥ'. There the text is presented properly.

(27) Ūḍha-mugdhā yathā —

Jaha ṇaaṇā .. .. (Vol. III p. 646)

जह णअणा सविआरा थणाण जह उग्गमो सुवेसो त्ति ।
जइ लहइ जोव्वणसिरिं, ता मुद्धा काहिइ अणत्थं ।।

[यथा नयने सविकारे स्तनयोर्यथोद्गमः सुवेश इति ।
यदि लभते यौवनश्रीं तर्हि मुग्धा करिष्यति अनर्थम् ।।]

(28) Anūḍha-pragalbhā yathā —

Jaha savilāsaṁ hāsaṁ .. .. (Vol. III p. 647)

The second quarter of this gāthā is incomplete and somewhat corrupt. *Tentatively*, the gāthā may be restored, keeping in mind the import, as follows :

जह सविलासं हासं गरअंपा (? जह साऊआ) अणुज्जुआ दिट्ठी ।
एसा वि जइ कुमारी ता अजुआणो इमो गामो ।।
[यथा सविलासं हासं यथा साकूता अनृजुका दृष्टिः ।]
[एषापि यदि कुमारी तर्हि अयुवा अयं ग्रामः ।।]

(29) Tyāgābhimāno yathā —

Kentia (? Kettia) metta vva dharā .. .... (Vol. III p. 725)

This gāthā is somewhat obscure. The words 'Bali', 'Kaṇha' and 'Dharā' occurring in it, however, help us to restore it :

[1]केत्तिअमेत्त व्व धरा मह वलिणो तुय्ह (? तुज्झ) [2]पत्थमानंमा (? पत्थमाणस्स) ।
अंपा (? अप्पा) ण केवलं चिअ अहं वि (? पि) लहुआ (? लहुई) कओ कण्ह ।।
[कियन्मात्रेव धरा मम वलिनः तव प्रार्थ्यमानस्य ।]
[आत्मा न केवलमेव अहमपि लघूकीकृतः कृष्ण ।।]

This gāthā is included in a late Kośa, *Subhāsiya-gāhāsaṅgaho* (No. 38) (published along with Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhā-rayaṇakosa*. There are a few variant readings, which are almost insignificant : 1 Kettiyamittaṁ ca 2 maggamāṇassa.

(30) Madhyamasya (nāyakasya) cintā yathā —

Taṁ naṁdhi ja (? Taṁ natthi jaṁ) sahi-aṇo.. (Vol. III p. 729)

This verse is quite corrupt. It is further on (p. 999) cited by Bhoja to illustrate "praśamayitum śakya-sādhanaḥ sādhyaḥ (mānaḥ)". There too the text is corrupt. *Tentatively*, I restore it as follows :—

तं णत्थि जं सहिअणो (ण) भणेज्ज पच्चक्ख-मंतु-दूमिअ-हिअअं ।
अणुणेज्जा जंपंतो जइ णवरं वम्महो मिअंकोयविओ ।।
[तन्नास्ति यत् सखीजनो (न) भणेत् प्रेक्षस्व क्षमनां दूनहृदयम् ।]
[अनुनयेज्जल्पन् यदि केवलं मन्मथो मृगाङ्कोपेतः ।।]

(31) Madhyamasya trāso yathā —

Anjavikalajaṁ (? Ajjavi [hari camakkai] jaṁ.. (Vol. III p. 737)

This gāthā, as printed here, is very corrupt. This very gāthā is further on (p. 758) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'Uttamasya trāsaḥ'. It is extra-ordinary that one and the same gāthā should be quoted to *illustrate* '*madhyamasya* trāsaḥ' as well as '*uttamasya* trāsaḥ'. This gāthā, as occurring on p. 758, has been already treated in an earlier paper published in 1968.

(32) Nindāsvapi na kopo yathā —

Jāṇa asamevi .... (Vol. III p. 766)

This gāthā, occurs in *Gaüḍavaho* (No. 73). It runs as follows :—

जाण असमेहि विहिआ जाअइ णिंदा-समा सलाहा वि ।
णिंदा वि तेहि विहिआ ण ताण मण्णे किलामेइ ।।
[येषामसमैर्विहिता जायते निन्दासमा श्लाघापि ।]
[निन्दापि तैर्विहिता न तेषां मन्ये क्लमयति ।।]

(33) Uddhatā (nāyikā) yathā —

annadaia-pasangam .. (Vol. III p. 771)

अण्ण[1]-दइआ-पसंगं दे[2] देव्व कुणज्जमदइअम्मं[3] (? कुणेमु[4] मज्झ) दइअस्स) ।
पुरिसा एक्कंतरसा ण हु दोस-गुणे विआणंति ।।

[अन्य-दयिता-प्रसङ्गं हे देव कुरु मम दयितस्य ।
पुरुषा एकान्त-रसा न खलु दोषगुणौ विजानन्ति ।।]

This gāthā is almost identical with the gāthā cited earlier (on p. 619) by Bhoja to illustrate Uttamā dhīra-pragalbhā (nāyikā). It is very strange that Bhoja should cite one and the same gāthā to illustrate 'uttamā' (dhīra-pragalbhā) as well as 'Uddhatā' nāyikā.

It may be noted that this gāthā is almost identical with GS (No. I. 48). A few insignificant variant readings are :

1. Mahilā 2. Deva 3. Karesu 4. Amha.

(34) Laulyam yathā—

Jam cia vipiāṇaṇa (? piāṇaṇāe) .. .. (Vol. III p. 782)

This gāthā, as it is printed, is no doubt obscure. I present it here with a few emendations to make it intelligible :

वंचिअपिआणणा पिअअमस्स लोलइ सहीमुहे दिट्ठी ।
लीलं रहस्स-बहुलं सा हु विहारेइ कामस्स ।।

[वञ्चित-प्रियानना प्रियतमस्य लुठति सखीमुखे दृष्टिः ।
लीलां रहस्यबहुलां सा खलु विधारयति कामस्य ।।]

(35) Rucir (a variety of anurāga) yathā —

Bālāo gonti.. .. .. (Vol. III p. 783)

This gāthā, as printed here, is obscure on account of corrupt readings. We find it cited by Nanditāḍhaya in his Gāthā-lakṣaṇa :

ओयारो जहा–

वालाओं हुंति कोऊहलेण एमेव चवल-चित्ताओ ।
दर-लहसिअथणिओ पुण धरंति मयरद्धयरहस्सं ।।

Kavidarpaṇa App. I-Gāthālakṣaṇaṁ, p. 93 v. 56

Now, this gāthā belongs to Rājaśekhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī* (II. 49). There it reads as follows :

वालाउ हुंति कोऊहलेण एमेअ चवल-चित्ताओ ।
दर-लसिअथणीसु पुणो णिवसइ मअरद्धअ-रहस्सं ।।

[वाला भवन्ति कौतुहलेनैवमेव चपलचित्ताः ।
दर-लसित-स्तनीषु पुनर्निवसति मकरध्वज-रहस्यम् ।।]

(36) Rāgo yathā —

Taha tie suharaso .. .. (Vol. III p. 788)

This gāthā may *tentatively* be corrected as follows :

तह तीएँ सुरअरसो पहरिसो मुहपंकअम्मि पप्फुरिओ ।
समअं जह विअसिअ-मउलिआइ जाआइ अच्छीइ ।।

[तथा तस्याः सुरतरसः प्रहर्षो मुख-पङ्कजे प्रस्फुरितः ।
समकं (= समं) यथा विकसित-मुकुलिते जाते अक्षिणी ।।]

(37) Prītir yathā —

Avihāviakkharavaā .. .. (Vol. III p. 788)

This gāthā is identical with the corresponding gāthā cited by Bhoja earlier (p. 630) :

अविहाविअक्खरवआ, etc. It is already restored in an earlier paper[2].

(38) Paryāptir yathā —

Eeṇa ccia pia-sahi.. .. (Vol. III p. 790)

एएण च्चिअ पिअसहि पज्जत्तं किं ण माणुसे लोए ।
जं तस्स कए एसा किस त्ति सव्वो जणो भणइ ।।

[एतेनैव प्रियसखि पर्याप्तं किं न मानुषे लोके ।
यत्तस्य कृते एषा कृशेति सर्वो जनो भणति ।।]

This gāthā is essentially the same as the gāthā found (on p. 636) earlier.

(39) Ekasyātiśayādhikye atiśayī (anurāgo) yathā —

Diṭṭhā kuiāṇuṇaā.. .. .. (Vol. III p. 794)

This verse is cited in the SK (p. 671) to illustrate ' Prema-prakāre vipriyādibhirapyavināśanīyo nityaḥ'. The text of this verse (and its Sanskrit chāyā) as printed in the SP is inaccurate and incomplete. It is to be restored as follows :

दिट्ठा कुइआ (अथवा, कुविआ) णुणआ पिआ सहस्स-थण-(?–जण)
पेल्लणं पि विसहिअ।
जस्स णिसण्णाएँ उरे सिरीएँ पेम्मेण लहुइओ अप्पाणो ।।

[दृष्टा कुपितानुनया प्रिया सहस्र-जन-प्रेरणमपि (अथवा पीडनमपि) विसोढम् ।
यस्य निषण्णयोरसि श्रिया प्रेम्णा लघूकृत आत्मा ।।]

(40) Jyautsno (anurāgo) yathā —

Aṇuṇaa— suhaṁ ṇa pattam.. .. (Vol. III p. 798)

This verse is, again, cited by Bhoja (p. 1039) to illustrate 'Candrodaya' (one of the causes of 'māna-bhaṅga').

2. Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Chapters XV to XXIV), Journal of the University of Bombay, Arts No. Vol. XXXIX, No. 75, October. 1970.

अणुणअसुहं ण पत्तं, पिआहि दइएसु खिज्जइ व्वि (? अवि) ण चलओ
(? चलणो)।
ओसारिअम्मि पढमं, दूइएव्व दोसिआए (? दोसिणाए) माणग्गहणे ।।

[अनुनय-सुखं न प्राप्तं प्रियाभिर्दयितेषु खिद्यतेऽपि न चरणः ।]
[अपसारिते प्रथमं दूत्येव ज्योत्स्नया मानग्रहणे ।।]

(41) Viśeṣānurāge .....sadṛśo yathā —
Rehugudiadaviambhaṇa (?). .....(Vol. III p. 806)
The present gāthā is somewhat corrupt. It is not to be found in any other work. *Tentatively*, it may be corrected as follows :

रेहइ विअड-विअंभण-सालस-भुअ-जुअल-वलअ-मंडलिअं ।
बालाएँ वअण-कमलं कपु (? राहु) परिवेमो (? परिवेट्ठिअ-) मिअंको व्व ।।

[राजते विकट-विजृम्भण-सालस-भुज-युगल-वलय-मण्डलितम् ।]
[बालाया वदन-कमलं राहु-परिवेष्टित-मृगाङ्क इव ।।]

(42) Aprasiddha – viṣayo yathā —
Pecchaha halā .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 823)
The gāthā, as printed in the text is quite corrupt. It is, undoubtedly, originally the same as the *Vajjālaggaṁ* (No. 475)

पेच्छह हला अ वोच्चं (? हला णु चोज्जं) ताण अ महिळाए
(? काणामहिलाए) जं कअं तीए।
सज्जखिचुंबणे णत्थदत्ति (सज्जक्खिचुंवणेण झडत्ति) णीसारिओ जारो ।।

[प्रेक्षध्वं हला (= हे सखि) नु आश्चर्यं काणमहिलया यत् कृतं तया ।]
[सद्यः अक्षिचुम्बनेन झटिति निःसारितो जारः ।।]

The Vajjālagga text reads :

पेक्खह महाणुचोज्जं काणाघरिणीइ जं कयं कज्जं ।
चुंबेवि न लहु नअणं झडत्ति नीसारिओ जारो ।।

[प्रेक्षध्वं महाश्चर्यं काणगृहिण्या यत् कृतं कार्यम् ।]
[चुम्बित्वा न लघु नयनं झटिति निःसारितो जारः ।।]

(43) Sarva-viṣayo yathā —
Ghettuṁ muncai.. .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 829)

घेत्तुं मुच्चइ अहरो अण्णत्तो वलइ पेच्छिउं दिट्ठी ।
घडिउं विहडंति भुआ रअम्मि सुरआअ वीसामो ।

[ग्रहीतुं मुच्यतेऽधरः अन्यतो वलते प्रेक्षितुं दृष्टिः ।]
[घटितुं विघटेते भुजौ रते सुरताय विश्रामः ।।]

(44) Tatra Saṁbhogaḥ .....Hemanta-viṣayo yathā —
Hemante daḍha vilaṇa .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 830)
This gāthā is partly corrupt. It may be restored with the help of the *Gāhā-rayaṇa-kosa* (No. 672) :

हेमंते दढवीलण [थण] अड-संकन-कुंकुमप्फंसो ।
मिहुणाण गलइ सेओ वहिरुग्गारो व्व सीअस्स ।।

[हेमन्ते दृढ-पीडन-स्तन-तट-सङ्क्रान्त-कुङ्कुमस्पर्शः ।]
[मिथुनानां गलति स्वेदो बहिरुद्गार इव शीतस्य ।।]

The *Gāhārayaṇakośa* reads घणपेल्लण for दढवीलण, कामीण for मिहुणाण and रुहिरुग्गारो for वहिरुग्गारो.

As *kunkuma* is mentioned in the first half of the gāthā, one would certainly prefer the reading रुहिरुग्गारो to वहिरुग्गारो which is insipid.

(45) Prakāśāt pracchanno balīyān ' So' pi tatraiva yathā —
Savvāāramanaharaṁ .. (Vol. III p. 839)

सव्वाआर-मणहरं भणइ पइं अडअणा पुलोअंती ।
जारत्तणेण विहिणा मह एसो किं ण णिम्मविओ ।।

सर्वाकार-मनोहरं भणति पतिम् असती प्रलोकयन्ती ।
जारत्वेन विधिना ममैष किं न निर्मापितः (निर्मितः) ।।

(46) Tatra dhīrottamāyā vipralambhe ' nubhāva-sampad yathā —
Na kao vi ra (rāa) mokkho .. .. .. (Vol. III p. 839)
This verse is a bit corrupt. It may, *tentatively*, be restored as follows :

ण कओ वि र (राअ) (? वाह-) मोक्खो माणक्खलणे वि ण पडिओ च्चिअ वाहो ।
तीए णवरं पिअअमो गओ त्ति अत्तित (? अद्दित्त) लोअणं णीससिअं ।।

[न कृतोऽपि वाष्प-मोक्षः, मानस्खलनेऽपि न पतित एव वाष्पः ।]
[तया केवलं प्रियतमो गत इति आर्द्रित-लोचनं निःश्वसितम् ।।]

(47) Tasyā (dhīra-madhyāyā) eva sambhoge (anubhāva-sampad) yathā —
To se rubbhanta ccia .. .. (Vol. III p. 840)
This very verse is cited, on two more occasions, by Bhoja to illustrate (i) punarbhāva (a variety of mānopaśānti) at p. 1041 and (ii) priyotthāpana at p. 1209. The text of this verse may thus be restored :

तो से [1]रुब्भंत च्चिअ हिअअविअंभंत-हरिस वेउच्चलिआ ।
[2]पाअ-पडिअस्स हरिणो पडिआ [3]पुट्ठीए वाह-सलिल [4]त्थेवा ।।

[ततस्तस्या रुध्यमाना एव हृदय-विजृम्भमाण-हर्षवेगोच्चलिताः ।]
[पादपतितस्य हरेः पतिताः पृष्ठे बाष्प-सलिल-बिन्दवः ।।]

This verse is possibly drawn from *Harivijaya*.

1. कुब्भंत (P. 1041) 2. पडिआअ (P. 1209) 3. अट्ठए (P. 1209) 4. च्छेवा (P. 1209)

(48) Madhyamāyā mugdhatvaṁ yathā —

Muddhattaṇeṇa vahuā .. .. (Vol. III p. 843)

मुद्धत्तणेण वहुआ णते (? जंते) वक्खारआहि सहिसद्धे (? सहि-मत्थे) ।
अणुमग्गपअंता (? पअट्टा) पिअअमेण हसिऊण पडिरुद्धा ।।

[मुग्धत्वेन वधूः याति रतिगृहात् सखीसार्थे ।
अनुमार्गप्रवृत्ता प्रियतमेन हसित्वा प्रतिरुद्धा ।।]

(49) Saṁjñopamānaṁ yathā —

Daṭṭhūṇa taṁ lavāṇaṁ (? juvāṇaṁ) .. .. (Vol. IV p. 875)

This gāthā is the same as the *Vajjālaggaṁ* No. 617.

दट्ठूण तं जुवाणं परिअणमज्झम्मि पोढमहिलाए ।
पफुल्ल-(पा. भे. उप्फुल्ल) दलं कमलं करेण मउलाविअं कीस ।।

[दृष्ट्वा तं युवानं परिजनमध्ये प्रौढमहिलया ।
प्रफुल्ल (पा. भे. उत्फुल्ल) दलं कमलं करेण मुकुलायितं (= मुकुलीकृतं) कस्मात् ।।]

(50) Tatra prāgabhāvaḥ kṣīre dadhi nāstīti | Sa yathā —

Jāva ṇa uṭṭhaṁ .. .. (Vol. IV p. 879)

The verse, as it stands, is incomplete and corrupt. We are able to restore it as Bhoja has cited it earlier (Vol. III. p. 618)

जाव ण उट्ठंति वाचिअ (? बहिं) थणआ से दुद्धगंधिअमुहीए ।
ताव च्चिअ थुत्थुकारिआइं मअणेण अंगाइ ।।

[यावन्न उत्तिष्ठतः बहिः स्तनौ तस्या दुग्धगन्धिक-मुख्याः (= बालायाः) ।
तावदेव तिरस्कृतानि मदनेन अङ्गानि ।।]

(51) Prakaraṇād yathā —

Lacchie muddha .. .. (Vol. IV p. 890)

लच्छीए मुद्ध-कुवलअदलुज्जला अहि (? अद्धि-) महण-विरमम्मि ।
दिट्ठी जअइ सअंवरमाल व्व हरिम्मि णिवडंती ।।

[लक्ष्म्या मुग्ध-कुवलय-दलोज्ज्वला अब्धि-मथन-विरमे ।
दृष्टिर्जयति स्वयंवरमालेव हरौ निपतन्ती ।।[3]]

3. I am thankful to Dr. H. C. Bhayani and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan for making valuable suggestions to improve some readings.

THE FOURTEEN GEMS IN THE LEGEND OF SAMUDRA-MANTHANA*

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The legend of Samudra-manthana occurs in the *M. B.* (critical edition— Ādi Parva Chapters 15-17: *S. R.* — Ādi Parva Chapters 12-14; *N. R.* Ādi Parva Chapters 17-19); *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gujarati Press — Bālakāṇḍa 45; Bengali— Ādi Kāṇḍa 46; N. W. R. — Bālakāṇḍa 41) and in a number of Purāṇas like *Viṣṇu* IX; *Padma* — Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa IV — Brahma-khaṇḍa IV *Matsya* 249-251; *Skanda* IX and *Bhāgavata* VIII 6. It has been frequently referred to by Classical Sanskrit Poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and Prākrit Poets like Guṇacandra. All details in the story are very interesting; but here I am confining myself only to the concluding part of the legend. This legend ends with acquisition of Amṛta along with some other gems. The list of these gems varies with every account.

(a) *M. B. Critical edition* :— 7 gems.

Soma: the Moon; Śrī or Lakṣmī; Surā — wine; the speedy horse Uccaiḥ—Śravas; Kaustubha gem; Dhanvantari, carrying a pot of Amṛta.

(b) *M. B. N. R.* :— 9 gems.

Soma; Śrī; Surā; Uccaiḥ-Śravas; Kaustubha; Dhanvantari, Amṛta, the white elephant Airāvaṇa; Kālakūṭa — the deadly poison.

(c) *M. B. S. R.* :— 12 gems.

Poison, Jyeṣṭhā (elder sister of Lakṣmī); Soma, Śrī, Surā, Uccaiḥ-Śravas, Kaustubha, Pārijāta tree, the desire-yielding cow or Surabhi, Airāvata, Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

(d) *R. (Gujarati Press)* :— 7 gems.

Poison; Dhanvantari; 60 crores of nymphs, Vāruṇī (wine); Uccaiḥ-Śravas, Kaustubha and Amṛta.

(e) *Padma P. — Brahma Khaṇḍa* :— 12 gems.

Kālakūṭa; Alakṣmī; Airāvata; Uccaiḥ-Śravas; Dhanvantari; Pārijāta; Surabhi; Apsarasaḥ; Lakṣmī; Candra; Sudhā and Tulasī.

(f) *Padma. P. — Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* :— 11 gems.

Alakṣmī and Tulasī omitted. Amṛta added.

(g) *Matsya P.* :— 14 gems.

Vāruṇī; Soma; Śrī; Surā; Uccaiḥ-Śravas; Kaustubha, Pārijāta; Kālakūṭa; Dhanvantari; Madirā; Amṛta; Surabhi; Chatra and Kuṇḍala —

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(h) *Bhāgavata P.* :— 11 gems.

Poison, Kāmadhenu, Uccaiḥ-Śravas, Airāvata, Kaustubha; Pārijātaka; Nymphs; Lakṣmī; Vāruṇī; Dhanvantari; Amṛta.

(i) *Viṣṇu P.* :— 9 gems.

Surabhi; Vāruṇī; Pārijāta; Nymphs; the Moon; Poison; Dhanvantari; Amṛta and Śrī.

(j) *Skanda P.* :— 13 gems.

Poison; the Moon; Kāmadhenu; Airāvata; Pārijāta; Kaustubha; Nymphs; Surā; the Śārṅga bow; the Pāñcajanya, Śrī; Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

Later on traditionally the gems were taken to be 14 in number as enlisted in the Subhāṣita :—

लक्ष्मी : कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वन्तरिश्चन्द्रमा
गावः कामदुघः सुरेश्वरगजो रम्भादिदेवाङ्गना : ।
अश्वः सप्तमुखो विषं हरिधनु : शङ्खामृतं चाम्भुधे—
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्युर्द्वयोर्मङ्गलम् ॥

Various accounts of this legend describe in a very interesting manner all details about these gems, and the reaction of their appearance on gods and demons. It will be interesting to study each of these gems critically.

(1) *Lakṣmī* :— Sāyaṇa explains Lakṣmī as Lakṣaṇavatī quoting the etymology given by Yāska as : 'Lakṣmir lābhādvā lakṣaṇādvā.

St. Petersburg dictionary derives the word as follows :—
lag (to stick) — Lakṣma, Lakṣmī; meaning gaining Prosperity, auspicious thing; grace etc. Curiously enough Lakṣmī has not been reckoned among gems in the *R.* In all other accounts she has been described as wearing a white garment, having a golden complexion, standing in a lotus; carrying a lotus in hand, etc. In *RV* Khilasūkta (II 6 i. e. Śrīsūkta) many of these details have been mentioned. Lakṣmī is taken by Viṣṇu. The Purāṇas give an interesting description of Lakṣmī Svayamvara. *M. B.* (*S. R.*) and some of the Purāṇas mention Alakṣmī as appearing earlier to Lakṣmī. She has been wedded to Kālakūṭa and then is advised to go to bad persons.

According to *M. B.* (*S. R.*) and almost all the Purāṇas loss of Lakṣmī led to Samudra-manthana. According to those accounts the world becomes devoid of glory i. e. Lakṣmī due to the curse addressed to Indra by Durvāsas.

According to Sörensen's *Index of Proper names in the M. B.*, she is one of the 10 wives of Dharma, daughter of Brahmā and sister of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ. Sky-raging horses are her spiritual sons. Draupadī is an incarnation of her.

Professor Shembavanekar has rightly pointed it out that the Śrī-Sūkta in the *RV* supports his theory viz. that in Lakṣmī we find a metamorphosis

of the Vedic Uṣas. At the same time the Sūkta shows Lakṣmī as prosperity* or glory in general in requesting her to derive away Alakṣmī and describing her as inexhaustibly rich in cattle and men.

Professor Adalbert Kuhn also holds that Lakṣmī represents morning ruddiness. He has pointed out how she resembles the Greek deity Aphrodite.

Thus Lakṣmī meaning the morning ruddiness or prosperity in general can be traced right upto the *RV* Vaishnavism has played a great part in elevating Lakṣmī to the highest position. In Purāṇas like *Kūrma P.* she appears as representing the Primeval creative power. Lakṣmī as wealth has been popularly described by classical Sanskrit poets as fickle-minded, and in this capacity she has been referred to as being a rival to 'Sarasvatī', the goddess of Learning. Throughout Sanskrit Literature Lakṣmī indicates grace in general e. g. Vanalakṣmī, Gṛhalakṣmī, Vasanta-lakṣmī, etc.

Originally 'Lakṣmī' may be referring to the grace of the sky and when 'Samudra', which originally conveyed 'the firmament' was shifted to the terrestrial ocean, Lakṣmī also changed her residence accordingly. Hence in the legend of Samudra-manthana she is described as coming out of the ocean. Lotus, that always grows in water, which is supposed to be the birth place of Brahmā, was now naturally associated with her. It is worth noting that even in the Śrī-Sūkta, she is described as arising out of a lotus and having the complexion of a golden lotus. This explains why in classical Sanskrit literature Lakṣmī is closely associated with a lotus and is called "Kamalā".

(2) *Kaustubha* :— The etymology of this word can be given as — Kau nāma pṛthvyām stubhyaḥ, meaning 'praise-worthy on the earth'. It is one of the gems chruned out of the ocean according to all accouts except in the *Padma P.* and *Viṣṇu P.* It is described as being very resplendent and belonging to the class of Padmarāga. It is coveted for by all gods and demons, but Viṣṇu gets it and wears it on his chest. In classical Sanskrit literature whenever Viṣṇu is described his Kaustubhamaṇi is invariably mentioned. In point of brilliance it resembles another jewel associated with Kṛṣṇa and known as Syamantakamaṇi.

According to Kuhn, Kaustubha is representation of the Sun, as it is made to belong to Viṣṇu, a solar deity. This also proves that the "Samudra" in the legend originally means "the firmament".

(3) *Pārijātaka* :— This is reckoned among gems in the *S. R.* of the *M. B.* and in all the Purāṇas. In classical literature it is one of the five heavenly trees; and Kṛṣṇa is given the credit of bringing it down on the earth for the sake of his wife. In the *M. B.* nectar-giving saps are described as flowing

1. Recently Dr. (Kum.) Usha Bhise has suggested a new interpretation of the hymn in *J.* of *B. O. R. I.* Vol. LIII 1973.
2. A paper on this topic was read by Prof. V. S. Patil at the 27th Session of the AIOC held at Kurukshetra in December 1974.

from the burning trees on the Mandara. 'This', says Professor Kuhn, 'explains why Purāṇas have included Pārijātaka in the gems. Kuhn further connects it with the Ash-tree in the Indo-Germanic fire-myths. Greeks and Germans derive their origin from Prometheus, the fire-bringer and from the Ash-tree. This according to Professor Kuhn may be responsible for the inclusion of Pārijātaka, and of the trees on Mandara in this legend. It is clear, however, that Pārijātaka has been included in the gems at a late time by the Purāṇas. Its inclusion here is purely sectarian. Purāṇas later on included in this list whatever is associated with Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. e. g. *Padma P.* includes Tulasī plant, *Matsya P.* includes Chatra and Kuṇḍala and *Skanda P.* includes 'Śārṅga Dhanuḥ' and Pāñcajanya Śaṅkha also.

(4) *Surā* :— All versions of the legend excepting that in the *Padma*— Brahma Khaṇḍa mention Surā or Vāruṇī as one of the gems. *M. B.* describes how it went to gods, following the path of the Sun. *R.* here gives a wrong etymology of Surā and Asura saying that gods became Suras as they accepted the wine. Intoxicating effect of wine has been described in all the Purāṇas. They describe Surā variously as — 'Madāghūrṇitalocanā'; 'Ekavastrā'; 'Muktakeśī'; Raktāntastabdha-locanā'; Āyatākṣī'; 'Lokacitta-Pramāthinī'; 'Sarvamādakadevatā', etc. *Matsya P.* mentions Surā, Vāruṇi and Madirā as three distinct gems, obviously out of oversight. Dr. Gai in his paper on "Wine in the Orient and its Prohibition" has said that wine existed since the very dawn of civilization. He says "It appears that for some time the ancestors of the Gothic and Vedic races had an identical rite of extracting juice from a fresh plant, conserving it and drinking the same as sacramental wine". Mr. Slater (Dravidian Element in Indian Culture) traces Amṛta to the Egyptian beer or fermented juice of date-palm. This can be connected with Surā which can definitely be traced to the 'Somarasa' of the Vedas; which was later divided in three aspects. Its invigorating aspect became Amṛta, intoxicating part became Surā and the divine aspect became Candramāḥ.

Professor Kuhn connects this Surā, as an aspect of Soma, with the Ash Tree which in itself combines the two Indo-Germanic legends viz. winning of the heavenly fire as lighting, and the birth of human beings from a tree. Linguistically Surā and Sūrya have affinity. (St. Petersburg dictionary derives Surā from √ su to press and explains it as brandy, god's drink etc. that is full of vigour). Thus it can be traced to the heavenly fire.

(5) Dhanvantari has been mentioned as a gem in all available accounts of the legend. He brings the pot of Amṛta and is the master of Āyurveda. *R.* calls him "The king of Physicians". He is described in the Purāṇas as having white complexion and clad in white garment.

St. Petersburg dictionary explains the name as Dhanvanā tarati (one who moves in the manner of a bow). Kuhn points out his close resemblances with the deity Asklepios. (Guardians of Asklepios are equipped with bows)·

'Dhanvan' a part of his name refers to the rainbow. Amṛta that he brings signifies healthiness, which has been bestowed upon सूर्य ever since the days of the *RV*. He has a staff in his hand. All this according to Prof. Kuhn proves that he represents the lighting aspect of fire; but the lighting has not got the soothing effect that is expected of a 'Vaidyarāja'. I think he can better be a representation of the Sun, taking into account the following facts :—

(1) He has got a white complexion and is clad in white.

(2) He is 'Āyurvedamaya'. The Sun is an embodiment of vigour.

(3) The Etymology 'Dhanvanā tarati' proves the same.

(6) *Candramāḥ* :— Except for *R.* and *Bhāgavata P.* he has been mentioned as one of the gems. Soma is its synonym. He is described as having cool rays, and being a brother of Lakṣmī. This can be traced to the divine or agreeble aspect of Soma which Kuhn has already connected with the fire-legend. When Samudra later referred to the ocean, the moon that was already in the sky, was to be brought out by churning. Intimate relation of the moon with the ocean is a matter of our experience also.

(7) *Gāvaḥ Kāmadughaḥ* :— *S. R.* of *M. B.* and all Purāṇas mention this gem. Surabhī is referred to in various places in the *M. B.* She has been described as staying in the Pātāla. Kṣīrasāgara is a lake prepared with her milk. According to Kuhn it represents lighting, the sole bearer of heavenly waters. As the Kṣīrodadhi was originally the firmament, the cow may represent the rays of the Sun, that have a wholesome effect. The rays have been often referred to as cows even in the *RV* (Cf. *RV* II 2, 24). Further if the ocean is called Kṣīrodadhi its connection with cows is natural.

(8) *Sureśvara-gaja* :— This has not been included in gems by the critical edition of *M. B.*, *R.*, *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata*. It is called Airāvata or Airāvaṇa. It is white in colour and has four tusks. In Indian mythology it belongs to Indra. Kuhn traces this to the lighting aspect of fire, pointing out how Airavaṇi is a synonym for the lighting. If Indra is the Rain-god this should naturally be a white cloud or lighting. This again leads us to look upon the Samudra as being the sky originally.

(9) *Rambhādi devāṅganāḥ* :— Except for the *M. B.* and the *Matsya P.* the nymphs have been reckoned among the gems by all versions of the legend. Petersburg dictionary gives three different etymologies of the word, according to which the word would mean 'moving in water', 'Shapeless', 'Having beautiful cheeks'. *R.* gives a fourth one as 'Arising from the sap in water, as the water was churned'. They are residents of the heaven, possessing the power to have any form at their will, and are fond of the game of dice. They are often referred to in the *RV AV M. B.* and *R. Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* gives many names of the nymphs. *R.* suggests their connection with the courtesans saying how they were not accepted either by gods or demons. *Padma P.* Brahmakhaṇḍa also repeats the same.

Kuhn holds that they represent the lighting. These may as well represent the rays of the Sun moving in the ocean of firmament.

(10) *Aśvaḥ Saptamukhaḥ* :—It has been reckoned among gems by all except *Viṣṇu* and *Skanda* P. 8. It is white in colour and is as speedy as the mind. Gods get it. It is called Uccaiḥ-Śravas 'Roaring loudly'. According to the *Bhāgavata* it was given by Viṣṇu to Indra in preference to Bali. Dr. Ghatage, in his scholarly note on Samudra-manthana had pointed out how Prof. Geldner believes that *R. V.* I. 163, 1 refers to the origin of this horse, and how *R* X 72 seems to suggest the birth of the Sun, along with that of other gods out of the ocean.

The name of the horse is not mentioned in the RV, but occurs in the *AV*. It is known to the *V. S.* also. The horse reminds us of Indrāyudha in the *Kādambarī*.

According to Kuhn this horse represents the lightning or more accurately the thunderstorm as is evident from his name; but to me it seems to be a representation of the Sun, for the following reasons :

(1) It is white in colour. (2) It is described as going to the Gods, following the course of the Sun. (3) In later mythology, the Sun's chariot is described as having 7 horses. (4) The two hymns in the *RV*, as referred to above seem to suggest that.

(11) *Kālakūṭa* :— Except for the critical edition of the *M. B.* all other versions reckon this among the gems; and describe how Śiva was kind enough to swallow it. Poison is not a desirable thing. Hence it ought not to have been included in the list. Probably it was included here in order to bring out the greatness of God Śiva. Its inclusion here is very convenient for the various philosophical interpretations put upon the legend. According to Kuhn its stands for the disastrous flash of lightning and thus can be connected with fire. It is associated with two notions (i) terrible heat and (ii) disastrous effect. Kuhn connects the first aspect with the fermentation of Soma, and the second with consuming power of the fire.

(12) *Haridhanuḥ* or *the Śārṅga bow* :— is mentioned by *Skanda Purāṇa* only. Its inclusion is purely sectarian. It might have been suggested by the rainbow. Due to its resemblance with the rainbow and from the fact that it is given to Viṣṇu, a solar deity, it can easily be looked upon as representing the Sun.

(13) *Śankha* :— like the earlier gem is mentioned only in the *Skanda* on sectarian basis. While speaking of the ocean one is naturally reminded of the conches and shells that lie at its bottom. It is white in colour and hence extending Prof. Kuhn's theory, we can look upon this as a representation of the Sun.

(14) *Amṛta* :— is the object of Samudra-manthana according to almost all versions of the legend. (We have already seen how according to some Purāṇas the object of Samudra-manthana was regaining Śrī). The word appears in the Vedas under different grammatical forms like Amṛtaḥ, Amṛtam, Amṛtāni, Amṛtebhiḥ, etc. Petersburg dictionary mentions different meanings of the word as 'not dead', 'Immortal', 'the state of immortality', etc.

According to the epics and the Purāṇas it comes out of the churning of the Milky ocean and gods alone can taste it. It is the drink of immortality. It has been stored in the moon. According to Paul Thieme the word primarily means 'the vital energy' and 'that which gives vital energy'. 'Giving immortality' is a later development of its meaning. According to Dumezil it may be beer extracted from barley, belonging to Indo-European period. According to Slater it is Egyptian beer or juice of date-palm. Donald Mackenzie traces it to the meal of Odin in Teutonic mythology. Though Amṛta and Soma are both mentioned in the Veda side by side, one represents the invigorating aspect and the other exhilerating one. As Soma is later identified with the Moon, this also should represent some luminary in the sky, like the Moon or more probably the Sun.

Thus a critical study of all these gems leads us to the conclusion that the ocean in the legend of Samudra-manthana primarily means the firmament. We can further see that though some of the gems can be traced to the Vedic or Pre-Vedic period the legend as such is of epic origin. The list of the gems went on growing following the idea — Jātau jātau yadutkṛṣṭam tadratnamityabhidhīyate.

Abbreviation

M. B.	- -	*Mahābhārata.*
S. R.	---	*Southern Recension.*
N. R.	- -	*Northern Recension.*
R.	- -	*Rāmāyana.*
R. V.	—	*Ṛgveda.*
V. S.	- -	*Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.*
A. V.	---	*Atharvaveda.*
P.	---	*Purāṇa.*

Select Bibliography

1. Index to the names in the Mahābhārata — Sōrensen.
2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa — Professor Wilson.
3. Religion and Philosophy of the Veda. (Appendix-D) A. B. Keith.
4. The Metamorphosis of Uṣas - K. M. Shembavanekar.
5. Studien Zur Indogermanischan Wortkunde and Religions-geschichte — Paul Thieme.
6. Der Herabkunft des Gottertranks — Adalbert Kuhn.
7. Indian Myth and Legend — Donald Mackenzie.
8. Wine in the Orient and its Prohibition. — Dr. B. M. Gai.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF AN ADHYĀYA IN THE SKANDAPURĀṆA TO LITERARY CRITICISM & RASA THEORY

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It is proposed to examine and discuss in this article the fourth Adhyāya[1] of the second (Vaiṣṇava) Khaṇḍa of the *Skandapurāṇa*. The Adhyāya contains valuable observations on the reading of and listening to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as also on the effect on different kinds of listeners by the recitation. While replying to five simple questions put to him by the Ṛṣis who had been listening to him, Sūta, the narrator, refers to several points which concern the very basis of aesthetic appreciation and relate also to principles of literary criticism. Casual as the Sūta's manner appears to be, his remarks are highly significant; they show his wonderful observation of human responses to the stimulus which the *Bhāgavata* provides to the listener's mind; they also show his awareness of the fact that true appreciation of the *Bhāgavata* is a two-way process involving proper attitudes, co-operation between the reader and the listener, the purpose for which it is read and similar other factors of a distinctly psychological character. The whole Adhyāya concerns a very perplexing problem which faces anyone who tries to find out a firm basis for principles of literary criticism and, indeed, anyone who is concerned with the discovery of the "proper" response to poetry and guidelines for the poet and his audience. The problem will be stated after disposing of a possible objection which may be raised here.

It may be said that since Psychology as a "science" was not systematically developed before the 19th century A. D., this author is trying to foist modern ideas on an ancient work. To this the reply would be that the text of the Adhyāya shows the acuteness of Sūta's observation of the reactions of human beings as also of his awareness of the fact that reactions are the result of mental processes and attitudes preceding them. All that this writer has done is to make explicit what was implicit as is done by most commentators on Sūtras. If in doing so he happens to employ a few common modern psychological terms, he has done so in the interest of clarity. Further, even if psychological knowledge has been given a formal scientific statement in modern times only, it does not mean that intellectuals of Sūta's day had given no thought to human impulses, motives to action, responses etc. That the intellectuals were quite capable of fine analysis is quite clear from their works on philosophy and even Alaṅkāraśāstra. It will be enough to note here that this essay is only an open-minded effort to bring out the full significance of Sūta's remarks. Now, to revert to the problem referred to above.

1. Reproduced in the Appendix to this article. The text followed is that printed at the end of Vol. II of the Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇa (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 4th reprint).

THE PROBLEM :—

Stated broadly, the problem for the critic, the maker of "rules" or "principles" of literary criticism and the student of literature and literary criticism is : to find a constant factor / factors in a set of variables. A detailed analysis of the situation would lead to a fuller understanding of the complexity of the problem as well as the difficulties encountered in arriving at an acceptable solution to it. First of all, it has to be appreciated that a poem (the term may used to stand for any "form" of literature) concerns three points of reference namely, the poet, the poem and the reader, and is a two-way affair between the poet and the reader.

THE POET :—

The poet, an individual endowed with certain qualities which form his personality, lives in what he considers to be the world, but which is really a very small, restricted portion of it. His contact with his world sets up in his mind a disturbance (partly intellectual, partly emotional) to which he gives a more or less stable expression in the form of a special arrangement of words, 'structures', ideas. Irrespective of what it is worth, this is his poem, a new creation.

THE READER :——

The reader / listener, like the poet, is an individual endowed with certain qualities which form his personality, lives in his own world, which is more or less as restricted as that of the poet. From his contacts with this world, he has experienced certain disturbances which are powerful enough to enable him to form 'impressions' to be stored away in his memory. When he is in a mood to read poetry or listen to someone reading poetry, the reader/listener is willing to receive another person's impressions of the world, recall his own, and compare the two.

EXPERIENCE :—

As soon as the process of reception and interpretation of word-symbols begins, it sets up a very complicated series of disturbances in the reader's/ listener's mind. This disturbance is supposed to give him an "experience" which may have a value and may be worth something.

THE CRITIC :—

The reader / listener forms an opinion regarding the poem with reference of his experience of it. If he is an intellectual, he tries to find out the reasons why he liked or did not like it. This is his criticism of and verdict on the poem. If he is very ambitious, he may, with reference to his 'experiences' of other poems by different writers belonging to different ages, try to find out the factors that must appear in a poem to make it "good", and are absent in a poem/poems which is/are sub-standard. He may also spot certain kinds of defects which hinder the "experience". He may then

formulate a general theory on the basis of his findings, that is, try to provide universal laws, norms, guidelines or what you will.

THE TIME FACTOR :—

In considering the activities of the poet, the reader, the "authority" on principles (someone like Aristotle) assumes that all other factors remain the same. One ignores the influence of time and the changes it brings in its wake. Though the influence of time may be imperceptible, it is an important factor that needs to be seriously considered. It is, for instance, the influence of time that forces us to distinguish between the authentic epic and the epic of art, and makes a 20th century epic an impossibility.

PERSONALITY :—

The personality of the poet and that of the reader, the world of the poet and that of the reader, being subject to the influence of time, constantly undergo a subtle but indubitably important change. Consequently, the poet's reactions to the world are, or could be, different at different moments in his career: and so, too, with the reader's. Moreover, with the passage of time, the reader's capacity to receive and interpret word-symbols and reason out his reactions would be different. Let us assume that the poem itself, considered as a unit composed of a certain arrangement of words, 'structures' etc. and representing a certain disturbance in the mind of the poet (a personality at a certain stage of development) at a certain time, forms a "constant" or fixed unit once it is written. Even then it would not necessarily follow that the poet, reading his own poem at dates later than the date of composition (and fixation) would experience the every same disturbance as he did at the time he composed it. If P represents the initial disturbance at the time of composition, P_1, P_2, P_3, ... P_n, would represent subsequent disturbances caused by reading the same poem.

Similarly, an experience which a reader may have at the initial reading of the poem may be different from that at every subsequent reading of it. If R be used to signify the reader's initial experience, R_1, R_2, R_3.....R_n would represent his subsequent experiences. It could not be definitely asserted that there could be no difference between P, P_1, P_2, P_n or between R, R_1, R_2, R_n. Whether there could be an exact correspondence between P and R etc. is also open to doubt.

So far it has been assumed that the poem is a fixed or unchanging unit. If, however, the poem be considered in the light of the 42nd Sūtra[2] in the Samādhipāda of Patañjali's *Yogasūtras*, the poem itself could exist at three levels at least: (a) it would be a unit containing words (representing sounds made by human beings speaking the language) arranged in a certain sequence.

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2. तत्र शब्दार्थज्ञानविकल्पैः सङ्कीर्णा सवितर्का समापत्तिः । p. 269

Pātañjalayōgapradīpa : Srī Swāmī Onkārānadatīrtha. (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 5th ed. Samvat 2024). Samādhipāda, Sūtra 42.

To a listener who does not know the language, the sequential arrangement of words would "mean" nothing but he may appreciate the variety of sounds and rhythms; (b) to one who understands the language, the poem could exist in the form of an intricate pattern of meaning, a pattern composed of the meaning of each word, the meaning of each word as amplified or modified by that of the other words in the 'structure', the meaning of each structure and modification or amplification of it through its association with other structures, the tone of the speaker, the accents, pauses, rhythms etc.; (c) once the entire poem has been read, it could exist in the form of knowledge which, in the form of an impression upon the memory, would be evoked at each successive reading, or even irrespective of any further reading. Even though time may not affect the poem at the first level, it would do so at the second and the third levels. Thus, for example, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* read by a young person who has just commenced a study of Sanskrit and the same person when he is quite proficient in the language, considered at the second and the third levels, be a "different" poem, because the person has also become slightly different in the meantime. Subtleties unnoticed during the first encounter with the poem may be discovered later. Experience of other classics will have affected the person's appreciative processes. Experience of life will have affected the personality of the reader. That is why though the words and structures in the poem remain the same, the poem reads differently at each successive reading and the reader's response to the poem differs from time to time.

When one thinks of all these and other possible variables, the confusion is so great that one may be pardoned for thinking of giving up the matter altogether. Well might Dr. Richards say that some of the questions which arise "will not be settled till the Day of Judgment."[3] The efforts of writers on poetics have, as already suggested, been directed to the discovery of general principles, or unchangeable formulae, which may be derived from a study of poetry in general. Once discovered, these could be applied to all poetry, old as well as new. Efforts have also been made to define the nature of the rare heightened "experience" which a properly equipped (sahṛdaya) reader may have. Physical reactions to reading of poetry such as tearfulness, sweating etc., have been noted, but internal reactions cannot be defined very clearly. Hence the fallibility of rules and principles because "Everything turns upon how the principles are applied. It is to be feared that critical formulas, even the best, are responsible for more bad judgement than good, because it is far easier to forget their subtle sense and apply them crudely than to remember it and apply them finely."[4] So, inspite of all efforts to view poetry objectively, the subjective element, because of the large number of variables, prevails.

3. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism* (Kegan Paul, London, 1929), p. 13.

4. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*—page 12.

It may be said, in general, that in writing treatises on poetics most of the writers assume that the reader is a "cultivated", well-equipped person (sahṛdaya). In fact, however, a large majority of readers is not quite upto the mark, and with the spread of mere literacy the number would grow larger still. The experience which a cultivated mind may be reasonably expected to get may not be had by the less fortunate reader. The importance of the reader's reaction to poetry, as one affecting thought on appreciation of poetry, cannot be ignored. If poetics or Alaṅkāraśāstra be really śāstra, a science, then its infallibility rests only on the quality of experience said to be hall-mark of great poetry. Otherwise, with poetic as with mystical experience, failure to obtain the stated experience may create doubts about the principles formulated, the poetry read so hopefully, as also the poet. The conditions governing the principles must be taken into consideration, and defined if possible. The reader's own ability to react, his limitations and other factors must not be lost sight of. One of the most remarkable features of the Adhyāya to be discussed is that it takes into account the personality of the reader, or rather, the listener, his attitude etc. This is what Dr. I. A. Richards, with the help of modern psychological knowledge and modern technique has done in his *Practical Criticism*. There are differences between the Sūta's and Dr. Richards' methods etc. to which we shall refer where necessary. It may be made clear here that this essay is not an attempt to glorify the ancient Sūta at the cost of the modern Dr. Richards, but is only an attempt to bring out the importance to poetics of the shrewd observations of Sūta which are based on a reader-centred view of appreciation.

SŪTA'S BACKGROUND :—

The observations of the Sūta imply a certain set of conditions. His remarks are offered with reference to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* alone and not all poetry, but could be made applicable to poetry. The reading of the *Bhāgavata*, as is apparent from stanzas 10 to 22 was not an affair restricted to one reader deciphering the printed page as now. It was a group activity in which one reader read out the text to the other members of the group and also explained the significance of the verses read. The spoken word with all that expression, gesture, tone etc. lend to it was involved in the process of communication which was further facilitated by explanations supplied by the speaker. It should be noted here that the evocative power of the heard word seems to have been very much greater than that of the read word, as may be inferred from a short passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki ("Tacchrutvā munayaḥ.... ūcuḥ.... ciramirvṛttamapyetat pratyakṣamiva darśitam." Ayōdhyā. 4, 15-18). The listener was not debarred from putting questions to the speaker, nor was he expected to suspend his rationality, (st. 16, and praśne' nuraktaḥ in st. 21: also st. 18, and anucintanaparaḥ in st. 21). It is apparent from the 17th stanza that compliance with the teaching of the *Bhāgavata* was expected of the discriminating listener. It is with reference to this background that the

Sūta offers his remarks based on his observation of audience-reaction though without elaborate documentation of the modern type as employed by Dr. Richards

DISCUSSION OF THE ADHYĀYA :—

The adhyāya opens with five questions which the Ṛṣis, who may be assumed to be really cultivated people, put to the Sūta. The questions are : (1) What is the true nature or the "form" of the *Bhāgavata*? (2) What is the length (measurement, or dimensions) of the *Bhāgavata* ? (3) What is the proper procedure to be adopted in listening to its recitation? (4) What are the characteristics of the speaker? (5) What are the characteristics of the listener? (st. 2).

Sūta's answer to the first question is contained in four stanzas (st. 3 to st. 6). Of these, the third stanza is very significant for our discussion. Sūta identifies the *Bhāgavata* with the Lord and specifies the "form" in the word "saccidānanda". Identification of the *Bhāgavata* with the Lord puts it in a category by itself and makes it flawless, not merely in the sense of defects of poetry (Kāvyadōṣas) but in all possible senses of the word. In describing the form as a co-instantaneous realization of being, knowing, and delight, he has, in a way, described the experience and its value. It is experience at its purest and so beyond cavil. It may be possible, at a lower level, to comment on the imperfection of a verse here or there, but the whole work has an impact such as that described above. We need not enter here into a philosophical discussion of the terms Sat, Cit, Ānanda taken separately or as one unit. But considered with reference to the individual, this state of experience would seem to supersede and even banish every kind of consciousness except that of being, knowing, and delight; for, without a sense of being, knowing, and delight would not seem possible. The three-in-one experience, therefore, would be the purest form of consciousness, a form untainted by misunderstanding, sentimentality, stock responses, and a whole forest of difficulties discussed by Dr. Richards. The Self would be absolutely free of any impediments.

The important points to be noted here are · (i) in characterising the *Bhāgavata* as saccidānandalakṣaṇam, Sūta has fixed one of the variables, namely, the poem, at the three levels mentioned above; (ii) in a sense, he has freed the work from the charge of being religious and having "doctrinal adhesions"[5] as Dr. Richards puts it. The reason is that saccidānanda would be more a matter of psychology than of mysticism, or any particular religion, a matter of the Self face to face with the Self; (iii) he has defined as clearly as possible, the nature of the experience; it is immaterial whether the description can be given simultaneously with the experience or is suggested to the individual concerned during a retrospective consideration of it. Thus, another variable factor has been fixed, though Sūta refers to a possible variation when he uses the word Rasābhasa in Stanza 40.

5. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, p. 16. Also refer to pp. 271-272.

Speaking further on the point, Sūta amplifies his idea of the *Bhāgavata* (st. 4-9). In its original version, it contained only four stanzas which, in Vyāsa's version runs into 18,000. However, according to Sūta, it is illimitable, because, all speech which answers to the description in stanzas 4 and 5, could be classified as *Bhāgavata*. The implications of the terms Sūta uses deserve some consideration here. Śrīkṛṣṇāsakta-bhaktānam (st. 4) may suggest a "religious" significance which, however, is not there in the light of saccidānanda (st. 3): so too, māyāmardanadakṣam (st. 5) may suggest a certain school of philosophy. The objection may be countered by interpreting māyā as all that which obstructs the saccidānanda experience, and this, it is hoped, would not be amiss, and therefore, could apply to all obstructive processes like inhibitions, complexes, etc.

In st. 5, Sūta lays down the characteristic marks of all speech which could be treated as *Bhāgavata*, in doing which, he has dealt with the qualities of the means of communication. Simultaneously with it, he has said something about the "thought-content" from which speech derives its "power to move". In fact, it may even be suggested that by mentioning the five factors such as Jñāna, Vijñāna etc. Sūta has avoided the sharp (and in many cases irreconcilable) distinction which De Quincey made when he said, "There is, first, the literature of knowledge; and, secondly, the literature of power. The function of the first is——to teach; the function of the second is——to move .....The first speaks to the mere discursive understanding; the second speaks ultimately, it may happen, to the higher understanding or reason, but always through affections of pleasure and sympathy."[6] It may be specially noted here that Sūta's term bhakti shows not only sympathy but also willingness, on the part of the reader/listener, to hear. It would appear that given the willingness to listen with sympathy, the progress would be from the physical part of hearing to mental activity, to mere understanding, to removal of obstacles to wisdom, and culminate in experience. Read with stanza 3, the term akṣarātmanaḥ (st. 6) finally determines the unchangeability of the character of the *Bhāgavata* (or the Lord) as also, by implication, of the ultimate, refined experience. Thus, Sūta has defined the necessary characteristics of the means of communication, its source of power and its final effect and reduced the number of variables to some extent.

PURPOSE :—

Speaking of the *Bhāgavata* as recorded by Vyāsa, Sūta remarks that its purpose is the welfare of humanity and that it serves as a prop to those afflicted by the spirit of Kali, the present epoch (st. 8 and 9). In other words, Suta has attributed a purpose to the original poet and indicated a "utilitarian" aspect of the composition. He has dwelt on the latter aspect again in stanzas

6. As quoted on p. 23, R. A. Scott-James : *The Making of Literature* (Martin Secker, London, 1946).

31-38, but has, in stanzas 47 and 48, indicated that the utilitarian attitude is improper with reference to the *Bhāgavata* which should be heard for the sake of delight. The implications of Sūta's distinction are : (1) for the poet pleasure derived from the feeling of having done something for the suffering for whom he has sympathy; (2) for the reader, either the fulfilment of a desire, that is, a utilitarian end, or, attainment of pure pleasure, a non-utilitarian and purely aesthetic end. Sūta's distinction strongly reminds one of controversies in the West over art and morality, art for art's sake etc., though it is not unusual for writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra to attribute "purpose" to poetry. Whether a definite end, the accomplishment of which serves as a purpose for both the speaker and the reader, should or should not be fixed is a matter for controversy. Sūta, who indicates that the purpose could be utilitarian or aesthetic, shows his broad-mindedness in the matter. From st. 39 and 40, however, it would seem that a fixed end determines the nature and quality of the experience and so too does the mode of hearing (st. 24 to 30). Inclusion of a purpose or a fixed end among the factors to be considered may be justified, since there could be no human action which has absolutely no purpose as a motive force to it. Sūta himself has gently shown his preference —— the aesthetic principle —— in stanzas 47, 48.

THE LISTENER :—

From the 10th stanza to the 21st, Sūta speaks of the different kinds of listeners; in the 22nd stanza he describes the ideal speaker-reader. The speaker is mostly eliminated is modern reading which is direct communication between the poet and the reader through the printed word. In times when most people could not read, a reader-speaker had to be present to deputize for the poet. More so, because it is a matter of common experience even to-day that mere silent reading of a passage from say, Shakespeare, is less significant and effective than one given by a properly trained reader or actor. In the case of the spoken word, the speaker interprets the poet's speech for the listener.[7] When the listener turns a silent reader as in modern times, he has to be his own interpreter and much would depend on his ability to interpret; in fact, in reading a poem to oneself, one plays two parts by turns : (a) that of the speaker-reader-interpreter, a kind of critic, (b) that of the listener. The new method imposes a double strain upon the individual and, perhaps, makes his mental processes in response to the stimulus more complex than those of the mere listener. In view of the "irrelevances" mentioned in the 7th footnote, it is doubtful how far the unaided reading enables the modern reader to play either part efficiently.

7. This process affects the difficulties——like that of sensuous apprehension, stock responses, mnemonic irrelevances — mentioned by I. A. Richards on pp. 13-17 of *Practical Criticism*. The speaker of old directs the listener's responses appropriately.

Sūta divides listeners into two major categories, excellent and low, and each of the two into four subdivisions. The eight divisions are named after birds and beasts (st. 10-11). Then follows an explanation of the qualities of the eight. Sūta's analysis is, as explained below, of great importance to anyone who thinks about the appreciation of poetry and the nature of the experience one could get from it. Since "poetry is a mode of communication", and "What it communicates and how it does so and the worth of what is communicated form the subject-matter of criticism",[8] careful thought must be given to the listener——the person who receives the message. On his ability to receive and interpret the message would depend the nature and quality of his response, and further the "grade" of his experience, "the mental condition relevant to the poem."[9] The practicability of judging the experience after attaining it, is beyond question, because Sūta has, through the term saccidānandalakṣaṇam, defined clearly the finest, rarest experience possible for a person, and so has provided a norm for the comparison and gradation of experiences organized on lower planes. In as much as the experience is an intensely personal event, judgment of its quality would be, in the last analysis, equally personal, though some inferences about the quality may be drawn by a third party from what can be seen of the physical responses or judged from what the experiencer might say or write later concerning his experience. Such inferences would be only partially valid. As no reader's mind is like an absolutely clean slate, but is more or less formed already, the nature of the "form" the mind has attained needs attention. So does his willingness or otherwise to receive what is sought to be communicated, particularly because it would partly affect the experience. For instance, what one may appreciate as fine music when one is alone and willing to listen, may be appreciated as a wretched nuisance when one is busy puzzling over the income-tax form and matters relevant to it. Sūta needs to be duly praised for his sound approach.

Of the excellent listeners, the cātaka is the first (st. 12). He approaches the *Bhāgavata* with a pre-determined aim and a definite attitude. He will hear nothing but Kṛṣṇa-śāstra, the scientific approach to Godhood. This attitude implies a capacity to determine what is pertinent and what is not, single-minded pursuit of the objective, and willingness to receive new impressions, as also a well-organized, formed mind.

Sūta's description of the Haṁsa (st. 13), the second of the excellent listeners, refers to a process of selection, or separation of the wheat from the chaff, a subjective process. The Haṁsa's mind works upon the different kinds of stimuli, forms impressions, separates the precious from the rest, and stores it away. It is, largely, a case of intellect working on the matter communicated to it. Willingness to receive the message and to think about it, is understood.

8. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism* p. 11.

9. *ibid.*, p. 11.

The third of the excellent class is the Śuka (parrot) (st. 14). He, it would seem, does not excercise his intellect upon what he has heard, does not go to the root of the matter as it were. He has a good, retentive memory, a capacity to summarise the message, and the ability to reproduce it in an apt, pithy way. That he delights everyone is apparent from the expression harṣayan. But it seems that Śuka is concerned more with "the sensuous aspect of words",[10] and, in general, expression or style, than with ideas themselves, though he is a willing listener.

The Mīna (fish) is the fourth kind of the excellent listeners (st. 15). In his case, Sūta refers to two physical manifestations of complete absorption—— absolute silence and unblinking eyes. In his case the enjoyment is more obvious than in the other three mentioned before. The expression āsvādayan rasam would seem to indicate a preponderance of emotional over intellectual processes, in the appreciation. The term snigdha would suggest not only willingness to receive the message but also genuine love of it. If this inference be correct, it would follow that willingness to receive impressions could present a very broad spectrum varying between the purely intellectual and the purely emotional attitude; and the same might be true of the modes of reaching the final experience. The term rasa used by Sūta will be discussed along with stanzas 39 and 40.

The Vṛka-listener (the wolf or the hyæna?) who is the first of the low category, is an excellent example of a man with a closed, non-receptive mind (st. 16). He is ignorant (ajña) which indicates that he is not properly equipped, emotionally and intellectually, to receive the message. From his behaviour, shouting, spoiling the pleasure of others in the audience, even causing them positive pain, it would seem that he is an egotist (if not an exhibitionist) bent upon thrusting himself on the attention of the audience. In his case as in the case of the other three in the low category, the message is neither well-received, nor well-interpreted, rendering fine appreciation impossible. A receptive attitude as well as proper preparation of the intellect and the emotions are, therefore, necessary conditions governing appreciation and the quality of the experience. The Vṛka-listener is frequently to be seen in modern cinema-halls and, rather unfortunately, in College class-rooms as many teachers would know.

The Bhūruṇḍa-listener (st. 17), who comes next to the Vṛka, raises a further issue which is particular to works like the *Bhāgavata* which are full of directions for the refinement of the mind, formation of the proper attitudes to experience of the world, of the total personality. Getting to know the directions is the first part of the process; putting them into practice is the second; of this latter, the Bhūruṇḍa is incapable though he has a memory retentive enough to tell others what he has heard. He only throws back or

10. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, p 210.

reflects the message, absorbs nothing. Though perception of the truth of a proposition, from the intellectual point of view, requires absorption and rational judgment of the arguments, how far it affects æsthetic appreciation needs to be discussed. Even so, critical appreciation of a poem does involve repeated reading, consideration of the poet's statements, and attempts to get at his message. The Bhūruṇḍa seems to be incapable of all this. As for refinement of personality through adoption of the message and its practice, the process must necessarily be slow because of the time-lag between intellectual acceptance of and emotional adjustment to a new "message". The Bhūruṇḍa's readiness to preach seems to imply a degree of self-importance.

The Vṛṣa-listener (st. 18), the third in the "low" category, is not gifted with the faculty of discrimination which is an important factor in appreciation as already shown in the case of the haṁsa-listener. This is recognized by Dr. Richards whose remarks[11] in respect to this factor are too long to be quoted here. The Vṛṣa-listener is not intellectually mature enough to interpret the message. Since the tool with which to work on the message is lacking, or is blunt, with all the readiness in the world to listen, the Vṛṣa-listener cannot be expected to derive much satisfaction from the message.

The last of the low category is the Ustra-listener (st. 19). In his case, the factor that impedes fine appreciation of fine things, is a basic perversion of taste. He prefers the "uncultivated expression" with all its faults to the "cultivated expression" with all its distinguishing features. A point which arises here and could be taken up with reference to much ephemeral, but widely read material, may be made : if a reader derives pleasure from what he reads, would the quality or "class" of the material he reads make any difference? would there be any difference between the pleasure derived from reading a classic and that derived from a very ordinary "pot-boiler" ? Since Sūta has specifically stated the features of the fine experience, namely, saccidānanda, it seems that there could be a difference of quality. If we accept Sūta's observations on the Vṛṣa-listener, it follows that : (i) the listener's inherent impulses matter a great deal in appreciation, and (ii) the cultivation of the mind (the intellect and the emotions), forms an important condition governing appreciation. This may be compared to what recent Western critics have to say about cultivation of 'taste'.

The 20th stanza states the possibility of further classification of listeners according to their inherent impulses, as manifested through their behaviour-pattern. The point to be noted is that fine appreciation is not a matter restricted to reception and interpretation of the message of the poet, but concerns deeper issues like inherent impulses which would affect reactions to the stimulus (Prakṛtisambhavaiḥ). It may, therefore, be reasonable enough to infer that fine experience is not possible to everyone who is able to read or hear. The democratic principle does not apply here.

11. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, pp. 186-187.

THE IDEAL LISTENER :—

Stanza 21, characterising the ideal listener, and stanza 22 describing the ideal speaker-interpreter suggest some points worth being considered. In stanza 21, tyaktānyavādo and śrotumabhīpsate, indicate single-mindedness and a high degree of receptivity. Prior preparation by way of proper training and disciplined thought is suggested by atinipuṇaḥ. Namraḥ, śiṣyaḥ, viśvasitaḥ would refer to what could be called an open mind (i. e. unlike that of the Vṛka-listener) or a mind inclined to accept the *Bhāgavata*, since humility and faith imply the quality. Sūta does not, however wish blind acceptance as, otherwise, anucintanaparaḥ and praśne'nuraktaḥ——thinking over what has been heard and given to asking questions (on difficult points)—— would be meaningless in the context. Capacity for and exercise of rational thinking is not ruled out by Sūta who deserves to be complimented on his broad-minded and reasonable acceptance of the listener's right to think for himself. Perhaps, it also indicates his superb confidence in the 'power' of the *Bhāgavata* to 'move'. The word śuciḥ (pure) could refer to physical purity or enlightenment of the mind; if the latter interpretation holds good, the word only underlines what has been said before about prior preparedness to receive the message.

THE IDEAL SPEAKER :—

Sūta has set a very high standard for the speaker-interpreter who stands between the poet and the listener (st. 22). He must be a highly intellectual person to interpret the message for himself, and gifted with imagination and eloquence of a high order to communicate it to the listener (bahudhābodhanacaturaḥ). This, read with bhagavanmatiḥ, would show that his experience is as similar to that of the poet as possible and so he can be a substitute for the poet. This view may be justified by Sūta's identification of the *Bhāgavata* with the Lord. Since this enlightened speaker is disinterested in material gain (anapekṣaḥ), cordial (suhṛdaḥ) and sympathetic (sānukampaḥ) he would be solely interested in his recitation and exposition. There would be nothing to distract him. As suggested by stanzas 21 and 22, and stanzas 39 and 40, the purposes of the speaker and the listener are material factors in appreciation, as are their qualifications also.

THE PROCESS OF HEARING :—

In stanzas 23 to 30, Sūta classifies the process of hearing which is really a give-and-take between the reader and his audience. It is obvious from sukhasantatiḥ, (st. 23), ānandavardhanam (st. 26), saukhyadam (st. 27) that the process results in pleasure. As the *Bhāgavata* is a voluminous work, it cannot be read at a single sitting. The time-factor is obviously important because sufficient time must be allowed for the listener to think over what he has heard, to retain his impressions clearly at the next session and carry on the process of repeated receipt of new stimuli and modification of ideas etc. till the whole work is finished, and a total impression is obtained.

Sūta mentions four kinds of reading : (i) rājasa, (ii) sāttvika, (iii) tāmasa, and (iv) nirguṇa. This has a bearing on the motive. In first kind, the period is limited to seven days; it involves considerable effort (saśramam) and a good deal of ritualistic pomp (bahupūjādiśōbhanam). Naturally, it would distract attention, and the shortness of the period would not allow enough time for careful consideration of the message. The sāttvika kind is spread over a reasonably long period——a month or a whole season——reduces the strain (anāyāsam) and makes proper appreciation possible (svādasaṁyuktaṁ). Obviously, the degree of concentration would be greater than in the case of the first or the third kind of reading. The tāmasa variety allows for faith on the part of the listener, but is characterized by laziness on his part. He manages to remember some details but forgets others. In such a case, the degree of pleasure derived would be rather small. Sūta's point about remembering details is quite significant since, for the proper appreciation of even a short poem, remembering details is necessary, for it is details that go into the organization of the total impression. To give an analogy : take a passage played on a musical instrument by a master. Played within a certain period of time, the notes in the whole passage form an organized unit: but if the same notes are played one by one at regular half-hourly intervals, they would be notes and not music. Remembering the context or forgetting it is of importance therefore. On the period over which the reading is spread depends the ability to remember the context clearly and time is, thus, a factor governing appreciation. The Nirguṇa kind is not restricted to any particular period; it is to be carried on always because one loves the work and is interested in it. Such a rare reader would be careful to remember the context, or will have leisure to look it up and refresh his memory.

Though Sūta has referred to pleasure in some of these stanzas, he has not specified whether it could be characterised as being derived from moral, religious, æsthetic or spiritual kinds of stimuli: neither has he said anything about the difference between the pleasure of one kind or the other. In view of Sūta's statement in stanza 3, it would be, in the finest sense, the pleasure of finding oneself face to face with one's Self——saccidānanda——though there would be gradations of it depending upon the kind of reading involved, and its æsthetic or moral purpose.

THE GOAL :—

The aim, the purpose of the reading could be of two kinds according to Sūta. The *Bhāgavata* could be used as a means to a material end, or it could be read for the pleasure of it, that is, be an end in itself. We need not discuss the truth of the mysterious power attributed to the work in stanzas 35 and 36. The point material to our discussion is that the purpose for which the work is read would affect the degree of pleasure, which would be the highest where the reading is undertaken as an end in itself. Sūta's awareness of the purely utilitarian end and the æsthetic one should be noted here. For those who

would use the *Bhāgavata* as a means to a material end Sūta lays down, in stanzas 42-46, a discipline which is not relevant to our discussion.

RASA :—

Stanzas 39 and 40 (also stanza 15 to a small extent) deal with Rasa, and oy or happiness (saukhya), though here again we have to develop Sūta's implications. From stanza 39, it is clear that joy or Rasa is dependent upon the speaker and the reader, and the purpose of each. The speaker-interpreter, and the listener could, according to Sūta, be each of two kinds : (i) with Kṛṣṇa (or saccidānanda) as the end, (ii) with some material gain (as defined in the last line of st. 38) as the end. Four combinations are, broadly, possible: (a) where both desire (i): (b) where both desire (ii); (c) where the speaker desires (i) while the listener desires (ii): (d) where the speaker desires (ii) but the listener desires. (i). According to Sūta the pleasure specially increases (vivardhate) where both are of one kind as in (a) or (b) above; where, however, each belongs to a different kind as in (c) and (d), there is an illusion of rasa, or the rasa is not of a high quality, and the expected result is not obtained (rasābhase phalacyutiḥ).

From this it appears that Rasa is not a quality of the work considered from the viewpoint of words, grammatical structures, versification, style, ideas, etc. either individually or in different combinations, or as one single unit. Neither does it depend upon the excellence of the speaker-interpreter alone, nor that of the listener alone, nor that of the work alone. Rasa is a product of the joint activity of, or co-operation between, the speaker-interpreter and the listener with reference to a work charged with a "potential". The preparedness of each party, attitude, objective, personality would be contributory factors. An analogy might make the matter clear. When, in a musical instrument like the Sitar or the Tanpura, the two strings which produce the basic note (ṣadja) of the scale are tuned in perfect consonance, they will, when struck in quick succession, produce an overtone representing a clear third note of the scale. This last is independent of either string individually, but depends upon the vibration of both together. It has an existence of its own as long as the two strings are struck in succession. To judge by what Sūta has said, Rasa is not a necessary ingredient of the speech of the speaker, or a quality inherent in the listener. Like the third note in the analogy it is a potential present in the work (st. 4 and 15), a potential which could be realized through perfect co-operation between the speaker and the listener. The *Bhāgavata* is, according to Suta, charged with the "potential" necessary for the valuable experience. Even here, the finest experience may not be had in cases (c) and (d) above, and may not be had at all where the listener is of the Vṛka variety. It would be possible to work out a graded scale of experiences by working out different combinations of the speaker and the kinds of listeners mentioned; but it is needless as long as it is granted that even with such a perfect work as

the *Bhāgavata*, there is a possibility of a variety of experiences the standard of judgment being saccidānanda or the three-in-one experience.

A possible objection needs some consideration here; it might be asked whether the *Bhāgavata* is really a perfect work with a high degree of potential leading to fine experience. The merits of the work, strictly from the viewpoint of rhetorics or versification, may be questioned. Though there might be little by way of adornment through profusion of Alaṅkāras, or a verse here or there may be slightly irregular, it is a mere detail. Moreover, adornment is not absolutely necessary according to Mammaṭa.[12] What is material to the discussion is this : whether, with or without ornamentation, the work has the necessary potential which could be released and realized in the form of an experience? It is very difficult to devise a proper test for this purpose. Dr. Richards faced a similar difficulty when defining sincerity, which he solved by calling the Chinese scholar Chung Yung to his aid. The whole of Dr. Richards' discussion[13] (and especially the passages referred to in footnote 13) deserves careful thought. What he says towards the end of *his* discussion, however, is most pertinent to *this* discussion, and may be reproduced here : "Something like a technique or ritual for heightening sincerity might well be worked out.....Sit by the fire (with eyes shut and fingers pressed firmly upon the eyeballs) and consider with as full 'realization' as possible :—

(i) Man's loneliness (the isolation of the human situation).

(ii) The facts of birth, and of death, in their inexplicable oddity.

(iii) The inconceivable immensity of the Universe.

(iv) Man's place in the perspective of time.

(v) The enormity of his ignorance.

not as gloomy thoughts or as targets for doctrine, but as the most incomprehensible and inexhaustible objects for meditation there are.... .." [14]

The *Bhāgavata* is a dispassionate survey of individuals' careers, of peoples, dynasties, civilizations, of the pulsating universe: it is an attempt at finding a single constant underlying innumerable and innumerably varied phenomena. The work, with its sweeping, searching, deeply analytical survey of the Universe and life in it, provides just *the* material for this ritual. The massive work should, therefore, serve as a yardstick to measure other works by, and if the potential be denied to it, it would have to be denied to many other works too.

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12. तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि ।

Mammaṭa : *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Ullāsa 1, st. 4.

13. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, pp. 284-291 (and especially paragraphs beginning with (a) "We may take self-completion...." and (b) "Sincerity, then, in this sense....".

14. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, pp. 290-291.

TOWARDS EXPERIENCE :—

It would not be out of place here to discuss, with the help of a little logic (but without entering into the province of philosophy or mysticism for which this writer is not qualified) the process and possibility, as far as the listener is concerned, of obtaining the finest experience mentioned by Sūta. Considered step by step, the process would be somewhat as follows :—

(i) The listener, equipped with due preparation (a complex composed of thoughts, emotions, preoccupations, attitudes, etc.) comes prepared to listen. Willingness to listen is the factor with which the co-operation between the speaker and the listener begins. For the listener, this is the commencement of a process of the abatement of the multifarious thoughts that race across the mind every moment.[15]

(ii) If there is to be complete co-operation between the good speaker and the good listener, the listener will have to clear the obstructions in the way of proper comprehension. These would be states in which the mind would be from time to time, and with reference to the external stimuli.[16] Of these states, misunderstanding or distortion,[17] memory or prior impressions stored away and fixed attitudes would be the most difficult to allay. But these three would cover most of the difficulties mentioned by Dr. Richards.[18]

(iii) In the light of the explanations offered by the speaker, these would gradually be removed and the road to proper understanding would be cleared. As misconceptions etc. recede farther and farther, true ones get more and more room for expansion till finally nothing but the true ones remain. This, with reference to the mere intellect, would be the limit of perfect understanding.

(iv) The emotions, too, have a place in the process of getting the desired experience. In describing the "low" kinds of listeners, Sūta has implied a defective emotional development, a lack of sympathy, a "closed" mind, while in speaking of the good speaker he has positively stated the presence of refined emotions as is apparent from anapekṣaḥ, suhṛdō dīneṣu sānukampaḥ, and bhagavanmatiḥ.[19] As will be apparent from the 19th footnote, the play of refined emotions has a cleansing effect according to Patañjali and this is perhaps what Aristotle meant when he spoke of *Katharsis.*

15. Compare योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः ।
Pātañjala Yogasūtras, Samādhipāda, 2.

16. Compare वृत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र ।
Pātañjala Yogasūtras, Samādhipāda, 4.

17. Compare (a) विपर्ययो मिथ्याज्ञानमतद्रूपप्रतिष्ठम् ।
(b) शब्दज्ञानानुपाती वस्तुशून्यो विकल्पः ।
Pātañjala Yogasūtras, Samādhipāda, Sūtras 8 and 9.

18. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, pp. 13-17.

19. Compare : मैत्रीकरुणामुदितोपेक्षाणां सुखदुःखपुण्यापुण्यविषयाणां भावनातश्चित्तप्रसादनम् ।
Pātañjala Yogasūtras, Samādhipāda, 33.

(v) As the process of speaking-listening goes on, with repetition of the "constant" factor underlying various phenomena, the proper sense of the work gets fixed,[20] in a clean, undistracted mind. In fact, it would be a state in which intellectual and emotional apprehension would be identical and co-extensive, thus resolving———even if for a fraction of a second——— Dr. Richards' difficulty regarding "the fundamental imbalance" [21]

(vi) It is at this stage most probably and, at least theoretically, that all conflict ceases, producing a high degree of pleasure, recognised as such later and on a lower plane of organisation.[22] This, with a slight difference of degree, would be *the experience*, the three-in-one state of being, knowing and joy, or saccidānanda: this, if realized, would be the norm by which to judge other experience and the "potential" inherent in other compositions.

The value to literary criticism, of Sūta's observations would, it is hoped, be apparent from the foregoing discussion. Much of what Sūta has said could be made applicable to enjoyment of poetry or literature in general. It could, with due modifications, be applicable to other forms of creative effort. Sūta's views could be discussed with reference to views held by other critics of the East as well as those of the West. Some lines of approach have been indicated in this article.

To this writer, Sūta's remarks seem to be of great importance because very infrequently does one come across a comprehensive treatment of the subject of appreciation and experience with reference to various factors involved, that is, the poet as interpreted by the speaker, the poem itself, the listener's qualifications and the character of the rare, refined experience itself. It is hoped that the interpretation offered in this article will be found fairly acceptable.

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20. Compare : तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् ।

Pātañjala Yogasūtras, Samādhipāda, 28.

21. I. A. Richards : *Practical Criticism*, p. 286 and the preceding portion of Ch. VII.

22. Compare : Sūtras 41, 42, 43. (*Pātañjala Yogasūtras*, Samādhipāda.....)

BOOKS CONSULTED AND REFERRED TO

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6. Mammaṭa : *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Ed. by A. B. Gajendragadkar, 1939).

(For the text of the Adhāyā, please refer to the Appendix.)

Appendix

The Fourth Adhyāya of the Second (Vaiṣṇava) Khaṇḍa of the SKANDAPURĀṆA.

ऋषय ऊचुः

साधु सूत चिरं जीव चिरमेवं प्रशाधि नः ।
श्रीभागवतमाहात्म्यमपूर्वं त्वन्मुखाच्छ्रुतम् ॥ १ ॥
तत्स्वरूपं प्रमाणं च विधिं च श्रवणे वद ।
तद्वक्तुर्लक्षणं सूत श्रोतुश्चापि वदाधुना ॥ २ ॥

सूत उवाच

श्रीमद्भागवतस्याथ श्रीमद्भगवतः सदा ।
स्वरूपमेकमेवास्ति सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणम् ॥ ३ ॥
श्रीकृष्णासक्तभक्तानां तन्माधुर्यप्रकाशकम् ।
समुज्जृम्भति यद्वाक्यं विद्धि भागवतं हि तत् ॥ ४ ॥
ज्ञानविज्ञानभक्त्यङ्गचतुष्टयपरं वचः ।
मायामर्दनदक्षं च विद्धि भागवतं च तत् ॥ ५ ॥
प्रमाणं तस्य को वेद ह्यनन्तस्याक्षरात्मनः ।
ब्रह्मणे हरिणा तद्धिक् चतुःश्लोक्या प्रदर्शितं ॥ ६ ॥
तदानन्त्यावगाहेन स्वेप्सितावहनक्षमाः ।
त एव सन्ति भो विप्रा ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवादयः ॥ ७ ॥
मितबुद्ध्यादिवृत्तीनां मनुष्याणां हिताय च ।
परीक्षिच्छुकसंवादो योऽसौ व्यासेन कीर्तितः ॥ ८ ॥
ग्रन्थोऽष्टादशसाहस्रो योऽसौ भागवताभिधः ।
कलिग्राहगृहीतानां स एव परमाश्रयः ॥ ९ ॥
श्रोतारोऽथ निरूप्यन्ते श्रीमद्विष्णुकथाश्रयाः ।
प्रवरा अवराश्चेति श्रोतारो द्विविधा मताः ॥१०॥
प्रवराश्चातको हंसः शुको मीनादयस्तथा ।
अवरा वृकभूरुण्डवृषोष्ट्राद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥११॥
अखिलोपेक्षया यस्तु कृष्णशास्त्रश्रुतौ व्रती ।
स चातको यथाम्भोदमुक्ते पाथसि चातकः ॥१२॥
हंसः स्यात् सारमादत्ते यः श्रोता विविधाच्छ्रुतात् ।
दुग्धेनैक्यं गतात्तोयाद् यथा हंसोऽमलं पयः ॥१३॥
शुकः सुष्ठु मितं वक्ति व्यासं श्रोतॄंश्च हर्षयन् ।
सुपाठितः शुको यद्वच्छिक्षकं पार्श्वगानपि ॥१४॥
शब्दं नानिमिषो जातु करोत्यास्वादयन् रसम् ।
श्रोता स्निग्धो भवेन्मीनो मीनः क्षीरनिधौ यथा ॥१५॥

यस्तुदन् रसिकाञ्छ्रोतॄन् विरौत्यज्ञो वृको हि सः ।
वेणुस्वनरसासक्तान् वृकोऽरण्ये मृगान् यथा ॥१६॥
भूरुण्डः शिक्षयेदन्याञ्छ्रुत्वा न स्वयमाचरेत् ।
यथा हिमवतः शृङ्गे भूरुण्डाख्यो विहङ्गमः ॥१७॥
सर्वं श्रुतमुपादत्ते सारासारान्धधीर्वृषः ।
स्वादुद्राक्षां खलिं चापि निर्विशेषं यथा वृषः ॥१८॥
स उष्ट्रो मधुरं मुञ्चन् विपरीते रमेत यः ।
यथा निम्बं चरत्युष्ट्रो हित्वाम्रमपि तद्युतम् ॥१९॥
अन्येऽपि बहवो भेदा द्वयोर्मुञ्जखरादयः ।
विज्ञेयास्तत्तदाचारैस्तत्तत्प्रकृतिसम्भवैः ॥२०॥

यः स्थित्वाभिमुखं प्रणम्य विधिवत्त्यक्तान्यवादो हरे-
र्लीलाः श्रोतुमभीप्सते ऽनिगुणो नम्रोऽथ कृताञ्जलिः ।
शिष्यो विश्वसितोऽनुचिन्तनपरः प्रश्नेऽनुरक्तः शुचि ।
नित्यं कृष्णजनप्रियो निगदितः श्रोता स वै वक्तृभिः ॥२१॥

भगवन्मनिरपेक्षः सुहृदो दीनेषु सानुकम्पो यः ।
बहुधा बोधनचतुरो वक्ता संमानितो मुनिभिः ॥२२॥
अथ भारतभूस्थाने श्रीभागवतसेवने ।
विधिं शृणुत भो विप्रा येन स्यात् सुखसंततिः ॥२३॥
राजसं सात्त्विकं चापि तामसं निर्गुणं तथा ।
चतुर्विधं तु विज्ञेयं श्रीभागवतसेवनम् ॥२४॥
सप्ताहं यज्ञवद् यत्तु सश्रमं सत्वरं मुदा ।
सेवितं राजसं तत्तु बहुपूजादिशोभनम् ॥२५॥
मासेन ऋतुना वापि श्रवणं स्वादसंयुतम् ।
सात्त्विकं यदनायासं समस्तानन्दवर्धनम् ॥२६॥
तामसं यत्तु वर्षेण मालसं श्रद्धया युतम् ।
विस्मृतिस्मृतिसंयुक्तं सेवनं तच्च सौख्यदम् ॥२७॥
वर्षमासदिनानां तु विमुच्य नियमाग्रहम् ।
सर्वदा प्रेमभक्त्यैव सेवनं निर्गुणं मतम् ॥२८॥
पारीक्षितेऽपि संवादे निर्गुणं तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ।
तत्र सप्तदिनाख्यानं तदायुर्दिनसंख्यया ॥२९॥
अन्यत्र विगुणं चापि निर्गुणं च यथेच्छया ।
यथा कथंचित् कर्तव्यं सेवनं भगवच्छ्रुतेः ॥३०॥
ये श्रीकृष्णविहारैकभजनास्वादलोलुपाः ।
मुक्तावपि निराकाङ्क्षास्तेषां भागवतं धनम् ॥३१॥

येऽपि संसारसंतापनिर्विण्णा मोक्षकाङ्क्षिणः ।
तेषां भवौषधं चैतत् कलौ सेव्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥३२॥
ये चापि विषयारामाः सांसारिकसुखस्पृहाः ।
तेषां तु कर्ममार्गेण या सिद्धिः साधुना कलौ ॥३३॥
सामर्थ्यधनविज्ञानाभावादत्यन्तदुर्लभा ।
तस्मात्तैरपि संसेव्या श्रीमद्भागवती कथा ॥३४॥
धनं पुत्रांस्तथा दारान् वाहनादि यशो गृहान् ।
अराजपत्यं च राज्यं च दद्याद् भागवती कथा ॥३५॥
इह लोके वरान् भुक्त्वा भोगान् वै मनसेप्सितान् ।
श्रीभागवतसङ्गेन यात्यन्ते श्रीहरेः पदम् ॥३६॥
यत्र भागवती वार्ता ये च तच्छ्रवणे रताः ।
तेषां संसेवनं कुर्याद् देहेन च धनेन च ॥३७॥
तदनुग्रहतोऽन्यापि श्रीभागवतसेवनम् ।
श्रीकृष्णकृतिनिर्मितं यत्तत् सर्वं धनमर्जितम् ॥३८॥
कृष्णार्थीति धनार्थीति श्रोता वक्ता द्विधा मतः ।
यथा वक्ता तथा श्रोता तत्र सौख्यं विवर्धते ॥३९॥
उभयोर्वैपरीत्ये तु रसाभासे फलच्युतिः ।
किन्तु कृष्णार्थिनां सिद्धिर्विलम्बेनापि जायते ॥४०॥
धनार्थितस्तु संसिद्धिर्विधिसम्पूर्णतावशात् ।
कृष्णार्थिनोऽगुणस्यापि प्रेमैव विधिरुत्तमः ॥४१॥
आसमाप्ति सकामेन कर्तव्यो हि विधिः स्वयम् ।
स्नातो नित्यक्रियां कृत्वा प्राश्य पादोदकं हरेः ॥४२॥
पुस्तकं च गुरुं चैव पूजयित्वोपचारतः ।
वूयाद् वा शृणुयाद् वापि श्रीमद्भागवतं मुदा ॥४३॥
पयसा वा हविष्येण मौनं भोजनमाचरेत् ।
ब्रह्मचर्यमधःसुप्तिं क्रोधलोभादिवर्जनम् ॥४४॥
कथान्ते कीर्तनं नित्यं समाप्तौ जागरं चरेत् ।
ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा तु दक्षिणाभिः प्रतोषयेत् ॥४५॥
गुरवे वस्त्रभूषादि दत्त्वा गां च समर्पयेत् ।
एवं कृते विधाने तु लभते वाञ्छितं फलम् ॥४६॥
दारागारसुतान् राज्यं धनादि च यदीप्सितम् ।
परं तु शोभते नात्र सकामत्वं विडम्बनम् ॥४७॥
कृष्णप्राप्तिकरं शश्वत् प्रेमानन्दफलप्रदम् ।
श्रीमद्भागवतं शास्त्रं कलौ कीरेण भाषितम् ॥४८॥

A NOTE ON CĀRUDATTAM

RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI

Because of its peculiar position, and because of its peculiar relations with the group of plays ascribed to Bhāsa on the one hand, and with that masterpiece, *Mṛcchakaṭikam* on the other, *Cārudattam* has continuously attracted the attention of scholars ever since it saw the light of day. Prof. Devadhar[1] occupied himself with the play in 1922, and in 1965, Dr. Pusalkar[2] still had something to say on it. Numerous references scattered in the latter's article evince the sustained interest that the play has commanded over these many years. One more look at *Cārudattam*, therefore, will not be considered inexcusable.

One of the principal problems of *Cārudattam* is whether it ends with the end of Act IV, or is incomplete in the form in which we have it. The scholars are certainly not agreed on the point, and the problem is still *sub judice*. It is intended here to draw attention of the scholars to a small stage direction which seems to have some important bearing on the problem and yet has curiously escaped the attention of a whole army of scholars.

We all know the importance of ornaments in the play *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. In Act I, Vasantasenā deposits her ornaments at the house of the hero. They are stolen in Act III by Śarvilaka who wants to give them away as ransom for getting his beloved Madanikā set free. When Vasantasenā receives from Śarvilaka the stolen ornaments which she herself had deposited with Cārudatta, she offers him Madanikā, calls for a carriage, takes a final look at her, and setting her free, sends her away with him. Thereafter comes the Vidūṣaka who proffers her the ratnāvalī in lieu of her stolen ornaments. Immediately after his return, she, in Act V, visits Cārudatta with both the ratnāvalī and the stolen ornaments and having told him of the happenings, stays in his house. Next morning, in Act VI, after she has returned the ratnāvalī, she sees child Rohasena crying for a golden cart, and takes off all her ornaments and fills his clay-cart with them. The stage-directions are *nāṭyena ābharaāṇi avatārya* and *alaṅkārair mṛcchakaṭikām pūrayantī*. It is these ornaments of Vasantasenā, which, while being returned, are incidentally taken to the court in Act IX and prove fatal for Cārudatta by providing a motive for the murder of Vasantasenā of which he has been accused by Śakāra.

1. "*Plays ascribed to Bhāsa* : Their Authenticity and Merits", Poona, 1927. (V. N. Mandlik Gold Medalist Essay, 1922).

2. His article : "Amudaṅkaṇāḍaa and Amrdaṅganātakāṅka" in *H. D. Velankar Commemoration Volume*, Oct. 3, 1965, pp. 108-111.

Similar also is their importance in the *Cārudattam*. In Act I there, the courtesan deposits the ornaments with the hero, in Act III they are stolen, and by the same turn of fortune they come back to the courtesan herself in Act IV. In the *Cārudattam*, however, when the courtesan sends her maid away with her lover, she herself *adorns the maid with her own ornaments*. The stage-direction reads, *svair ābharaṇair madanikām alaṅkṛtya*.

Then what? The ornaments with which the clay-cart of Rohasena would have been filled and by which the decisive and motivational proof of Vasantasenā's murder by Cārudatta would have been supplied are already disposed of right at the end of the fourth Act !

Scholars are agreed at least on one point. If the *Cārudattam* is incomplete as we have it, and if originally it was continued even after Act IV, it would have been continued very much along the lines of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. Says Dr. Pusalkar,[3] "So it may safely be assumed that the continuation of the *Cār* must have been developed on similar lines as found in the *Mṛcch*, and that the verse[4] is from the second part of the *Cār* which is lost to us." He again says on the next page, "The conclusion, therefore, is that the *Daridra-cārudatta* had at least nine acts[5] and the two plays (i. e. *Cār* & *Mṛcch*) developed to the end on very similar lines."

If such is the case, then it will not be difficult for us to see how indispensable the clay-cart scene and the court scene are to the play. The quotation from *Daridra-cārudattam* found in *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇam*[6] and in *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa*[7] do indicate that at least the two scenes of Vasantasenā's murder at the hands of Śakāra and of the trial of Cārudatta must have formed part of the supposedly lost fragment of the play. Now, if Cārudatta must be convicted of the murder of Vasantasenā, her ornaments are indispensable as furnishing the conclusive evidence against Cārudatta. And, in order to bring the ornaments in the court at the most critical moment of the trial, they must in the first place be left at Cārudatta's house. Therefore, the clay-cart scene also which provides the most touching and natural reason for leaving the ornaments second time at Cārudatta's residence, seems unavoidable. But, if the ornaments are already given away to Madanikā towards the end of Act IV, it will be clearly seen that these two famous scenes of *Mṛcchakaṭikā*—the clay-cart scene in Act VI and the court scene in Act IX or, we may say,

3. In "*Bhāsa : A Study*" (second edition-1968) on p. 158.

4. Quoted in the *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇam*-V.
Śakāra kim prārthanayā prāvāreṇa miṣeṇa vā ।
a-kāryа-varjitam brūhi kim abhīṣṭam karomi te ॥

5. Though on p. 300, Dr. Pusalkar says : "The *Cār*, as we have it, is a fragment and that its sequel contained at least three more acts."!

6. Vide above No. 4.

7. *śuṣka-druma-gato rauti ādityābhimukhaṁ sthitaḥ*
kathayaty-animittam me vāyaso jñāna-paṇḍitaḥ ॥

practically the entire latter half of the play from Act VI onwards will be rendered impossible.[8]

Equally pertinent is the question of Act V of *Mṛcchakaṭikam* called *Durdināṅka*. If, towards the end of Act IV, the courtesan has disposed of the ornaments by giving them away to Madanikā, it is indeed difficult to see under what pretext she will approach her lover and how she will convince him into accepting his pearl-string back without letting him feel that she is pitying upon his poverty, and thus without hurting his self-respect, unless, of course, we imagine that she will meet him without bothering to return his pearl-string.

This small stage-direction *svair ābharaṇair madanikām alaṅkṛtya* thus seems to preclude all possibilities of the existence of *Durdināṅka* as well as the clay-cart scene and of the court scene, which amounts to saying that the stage-direction, coming as it does towards the end of Act IV, seals all further progress of the play in the direction of *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

No one can prevent us from arguing that the courtesan need not be supposed to have only one set of ornaments. If she bestows one set of ornaments upon Madanikā, she may very well fill up the clay-cart of Rohasena with another. But we must remember that by allowing another set of ornaments to be left at Cārudatta's place, we shall be positing an unnecessary and an extremely inartistic duplication of the motif, which will render our author a poor playwright lacking in insight, technique and a proper understanding of the dramatic usage of motifs. And, then, shall we be able to say that the play came from the pen of Bhāsa?

In this context, does not the colophon *avasitam cārudattam* found at the end of the play in one of the two manuscripts collated for the second edition of the play by Mm. T. Ganapati Śāstri[9]— seem to be more significant?

8. It should be noted here, that Prof. G. C. Jhala (vide his article, "*Cārudattam* and *Mṛcchakaṭikam*" in *JBBRAS* Vol. 27, Suppl. Dec. 1952) renders that famous sentence *amṛdaṅka-nāḍaam saṁvṛttam* as *a-mṛd-aṅka-nāṭakam saṁvṛttam* "i. e. the drama has ended, its acts having no clay (*na vidyate mṛd yeṣu te amṛdaḥ, amṛdaḥ aṅkāḥ yasya tat*) or the drama has ended without being marked by clay (*na vidyate mṛd eva aṅkaḥ yasmin tat*)". His interpretation seems to obtain better plausibility when observed from the above mentioned point of view.

9. Vide his preface (p. ii) to the revised edition of Trivandram, 1922.

THE IDEA OF SELF IN THE PHILOSOPHIES ŚAṀKARA AND BRADLEY

MANJULIKA GUHA

Philosophies of Śaṁka ra and Bradley are dominated a great deal by their notion of Reality or the Absolute. Indeed, their doctrines of the self are just the logical outcome of their theories of Reality. So without a background study of Reality their theories of the self will bound to be incomplete and incomprehensible.

To say a few words about their Reality : according to both thinkers. Reality is one and it is spiritual. But they do not conceive it as personal, they do not like to envisage it as self. Their absolute is totally impersonal or rather supra-personal. According to both philosophers notion of personality implies only finiteness and imperfection. So it cannot be attributed to the Highest Reality. Since Reality is one, nothing can be genuinely real outside this Absolute Reality. Self, according to both, is only an appearance, an appearance of the Absolute. It is rather strange that these two philosophers who may be regarded as the most sincere idealists of all times should treat the self as unreal. For them Absolute alone is real and the self has no reality apart from the Absolute. And Śaṁkara is more insistent of the two on this point.

Śaṁkara makes it clear from the first that the individual soul as such cannot claim any reality except in so far as it is identical with the Absolute. For Śaṁkara, the soul is not even part of the Absolute, but the whole of the Absolute is the soul. Each of us is the whole, undivided, unchangeable Brahman. Soul's reality is Absolute and the Absolute is one only.

Our soul is thus one Absolute itself in its completeness. It is, like it, pure spirituality and this alone.

Śaṁkara fully accepts the oneness of soul and Brahman that is taught in many passages in the Upaniṣads.

"This is thy self which is within all."

"He (Brahman) is thy self, the inward ruler, the immortal."

"That is the true, that is the self, and thou art it."

Śaṁkara argues that the soul cannot be different from Brahman, for nothing exists besides Brahman. It can not be modification of Brahman—either, for Brahman is eternal and unchangeable. Again the soul cannot be part of Brahman because Brahman is without parts. So the soul must be identical

with Brahman who lives whole and undivided in each of us. This idea of oneness of Brahman and human soul may seem startling to us but Śaṁkara accepts it without any reservation. It is really difficult to believe that our soul is God but if Brahman is "one without Second" man cannot be anything but a phenomenon of Brahman.

This great and profound thought of Vedānta is expressed in the famous words of Uddālaka Āruni to his son Śvetaketu, "Tat tvam asi", "Thou art that"[1]. It is the main aim of Śaṁkara's Philosophy to show that God and our soul are substantially one and the same.

In *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* we have another beautiful passage expressing this great idea. It is the much quoted "doctrine of Śāṇḍilya" (Śāṇḍilya — Vidyā) which says : "Spirit is its material, life is its body, light its form; its resolve is truth, its self is endlessness: all-working is He, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting, comprehending the All, silent, ungrieved" : — this is my soul (atman) in the innermost heart, smaller than a grain of rice, or of barley, or of mustard seed, or of millet, or a grain of millet's kernel; this is my soul in the innermost heart, greater than the earth, greater than the atmosphere, greater than the heaven, greater than these worlds, — the all-working, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting, embracing the all, silent, ungrieved, this is my soul in the innermost heart, this is Brahman..... He who has gained this, he, verily, doubts no more".

"Thus spoke Śāṇḍilya, Śāṇḍilya."

Our soul is thus the eternal Brahman Himself. But Rāmānuja, another well-known Vedāntist, strongly objected to Śaṁkara's theory of absolute identity of Brahman and soul. To him it seems an absurd idea that finite self can be identical with Brahman in every respect. As he sharply commented on Śaṁkara's view, "to say that anyone is identical with that by obtaining which he enjoys bliss, would be madness indeed." Identity of God and soul, taught in the Upaniṣad cannot be an absolute identity, according to Rāmānuja. Soul is not different from Brahman because Brahman is "the supporting, controlling, all-permeating subject" of the soul. But the soul cannot be wholly identical with God.

Śaṁkara, however, firmly believes that Brahman and the soul are absolutely one. Our soul is Absolute itself and like it, "eternal, pure, wise, free".

But we do not know this because we have not the proper knowledge of the soul. We are small and weak because we identify ourselves with our body and enjoy and suffer with it. We are under the delusion that our self is the body.

The divine nature of the soul is thus clouded by its connection with the body, with external objects and the sensations. These limiting adjuncts

1. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI. 8.

which are the product of our ignorance give individuality to the soul. The individual selves are different because of their bodies, senses, external sensations etc. Ultimately, however, all these individual souls and with them the whole phenomenal world rest on ignorance, or as we should say, on our limited stand point. They are at best only empirically real.

Metaphysically, the soul is Absolute itself and completely identical with it. It is like the Absolute, eternal consciousness and spirituality.

But the empirical self or ego (jīva) possesses no such simplicity or substantiality. It is very complex in character and mainly determined by its bodily system and sensations. True soul is eternal and unchangeable but the empirical ego is constantly changing. While the pure soul in us is only an onlooker (witness self or sākṣin) who looks on idly at our worldly actions and illusions, the jīva is essentially an agent, enjoyer and sufferer. The individual soul is a complex of self and not-self, subject and object. In his conception of empirical self, Śaṁkara, however, fully agrees with Bradley. The individual self or ego is too full of contradictions to be a genuine reality. It must, therefore, be an appearance.

Bradley, on the other hand, makes no distinction between a metaphysical self and an empirical self. Indeed to him, the whole conception of a pure self or pure ego is a metaphysical fiction. For him self involves much contradictions and inconsistencies, so cannot be real.

The self, according to Bradley, is no more or no less an appearance than the things of the physical world. For, it is a mere "bundle of discrepancies". As he says very trenchantly, "Metaphysically, your soul or ego is a mass of confusion."[2]

In chapter IX and X of his classical book "Appearance and Reality" Bradley discusses the problem of the Self. There he says that any attempt to find the ground of the world in spirit is a delusion. He contends that the self, in whatever sense we take it, involves relation and so cannot be real. The self, according to him, involves relation both internally and externally. Since it exists in time it is divisible into a number of constituents. Now these diverse constituents must be related otherwise the self would not be an identical being. Again, the self involves relation externally. When we admit the existence of a self we also tacitly admit the existence of not-selves and other selves. Now the self must be related to these not-selves and other selves. But if it is so related, it cannot be a self-subsistent entity or genuinely real.

Bradley's theory of self is not very clear but we may form some idea of it from his various writings. His aim, in treating the self, is mainly dialectical rather than constructive. He is more interested in attacking the traditional theories of the Self than giving any constructive picture of it.

2. *Appearance and Reality*, p. 316.

In discussing Bradley's "Self" we may note three distinctions he has made. He distinguishes the "Self" from "finite centre" and "Soul".

By "finite centre", Bradley means "immediate experience" or "feeling". In this "immediate experience" or "feeling" we have not any distinction between self and not-self, subject and object; according to Bradley, the Self in "finite centre" is in direct contact with reality. A finite centre "is an immediate experience of itself and of the universe in one".[3]

Here we seem to have a close parallel to Śaṁkara's doctrine that in direct experience we become one with the Absolute. But Bradley's "immediate experience", or "feeling" is very different from Śaṁkara's intuitive experience." In Bradley it is the lowest form of experience while in Śaṁkara it is the highest.

We cannot, however, understand what Bradley really means by this "experience of itself" when the "finite centre" has still no notion of its own identity as individual Self. As Mr. Segerstedt[4] points out, it is strange that "it should first be called "finite" when it is one with the Absolute, which is infinite, and secondly "centre" when it has no "Centre". James Ward also vigorously criticised Bradley on this point in his articles "Psychological Principles" and "Mr. Bradley's analysis of mind", both published in Mind 1887. There he points out that we cannot have any knowledge of the Self before we have a self proper.

Bradley again makes a distinction between "Self" and "the soul". According to him "Soul" is a unity we form from various Psychical feelings. But such a "pure soul", "pure ego" or "monad" cannot be a genuine reality. The self apart from its content is simply a meaningless abstraction. As Bradley says "if the monad stands aloof, either with no character at all, or a private character apart, then it may be a fine thing in itself, but it is a mere mockery to call it the self of a man".[5]

In considering the self Bradley lays much emphasis upon the relation between self and not-self, subject and object. "Whenever you take a finite centre as containing the opposition of not-self to self, and as having, of course, some duration through which this opposition remains or recurs, you have reached that which we term a self."[6] This felt opposition or the awareness of the distinction of subject and object makes us conscious of our own identity as Selves.

To Śaṁkara, on the other hand, self and not-self, subject and object exclude each other; so one can never take the place of the other. Subject can never be anything but a subject: the object can never be anything but

3. *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 140.
4. *Value and Reality in Bradley's Philosophy.*
5. *Appearance and Reality*, p. 87.
6. *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 416.

an object. The true self is only a subject and a knower. It knows but it cannot be known. Eye can see other things, not itself. Of course we talk of knowing ourselves: but then we mean only the empirical self or jīva which contains the knowable elements like the body and its sensations. In reality it is not the metaphysical Self but the phenomenal Self that we know. True self cannot be known as object; but it does not remain unrevealed to us. For it is essentially Self-revealing and Self-luminous.

Bradley, on the other hand, insists that object cannot be something altogether different from the subject. Subject and object have emerged from the same foundation. Both have root in "immediate experience" or "feeling". To Bradley, the boundary between subject and object is so indeterminate that we cannot find an independent unity which we can call either Self or not-self. Subject can always be made an object. Object also, so far as it is known, is a part of the subject.

Besides, subject is always dependent on the object. When we think of a Self we also think of its relation to a not-self since that relation is essential to the idea of the Self.

James Ward raised serious objection against such a view and argued that Bradley treats the subject almost as an object. Bradley's Self, is, at best, the empirical self or Self as object. Over against this empirical Self we must postulate, according to Ward, a pure Self which stands outside its experience and attends them. Without this assumption of a pure Self or ego much of the facts of our mental life will remain unexplained. Our empirical Self, Ward points out, is the object of only a few number of experiences. But the "pure Self" is the subject of all our experiences. Bradley's main objection against Pure Self is that no evidence for such a Self can be discovered within our Sense-experience. But this sort of argument can be employed only by one "who, because he can't see his own eyes, seems to think he hasn't any."[7]

According to Bradley both subject and object are formed from "feeling" or "immediate experience." Bradley, however, cannot tell us why and how the self is formed from "feeling" or "experience". "The fact of actual fragmentariness, I admit, we cannot explain."[8]

To Bradley this "feeling" or "immediate experience" is of great significance because it provides a model for the highest reality or Absolute Experience.

The ultimate Reality or the Absolute Experience can be understood in analogy of this immediate experience or feeling. The only difference, is, whereas the Absolute Experience is above relation, the immediate experience or feeling is below relation. In this Suprarelational whole all the diverse

7. James Ward "The Nature of Mental Activity" *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. VIII, New Series, 1907-8 p. 234.
8. *Appearance and Reality*, p. 226.

aspects of experience are united and harmonised into a single, all-comprehending system. Absolute is a single, all absorbing experience. As a Monist, Bradley like Śaṁkara maintains that subject and object must have emerged from the same basis. Reality must be spiritual.

Reality is experience. It is all-inclusive experience in which we have complete identity of subject and object.

Ultimately, we see, Bradley's position comes very near to Śaṁkara's. For both believe that the distinction between subject and object is a relative one since the Real is one Absolute consciousness and Experience which transcends both subject and object, Self and not-self.

Bradley's affinity with Śaṁkara becomes most evident when we consider his views of moral Self. In discussing the Self as a moral being Bradley quite explicitly lays stress upon the substantial side of the Self. In his "Ethical Studies" he even declares the Self as infinite. To Bradley this, however, does not seem inconsistent with his general position that the self is only an appearance. The Self, in order to be self-conscious, must feel the opposition between Self and not-self, subject and object. But that does not prevent it from being infinite. Already the feeling of its limitedness presupposes its passing beyond itself.

For Bradley, again, as for Śaṁkara, the Self is real as far as it is identical with reality. Goethe has said, "Be a whole, or join a whole" but to that we must answer "you cannot be a whole, unless you join a whole."[9]

In Bradley's system Reality is measured by "internal harmony or the mark of expansion and all-inclusiveness."[10] Now the real aim of the self must be to realize this harmony, expansion and all-inclusiveness within himself. The true self is a harmonious self which feels at one with the whole existence.

The true self does not stand in relation to Reality, it is the Reality. In Self-realization the self tries to be united with the Absolute. It realizes itself in the Absolute and Absolute in itself. For both Śaṁkara and Bradley, the ideal of life is to merge onself in the Universal Consciousness and make oneself co-extensive with the whole existence. "We do not then so much think Reality as live it, do not so much know it as become it."

9. *Ethical Studies*. p. 79.
10. *Appearance and Reality*. p. 363.

REFUTATION OF BUDDHIST VIJÑĀNA-VĀDA IN BRAHMA-SŪTRA-VALLABHA-BHĀṢYA

K. V. APTE

The Brahmasūtras in themselves are unintelligible. To understand them, therefore, we have to depend upon one or the other commentaries thereon. One of the commentaries on Brahmasūtra is that of Ācārya Vallabha who was the founder of the Śuddhādvaita (Pure Monism) Vedānta system of philosophy. Vallabha's commentary on certain portion of the Brahmasūtra is taken for consideration in this article.

It is well-known that the Brahmasūtra II·2 called Tarkapāda criticises rival systems of philosophy like Sāṅkhya and so on. Amongst them, Jainism and Buddhism are the heterodox ones. Vijñānavāda is one of the important schools of Buddhist philosophy. Vallabha's criticism of this Vijñāna-vādā is selected for discussion in this article.

Generally it is said that the Indian critics have correctly presented the views of their philosophical opponents, in their criticism. Yet some scholars have expressed their doubt in this connection. Hence it will be interesting as well as instructive to see whether Vallabha has faithfully presented the views of Vijñāna-vādi Buddhists, in his refutation. For this purpose, we will have to take into account Vallabha's statement of Vijñāna-vāda views and his criticism thereof.

VALLABHA'S REFUTATION OF VIJÑANA-VĀDA :—

Vallabha directs Brahmasūtra II·2·28-31 against Buddhist Vijñāna-vāda; and he introduces his criticism, by saying — Now is refuted the pet doctrine of the Vijñāna-vādin, namely, the non-existence or falsehood of the empirical existence.

(1) The Vijñāna-vādin maintains that there is no empirical existence of things (prapañca) apart from cognitions.

Vallabha contends that this is not the case at all. There is no non-existence of the empirical existence, on account of perception; for, the empirical world is indeed perceived. Then, in what way can be acceptable the words of him who, though he is surely perceiving the empirical world, says that he is not perceiving[1] it? That is to say, the Vijñāna-vādin who denies the external world of objects, though he is perceiving it, cannot be trusted. His statement that the empirical world is unreal contradicts the testimony of perception. Perception itself proves the existence of the empirical objects.

1. *BSVB* II.2.28

(2) The Vijñāna-vādin then argues :— The existence of entities cannot be established merely on the ground of their being perceived; for, in dream, magical illusion and error (bhrama), it is seen otherwise. That is, in dreams and so on, though things are seen, still they do not really exist. The objects in the waking state are on par with objects in dream and the rest. Hence objects of waking state, though perceived, need not exist merely on the ground of perception. They are false and without any objective foundation in the external world.

This view, urges Vallabha, is wrong, on account of dissimilarity. For, in case of the dream and the like, the nature of things being other than real is apprehended at that very time or after the dream is over. But such is not the case with the objects of the waking state : a pillar though seen after many years remains a pillar only. In other words, dreams are contradicted by waking perceptions. But valid perceptions of the waking state are not so contradicted. The external objects do exist independent of their perceptions. And they are perceived, because they exist. Moreover, says Vallabha, the meaning of the particle 'ca' (and) in the sūtra is that there will result the obstruction (vyāghāta) to activity towards one's own[2] salvation, because it is related to external things which[3] are not admitted by the Vijñāna-vādin.

(3) The Vijñāna-vādin says that the variety of cognitions is possible on account of subconscious impressions (vāsanā), even though there is no external object.

This is inadmissible, remarks Vallabha. The very existence of the subconscious impressions cannot be established, because, on the view of the Vijñāna-vādin, the external things are not perceived at all. For, the subconscious impression (vāsanā) is produced only by that thing which is perceived. And even if a beginningless series (of cognition and subconscious impression) is assumed, the variety of cognitions cannot be proved; there would result only baselessness as illustrated in the maxim of blind men led by blind men. That is to say, the subconscious impressions are produced by the perception of external objects. There can be no subconscious impressions, if there are no perceptions of external things. The Vijñāna-vādin does not admit external objects; hence there can be no subconscious impressions.

Moreover, adds Vallabha, the existence of external things can be proved by positive and negative judgements of concomitance, namely, (i) subconscious impressions are absent in the absence of external objects, and (ii) the external things are perceived even in the absence of subconscious[4] impressions.

Again, argues Vallabha, there is not even a substratum for the subconscious impressions. For, the Ālaya-vijñāna (admitted by Vijñāna-vāda)

2. *BSVB* II.2.29.
3. Pravṛtteḥ bāhyatvāt, tadastitvasya ca anaṅgīkārāt (Puruṣottama on *BSVB*, p. 94).
4. *BSVB* II.2.30

is momentary[5] like the Vṛtti-vijñāna. That is, there is no permanent substratum of subconscious impressions. The Ālaya-vijñāna, if taken to be the substratum of subconscious impressions, is not the proper basis, as it is momentary.

Thus Vijñāna-vāda stands refuted.

* * *

It can be easily observed, after a perusal of the above criticism of Vallabha, that Vallabha (unlike Śaṅkara) has not given an elaborate and systematic exposition of Vijñāna-vāda and then its criticism, but he has merely referred to some views only which he thought fit to criticise.

Which Vijñāna-vāda ?

Now, before we consider whether Vallabha has correctly presented the views of Vijñāna-vāda, we have to decide which school of Vijñāna-vada was in his view. For, as Stcherbatsky says, "Idealistic views (Vijñāna-vāda) have appeared in the history of Buddhist philosophy several times and at different[6] places." And hence many different tendencies get "included under the general name of Vijñāna-vāda[7] and Yogācāra." Yet from the view-point of two[8] main currents, the Yogācāra or Vijñāna-vāda school can be divided into (i) the ancient one or the followers of Asaṅga, and (ii) the new one or the followers[9] of Diṅnāga. Dr. C. Sharma calls the theory of Laṅkāvatāra, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu as real Vijañāna-vāda or mere Vijñāna-vāda and calls the theory of Diṅnāga and his followers as Svatantra[10] Vijñāna-vāda. The fact is that the early Vijñāna-vāda of Asaṅga and others was continued[11] by Diṅnāga and other Buddhist logicians who had strong Sautrāntika[12] leanings. These Buddhist logicians "compromised and established the hybrid school of the Sautrāntika-Yogācāras."[13] Thus, the adherents of Diṅnāga's school are Sautrāntika[14] Yogācāras or Vijñāna-vādi logicians. The school of Diṅnāga accepts the metaphysical truth of Vijñāna-vāda that reality is pure consciousness, and combines it with the logical and epistemological critical realism of the Sautrāntika[15] school. Thus, we may use the term Early School for the views of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, etc., and Later School for the system of

5. *BSVB* II.2.31.
6. Stcherbatsky, *C B Nirvana*, p. 31.
7. Tucci, *Doctrines of Maitreya*, p. 61.
8. McGovern in his *Manual*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 3 observes that Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla and Dharmakīrti were the great representatives of Vijñāna-vāda in India.
9. Stcherbatsky, *C B Nirvana*, p. 32.
10. C. Sharma, *A Critical Survey*, pp. 124, 125, 323
11. Murti, *CPB*, P. 108
12. Sautrāntika is one of the Buddhist schools of philosophy.
13. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, p. 529
14. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. II, Footnote 2, p. 7
15. C. Sharma, *A Critical Survey*, p. 124

Diṅnāga. The early school is represented by Laṅkāvatāra,[16] Maitreyanātha Asaṅga and Vasubandhu; the later School is represented by Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. The main difference between these two schools is : The early school regards the Absolute as one, eternal, pure consciousness (vijñaptimātratā); it is the ground of Ālaya-vijñāna which evolves the individual subjects and the objective[17] universe. This schoo restricts momentariness only to phenomena. But the later School or Svatantra Vijñāna-vāda applies the theory of momentariness to the reality also; reality is a unique momentary point-instant of consciousness. The permanent consciousness of the early school is reduced to momentary cognitions (vijñāna), in the later school.

What Vallabha has mentioned in connection with the views of Vijñānavāda is :— plurality of cognitions is due to subconscious impression (vāsanā); they are beginningless: ālaya-vijñāna and vṛtti-vijñāna are momentary. The former is the view of the later Vijñānavādins. Ālaya-vijñāna (though figuring in early School) is also mentioned in *PVB*. Further, Vallabha has not mentioned any doctrines peculiar to early school of Vijñāna-vāda. The remaining points mentioned by Vallabha are common to both the early and later schools of Vijñānavāda. Hence we are in a position to say that Vallabha is criticising the later school of Vijñāna-vāda.

SOURCES :—

In order to test the correctness or otherwise of the topics of Vijñāna-vāda as mentioned by Vallabha, following works on Vijñāna-vāda are used :—

Laṅkāvatāra, MSL, Vasubandhu's Viṁśikā with Vṛtti and his Triṁśikā with Bhāṣya, and his Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi as rendered into Sanskrit by Rahul Sankrityayan, for early Vijñānavāda. Diṅnāga's Ālambana-parīkṣā with Vṛtti, Vyākhyā, and the comments of Paramārtha, Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārtika with Bhāṣya, Śāntarakṣita's Tattvasaṅgraha with Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla, for later Vijñāna-vāda. Supplementary to these original sources, I have used general works on Mahāyāna where the Vijñāna-vāda views are mentioned. e. g. Citta-viśuddhi prakaraṇa of Āryadeva and *PVB*. Again, Vijñāna-vāda views as mentioned in Sphuṭārthā of Yaśomitra, and *BCP* are incidentally mentioned. The other works that are consulted are mentioned at their due places.

16. A few words are essential regarding Laṅkāvatāra. Though E. J. Thomas (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 230) holds that Laṅkā has the same doctrine as is found in the Yogācāra of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and hence though Sogen (*Systems*, p. 211) takes Laṅkā to be one of the canonical texts of the Vijñāna-vāda school, yet the view of D. T. Suzuki, namely, "We find in it the tendencies that might have developed into the Yogācāra as well as into the Mādhyamika; and these tendencies must be regarded as prior to the development of these two schools each distinctly claiming its special province of interest" (Studies in Lanka, p. 170), is acceptable.

17. Dasgupta, *Indian Idealism*, p. 149; C. Sharma, *A Critical Survey*, p. 114.

The following paragraphs discuss what Vallabha has said of Vijñāna-vāda views and how far his statements are correct :—

(1) NAME VIJÑĀNA-VĀDA : —

Vallabha says : Vijñāna-vādyabhimataṁ prapañcāsatyatvaṁ nirākaroti (BSVB II·2·28).

The Buddhist Idealistic School is generally known as Vijñāna-vāda (and sometimes as Yogācarā). As this school believes in Vijñāna as the reality, it is called Vijñāna-vāda.[18]

Hence Vallabha is right in using the word Vijñāna-vādin to refer to Buddhist idealists.

(2) PRAPAÑCA IS FALSE :—

Vallabha writes :— Vijñāna-vādyabhimataṁ prapañcāsatyatvam (BSVB II·2·28).

Vijñāna is the only reality: everything else is not real, in Vijñāna-vāda. Laṅkā writes :— As Vijñāna is the only reality, all the empirical existence is false. All three worlds are the result of thought-relations[19] (vikalpa); they are imaginary constructions of the mind. External objects are unreal like dream, mirage, gandharva-nagara[20] and so on. The commentary on MSL tells that Citta[21] alone appears like the subject[22] and the object; naturally the objects are not real. According to Vasubandhu, everything is a transformation of consciousness, which means that the external world or things have no substantial nature or reality in the aspect as materiality and hence[23] are false; external objects have no real existence in their independent nature as material objects. Later Vijñāna-vādins hold the same view. Dharmpāla, (author of A.P. Vākhyā), the commentator of Diṅnāga, says that external things are[24] false. Dharmakīrti remarks that consciousness appears as subject and object. Whatever comes under the duality of subject[25] and

18. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, p. 525.

19. Vikalpa-mātraṁ tribhavaṁ bāhyaṁ arthaṁ na vidyate (Laṅkā III. 77, p. 186). Also see : Laṅkā, Chap. V, P. 218, Chap. VI, p. 234.

20. Māyā-svapnopamaḥ kena kathaṁ gandharva-sannibhaḥ/Marīcidakacandrābhaḥ kena loko bravīhi me/(Laṅkā, II.25, p. 25). Also see : Laṅkā III. 18, 45, 51, 54; VI. 4; II.143, 150, 160; Laṅkā Sagāthaka, 129, 221, 256, 433.

21. In Vijñāna-vāda, citta, manas, vijñāna, and vijñapti are synonyms (Cittaṁ mano vijñānam vijñaptiśca, iti paryāyāḥ (Viṁśikā Vṛtti, p. 3).

22. Citta-mātrameva dvaya-pratibhāsaṁ iṣyate grāhya-pratibhāsaṁ grāhaka-pratibhāsaṁ ca (Com on MSL, p. 63). Also see : MSL XI. 34, p. 63; MSL XI. 32 and Com on it, p. 63.

23. Atma-dharmopacāro hi vividho yaḥ pravartate / Vijñāna-pariṇāme 'sau (Triṁśikā Kārikā, I, p. 15); evaṁ ca sarvaṁ vijñeyaṁ parikalpita-svabhāvatvāt vastuto na vidyate (Triṁśikā Bhāṣya, p. 16). Also see : Triṁśikā Kārikā, 20, p. 39; VMS, pp. 5, 6,42, 43.

24. Mithyābhūtam bāhya-vastu viṣayatayā nāsti, iti spaṣṭam (AP Vyākhyā, P. 38).

25. *PV* III.213, P. 288. Also see : *PV* III. 354, P. 397; *PVB*, P. 185.

object is false. Appearances are thus unreal. TS tells that the external object is only the knowable[26] aspect of consciousness; it is not real. (Some other Mahāyāna works like CVP, 19, p. 2, and PVS, VI·12, P. 21 declare that the world is false).

All this shows that Vallabha is right, when he refers to the falsity of the prapañca.

(3) WORLD AND CONSCIOUSNESS :—

Vallabha says : Sa ca jñānātiriktaḥ prapañco nāsti, iti āha (BSVB II·2·28).

In Vijñāna-vāda, the world is only vijñāna or citta. The objectivity of the world does not fall outside of consciousness. All things are vijñāna only; they are not over and above vijñāna. The world is reducible to vijñāna alone. Laṅkā regards things to be citta[27] or Ālaya-vijñāna (the cosmic or universal mind). Sometimes Laṅkā speaks of individual mind as responsible[28] for the projection of the world. According to Vasubandhu, all the three worlds are of the nature of vijñapti[29] only. For the later Vijñāna-vādins also, external objects do not exist outside of consciousness or vijñāna. According to Diṅnāga, the external things do not exist independently and outside of consciousness. The so-called object is only "the knowable[30] aspect" of consciousness. Dharmakīrti remarks : when it is proved that consciousness itself appears as an object, one does not know, for what reason an external[31] object is taken to be real. *PVB* comments that citta is responsible for the entire[32] prapañca. *TSP* holds that the three worlds are vijñapti[33] only. (Some Mādhyamika and Vajrayāna works like BCP, pp. 390, 406, CVP, St. 8, p. 1 also mention this view of the Vijñāna-vādins that the world (Jagat) is mere citta or consciousness).

All this discussion shows that Vallabha is correct in saying that prapañca is not something over and above consciousness (jnāna).

(4) PLURALITY OF COGNITIONS IS DUE TO VARIETY OF VĀSANĀS :—

Vallabha writes : Yadapi ucyate bāhyārthavyatirekeṇa api vāsanayā jñāna-vaicitryaṁ bhaviṣyati, iti (BSVB II·2·30).

26. *TS*, 2083, P. 582. Also see : *TS*, 2082, P. 582.
27. Citta-mātraṁ idaṁ sarvam (Laṅkā III. 121, p. 209). Also see : Laṅkā II.136 & 139 P. 73; III.25 & 29, p. 153; Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 77, p. 274.
28. Sva-citta-mātraṁ idam traidhātukam (Laṅkā, Chap. II, p. 80). Also see : Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 473, p. 324, & 218, p. 293; Laṅka, V. 3, P. 219.
29. Vijñapti-mātramevaitat (Viṁśati Kārikā, I. P. 3); Māhayāne trai-dhātukaṁ vijñapti-mātraṁ vyavasthāpyate (Viṁśika Vṛtti, p. 3).
30. Indriya-vijñapter grāhyāṁśaḥ (AP, I, p. 3).
31. *PV* III. 353, p. 395.
32. Cittādeva sakala-saṁsāra-prapañca-udayaḥ (*PVB*, p. 415)
33. Vijñapti-mātramevedaṁ traidhātukam (*TSP*, p. 550).

In Vijñāna-vāda, there are no independent external things. Hence the plurality of cognitions is accounted for by the variety of internal subconscious impressions (vāsanā). According to Laṅkā, the citta affected by vāsanās appears like external[31] objects. Vasubandhu holds that vāsanā left by an action is in consciousness itself; while its result is wrongly imagined (by the opponent) to be outside consciousness. Really, vāsanā as well as its result are in consciousness itself. (Viṁśati Kārikā, 7, p. 5; Viṁśati Vṛtti, p. 5). The later Vijñāna-vādins like Diṅnāga clearly hold that the diversity of cognitions is due to variety of vāsanās. Vijñāna manifests the object-content from time to time, owing to its own internal modifications caused by the subconscious impressions (vāsanā). As N. A. Sastri[35] remarks, "The principle that our cognitions and forces (vāsanā) are mutually related as causes and effects from immemorial time has been set up by Diṅnāga in his Ālambana-parīkṣā as an ultimate explanation of his pure idealism." *PVB* says, "Cognitions arise due to the revival of[36] vāsanās. The plurality of cognitions is due to diversity of vāsanās: it is not due to variety of external[37] objects. Moreover, these vāsanās are of different forms (vāsanānāṁ aneka-rūpatvāt — *PVB*, p. 71). And this plurality of vāsanās is responsible for diversity of cognitions (*PVB*, p. 97).

This shows the correctness of Vallabha's statement.

(5) VṚTTI-VIJÑĀNA :—

Vallabha mentions Vṛtti-vijñāna (*BSVB* II·2·31).

A reference to Vṛtti-vijñāna is not found (as far as I know) in the available Vijñāna-vāda works. (Most probably, I would suggest, Vallabha's vṛtti-vijñāna is the same as Pravṛtti-vijñāna. In earlier Vijñāna-vāda, pravṛtti-vijñāna is a collective name for all the particular vijñānas that evolve out of the Ālaya-vijñāna, when they are considered from the point[38] of view of evolution. Pravṛtti-vijñānas spring[39] from Ālaya-vijñāna).

Vallabha refers to some Vijñāna-vāda points in giving reasons. They are as follows :—

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34. Vāsanair bhāvitaṁ cittaṁ bhāvābhāsaṁ pravartate (Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 213, p. 293). Also see : Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 155, p. 285; Laṅkā, Chap II, p. 43; Laṅkā II.142, p. 85, III.32, p. 154

35. N. A. Shastri, "Śaṅkarācārya on Buddhist Idealism", *Annals of SVOI*, Vol. I, Part III, Tirupati, 1940, p. 85. Also see : AP, 7-8, pp. 6-7; AP Vṛtti, p. 6: Paramārtha on AP, pp. 7,18. For details, see : N. A. Shastri, Alambanaparīkṣā, pp. 49-55.

36. Vāsanā-prabodha-vibhāga-balāt kadācit sukha-rūpaṁ vijñānaṁ duḥkha-rūpaṁ anyathā vā, iti na anupapannam (*PVB*, p. 309),

37. Vāsanā-bhedato bhedo grāhyākāre pi dṛśyate/Abhāve pi padārthānāṁ kāma-śoka-bhayādiṣu//(*PVB*, p. 357). Also see : PV III.337, p. 390; PVB, pp. 357,359, 397.

38. D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in Laṅkā*, p. 186.

39. Oghāntara-jala-sthānīyād ālaya-vijñānāt pravṛtti-vijñānataraṅga utpadyate (Laṅkā, Chap. II, p. 44). Also see : Laṅkā II.99-100, p. 46; Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 871, p. 374.

(6) ĀLAYA-VIJÑANA IS MOMENTARY :—

Ālaya-vijñānasya kṣaṇikatvāt (BSVB II·2·31)

Ālaya-vijñāna is a term peculiar to Buddhist Vijñāna-vāda. In Laṅkā, Ālaya-vijñāna, as pointed by P. T. Raju (Idealistic Thought, p. 262), is viewed from two points of view. One aspect is absolute, the other is relative, changing or momentary (kṣaṇikaṁ punar Mahātmate ālaya-vijñānam — Laṅkā, Chap. VI, pp. 235-236). Triṁśikā Bhāṣya remarks that Ālaya-vijñāna is momentary.[40]

Thus Vallabha is correct.

(7) EXTERNAL THINGS ARE NOT PERCEIVED :—

Tvanmate bāhyārthasya anupalabdheḥ, says Vallabha (BSVB II·2·30).

In Vijñāna-vāda, the external things do not really exist. According to Laṅkā, all things are unproduced; they are imagined (Laṅkā, Chap. II, p. 62). Real objects are not apprehended, declares VMS.[41] According to Diṅnāga[42] and his followers, internal knowable part of cognition appears as something external. Really speaking, there is no real external object, as it is never apprehended (Bāhyārtho vastuto nāsti, apratītatvāt — AP Vyākhyā, P. 37). External object is not perceived (Bāhyārthasya anubhavo nāsti — PVB, p. 388). Perception never grasps external objects (Pratyakṣato bāhyārtha-siddhiḥ syāt....., tatra na tāvat pratyakṣataḥ — TSP, p. 574).

This shows the correctness of Vallabha's statement.

Vallabha mentions some views of Vijñāna-vāda when he is proposing the Pūrva-pakṣa. They are thus :—

(8) IF COGNITION AND VĀSANĀ ARE BEGINNINGLESS:—

Vallabha refers to beginninglessness of vāsanā and cognition in — anāditve (*BSVB* II·2·30).

Under (4) above, in the discussion of the plurality of cognitions being due to variety of vāsanās, it was noted that Diṅnāga and his commentator point out how cognition and vāsanā or śakti, determine each other from beginningless time.

So Vallabha is correct.

(9) APPREHENSION DOES NOT PROVE THE EXISTENCE OF THINGS :—

Vallabha writes :— Nanu upalabdhi-mātreṇa na vastusattvam. Svapna-māyā-bhrameṣu anyathā dṛṣṭatvāt, iti cet (BSVB II·2·29).

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40. Kiṁ punaḥ tad ālaya-vijñānaṁ ekaṁ abhinnaṁ āsaṁsāraṁ anuvartate, uta santānena. Na hi tad ekaṁ abhinnaṁ anuvartate kṣaṇikatvāt (Triṁśikā Bhāṣāya, p. 21). Also see : Triṁśikā Kārikā, 4, p. 21; Triṁśikā Bhāṣya, p. 22; VMS, p. 75.

41. Sad-bhūtayoḥ ātma-dharmayoḥ anupalabhyamānatvāt (VMS, p. 6).

42. Yadantar jñeya-rūpaṁ tu bahirvadavabhāsate, So' rthaḥ vijñāna-rūpatvāt tat-pratyayatayāpi ca (AP, 6, pp. 5-6). Also see : AP Vyākhyā, pp. 36-37; AP Vṛtti, p. 6; Sphuṭārthā, Chap I, p. 57; *TSP*, p. 580; TS, 2082-2083, p. 582; *BCP*, p. 390.

This objection is put by Vallabha in the mouth of the Vijñāna-vādin. And this seems to be Vallabha's way of putting forth the Vijñāna-vādin's analogies of dream, magic, illusion and so on. Vijñāna-vādin uses these analogies for a specific purpose. According to him, the occurrance of dream, illusion, etc. shows that the cognition can have a content without there being any corresponding external object; in such cases, knowledge is without object. So also, in waking life, argues Vijñāna-vādin, knowledge can be without objective counterpart in external world.

Laṅkā uses the analogies of dream and the like to show the unreality of external objects (Laṅkā, II ·25, p. 25. Also see : Laṅkā, II·150, p. 95; Laṅkā, Chap. II, p. 82; Laṅkā, Sagāthaka, 11, p. 265). Vasubandhu writes : Just as in a dream, a person experiences objects in different places, times and forms, so also the world of waking experience and external objects are creations of vijñāna (Viṁśati Kārikā, 2, p 3; Viṁśati Kārikā, 16, p. 8. Also see :— Viṁśikā Vṛtti, Pp. 3, 9; Triṁśikā Bhāṣya, p. 17). *TSP* says that as in dreams, so also in waking life, cognitions are not due to external things (TSP, p. 678).

Now, as Vallabha's pūrva-pakṣa is based on Vijñānavādin's analogies of dream and the rest, it is justifiable.

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We can now have a resume[13] of whatever we have discussed in details in the above paragraphs :—

(1) Vallabha is right in referring to Buddhist school of idealism by the name Vijñāna-vāda. (2) Vallabha is correct, when he refers to the falsehood of prapañca, when he says that prapañca is not different from or over and above jñāna, and when he remarks that the plurality of cognitions is due to the variety of subconscious impressions (vāsanā). (3) With regard to Vallabha's reference to Vṛtti-vijñāna, we have to note :— Vṛtti-vijñāna is not found mentioned in available Vijñāna-vāda works. But, if it be the same as pravṛtti-vijñāna, then only Vallabha will be right. (4) Vallabha's mention of the momentariness of Ālaya-vijñāna is in keeping with Vijñāna-vāda view. (5) His statement that the external objects are not perceived is correct.

Regarding the pūrva-pakṣas proposed by Vallabha, we can note :— (1) The objection pertaining to beginninglessness of cognition and vāsanā is correct. (2) The objection, "Nanu...cet", seems to be Vallabha's own way of understanding the Vijñāna-vādin's analogies of dream and the rest. And as it is based on the analogies offered by Vijñāna-vāda, it can be justified.

* * *

In passing, we may consider one or two remarks of A. B. Shastri who, in his Post-Śaṅkara Dialectics, Pp. 250-253, has summarised the arguments of the orthodox Brahmanical authors against Vijñāna-vāda. He (Ibid, p. 253)

43. The evaluation of Vallabha's critique of Vijñāna-vāda is not attempted here, as that is not the purpose of this short article.

remarks, "A close examination of the Vijñāna-vādin's position however shows that the above criticism is based on a misunderstanding or distortion of his position." To substantiate his remark, he refers to Alayavijñāna, and says, "The phenomenal existence of the world with its distinctions of subject and object is accepted by them" (Ibid, p. 254). Then, he mentions Vijñāna-vādin's threefold reality, namely, parikalpita , paratantra and pariniṣpanna, and explains dream as parikalpita (Ibid, Pp. 254-255).

The 'misunderstanding' or 'distortion' on the part of Brahmancial authors as mentioned by A. B. Shastri will not be acceptable, in case of Vallabha. For, it is quite clear that A. B. Shastri has in his view the Vijñāna-vādins like Vasubandhu. But Vedāntists like Vallabha refute the Vijñāna-vāda of Diṅnāga and his followers. To such authors including Vallabha, therefore, A. B. Shastri's remark will not apply.

So also, another remark of A. B. Shastri, namely, "The criticism of Śaṅkara and others would seem to be based on a misunderstanding" (Ibid, p. 255), will be also off the mark, so far as Vallabha (and also Śaṅkara) is concerned, as Vallabha does not criticise the early Vijñāna-vāda of Vasubandhu and others.

ABBREVIATIONS

A Critical Survey	A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy
Annals of SVOI	Annals of Sri Venkateshvara Oriental Institute
AP	Ālambana-parīkṣā
AP Vṛtti	Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti
AP Vyākhyā	Ālambana-parīkṣā-vyākhyā
BCP	Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā
BSVB	Brahmasūtra-Vallabha-Bhāṣya
CB Nirvana	Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa
Com	Commentary
CPB	Central Philosophy of Buddhism
CVP	Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa
Doctrines of Maitreya	On some aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga
Idealistic Thought	Idealistic Thought of India
Intro	Introduction
Laṅkā	Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
Manual	Manual of Buddhist Philosophy
MSL	Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra
Post-Śaṅkara Dialectics	Studies in Post-Śaṅkara Dialectics
PV	Pramāṇa-vārtika
PVB	Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya

PVS	Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi
Sphuṭārthā	Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārthā
Studies in Laṅkā	Studies in Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
Systems	Systems of Buddhistic Thought
TS	Tattva-saṅgraha
TSP	Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā
VMS	Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi

LIST OF REFERENCES

(i) Books, editions, etc.

Anaṅgavajra	Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi
Āryadeva	Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa
Asaṅga	Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra
Dasgupta S. N.	Indian Idealism
Dharmakīrti	Pramāṇavārtika with Bhāṣya of Prajñākaraguptа
Diṅnāga	Alambanaparīkṣā with Vṛtti, Vyākhyā of Dharmapāla and comments of Paramārtha.
McGovern	A manual of Buddhist Philosophy, Vol. I
Murti T. R. V.	Central Philosophy of Buddhism
Nanjio (edi)	Laṅkāvatārasūtra with Sagāthaka
Prajñākaramati	Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā
Raju P. T.	Idealistic Thought of India
Sankrityayan (ed)	Vijñapti-mātrarā-siddhi (Appendix to JBORS, Vol. XIX-XX, Parts 3-4)
Śāntarakṣita	Tattvasaṅgraha with Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla
Sharma C.	A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy
Stcherbatsky	Buddhist Logic, Vol. I and II
Sogen	Systems of Buddhist Thought
Shastri A. B.	Studies in Post-Śaṅkara Dialectics
Shastri N. A. (edi)	Ālambana-parīkṣā
Stcherbatsky	Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa
Suzuki D. T.	Studies in Laṅkāvatārasūtra
Thomas E. J.	History of Buddhist Thought
Tucci	On some aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga
Yaśomitra	Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārthā
Vasubandhu	Triṁśika with Bhāṣya of Sthiramati
Vasubandhu	Viṁśika (or Viṁśatikā) with Vṛtti
Zimmer	Philosophies of India

(ii) Journal

Annals of Shri Venkateshvara Oriental Institute, Vol. I, Part III, Tirupati, 1940.

AN APPROACH BETWEEN INDIAN MEDICINE AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

S. MAHDIHASSAN

The above title would imply that the two systems of thought share a common objective if not also a common origin. And we shall find later that both Indian Medicine and Indian Philosophy are the creations of the old ascetic, the former promising him rejuvenation and the latter immortality. Naturally Medicine has priority over philosophy for health claims immediate attention whereas immortality promising happiness can be deferred.

Now to understand any by one phase of civilization we must know the social history of the times. Indeed Virchow has opined that, "medicine is a social history in its very bone and marrow". Then to know the history of Indian Medicine is to know the social history when it was supposed to have been founded. The same would apply to Indian Philosophy for this promised happiness.

In ancient times struggle for existence was so severe that it could not tolerate social parasiticism in any form. Every male member had to join in hunting game for food and to partake in tribal feuds defensive and offensive. The aged was incapable of discharging such duties and was excommunicated to live like a solitary denizen of a forest. Here his foremost concern became the maintenance of health, in fact of robust health, a difficult problem for the aged. He had to roam all over the forest in search of food-plants as his daily ration. A day's rest was fasting and a long sick leave lingering death from starvation.

The earliest system of treatment has been mainly psychological. The old exile prayed for freedom from diseases and for longevity. These prayers are recorded in Atharva Veda and Sir P. C. Ray (1: p. VIII) maintains that, they are of two kinds, bearing special designations : "One is called Bhaishajyāni for curing diseases and driving away demons (which in those days were imagined as causing ailments). The other had for its objective the securing of long life and health known as Āyushyāni. This term (later on) gave place to Rasāyana (which in turn) became the Sanskrit equivalent of alchemy". Briefly, Āyushyāni prayers were followed by Rasāyana medicines and these by mercurials which were the preparations of the art alchemy. The latter however was an introduction from China.

Focussing attention on the term Āyushyāni we find that Monier-Williams[2] translates it as "giving long life." Any old man, would pray earnestly for longevity. But the old man of the forest needed robust health to be his own grocer and his own cook. Thus he could not but pray for robust health more

than for longevity. In other words he longed for the good old days when he was young and strong so that his prayers for longevity virtually meant prayers for a rejuvenations. We shall be able to confirm this interpretation when we find that, following Āyushyāni prayers, the Rasāyana medicaments specially promised rejuvenation.

We can now picture the old exile hunting for food plants never forgetting to look for herbs of rejuvenation, Searching for the impossible he came to learn the properties of so many medicinal plants that he virtually became the founder of herbalism, the earliest phase of Indian Medicine. In fact the present day quacks all claim to prescribe medicines discovered by such ascetics who are presented as the real masters. However an intermediate stage must have existed when the aged ascetic used to offer Bhaishajyāni and Āyushyāni prayers and also search for drugs curing diseases and other promising rejuvenation. Just as his prayers were restricted to two kinds, his primitive system of medicine correspondingly consisted of only two divisions.

The authority who first codefied Indian Medicine was Charaka. He is to Indian Medicine what Hippocrates has been to that of Greece. Charaka was a practising physician, in fact Physician Royal to the Scythian King, Kanishka, and lived about 150 A. D. Sir P. C. Ray (1; 32) quotes Charaka as one who recognized that, "medicines are of two kinds the one promotes strength and vitality of the healthy the other cures diseases. Whatever promotes longevity and virility is called Rasāyana". Here we see clear enough that Rasāyana, as a system of medicine, is concerned specifically with rejuvenation and as medicaments promising the same. Thus we can properly appreciate, in turn, Āyushyāni prayers as aiming at "eternal youth" rather than at mere longevity.

That medical science in India started with only two divisions is a documented fact. What is further strange is that the more important is concerned with rejuvenation, which is not recognized by other masters of medicine, like Hippocrates or Galen. Accordingly when we try to translate the term Rasāyana there is no word for it of Greek or Latin origin. Hence when Monier-Williams had to render the word be equated, Rasāyana — Elixir. But Elixir is of Chinese origin, first Arabicized as Al-Iksir, and then passed into European languages as Elixir. This has been explained before.[3] In ancient times Animism was widely prevalent. According to it a plant and a mineral each carried a quantum of soul. When a herbal extract was taken the soul content of the plant passed into the system of the patient much as vitamin would on taking fruit juice. The main word, in the term Iksir, is Ch'i, meaning Soul in Chinese. Iksir then transfers the soul of a medicament to add to the strength of the patient. Soul is the active principle in the light of Animism as applied to medicine. Moreover in Animism soul was monoclemental. Later came Dualism when even soul had two sub-souls. One is Spirit in English, the other is Soul-specific or "the" Soul. Spirit determines

life-span: the Soul donates form and specific features. A plant has a larger ratio of Spirit since it grows conspicuously. Its Soul ratio is poor for the plant is delicate and easily scorched by heat. The reverse is the case with a metal. It is hard, solid and heat resistant, corporeal features revealing a larger ratio of Soul. It hardly grows implying that its proportion of Spirit is poor. The above attributes make a plant and a herb a proper pair of reciprocals and opposites so that on the being calcined together the resultant would be a herbo-metalic complex, with the growth-energy of herbal Spirit and the physical strength of metallic Soul. It is obvious that such a bi-elemental drug would premise robust health and thereby longevity. We can now pin point the author conceiving such a drug as the old ascetic for it was he who needed it most.

Now Charaka does mention calcined metals as Rasāyana. By now his Codex[4] has been translated and annotated in six large volumes, and Vol. V devotes a whole chapter to vitalization. However it is of greatest importance for us to have the nature of calcined metals properly elucidated. Here we can find no better authority than His Highness Maharaja Bhagavat Sinhjee of Gondal who was a Doctor of Medicine from the Edinburgh University. He[5] explains that, the ancient Hindus " have described the method of transferring the properties of vegetable cures to certain metals which intensify their efficacy and retain it a long time." Such a statement transcends common sense for no one can conceive how the active principle of a plant can be transferred into a metal. It requires specialized reasoning to appreciate that Animism identifies the active principle of a plant, as soul, and this can be induced to reincarnate itself into a metal. The resultant would be a herbal soul in a metallic vehicle, a Reincarnation Body. But Dualism can explain it even better. The metal killed by heat was resurrected by the herbal soul so that the calcined metal now becomes a Resurrection Body, where Body and Soul two as one, become Soul-incorporate. The corporeal or material element of the product is now endowed with the virtues of soul, it is matter to look at, but soul by its virtues. Here two-as-one is indissoluble and hence everlasting. Thus the herbo-metallic preparation carries an active principle which makes the body strong as a metal and further makes it ever growing and thereby everlasting. Alberuni[6] lived in India in the early 11th Century so that when he speaks of Rasāyana he refers to a time about 800 years after Charaka. But he also confirms that the Hindus "have a science similar (but not identical) to alchemy called Rasāyana. It is an art restricted to compound (or synthetic) medicines most of which are taken from plants. Its principle gives back youth to fading old age." And nothing could have been said more to substantiate Charaka. Thus Rasāyana was the art of conferring eternal youth by means of drugs. In as much as immortality was the goal Alberuni further reminds that, "Rasāyana, according to Patañjali, is also a method leading to liberation." The theory of reincarnation assumes evolution of life-forms each carrying a more purified soul. When the limit is reached

there is liberation from further incarnations. This stage corresponds in other religions to life in Paradise with eternal youth. Thus Patañjali's Rasāyana, promosing liberation, is identical in effect with Rasāyana as drug which confers eternal youth. Even Elixir has been claimed by Muslim authorities, like Jildaki, to make a man superhuman while still alive. Most probably Patañjali borrowed his term Rasāyana from Indian Medicine. We have only to remember that immortality is a synonym of eternal youth. All Hindu and Greek gods appear as ideal young people. Even statues dedicated to the dead represent them, whether they died young or old, always as youths, for as immortals in post-mortem life, they can not be otherwise.

A word is now needed to differentiate Rasāyana or "Indian alchemy "from" alchemy in India", as mercurial alchemy. Rasāyana depended upon two sub-souls, as herbal and metallic principles. Alchemy as developed in China made cinnabar the soul of minerals and its constituents, sulphur and mercury, became the sub-souls. Thus Rasāyana culminated in herbo-metallic complexes, and alchemy in sulpho-mercuric preparations. Even alchemy was founded by ascetics in China with rejuvenation as their objective. Thus when Indians learnt to make mercurials they retained their term Rasāyana for alchemy, since its preparations also promised rejuvenation as before. We have considered that Dualism required the metal to be killed by heat and resurrected by herbal soul. It had to be further pulverized and ground with herbal principles. The treatment accorded to it thoroughly reconditioned the metal, changing its very constitution. What was obviously metallic or material now became fine like dust, and was concived as having been spiritualized. The metal thus became "the better half" of the herbal soul, a mirror-image, when one became the reciprocal of the other, an opposite which was the joint-partner of a whole. The herbal principle was already soul-like but the metal had to be made sublime to come to its level. Thus the metal alone deserved all the attention in preparing a herbo-metallic Rasāyana. And corresponding attention is paid in Indian Philosophy to elevate the corporal sub-soul, or the Self, to come at par with Spirit or the other subsoul. Having purified "the Soul", to become the reciprocal of "Spirit" the a spirant of immortality feels himself already spiritualized before his demise and thus becomes confident of post-mortem immortality. It may be mentioned that even Elixir is supposed to spiritualize the human body.

Historians of philosophy find Greek philosophy and others presenting a broad spectrum of knowledge. On the contrary Indian Philosophy is so specialized that most authorities hesitate to consider Indian Philosophy as philosophy at all. And the one problem facing the founders of Indian philosophy seems to have been immortality. Briefly, Indian Philosophy is mainly the philosophy of immortality. If Indian Medicine is unique in having started aiming at rejuvenation, Indian Philosophy is unique in having started as aiming at immortality. The Rasāyana branch of Indian Medicine later depended

upon two sub-souls, herbal and metallic. Indian Philosophy correspondingly depended upon the sub-souls, Spirit and the Soul. The Sanskrit terms for these are Brahman and Atman respectively. Now Deussen[7] has observed that "the thoughts of Upanishads move round two fundamental ideals. These are the Brahman and the Atman". And as one of the latest authorities, himself a Hindu, Prof. Hiriyanna[8] confirmed stating that, "these two terms, Brahman and Atman, have been described as the two pillars on which rests nearly the whole edifice of Indian Philosophy".

In as much as Indian Rasāyana is identical in aim with Chinese alchemy a philosophy parallel to the former must also have a counterpart parallel to the latter. In other words the emphasis on Brahman and Atman must be independentlly confirmed by Chinese philosophy. Here do Groot[9] remarks that, "the union of Kwei (Atman) with Shen (Brahman) is the highest among all tenets (as also) the whole fundamental theory about human soul in a nut-shell". The first feature to be observed is the existence of two sub-souls. Next these should qualitatively match for entering into union as reciprocal. Thirdly union of opposites results in creative energy, ever growing and ever-lasting. This alone imparts immortality. For it to recondition the aged or to restore the robust health of youth and to elevate base metals to the stage of everlasting gold would be ordinary achievements. Just as the manufacturer of Rasāyana drugs was hard upon the metal, calcining and pulverizing it, the aspirant of immortality was hard upon his corporeal "Self", or his body. We cannot interpret the immortalizing or rejuvenating drug better than as "Resurrection Body", and when this was assimilated it reconditioned its acceptor again as a Resurrection Body which alone is immortal. The corporeal or material constituent becomes spiritualized when the Resurrected Body owns a Body which has the virtues of Soul. Now Body and Soul are one. This is true of Rasāyana and of alchemy, as also of Indian Philosophy and of Chinese Taoism. On the practical side Indian Philosophy has given birth to several cults as that of Yoga and Tantra. Even Chinese Taotism has developed gymnastic exercises in breathing and others, besides alchemy. They are otherwise well known and here need a mere mention.

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ON THE VṚṢAMAṆḌAPA AT MAHĀKŪṬA

M. A. DHAKY

The Mahākūṭa near Bādāmi is one of the less studied if not altogether a neglected group of temples in Karṇāṭaka. This has unaccountably happened despite scholars of varied approaches and perception from the days of Henry Cousens on visit this interesting ensemble.[1]

The Mahākūṭa group contains about sixteen buildings, of which the largest two—the Mahākūṭēśvara and the Mallikārjuna—in the early Karṇāṭa or Deccano-Drāviḍian style, and seven in the northern or Nāgara style (possessing either the *latina*, single curvilinear spire, or a sort of *phāṁsanā*, tiered pyramidal, superstructure), are of greater consequence as compared to the rest. The two buildings in the Deccano-Drāviḍian style just referred to are also from among the oldest in the group, the first one may have been founded slightly before 601 in the period of the Cāḷukya regent Maṅgalēśa (598-610) and the second one seems to date from some time in the period of the Cāḷukya emperor Pulakēśin II (610-642). Most northern buildings apparently date from the time of Vikramāditya I (655-81).[2] though the possibility of one or two there of Pulakēśin's time is not altogether ruled out.

Of the few ancillary structures in the ensemble, one that attracted my attention was the *vṛṣamaṇḍapa* (Nandi pavilion) in front of the Mallikārjuna temple. This happened while I was taking reconnaissance of the surroundings from the top of the roof of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, hall, of the selfsame temple and next viewing the surroundings from the wall-top near the southern gateway of the compound-wall.

The *vṛṣamaṇḍapa* (fig. 1 & 3) is a customary four pillared pavilion set up over a square *adhiṣṭhāna*, stylobate, the square Rucaka pillars supporting a heavy *kapōta*-eave (roll-cornice) covered by a flat terrace roof open to sky but otherwise enclosed on four sides by a low walling formed by a series of three mouldings, the *kandhara* (recess) with a *pratimukha*-band carrying projecting joists' ends (which at places show partially carved *vyāla* busts) over which is the *vājana*—eaves-board moulding—and a *kampa* (fillet) followed by *grīvā* (neck) topped by a high cyma-*kapōta* bearing bosses of *nāsīs* (*caitya*-dormers) tending to form *nāsīkōṣṭhas* in conjunction with the bosses in the *grīvā*.

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1. The situation is of course now fast changing. Besides James Harle, we now have Garry Tarr, Achwin Lippe, and Odile Divakaran who have for some time been working on the problems of early Cāḷukyan architecture.

2. The dating is based on stylistic grounds only.

Nothing extraordinary would seem from the ground about this pavilion, a rather heavily built, plain looking, and we may add, severe, structure with no pretention that can generate interest. It was, however, its view from the particular observation point upon the *prākāra* or compound-wall (fig. 2), suggestive of something which I must have seen before, that kept me fascinated for a while. The square terrace with its parapet angled in a peculiar way from that viewpoint conjured up an image whose parallel, I strongly sensed, somewhere existed. The correlation after the first flash of reminiscence was mind's usual miracle accomplished inside of a second. *The parallel is in Ajaṇṭā*, in one of the painted palace scenes in Cave I : (*cf.* Text fig.). The scene perhaps pertains to *Mahājātaka* as conjectured by G. Yazdani.[3]

Small differences between the two can of course be sensed, first because they belong to somewhat related but otherwise differing styles, and different regions just as periods.[4] What is more, the Ajaṇṭā parallel represents a light, domestic wooden structure where, as a result, slender columns are seen used to support the roof. In the Mahākūṭa example, the pillars are in stone and very massive. These distinctions, while offering a contrast, make no real difference in the otherwise nearness of form, particularly the way in which the upper part is finished.

On Walter Spink's reckoning, Cave I at Ajaṇṭā is of the Vākāṭaka period of activity and datable, according to Spink, between 476 and 494.[5] The wall painting might have been done soon after cave's completion, or may have followed a little later, possibly in early sixth century.

The significance of this comparison lies in the help it lends in determining the relative 'earliness' or otherwise of the Mallikārjuna temple. Since the pavilion for Nandi presupposes the existence of the temple and because the style of the two structures agrees, we may conclude that they are contemporary, and the dating of the one must, as a result, affect the dating of the other.

The question of the chronology of early Cāḷukyan buildings is at present in ferment and views voiced are often opposed one to other. After having discussed with scholars working on the early Cāḷukyan architecture, I felt that there is going to be more confusion than clearing of the issues involved, the end at least of the first round of publications. Already the ball has started rolling.

One such recent opinion is to relegate Mahākūṭa's Mallikārjuna temple later by almost seventy-five years than the main Mahākūṭēśvara temple (whose date according to some, is about 600 and according to others 625 or later) and then, too, to regard it as a latter's copy.

3. *Cf. Ajaṇṭa* Part I (plate), London 1930, pl. XIII.

4. *Nāsikās*, for instance, are absent on the *kapōta* of the Ajaṇṭā pavilion. But this does not matter in as much as they have been shown in one other instance, of a king's pavilion in the same painting : (*Cf.* Yazdani, pl. XVII).

5. *Marg*. Vol. XX, March 1967, No. 2, time-chart thereof.

Plate I " Vṛṣamaṇḍapika, Mallikārjuna Temple, Mahākūṭa, Ca. early 7th Century. View from the ground level ".

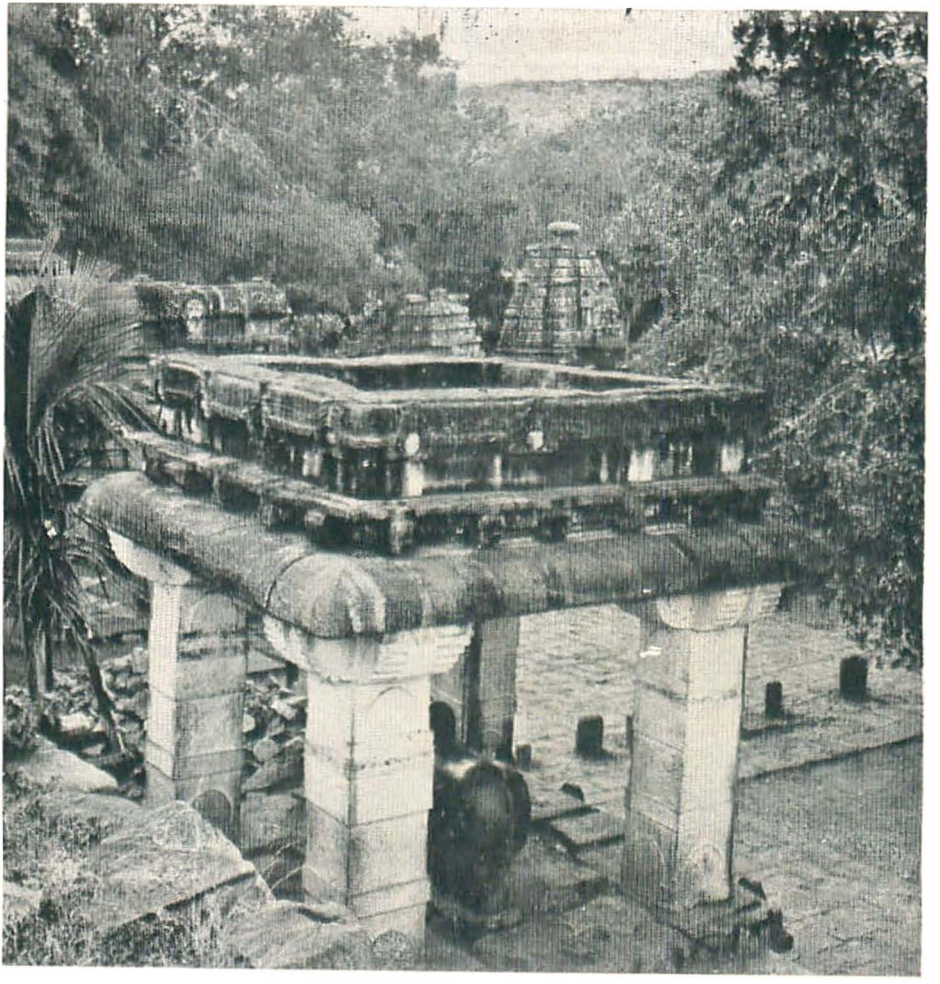

Plate II " Vṛṣamaṇḍapika, Mallikārjuna Temple Mahākūṭa, Ca. early 7th Century. View from the roof of the hall of the Temple ".

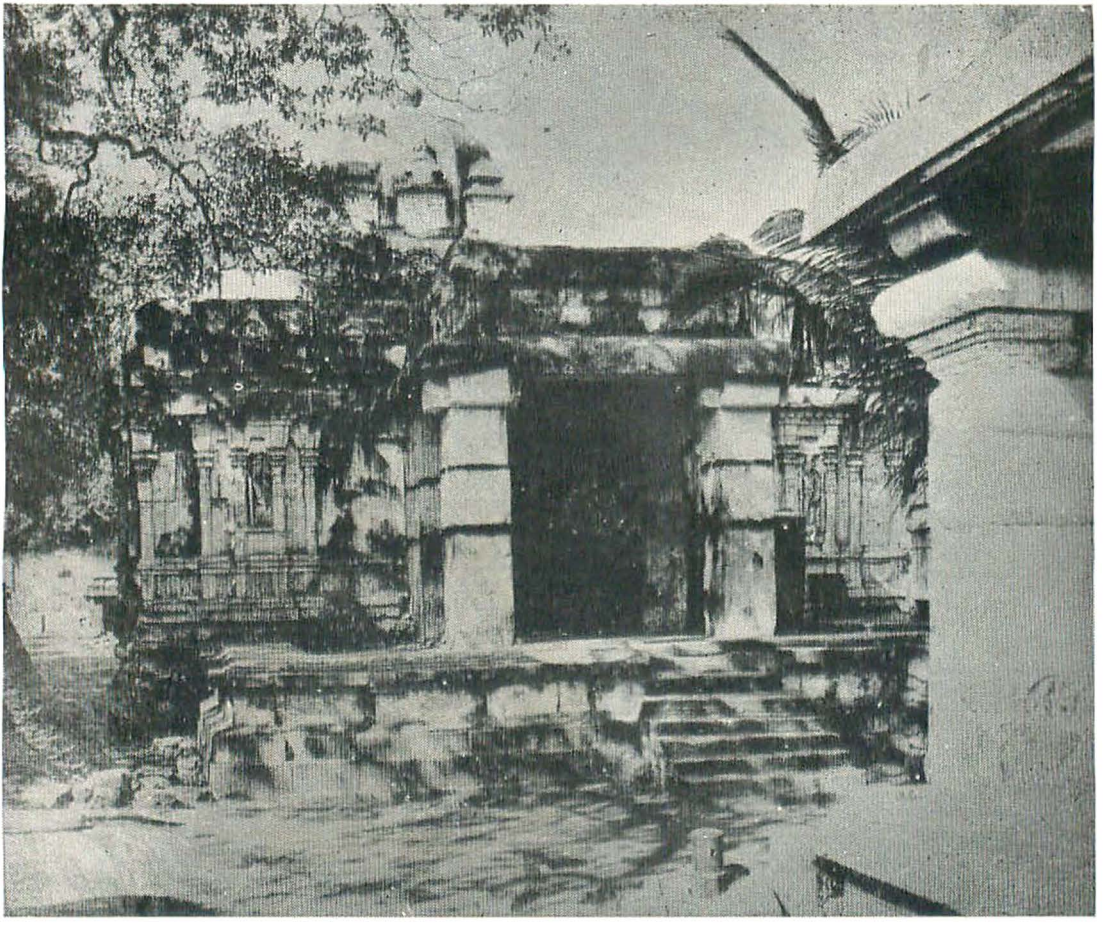

Plate III " Vṛṣamaṇḍapika, Mallikārjuna Temple Mahākūṭa, Ca. early 7th Century. View from the south-east Prakara-wall ".

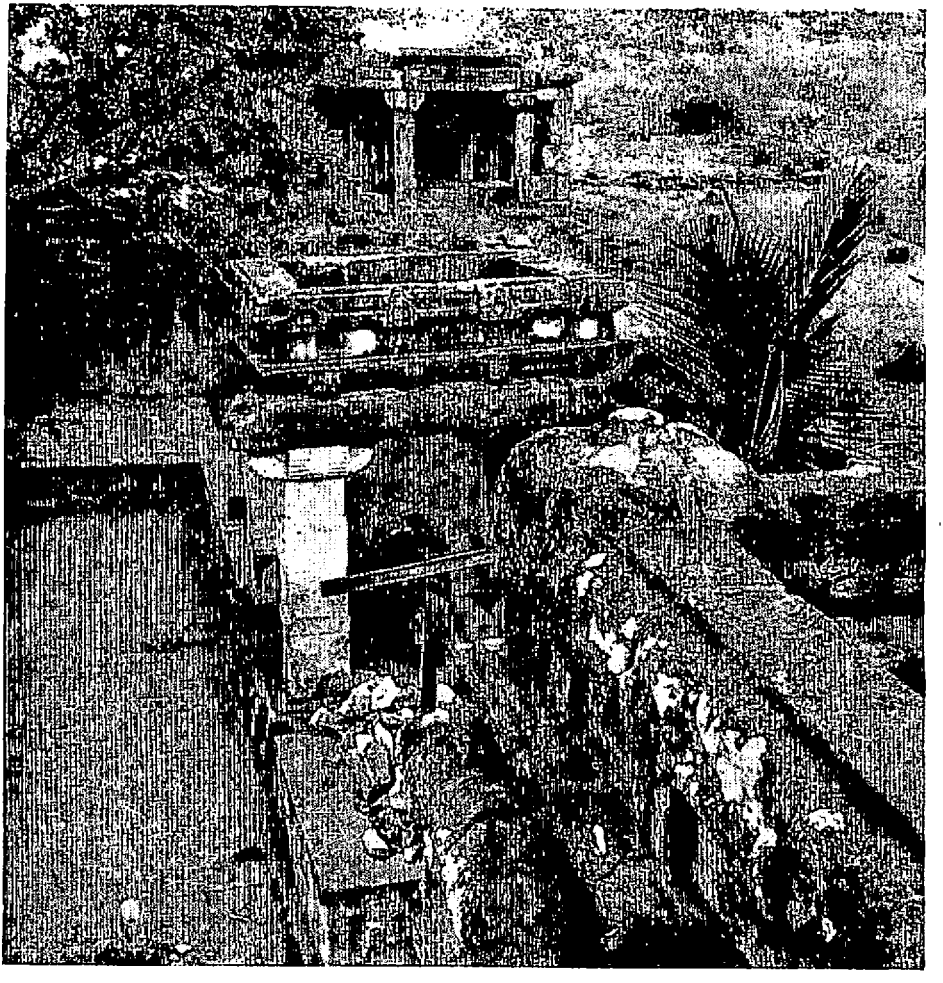

Plate IV "Mahākūtēśvara Temple, Mahākūṭa, illustration showing a part of its Vṛṣamaṇḍapika".

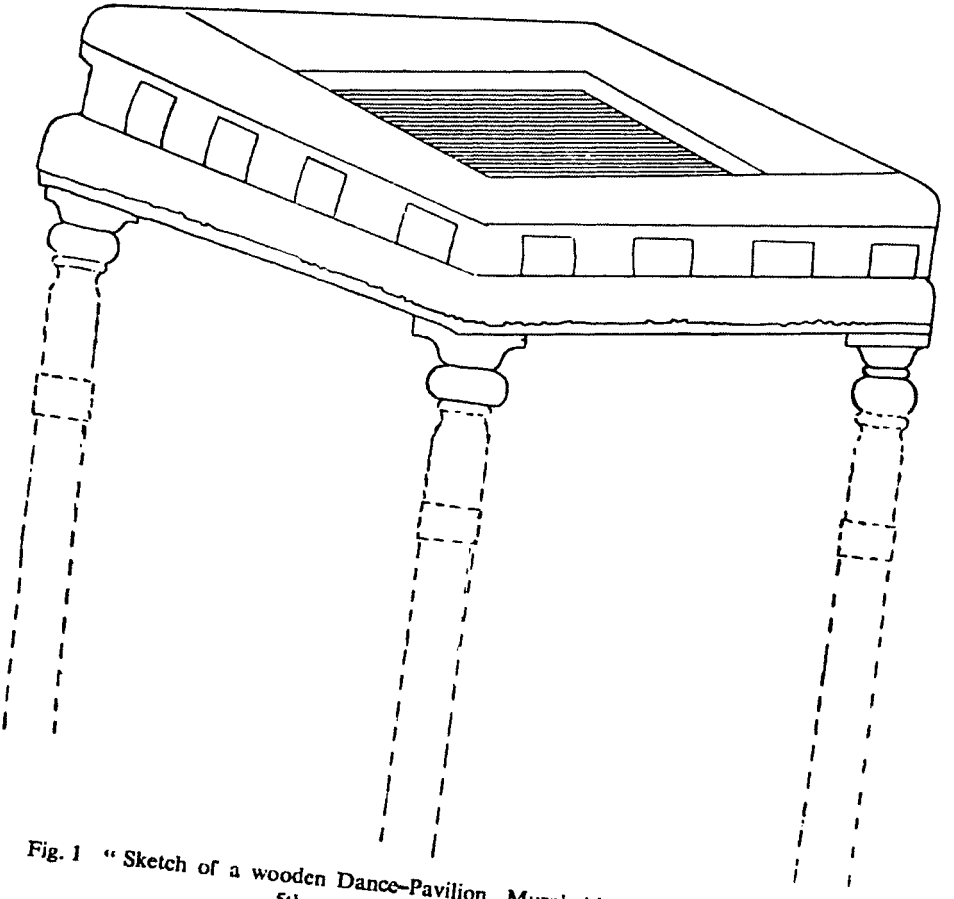

Fig. 1 " Sketch of a wooden Dance-Pavilion, Mural Ajanta, Cave I, Ca. late 5th or early 6th Century. "

(drawn by G. S. Telang)

I do not intend, in this paper, to discuss at length the many vexed problems associated with the chronology and the styles and idioms in which the early Cāḷukyan buildings were built. The purpose of this note is to utter a note of warning on the tendency now rampant to date most early Cāḷukyan buildings half a century or even a century later than their probable date. The Mallikārjuna temple is a case in point. Its architecture, despite some crudity in its make up and slight advances over the Mahākūṭēśvara temple, is surely a building of a date not later than Pulakēśin's time. Some of its sculptures show relationship with those in the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, fore hall, of the so-called Lāḍkhān temple at Aihole. The Lāḍkhān temple has been variously dated between 450 and 675, the first date given by the pioneering workers and the second is a guess presently made by some scholars. My opinion is to place it around 625 or a little later on account of certain stylistic connectons it possesses with Cave I and II at Bādāmi,[6] and the general affinity in terms of architectural elements with the early buildings at the selfsame site; its archaistic features also so warrant. I thus take the two buildings, the Lāḍakhān and the Mallikārjuna contemporaneous.

To Mallikārjuna once again. When did a separate pavilion for Nandi began to be provided? In the Cāḷukyan territory we have two instances, both at Paṭṭadakal, of which the one is in front of the Vīrupākṣa temple and the other (recently revealed) is in front of the Mallikārjuna temple.[7] The date of the latter structures is precisely known to be 745. Now comparing these with that of the Mahākūṭa, distinctions seem to great the no nearness in time can even distantly be imagined. The Mahākūṭa structure seems much more ancient and primitive. Not only that; it would not have been possible even around the date 675 to hark back to a pavilion depicted in an Anjaṇṭan mural of the late fifth or the early sixth century. From around the late sixth century,

6. The relative chronology of Cave I and II vis-à-vis Cave III (578) is still uncertain. Some scholars date it prior to Cave III and place it around 570; the other view favours period of Pulakēśin II (610-642). On the showing of stylistic features, I at the moment prefer late 6th century for the two caves in question.

7. This one, as I have now ascertained, is in the formative Rāṣṭrakūṭa idiom. The pillars, the *kapōta*, the *nāsī*-forms, the simulated wooden-framing underneath the *kapōta* etc. are mostly non-Cāḷukyan and seem somewhat related to the corresponding ones associated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monoliths, the Kailāsa and the Chōṭā Kailāsa at Ellorā. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of course more in line with the customary Cāḷukyan of that age.

I have nowhere quoted references concerning the current views on the chronology the Cāḷukyan buildings alluded to in this paper, partly because they are still unpublished by scholars with whom I discussed, and partly because the authors (in case of published papers) themselves have started rethinking, and, may be their revised views may appear in the next round of their publications. I did not want to embarrass them by citing oral discussions I had with them.

The first three photographic illustrations (figs. 1, 2 & 3) are reproduced here by courtesy and kindness of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi : The fourth, by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, earlier published by Henry Cousens in *The Chāḷukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, ASI (IS), XLII, 1926.

when many art elements steadily drifted to the Karṇāṭa country by the pull of Cāḷukyas' political power, the early elements could have through filters come and stabilized for a while before they were replaced by other new elements or by their own derivatives, evolved or degenerate as the case may be. The date 675 represents rather the aftermath, not the early phase of the Cāḷukyan architecture. The Mahākūṭa pavilion, by its devices, the elements it uses, and, above all, by its total appearance seems to be consistent with the early rather than late or the middle phase of the Cāḷukyan structural architecture. It is at that date that it is still possible to possess and apparently easier to look back to the forms of the bygone period. If this is valid, as it seems to be, the date of the Mallikārjuna temple has to be placed not later than the period around 625.

We have one other evidence, at Mahākūṭa itself, to so suppose. The Mahākūṭēśvara temple once had a similar Nandi pavilion as discernible in an old photograph (fig. 4). If this be contemporaneous with the main building, its similarity with the corresponding Nandi-maṇḍapa before the Mallikārjuna would confirm the early date here suggested for its erection.

This consideration must also, next, influence the dating of the other early buildings in the Karṇāṭaka country. Mahākūṭa's *vṛṣamaṇḍapikā* may now be regarded as an important check-post in the chronology of the early Cāḷukyan buildings.

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Sketch of a wooden dance-pavilion, Ajaṇṭā Cave I, *Ca.* late 5th or early 6th century (drawn by G. S. Telang).

Plates

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2. *Vṛṣamaṇḍapikā*, Mallikarjuna temple, Mahākūṭa, *Ca.* early 7th century. View from the south-east prakāra-wall.
3. *Vṛṣamaṇḍapikā*, Mallikārjuna temple, Mahākūṭa, *Ca.* early 7th century. View from the ground-level.
4. Mahākūṭēśvara temple, Mahākūṭa, illustration showing a part of its *vṛṣamaṇḍapikā*.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE OF MAHĀSĀMANTA AND MAHĀRĀJA SAMUNDRASENA OF KULU

RAJESH PRABHA YADAV

The Nirmand Copper-plate of Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samundrasena is perhaps the most interesting and the most controversial inscription found from Kulu. Dates varying from the 4th-5th century A. D. to as late as the 12th century A. D., have been assigned to it. Again, according to the views expressed so far, this Samundresena might have been either a ruler of Kulu, or of Mandi or of Spiti. In the light of this, it is, therefore, essential to re-examine this copper-plate.

The copper-plate inscription belongs to the Paraśurāma temple of Nirmand. Nirmand is a village situated near the right bank of the river Sutlej "twenty-one miles north-east of Plāch, the chief town of the Plāch tehsil or sub-division of the Kulu division of the Kangra district in the Punjab.[1]

The inscription records the grant of the village called Sūlisagrāma by Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samundrasena to a group of Brahmins dedicated to the study of the Atharvaveda. The object of the grant is the maintenance of the temple of Śiva or Tripurāntaka, whose image was installed by Mihira-lakṣmī, the mother of Samundrasena.

Cunningham first came to know of this inscription in 1847 or 1848 A. D., when a copy of it was first published at Simla by Raja Shiva Prasād.[2] In May 1878, Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a photograph of the copper-plate as well as comments by Messrs Hall and Clarks. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra then published his reading and interpretation of the inscription.[3] At a subsequent date, Cunningham also discussed it at length.[4] The inscription next received attention from John Faithful Fleet.[5] Vögel and Hutchison also refer to it, albeit briefly.[6]

The inscription confronts us with two main problems :

(i) The identification of Samundrasena and his ancestors.

(ii) The date of the copper-plate.

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1. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. p. 286.
2. Alexander Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, "A Tour in Punjab in 1878-79". p. 120.
3. Dr. R. L. Mitra, *J.A.S.B.* Proceedings, August 1879.
4. Alexander Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, "A tour in Punjab in 1878-79", pp. 119 ff.
5. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 286 ff.
6. Vögel and Hutchison. "*History of the Punjab Hill States*", Vols. I & II.

The inscription refers to Samundrasena and his three ancestors Ravisena, Sañjayasena and Varuṇasena. The names are in the ascending order. Rajendra Lal Mitra finds it difficult to ascertain who these rulers were and merely suggests that they were probably petty chieftains of the Punjab.[7]

Cunningham[8] finds a clue in the title Sena of all the four rulers and points to the same name-ending of the rulers of Suket and Mandi. He further points out that a close proximity exists between these names and some of the consecutive names to be found in the genealogical list of the Mandi Rājas. The names in the inscription and in the genealogy are as follows :

1. *Nirmand plate*	*List of the Mandi Rājas*
1. Varuṇasena	1. Narvāhanasena Kanavāhanasena
2. Sañjayasena	2. Savāhanasena
3. Ravisena	3. Vīrasena
4. Samundrasena	4. Samudrasena

The discrepancy in the names has been resolved by Cunningham thus — Naravāhana is a title of Varuṇa and therefore, probably both names are identical. The second name is different. But a mere transposition of the third name Ravi, will give the name Vīra and, therefore, Cunningham thinks they are identical. The fourth name is the same in both the lists.

Fleet[9] rejects this identificaion and asserts that it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vīrasena, Savāhanasena, Kanavāhanasena, Naravāhanasena and Samudrasena of the genealogy as being identical with Ravisena, Sañjayasena, Varuṇasena and Samundrasena of the inscription.

Vögel and Hutchison[10] on the other hand, believe that Samundrasena of the Nirmand copper-plate was ruler of Spiti. According to them "Spiti contains the whole basin of the Spiti river, including that of its main affluent, the Pin, down almost to its confluence with Sutlej, with an area of 2,931 square miles. Spiti may also have included at least the Bashahr and Kulu Pandrabi Kothis on the right bank of the Sutlej in early times, even if it was not for some time, the paramount power in the ill-defined upper Sutlej tract known as Guge. Communication from Pin to outer Seraj, via the Bhabeh and Rupin passes, along the right side of the Sutlej, was not difficult and the modern Rampur-Simla Road was not necessarily the line followed in early times. If this supposition is correct, it confirms the attribution of the Nirmand Copper-plate to a Spiti Rāja. Spiti has always been inhabited by Tibetans and the western dialect of the Tibetan language is spoken. It was never a part of Kulu."[11]

7. R. L. Mitra, *J.A.S.B.*, Proceedings. p. 213.
8. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 120.
9. Fleet J. F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 288 (footnote).
10. Vögel and Hutchison : "*History of the Punjab Hill State*" (Spiti), p. 484.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

On the basis of the historical notes of Captain Harcourt, Vögel and Hutchison[12] assert that probably in very early times Spiti was ruled by a Hindu dynasty of Rājas, bearing the surname or suffix of Sena. They further quote Harcourt as stating that coins of this dynasty have been found in the valley. They admit that this has not yet been verified but feel strongly inclined to identify Samundrasena with a ruler of Spiti. They assign the plate to the 7th century A. D. and say that just about this time references to Spiti are found in the Kulu annals and two Rājas of Spiti, with the name-ending 'Sena' are mentioned. A certain Rājendrasena, is said to have conquered Kulu and brought it to submission in the reign of Rāja Rudra Pāl (A. D. 600-650). Kulu remained under the sovereignty of Spiti during two reigns till Prasiddhapāla gained a victory over Spiti in a battle near the Rohtang Pass.

It seems, however, that as far as the problem of the identification of Samundrasena is concerned, Cunningham's assertion is not wide off the mark. Further evidence may be cited in its support.

A.Cunningham connects Samundrasena with the Sena family of Suket and Mandi, it may not be unjustified to give first a brief account of the foundation of these states as given by tradition and the Vaṃśāvali. Traditions[13] in Suket, Mandi, Keonthāl, and Kashtawar connect their history with Bengal. The invasion of Bengal by Mohammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji took place sometime around 1202-03 A. D. The Sena dynasty disintegrated as a result of this attack. Vögel and Hutchison[14] point out that there was one Sūrasena (presumably a scion of the Senas of Bengal or Bihar) who is said to have died at Prayag and his son Rūpasena is said to have migrated to Rupar[15]. Here Rūpasena came into conflict with the Muslim ruler and is said to have been killed sometime about 1210 A. D. His three sons then fled away and took refuge in the hills and eventually established there separate principalities. One brother Bīra or Vīra Sena became the ruler of Suket, another Girisena of Keonthal and the child Hammirasena of Kashtawar. The state of Mandi was founded at a later date when the Suket family bifurcated. A quarrel arose between the brothers Bāhusena and Sāhusena of Suket and Bāhusena emigrated to Kulu. Descendents of Bāhusena remained there for ten generations—when Kabachasena was killed by a Kulu Rāja. The widow fled to Seokot, where she gave birth

12. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

13. Tradition quoted amongst others by Niranjan Mukherjea and J. C. French. (i) In August 1885, Mukherjea wrote to Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra that His Highness Raja Bijai Sena Bahadur of Mandi had told him that he was descended from the old Sena Rājas of Bengal (Ref. *J.A.S.B.* Proceedings 1886. Letter read by R. L. Mitra to the Society in the month of February.) (ii) J. C. French met a brother of the Rāja of Suket who was interested to learn that French had come from Bengal and reminded him of his descent from Bengal (French J. C. "*Himalayan Art.*" p. 23.)

14. *Mandi Gazetteer*

15. Shri Niranjan Mukherjea in his letter to Dr. R. L. Mitra, dated August 1885, stated that Rūpa is supposed to be named after him.

to a son named Bāṇasena, who eventually became the chief of Seokot, near the present site of Mandi.[16]

Now, Nirmand is situated in Kulu and in the Mandi Vaṃśāvali the names of Narvāhanasena, Kanavāhanasena, Savāhansena, Vīrasena and Samudrasena precede the name of Kabachasena, who is known to have been killed by the Kulu Rāja. The names in the Nirmand Copper-plate, as proved by Cunningham are perhaps identical with these names. Noteworthy is the fact that the state of Mandi was founded at Seokot only in the reign of Bāṇasena,[17] and the rulers from Bāhusena to Kabachasena are said to have ruled at Kulu.

Again the title Mahāsāmanta of Mahārāja Samundrasena suggests that probably the branch accepted the suzerainty of Kulu.

The fifth line of the Nirmand copper-plate describes Samundrasena as '*Brāhmaṇya*'. On the basis of this, Rajendra Lal Mitra[18] contended that the donor of the inscription was a Brahmin by caste. Cunningham,[19] on the other hand, does not accept this, in view of the fact that the Suket-Mandi dynasty of Rājas, to whom Samundrasena belonged, were not Brahmins but Kṣatriyas.

There is in fact no justification for taking the word "*Brāhmaṇya*" to mean a Brahmin. '*Brāhmaṇya*' should more properly be translated as 'devoted to sacred knowledge or friendly to Brahmins'.[20]

Besides, the prefix '*ati*' here suggests that the word is an epithet and does not refer to caste. The words '*ati-Brāhmaṇya*' probably mean 'very devout or very friendly to Brahmins.'

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16. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 119-20.

17. The names in the Mandi Vaṃśāvali from Bāhusena to Bāṇasena are as follows :

Vaṃśāvali (ref : taken from *A.S.R.* Vol. XIV)	*Nirmand Copper-plate*
1. Bāhusena	
2. Nimasena.	
3. Naravāhanasena / Kanavahānasena	1. Varuṇasena
4. Savāhanasena	2. Sañjayasena
5. Vīrasena	3. Ravisena
6. Samudrasena	4. Samundra-sena
7. Keśavasena	
8. Maṅgalasena	
9. Jayasena	
10. Kabachasena	
11. Bāṇasena.	

18. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Proceedings. 1879, p. 213. There are otherwise occasions when Brahmins became Kings and were regarded as Kṣatriyas e. g. the Guhilots.

19. Cunningham, A., *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 120.

20. Macdonell A. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. *s. v.*

Certain objections can, however, be raised about the proposed identification. It may be asked, for instance, that if these names refer to the Sena dynasty of Mandi, then how is it that only four names are given in the inscription and the names of Bāhusena (who first emigrated to Kulu) and of Nimasena are omitted. This objection can be easily answered. (1) The inscription in fact suggests that some rulers preceded Varuṇasena, the first ruler mentioned in the copper-plate. The text begins thus :— "Born in the lineage of the famous kings ....there was the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja, the illustrious Varuṇasena, whose fame stretched out over the four oceans."[21] Obviously, if the word is read as '*Vaṃśajaḥ*', '*belonging to the line of*' then it would imply that Varuṇasena was not the progenitor of the family. For instance, in the Rājashāhi inscription Vīrasena the first Sena ruler of Bengal is mentioned as a descendent of the moon, without any reference to his ancestors.[22] The kings referred to are Virasena, Sumantasena, Hemantasena and Vijayasena.[23] (2) Again, instances are not lacking when only some of the rulers are mentioned in records. For instance, Vijayasena's (Sena ruler of Bengal) name occurs in the Bakergunj plate as the first of a series of four kings, the last of which was Keśavasena.[24] A comparison may thus be sought in the Nirmand copper-plate, where only four names are mentioned.

There may be as yet a second objection to this identification.

Vögel and Hutchison suggest that a family with the name-ending '*Sena*' ruled at Spiti and two rulers of this dynasty are said to have ruled at Kulu. This, no doubt, is a big stumbling block to the proposed identification but perhaps this also can be countered. Vögel and Hutchison state that Kulu remained under the sovereignty of Spiti for only two reigns and then Prasiddhapāl gained a victory over Spiti in a battle near the Rohtang Pass and freed his kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Nirmand copper-plate itself refers to four rulers and there is a possibility of more rulers having ruled here. Besides a ruler called Rājendrasena according to Vögel and Hutchison is supposed to have conquered Kulu. But his name is significantly absent in the Nirmand copper-plate.

Vögel and Hutchison arrive at this conclusion on the basis of the fact that probably the Nirmand Copper-plate belongs to the seventh century A. D. This dating, however, is not conclusive. Rajendra Lal Mitra places it in the 4th-5th century A. D., Cunningham fixes the date in the 12th century A. D. and the present writer intends to revise the date a little more upward.

21. Fleet, J. F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 289., While Fleet and Cunningham read the word as 'Vaṃśajāḥ, R. L. Mitra reads it as 'Varṣajāḥ'.

22. Cf. The story of the origin of the Chandella dynasty. Bose, N. S. '*History of the Chandellas*' pp 1-3

23. Mitra, Dr. R. L. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXIV. Pt. I. p. 130. "On Sena Rājas of Bengal as commemorated in an inscription from Rājashāhi."

24. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Vögel and Hutchison themselves admit that though Harcourt refers to the discovery of some coins of the Sena family of Spiti, the claim has not yet been verified.

The available evidence thus tends to support Cunningham's view of the identification of Samundrasena.

More knotty is the problem of the date of the copper-plate. Rajendra Lal Mitra thought that as the letters are of the Gupta type, the inscription must belong to the 4th-5th century A. D. He, however, admitted that no date in the record verified this conjecture.[25]

Cunningham, on the other hand, is convinced that paleography alone does not give a sure clue, at least not in the hills. He states that these Gupta characters have always been in use in the hills between the Jumna and the Indus. For example, he refers to the coins of the Kangra Rājas, where the Gupta characters are found as late as the time of Jahangir and to the inscriptions of Kashmir, Kangra and Mandi. At Mandi, as late as 1838 A. D., the title 'Mahārāja' is written in the same characters as are to be found in all Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, says that "The Nirmand Copper-plate, as far as its characters are concerned, may be of any date." [26]

Cunningham differs from R. L. Mitra in another respect. While the former thinks that the epigraph contains no date, the latter strongly feels that the record is dated. He agrees with R. L. Mitra's reading "Lekhakotra udyota arkaścha gaṇa sosta" but the following letter, which R. L. Mitra finds unintelligible, Cunningham reads as "saṃvat phakē sudi 5."

Phakē is taken by Cunningham to mean Phālgun and he thinks that the date is concealed in the words immediately preceding Saṃvat. Arka, he thinks stands for the sun, i. e. for the number 12, and Gaṇa, he believes stands for the number 27. The date he thus arrives at is V.S. 1227 or A. D. 1170. He thinks this agrees well with the date derivable from Mandi genealogy. From Samundrasena's accession to the death of Balbīrsena in 1851, there are 28 names. Cunningham assigns 25 years to each generation and says that this would give a period of 700 years or A.D. 1151 to 1176 for Samundrasena's reign.[27] $(1851 - 700 + 25 = 1176)$.

At another place, however, in the same report, Cunningham assigns 30 years to each reign and calculating backwards fixes the date of Samundrasena in about A. D. 1140. He says : "According to the accepted genealogy of the Mandi and Suket families, the real founder appears to have been Vīrasena,

25. Mitra, R. L., *J.A.S.B.* Proceedings, 1879, p. 212 ff.

26. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 121. He also says : "……The Banias of the hills still keep their accounts in Gupta characters and when I placed a copy of the Allahabad pillar inscription before a Baniya, he read off at once Mahārājadhiraja Shri Chandra Gupta."

27. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

who was the first that bore their common title of Sena. From him down to the separation of the two families under the two brothers Sāhusena and Bāhusena, there were ten generations. Samundrasena, the donor of the Nirmand record was the sixth in descent from Bāhusena. From Samudrasena down to Ajbarasena, whose date is fixed by a copper-plate inscription in Mandi in V.S. 1584 = A. D. 1527, there were eleven reigns and as Ajbarasena is said to have died in A. D. 1534 his accession may be placed about A. D. 1500. The accession of Samundrasena must, therefore, be fixed somewhere about A. D. 1500 − 360 = A. D. 1140, allowing 30 years for a reign. Accepting the latter half of the 12th century as the date of Samundrasena the separation of the Mandi branch under Bāhusena may have taken place about A. D. 1000 and the original foundation of the family under Vīrasena about the middle of the 8th century A. D.[28]

Fleet[29] is critical of Cunningham on three counts. (1) He says that even though the characters of the alphabets in the hills are generally of an archaic nature, they do not warrant a date as late Cunningham would suggest. (2) He finds Cunningham's reading of the date in the words 'Arka' and 'Gaṇa' rather far-fetched. He points to the numerical symbol '6' that stands immediately after the word *Saṁvat*. Further, he points out that the word 'Arka' here simply signifies the second component of the name of the writer of the grant and whatever *Gaṇa* may mean here it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. (3) Again, Fleet also does not accept Cunningham's identification of Samundrasena of the Nirmand Copper-plate with Samudrasena of the Mandi genealogy. Consequently, he finds no merit in finding corroboration of Cunningham's dating in the Mandi genealogy.

Fleet contends that the date of the epigraph in numerical symbols is the year six and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). He admits that the inscription no where gives any indication of the era to which this date should referred. On palaeographic grounds, he says: —"we might very well refer it to the Harṣha era, with the result of A. D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the year of Harṣhavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samundrasena himself, as in the Arang grant of the Rāja Mahājayarāja....the Raypur grant of the Rājā Mahā Sudevarāja.....and the Chammak and Siwani grants of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II.....And in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A. D."[30]

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28. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
29. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 286 ff.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Fleet is no doubt right in his criticism of Cunningham's interpretations of the words 'Arka' and 'Gaṇa' in the lines "lekhakostra udyota arkaśa cha gaṇa srostha." 'Arka' often does signify the number twelve but I have not been able to find any instance of the word Gaṇa symbolising the number twentyseven.

Besides, in India, dates, even when given in the numerical symbols, are generally referred to in terms of centuries. There is, therefore, little justification for reading the date as 1227 and till less for connecting it with the Vikrama Saṁvat.

It is quite likely, as suggested by Fleet that Arka refers to the second component of the name of the writer of the grant. One other hint may, however, be thrown. It is not impossible that the word '*Arka*' here stands for '*engraver*'. For instance, in the inscriptions of the Ganjam—Srīkākulam region, words like *akśālin*, *ākṣālika*, *arkaśālin*, *akhasalē*, etc. are used to denote the word 'engraver'. Even to this day a gold-smith castes in the Telugu-Kannada speaking regions, is known as Aksalē.[31]

The words '*gaṇa-soṣṭha*' or *Gaṇa Śrēṣṭha* probably refers to a leader of the assemblage or a high military officer. A comparison may perhaps be sought in the officer called 'Mahāgaṇastha', frequently referred to in the Sena grants. This officer in Bengal was probably a high military officer acting as the head of the different units, each called a Gaṇa.[32]

Could it, therefore, be suggested that the inscription was engraved by Udyota, who was a *Gaṇa Śreṣṭha* or a high military officer ? This reminds one of the Deopara Praśasti of Vijayasena (11th cent. A. D.) which was engraved by Śūlapāṇi, who was a Rāṇaka as well as the head of the guild of artisans of Varendra.[33]

Cunningham again errs when he assigns 25 to 30 years to a reign and calculating backward from Ajbarasena whose date is fixed by an inscription dated A. D. 1527 fixes the date of Samundrasena in about A. D. 1140. As Rajendra Lal Mitra proves that 25 to 30 years for each reign is too high an average not only for Indian History but also for the history of the other countries.[34]

31. Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 87.

32. Sen, B. C., "*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*", p. 552.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 536. B. C. Sen says "if a king can write poetry, of which there are many instances in Indian history, there is nothing surprising in a prince engaging himself as an artist.

34. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLVII 1878. "*On the Pāla and Sena Rājas of Bengal*", p. 393. He says:—"The General assigns no reason for adopting this high average (25 to 30 years for each generation of the Pala rulers of Bengal), and I cannot help thinking that it is too high. It is certainly not in accord with the data available from Indian History. Twenty reigns of the Mughals of the from 1494 to 1806 give an average of 15 years and 7 months, twenty-one reigns in Kashmir from 1326 to 1588 give 12

(*Continued on page* 83)

There are, however, certain difficulties in accepting Fleet's dating of the inscription also. There cannot of course be two views about his assertion the script, on palaeographic grounds seems to belong to the 7th century A. D. Vögel and Hutchison[35] accept this dating and Dani[36] too observes that palaeographically, the inscription shows the Kangra style of the early 7th century.

But one wonders whether the lone guideline that palaeography provides is in itself to fix the date of a particular inscription. Epigraphists acknowledge sufficient limitations of this science though they are compelled to resort to it.[37]

The crucial point thus is whether accepting the seventh century as the date of Samundrasena agrees with the date available from other sources. In other words, the problem of chronology is closely linked to that of identification. The suggestion has already been made that the solution offered by Cunningham regarding the identification of the donor of the Nirmand copper-plate seems that most plausible one. He is, however, wrong not only in looking for the date in the words 'Arka' and 'Gaṇa' but also in the date he arrives at by calculating backwards.

(*Continued from page* 82)

years and 6 months, forty reigns of the Bengal Pathans from 1200 to 1350 produce a little over 6 years. Similarly 20 reigns in Burma from 1541 to 1781, offer an average of 12 years. Doubtless, these averages are of periods, some of which were much troubled, but in a place like Ceylon, whose insular position protects it to a great extent from outside or foreign attack, twenty reigns from 1410 to 1798 yield an average of 19 years and nearly five months. In England in the same way, from Edward IV to William IV or 1461 to 1837, twentyone reigns yield an average of no more than 17 years, 10 months and 25 days.....James Prinsep, after a careful study of the history of Indian dynasties, took 16 to 18 years to be the average and nothing has since been found to show that his calculations were wrong. Doubtless, in taking average, a great deal depends upon the period and the number of reigns taken into account. A George III or an Akbar, with two or three average reigns would often upset calculations, but with 20 to 40 reigns, the risk of error from occasionally protracted reigns is reduced to minimum.."

35. Vögel and Hutchison, "*History of the Punjab Hill States*", Vols. I & II (Vol. II p. 376).

36. Dani, "Indian Palaeography", p. 146.

37. Pandit Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha in

"भारतीय लिपिमाला" p. 60 (foot-note) says. "उनके (लिपियों) लिए जोसमय माना गया है वह...अनुमानिक ही है। क्योंकि कई अक्षरों के वही रूप अनुमान किए हुए समय से पहिले और पीछे भी मिलते हैं।"

Similarly Dani cautions us : "From the time that Prinsep realized the great part that Indian Palaeography can play in supplying chronological clues to otherwise undatable objects, it has been the aim of the palaeographers to perfect their method and make it as exact a subject as any other science, so as to give infallible dates. But ....this is too much to expect from palaeography, though I myself have not been free from the motive of assigning dates to epigraphs." *Indian Palaeography*, Introduction pp. 10-11.

Cunningham fixes the chronological table of the Mandi Rājas on the basis of retrospective reckoning by assigning 30 years to each reign.[38] The gross error in suggesting so high an average has rightly been pointed out by Rajendra Lal Mitra.[39]

The chronological solution Cunningham offers presents another problem which though not directly related to the copper-plate in question, cannot be easily ignored. Calculating backwards, he fixes the foundation of Suket in the seventh century and in the same breath accepts the tradition that connects the Sena royal family of the hills with the Sena Rājas of Bengal. It is of course not the aim of this paper to deal with this aspect of the problem but a brief reference to it is necessary in order to fix the position of Samundrasena in the Mandi genealogy. [40]

Cunningham remarks that there might have been an early Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose ancestor Vīrasena ruled in the 7th century from whom the later dynasty of Sena Rājas and still later, the Suket family were descended.[41]

But the findings of modern research rule out this possibility. Most scholars now believe that the home of the Senas was in the Kannada speaking region of the south. 'Karṇāta-Kṣatriyas' is the proud name they give to themselves in records. The foundation of the Sena dynasty of Bengal cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 11th century and pushing it back to the seventh century does not stand scrutiny.

The Sena royal families of Suket and Mandi are very emphatic in tracing their ancestry to Bengal. But two questions that need to be analysed are — (1) Do we get any direct or indirect corroboration of this tradition in the history of Bengal? (2) Can such a reference throw any light on the foundation of Suket ?

It may be recalled that according to traditions current in the hills, Sūrasena, the last Sena ruler of Bengal, when attacked by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, fled from his kingdom and died at Prayāg. His descendents are said to have founded the principalities in the hills. Minhāj refers to the conquest of Nadiya by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji and calls the ill fated Sena ruler Lakshmaniyā.[42]

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38. Vögel and Hutchison assign 20 to 25 years to each reign but say that some names might have dropped out of the Vaṃśāvali in the process of copying. So they conclude that Suket was founded not later than A. D. 800 (*Mandi Gazetteer*, pp. 24-25).

39. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLVII 1878. "*On the Pāla & Sena Rājas of Bengal*". pp. 393-94.

40. The problem discussed in my paper published in the '*Cultural Forum*', July 1966— "Bengal and the Punjab Himalayas—linked by history?".

41. Cunningham. A, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 123.

42. Tabaquat-i-Nasiri. Reference taken rom Sen B. C." *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*," p. 483.

Scholars have given differing opinions about the identification of Lakshmaniyā. R. C. Majumdar identifies "Rai Lakshmaniyā" with King Lakshmaṇasena, who died some time after 1205 A. D. He suggests that Lakshmaṇasena was succeeded by Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena. The Sahitya Parishad grant of Viśvarūpasena refers to the "Kumārās" Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena as the donors of land to the Brāhmaṇas. These princes, he thinks, were probably the sons of Viśvarūpasena, but who perhaps never ascended the throne.[43]

Rajendra Lal Mitra distinguishes between Lakshmaṇasena and Lakshmaṇeya or Lakhmaniyā mentioned in the *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*. He thinks that Lakshmaṇeya stands for the grandson of Lakshmaṇasena. Earlier[44] he suggested that the reigns of Mādhavasena and Keśavasena were of very short duration and probably Lakshmaṇeya who succeeded Keśava and ruled in Bengal for 80 years, was taken by the Muslim writers to be the immediate successor of Lakshmaṇa, son of Ballāla. He identified Lakshmaṇeya with Aśokasena and said that probably he was succeeded by Ballālasena, Sūsena, Sūrasena, etc., who had their capital at Vikramapur, near Dacca.

However, in a subsequent paper[45] he says —— "For the present, I am disposed to throw out a hint that Sūsena Noujib and Aśoka were probably the proper names and aliases of the Prince whose patronymic was Lakshmaniyā."

Benoy Chandra Sen also takes the word Lakshmaniyā to mean the grandson or descendent of Lakshmaṇasena. He again holds that "Kumārās" Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena were probably the sons of Viśvarūpasena and one of them may be identified with the ruler called Lakshmaniyā.[46]

A ruler called Sūrasena is thus known in the history of Bengal and the Sahitya Parishad Plate of Viśvarūpasena is not the only one that refers to him. The Rājāvali mentions the name of a Sūsena or Sūrasena who followed the reigns of Lakshmaṇasena's two sons Mādhavasena and Keśavasena.[47] Abul Fazal also speaks of a king called Sūrasena or Sadāsena.[48]

It is true of course that there are conflicting opinions about the identification Sū or Sūrasena but his mention in the History of Bengal is significant. Whether he was the ruler who was first defeated by the Muslims or the ruler who was ultimately defeated by them after a short period of Sena rule over

43. Majumdar, Dr. R. C. *Dacca History of Bengal*, p. 225.

44. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLVII (1878). "*On the Pāla and Sena Rājas of Bengal*," pp. 384 ff.

45. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXIV Pt. I. "On the Sena Rājas of Bengal as commemorated in an inscription from Rājashāhi" (deciphered and translated by C. T. Metchalfe), p. 138.

46. Sen B. C., "*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*", pp. 483-84.

47. Mitra, Dr. R. L., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXIV. "On the Sena Rājas of Bengal."

48. Paul, P. L., "*Early History of Bengal*", p. 98.

limited territory in Bengal, does not alter the hypothesis that this Sūrasena may be the same ruler who finds mention in the traditions of the hills.

If this hypothesis is accepted then the date of the foundation of Suket will partly depend upon the date of the Muslim invasion of Nadiya by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji.

Most scholars are agreed that the invasion of Bengal took place around 1202-03 A. D. At most the Senas continued to rule over limited territory in Bengal till about A. D. 1230.[49]

The date of the foundation of Suket has thus to be fixed between A. D. 1205 — A. D. 1235.[50] By accepting all the 45 rulers from the date of the foundation of Suket to the death of Bhiwani Sena of Mandi in A. D. 1912, we get a period of about 700 years. This way, the average duration of each reign is only 15 years. It is no doubt a short period compared to the average of 25-30 years suggested by Cunningham but agrees well with the average reign period of Indian rulers suggested by Prinsep and Rajendra Lal Mitra. From the reign of Vīrasena of Suket to the reign of Samundrasena there are sixteen reigns. The accession of Samundrasena as also the date of the Nirmand copper-plate will thus have to be fixed around the middle of the fifteenth century A. D.[51]

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49. Dr. R. C. Majumdar says that the descendents of Lakshmaṇa Sena ruled in Bengal up to 1245 A. D. or probably up to 1260 A. D. (*Dacca History of Bengal*, p. 226).

50. Griffin, on the basis of traditions current in the hills, give the date as A. D. 1210.

51. This date is far removed from the dates suggested by Rajendra Lal Mitra and Fleet, close to the one suggested by Cunningham and more in keeping with the traditions current in the hills.

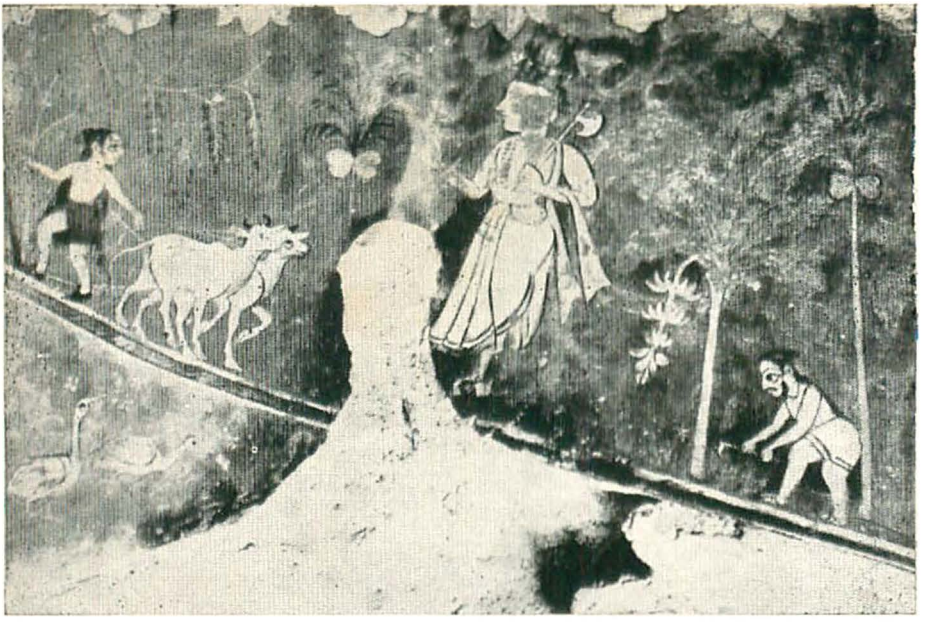

Plate V " A Unique Painting of Paraśurāma "

A UNIQUE PAINTING OF PARAŚURĀMA

KAMAL CHAVAN

The object of this paper is to discuss an unique medieval painting of Paraśurāma. It is executed on one of the walls of a small Śiva shrine, the Someśvara temple at an obscure little village 'Pashan', some 8 miles from Poona. This temple was supposedly built by Yesubai, the mother of Chhatrapati Shahu, sometime during 1719-1730. Two maṇḍapas and verandas were added to the main temple by one Shiv Ram Bhau in 1730, the outer one of them is decorated with paintings. In accordance with contemporary practice, the subjects of the paintings in this temple were derived from mythological literature, though there are a few secular subjects also.

The theme of the Daśāvatāras was quite popular in the medieval art of Maharashtra. It was so not only with the painters but also with folk artists. It was presented in folk dramas, sung in folk songs and often carved on personal ornaments. Thus paintings of the Daśāvatāras are found at several places all over the state of Maharashtra. The subject became so popular that soon it was an established convention to have mansions and temples painted over with it. Since it became a common feature, its rendering became mechanical and it betrays a strange lack of imagination in its presentation. The artists often not only failed to catch the intrinsic philosophical or poetical aspects of the theme, but they were also unsuccessful in rendering the theme in a manner that would arouse the interest of the spectator.

In the series of paintings of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Paraśurāma is depicted as the sixth one, according to strict mythological sequence. There are a number of contemporary wall paintings of this incarnation. Mansions at Wai, Satara, Menavali and Poona have representations of the duel between Paraśurāma and Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya. They show the former cutting off the numerous arms of his enemy, who as the name indicates had thousand arms. There is no attempt to provide any natural, regional or pictorial background to this tussel. It is represented in the most terse manner possible.

According to all the mythological literature, Paraśurāma, the youngest son of the sage Jamadagni and his wife Reṇukā, was a devotee of God Śiva. The God was pleased with his devotion and conferred on him a battle-axe or 'Paraśu' and thus he derived the name Paraśurāma. The events that led to the feud between Paraśurāma and the Haihaya King 'Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya have been narrated in mythological literature often enough. As such they are too well known to warrant a repetition here. The point of interest in the present context is that his battle with Sahasrārjuna, represent as it were one aspect of his career, the bitter enemity with the Kṣatriyas. The next chapter starts with the sage Kāśyapa turning Paraśurāma away

from violence and sending him off on a mission of reclamation and colonisation of new land. Thus he is reputed to have recovered land from 'Varuṇa' the lord of the Seas and settled his followers there. This land was known as the 'Aparānta' — the West Coast. He is supposed to have settled the Brahmins in this part and he himself laboured hard for the prosperity of this region. Thus it is that he came to be revered on the entire west coast of India — Kerala, Goa and the region of Konkan.

The painting under discussion shows that reverence for Paraśurāma as the presiding deity of rehabilitation continued right up to the 13th century.

This painting is executed on a portion of the drum, of the dome facing west. The panel is 36" × 20" i. e. $\frac{1}{16}$ of the entire area of the drum. The main figure, that of Paraśurāma occupies the central position. This figure is larger than the rest of the figures in the painting. The gradation of the size of the main figure is in accordance with the normal manner, that is according to their importance. However, the artist has not been able to incorporate the figure of Paraśurāma in the general scheme too successfully. Inspite of the gestures of his right hand which make it appear that he is guiding the farmer in his work, there is a certain amount of aloofness about it. Perhaps unwittingly it illustrates the real divine role of being in the event and of being out of it at the same time. The configuration is generally canonical though regional peculiarities in costume are quite obvious. The figure has a crown on it's head which conspicuously indicates it's divinity. Paraśurāma wears a simple white dhoti and dupatta (uttarīya). In his left hand he holds a battle-axe. It seems that he is conversing with a farmer who is facing him. The farmer is a young person wearing a hood of 'Ghongdi' or a rough blanket. He is working a 'Mot' on a well with a pair of bullocks and is irrigating the field. The other person is also a farmer. He is a grown-up man with thick black moustaches and beard. He is shown directing the flow of water around the blooming banana plants with a pickaxe. His costume is similar to that of the other person. This rectangular composition is divided by a horizontal stripe which represents a small canal. In the foreground are shown two cranes, indicating that the land is marshy on account of rice-fields. In the background landscape, numerous coconut and plantain trees are depicted, that impart a definite regional touch to the whole picture.

Although the painting is from a mythological theme the treatment of the subject is of a secular character. The depiction of this rural scene is quite simple and expressive. The landscape with an abundance of foliage and fruit trees, conveys a realistic idea of the particular part of the land. The artist was obviously quite well acquainted with regional geography. Similarly the rice-fields with cranes is a fine device to render local colour to the subject-matter. The use of cranes at the particular spot is not in accordance with the then prevalent convention. In most of the contemporary paintings a skein of cranes is depicted flying in the sky, or these birds are

shown standing in the watersheds, whereas in this painting, they are used not only as a mere decorative object, but also as a detail of the environment of the land.

The artist is undoubtedly successful in creating a mood. The blooming prosperity of the surroundings is reflected on the cheerful faces of the farmers as well as on the movements of the bullocks, they appear to be looking up towards Paraśurāma with affection. Their inner joy is evident in the rhythmic movements of their legs and tails.

The painting is executed in the fresco technique using primary earth colours like red, yellow, green, white and black. The delineation is forceful, sometime harsh. But it is neither the technique nor the style that is material in the case. It is the unconventional way of presentation of the theme which shows the inventive genius of the artist, which was conspicuous by its absence among the artists of this period. This is perhaps the only better known piece that has depicted the constructive aspect of this sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

BAHRAM GUR'S MARRIAGE WITH AN INDIAN PRINCESS : FACT OR FICTION

B. D. MIRCHANDANI

The Gazetteer of Makran (p. 41) states that Shermah, Malik of Hind, gave his daughter in marriage to Bahram Gur[1] the fourteenth Sassanian sovereign of Persia who reigned from 420 to 440 A. D., and as a portion of her dower conferred on her the country of Sind and the territory of Makran. Apparently, the story is based on old chronicles quoted by the Persian historian Gardizi in his *Zain-al-Akhbār*, a work composed in the middle of the eleventh century. If there be any truth in the story, this must have meant the transfer of suzerainty over these parts to Persia, leaving the local rulers otherwise largely unaffected. According to M. Reinaud this event occurred in 435 A. D. "Bahram Gur", he observes, "seized with a desire for travel, visited India, and there, say oriental historians, he received from the king of India his daughter in marriage and the district under discussion" — that is, the Indus valley and the coast of Baluchistan.[2]

Firdausi, '*the Homer of Persia*', in his great epic, the *Shāhnāma*,[3] which he completed in A. D. 1009, recounts the story in more detail than any other Persian or Arab writer. In brief it is as follows. When Bahram Gur reigned in Persia, the capital of Northern India was Kanauj and the appellation of the king of the country was Shangal or Shankal. His dominion was vast and he laid under tribute even China and Sind. Bahram Gur's vizier once incited his master to conquer the country of this powerful king. Bahram ordered that a firm but courteous letter be sent to Shangal. It said that Shangal's father and his forebears had been vassals of the kings of Persia, who at no time had allowed the tribute from Hindustan falling into arrears, and warned Shangal of the consequences of his default. Informing him that a talented and eloquent emissary was being sent to his court, the letter called upon him either to remit the tribute or prepare for war. Bahram chose himself as the bearer of this letter. Giving out that he was going out hunting, he started for India with a few trusted followers, and in due course crossed the Indus. When he reached the grand palace of the Indian king, he was received in the audience hall with all honour due to the envoy of a great king. Bahram

1. Bahram V, or Varahran V, who from his enthusiastic passion for hunting the *gur*, or wild ass, is invariably referred by the sobriquet of Gur.

2. *Indian Antiquary* (1879), viii, p. 335; M. Reinaud's *Memoire sur l' Inde*, p. 111.

3. The *Shāhnāma* is a history of the Persian kings from the earliest times to the death of the last Sassanian king Yezdirjird III in A. D. 651. A modern historian of Persia remarks that "*Shahnama* is practically the only early history ever read or believed by Persians."

presented the letter to Shangal. The latter, however, refused to pay tribute and disdained the threats of war. He let the envoy know that he was king of a vast dominion rich in gold, and silver and precious stones, and that eighty princes acknowledged his authority and his army was 300,000 strong. Shortly after, Bahram, in the presence of the king, engaged in a friendly fight with one of Shangal's best warriors and displayed such remarkable skill and prowess that the king was convinced that he was no ordinary courtier of the court of Persia, but a person of royal blood. Shangal's vizier tried to win Bahram over to his master's side and to persuade him to make Kanauj his home. But he refused. The king then suggested to Bahram that he might go outside the city and kill a ferocious wolf[4] and a dragon on the prowl in the neighbourhood. He expected that Bahram would get killed, but to his surprise Bahram returned home in triumph. Now, Shangal had a very beautiful daughter by name Sapinud. He offered her in marriage to Bahram, hoping that by this means he would secure the permanent stay if this brave Persian nobleman at his court. Bahram consented to the proposal and married the princess. One day, however, he confided his secret to Sapinud and suggested her running away with him to Iran, where he promised to install her as queen. She agreed. A few days later, taking advantage of the king's absence from the capital on a pilgrimage to a shrine, Bahram left the city with his wife, marching continuously till he reached the river Indus, across which there was brisk trade going on. Here he was recognized by some Iranian merchants. Meanwhile Shangal, coming to know of the flight of his daughter and Bahram, followed them with his army in hot pursuit. He overtook them, but then learning that his son-in-law was none other than the king of Persia, he was much pleased and returned to his capital. Bahram, when he reached Iran, took his Indian bride to the celebrated fire-temple of Azer Goushasp, where she was initiated into the Zorastrian faith. After some time, Shangal, accompanied by seven feudatory princes, paid a friendly visit to Persia. He stayed for two months at the court of Persia, and before his return gave a document to Sapinud, which expressed his will that at his death the throne of Kanauj should pass to her and his son-in-law.[5]

Masudi (d. 956), called the *Arab Herodotus*, alludes to the episode, but he gives the name of the Indian king as *Shabarmah*, which is perhaps an orthographical error for "Shermah". He relates that Bahram Gur journeyed secretly to India to study the conditions in that country; that he presented himself at the court of Shabarmah, one of the kings of India, and distinguished himself in battle by capturing the king's adversary and killing a wild elephant

4. Rhinoceros (*karg*) not wolf (*gurg*), according to Noldke's *Iranian National Epic*, translated by Bogdanov, p. 71.

5. Rogers, *Shahanamah of Fardusi*, pp. 416-35; A. G. &. E. Warner, *Shahnama of Firdousi*, pp. 109-44.

which neither the king nor his men had been able to destroy and that the king thinking him to be a Persian nobleman gave him his daughter in marriage. [6]

Firishta, who lived in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, thus relates the story in his *Tarikh-i-Firishta* : "At this period", writes the historian, "one Vasdew seizing on the province of Kunowj established himself in that principality. During his reign, Bairamgoor, king of Persia, came to the court of Kunowj in disguise. While at the capital a wild elephent in the neighbourhood had done much mischief, having killed many people, who went out to attack him. Among others, Vasdew himself had often gone out for the same purpose without success. Shortly after the arrival of Bairamgoor, the same elephant, penetrating to the very gates of the city, caused much alarm; the Persian prince ran alone to the spot, and with a single arrow laid him dead at his feet. Raja Vasdew requested that the stranger who had killed the elephant might be brought to him. As he was entering the court, the Indian ambassador, who had just returned from Persia, whither he had conveyed the annual tribute, recognizing the king of Persia, informed Vasdew of the circumstance. The Raja descending from his throne, seated the stranger upon it, and after giving him his daughter in marriage, furnished him with suitable escort which attended him back to Persia. Vasdew died after reigning for seventy years." [7]

Tabari [8] (838 - 923) and Mirkhond [9] (15th century) briefly record the story, which is also found in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawārikh*,[10] a Persian historical work of the 12th century, the name of whose author is not known.

The story of Bahram Gur's marriage with an Indian princes is based on a Persian tradition which is no doubt very old.[11] Nevertheless, most western scholars do not accept the tradition as authentic and reject the story as pure fiction. In this they are perhaps not unjustified, for the Iranian tradition is neither confirmed by a corresponding Indian tradition nor supported by more direct evidence.

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6. Macoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, II, p. 191, tr. into French by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille.

7. J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mahommedan Power in India*, I, pp. lxxvi - lxxvii (1908 edition).

8. *Chronique de Tabari*, par Zotenberg, II, pp. 123-25.

9. *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquites de la Perse*, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 357.

10. *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, p. 516.

11. It appears that during the reign of Noshirwan (531-579), and by order of that monarch, attempt had been made to collect from various parts of the kingdom, all the popular tales and legends relating to the ancient kings, and the results were deposited in the royal library. During the last years of the Sassanian dynasty, which was overthrown by Islam in 641, the work was resumed, the former collection being revised and greatly added to. See *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, 14th ed. *s. v.* Firdausi.

William Jones, eminent orientalist and jurist, who in 1784 founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, writes : "Bahram was educated in Arabia, and had some difficulty to recover the throne of Persia, which the nobles of his father's court had, in his absence, given to a prince named *Kasri* (Khusru or Chosroes). The adventures of this king are related at large by the poet Catebi, some of whose fictions have been transplanted into the Persian histories, where we are told with great solemnity, 'that he challenged Kasri to snatch the diadem from two hungry lions, between whom he had placed it; that he slew the two lions, and took the diadem; that he travelled to India in a private character, and married the king's daughter, having gained his favour by killing a furious elephant, and by defeating another Indian prince who had invaded the country. These relations have the air of Persian tales." [12]

The same is the verdict of John Malcolm and George Rawlinson. "Persian historians", says Malcolm (*History of Persia*, I, p. 118), "recount a long fable respecting the adventures of Bahram in India: to which country, we are told, he travelled in disguise, leaving his government under the rule of his wise minister, Meher-Narsi : but such extravagant tales hardly deserve to be noticed." Again (*ibid*, p 56) : "The Persians are too much addicted to embellishment, to permit one of their royal race to wander without adventures". Rawlinson in his *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* (p. 298) writes : "The adventures of Varahran in India, and the enlargement of his dominions in that direction, by the act of the Indian king, who is said to have voluntarily ceded to him Makran and Scinde in return for his services against the Emperor of China cannot be regarded as historical".

P. M. Sykes and H. H. Wilson, though sceptical of the veracity of the story, admit the possibility of it being true. In his *History of Persia* (I, p. 434) Sykes observes : "The story of Bahram's expedition to India, where the Indian king, in return for his services against the common enemy, is believed to have presented to him the provinces of Sind and Makran cannot be regarded as authentic; but I do not reject it as entirely devoid of historical truth". Wilson in his *Ariana Antiqua* (pp. 388-89), writes: " It is not impossible that the tale of Bahram's visit to India *incognito*, and his marriage with the daughter of Raja of Kanoj may be founded either on a flight to that country when the Huns threatened to overrun Persia, or at least in negotiation for an alliance with both the Yu-chi princes of Kabul and Rajputs of Central India, against a common enemy."

Deprived of all embellishment, the essential features of the story are : (i) Bahram Gur's visit to India, (ii) his marriage with a princess of Kanauj and (iii) accession of authority over Sind and Makran to Persia by reason of the alliance. Viewed thus, there is nothing inherently improbable in the story, though evidence to establish the truth of it is utterly lacking. The

12. *Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. xii, pp. 425-26.

Sassanian sovereigns of Persia and the Imperial Guptas of Northern India were contemporaries. Their dominions being adjacent, suzerainty over the border provinces of Sind and Makran, as might be expected, alternated, from time to time, between the east and the west.[13] Nor is the marriage of a Gupta princess with a Sassanian king, or the transfer of territory consequent upon such an alliance, anything inconceivable.[14] "Marriage alliances", says Bhattacharya, "were the trump cards with the Guptas. By marriage they came to Pataliputra, by marriage they got the throne of the Andhras, by marriage they established friendship with the Nāgas and by marriage they brought the Vakatakas under control."[15] Bahram Gur's visit to India, if there be any truth in the story, would fall in the time of the Gupta emperor, Kumāragupta I, who reigned from 414 to 455.

Kumāragupta's predecessor on the throne was Chandragupta who, says Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, pp. 151-52), "assumed his grandfather's name and is therefore known to history as Chandragupta II. Later in life he took additional title of Vikramāditya ('Sun of prowess'), which was associated by tradition with the Raja of Ujjain who is believed to have defeated the Sakas and established the Vikrama era in 58-57 B. C. It is possible that such a Raja may really have existed, although the tradition has not yet been verified by the discovery of inscriptions, coins, or monuments.[16] The popular legends concerning 'Raja Bikram' probably have been coloured by indistinct memories of Chandragupta II, whose principal military achievement was the conquest of Malwa, Gujarat, and Surashtra or Kathiawar, countries which had been ruled for several centuries by foreign Saka chiefs. Those chiefs, who had been tributary to the Kushāns, called themselves Satraps or Great Satraps. The conquest was effected between the years A. D. 388 and 401... The annexation of the Satraps' territories added provinces of exceptional wealth and fertility to the northern empire, which had become an extremely rich and powerful state at the beginning of the fifth century."

13. Aurel Stein, speaking of Makran, says : "Dependence either on the power holding the neighbouring Persian provinces of Kirman and Sistan or else on the rulers of Sind and the hills immediately adjoining the Indus valley westwards has always characterized the political status of Makran from the earliest times to which reliable data allows us to go back." *Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 43, p. 10.

14. 'Not a very probable alliance, supposing the lady to be a high caste Hindu", remarks W. H. Sykes (JRAS, 1841, vi, p. 354).

15. *Vikrama Volume*, p. 84.

16. Fleet (*JRAS* : 1913, p. 997) says : "Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramaditya and that story (of his founding an era in 57 B. C.) is nothing but a myth dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D." R. G. Bhandarkar (*IHQ*, XI, p. 212) is of the same view. "Indeed, after the publication of *Devicandragupta* 'fragment;' writes D.C. Sircar, "there can be little doubt that the Vikramāditya tradition primarily developed around the glorious achievements of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A. D.). But there are still some people in our country, who believe in King Vikramāditya's rule at Ujjayini in the first century B. C."—*Ancient Mālwa and Vikramāditya tradition*, preface, page x.

This great Gupta monarch was fond of depicting himself on his gold coins as engaged in personal combat with a lion. In regard to these gold coins of Chandragupta II, Altekar remarks : "Lion-slayer type is one of the most artistic types of Chandragupta II. Many coins of this class are among the best specimens of Indian art. Here again the mint-masters show great variety in representing the main theme. The lion is sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left of the king; it is sometimes standing at bay, sometimes it is being trampled upon by the king. Sometimes it is leaping at the king; sometimes it is retreating away from him." [17] I think it probable that these coins of Chandragupa II were known to Persians as *shermah*, a designation which later came to be applied by Muslim historians to Indian kings in general. In Persians *sher* means a lion, and *mah*, like *chandra* in Sanskrit, signifies the moon. Gardizi and Masudi, as we have seen, call the king of Kanauj Shermah. The Persians were in the habit of calling foreign potentates by Persian names. For instance, their historians refer to Yu-Chin, the Khan of the White Huns, against whom king Firuz (459-483) struggled unsuccessfully, as *Kush Newaz* or 'The High-Minded'.

Kanauj was not the capital of Northern India when Bahram Gur reigned in Persia. [18] "There are indications", says Vincent Smith (*Early History of India*, p. 293), "that Pātaliputra, although it may have been still regarded as the official capital, ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns..... There is reason to believe that during the fifth century Ajodhya, rather than Pataliputra, was the premier city of the Gupta empire." Fa-hien, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist monk, visited Kanauj in the course of his travels from A. D. 399 to 414. From his description of the place, Tripathi (*History of Kanauj*, p. 18) concludes that "during the pilgrim's itinerary, when the power of the Guptas was at its meridian, Kanauj was quite an unimportant and negligible place". Subsequently, however, Kanauj did become the capital of the vast empire of Harṣa (607-647), when it attained great splendour and opulence. [19] Muslim historians, however, from lack of precise knowledge, seem to have assumed that that celebrated city was the scene of their hero's adventures.

Colonel Wilford,[20] writing in 1809, maintained that *Agni-Purāṇa* refers

17. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 22.
18. In this connection the comment of W.S. Vaux (*Persia* pp. 171-72) on the story of Bahram Gur's adventures in India seems relevant. "If there be truth in the story," he says, "it is most likely that India means Baluchistan or else the country at the mouth of the Indus."
19. Cf. Vaidya (*History of Medieval Hindu India*, I, p. 28): "Kanauj was so grand that in the 8th century the *Chach Nama* uses 'You want Kanauj' as a proverb meaning that you want the impossible".
20. Concerning Wilford, Bholanauth Chunder thus remarks : "The Hindoo nation has reason to venerate the memory of that indefatigable Sanscrit scholar who had almost Hindooized himself by a residence in Benares from 1788 to 1822, and who at length mingled his dust in the soil of that great seat of Brahminical learning".—*Travels of a Hindoo* (1869), i. p. 285.

to the story of Bahram Gur's marriage with an Indian princess and advanced the curious theory that Vikramāditya, king of Malwa, was the same as Yezdijird II (son of Bahram Gur), king of Persia from 440 to 457. In his essay "Vikramāditya and Salivahana" (*Asiatic Researches*,IX, pp. 117 ff.) he narrates the *Agni Purāṇa* story of a *gandharva*, or heavenly chorister, named Gardabharūpa, or the man with the countenance of an ass, in spoken dialects Gadhā-rupa, who, having incurred the displeasure of Indra, was doomed to assume the shape of an ass. When cursed by Indra the *gandharva* had humbled himself: and Indra, relenting, allowed him to assume his human shape in the night time, telling him that the curse would not cease until somebody had burned his ass-like frame. Though in the form of an ass, the *gandharva* performed a miraculous feat to convince king Tamra-sena, whose kingdom lay between the rivers Sabarmati and Mahi, of his power. Having convinced the king, he married his daughter. The mother of the girl saw one night that the *gandharva* dallied with her daughter in a human shape. Delighted at the discovery, she looked for his ass-like frame and burned it. In the morning the *gandharva* informed his wife that, his curse being at an end, he was obliged to return to heaven. He also informed her that she was with child by him and that the name of the child was to be Vikramāditya. He then left his wife, who resolved to die; and ripping open her belly she took out the child and gave it to a flower-woman, telling her to go to a distant place and there remain concealed, lest the king should attempt to destroy the child. [21] The flower-woman went to Ujjain with the child, who is identified by Wilford as the third Vikramāditya, and who, he declares, ascended the throne of Malwa in A. D. 441. "This", says Wilford "is obviously the history of Yezdejird, son of Bahram Gor, or Bahram the ass, king of Persia : the grand features are the same and the times coincide perfectly".

In support of his view that Vikramāditya of the *Agni Purāṇa* was identical with Yezdijird II of Persia, Wilford whom his distinguished contemporary H. H. Wilson, describes as "a learned and labourious, but injudicious writer", referred *inter alia* to the following points of similarity in their stories :

(i) As Vikramāditya was the son of Gadhā-rupa, or the man with the countenance of an ass, so Yezdijird II was the son of Bahram with the nickname of Gur, or the ass.

(ii) Gadhā-rupa had "incurred the displeasure of Indra, king of the elevated grounds of *Meru*, or Turkestan, and was doomed to assume the shape of an ass in the lower region. Bahram Gur, or the ass, likewise incurred the displeasure of the *Khacan*, or mortal king of Meru".

(iii) As Gadhā-rupa was in disguise when he married the king's daughter so was Bahram Gur in disguise when he received the Indian king's daughter in marriage.

21. For a Jain version of the story see *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 650-51.

(iv) The father of Gadhā-rupa, according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* was *Ati-Birmah*[22], and the father of Bahram Gur was Yezdijird I, "called also Varanes or Baram, with the title of Athim and answering to Ati-Birmah."

(v) The grandfather of Gadhā-rupa (according to Wilford's information) was Brahma, [23] and Bahram Gur's grandfather was Bahram IV, the two names being practically identical.

"The Hindus", Wilford goes on to say, "assert that he (Bahram Gur) refused to take his wife along with him; and that, in consequence, she killed herself. They shew to this day, the place where he lived, about one day's march to the north of Baroach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records this place is called Gadhendrapuri, or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshera, or Ghojārā, for Ghosha-rāyā or Ghosha-rājā; for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Goshera, which has no meaning." The *Gazetteer of Broach*, however, does not mention that local tradition associates any place in that District with the Sassanian monarch Bahram Gur.

The story in the *Agni Purāṇa* is one of a large member of popular legends about the origin of the Vikramāditya tradition found in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Jain works. Wilford, who takes the story quite seriously, has made use of it to put forward his ridiculous theory for no other apparent reason than that the names Gadhā-rupa and Bahram Gur both contain the word signifying 'ass'. As Basham (*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 197n) rightly remarks, " The lack of historical texts brings with it the unfortunate situation that documents must be used as evidence which are completely devoid of historical character. " Wilford's third Vikramāditya is also none other than the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II; for he tells us that Vikramāditya is reported to have put his brother to a most slow and cruel death — an accusation that is sometimes levelled against that Gupta emperor.[24] Chandragupta II reigned from *c.* 376 to 413, whereas Yezdijird II reigned from 440 to 457. Wilford's claim that " the times coincide perfectly " is therefore, entirely unwarranted.

To support his theory Wilford named a few other Indian dynasties and tribes, which were, according to him, descended from the Persian stock. "The dynasty of Gardabhinas", he says, "is probably that of the descendants and successors of Bahram Gur *in Persia*...It is not improbable that Firoze spared the life of his brother, and banished him to distant countries: and spread a

22. Gladwyn's *Ayeen Akbery* (p. 399) shows *Atbirmah* as the *great* grandfather of Gundrup.

23. The name in the *Ayeen Akbery* is *Birmahrai*

24. Cf Bhattacharya (*Vikrama Volume*, p. 85) : "Samudragupta was a parricide and Chandragupta II was a fratricide, and married the wife of his brother."; Charlotte Krause (*ibid*, p 268) : "The Sanjan copper-plate grant carried the accusations against him even further, by directly inculpating him with having murdered his brother, usurped his throne and queen and acquired a false reputation for liberality."

report of his death to prevent any further commotion in his favour.[25] Shirovyeh, the son of Khusru Purviz, caused his seventeen brothers to be secretly conveyed to India; and it was firmly believed in the west that he had put them all to death[26]. Yet there is hardly and doubt that the kings of Oudypoor and the Marhattas are descended from them and their followers."

The Gardabhinas or Gardabhilas are mentioned in the prophetic chapters of the *Purāṇas* and in a few Jain records. But hardly anything is known about them or their history. A Sassanian origin seems to have been ascribed to them simply for the reason that *gardabha* in Sanskrit has the same signification as *gur* in Persian. Nor can Wilford's daring conjectures as to the fate of Firoze's brother and the sons of Khusru Parviz be accepted as sober history. Of the ruling house of Mewar (another name for the State of Udaipur) the *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol., XXIV p. 87) states : "The Mahārānās of Mewar are the highest in rank and dignity among the Rajput chiefs of India, claiming descent from Kusa, the elder son of Rāma, king of Ayodhyā and the hero of the Rāmāyana. No State made a more courageous and prolonged resistance to the Muhammadans; and it is the pride of this house that it never gave a daughter in marriage to any of the Musulman emperors, and for many years ceased to intermarry with the other Rajput families who had formed such alliance." With respect to the descent of the Rānās, Abul Fazl states : "The chief of the State was formerly called Rawal, but for a long time past has been known as Rana. He is of the Ghelot clan and pretends to descent from Noshirwan." [27] Tod, too, considers the claim spurious. "Historic truth," he writes, "has, in all countries, been sacrified to national vanity : to its gratification every obstacle is made to give way; fictions become facts, and even religious prejudices vanish in this mirage of the imagination. What but this spurious zeal could for a moment induce any genuine Hindu to believe that only twelve centuries ago, 'an eater of beef' occupied the chair of Rama, and enjoyed by universal acclaim the title of 'Sun of the Hindus'; or that the most ancient dynasty in the world could owe its existence to the last of the

25. Yezdijird II died in A. D. 457 and Hoormuz, the younger son, seized the throne, in the absence of his elder brother, Firoze. The latter, aided by a force provided him by the White Huns, won an easy victory; "and the unfortunate Hoormuz was, after a short reign of little more than one year, dethroned and put to death". (Malcolm, I, p. 127). Sykes (I, p. 436) confirms the defeat and capture of Hoormuz but is silent as to his fate.

26. Malcolm (I, p. 162) writes : "Schiroueh, the son of Khoosru Purveez, reigned only eight months. He is described as a prince who paid attention to justice and the laws, by the same author who informs us that he killed his father and fifteen of his brothers". In a footnote Malcolm adds "This author seems, however, to have some doubts about the murder of his brothers". Sykes (I, p. 489) refers to him as Siroes or Kobad II and mentions some of his acts of clemency. He, however, adds : 'Against these acts of clemency, which were probably more specious than genuine, must be set the fact that he massacred his brothers."

27. Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbary*, II, p. 268.

Sassanian kings : that a slip from such a tree could be surreptitiously grafted on that majestic stem, which has flourished from the golden to the iron age, covering the land with its branches."[28] And in regard to the Sassanian descent of the Marathas the following quotation from one of the works of Jadunath Sarkar would seem to dispose of the question : "Shivaji and his ministers felt the practical disadvantages of his not being a crowned king.... But there was one curious hindrance to the realization of this ideal. According to the ancient Hindu scriptures, only a member of the Kshatriya caste can be legally crowned as king and claim the homage of Hindu subjects. The Bhonsles were popularly known to be neither Kshatriyas nor of any other twice-born caste, but mere tillers of the soil, as Shivaji's great-grandfather was still remembered to have been. How could an upstart sprung from such *Shudra* (plebian) stock aspire to the rights and honours due to a Kshatriya? The Brahmans of all parts of India would attend and bless the coronation of Shivaji, only if he could be authoritatively declared a Kshatriya. It was, therefore, necessary first to secure the support of a pandit, whose reputation for scholarship would silence all opposition to the views he might propound. Such a man was found in Vishweshwar, nicknamed Gaga Bhatta, of Benares, the greatest Sanskrit theologian and controversialist then alive, a master of the four Vedas, the six philosophies, and all the scriptures of the Hindus, and popularly known as the Brahma-deva and Vyas of the age. After holding out for some time, he became compliant, accepted the Bhonsle pedigree as fabricated by the clever secretary Balaji Avji and other agents of Shiva, and declared that Rajah was a Kshatriya of the purest breed, descended in unbroken line from the Maharanas of Udaipur, the sole representative of the solar line of the mythical hero-god Ramchandra. His audacious but courtierly ethnological theory was rewarded with a huge fee, and he was entreated to visit Maharashtra and officiate as high priest at the coronation of Shiva. He agreed, and on his arrival was welcomed like a crowned head, Shiva and all his officers advancing many miles from Satara to receive him on the way." [29]

J. J. Modi, the eminent Parsi scholar, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bombay in December 1894,[30] pronounced the story of Bahram Gur's marriage with an Indian princess to be true—an opinion which, apart from Wilford's arguments, he tried to substantiate by adducing further proofs, which I shall now proceed to examine.

28. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 271.

29. *Shivaji and his Times* pp. 208-10. Cf. *Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India* (V, p. 48) : "His genealogy being obscure, his adherents were at liberty to invent the most illustrious, and accordingly traced his origin from the Ranas of Odeypoor, who claims a descent from Nowshirwan the Just."

30. *Journal B.B.R.A.S*, XIX, pp, 58-75. Distinguished Parsi numismatist, F. D. J. Paruk, holds the same view He says : "The adventures of Bahram in India and the enlargement of his dominions in that direction by the act of the Indian king who is said to have ceded to him, Makran and Sind and to have given him his daughter in marriage cannot be regarded as fiction" — *Sassanian Coins*, p 98.

At Nakshi-i-Rustam, four miles north of Persepolis, where the kings of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia are buried, there are seven bas-reliefs cut into the cliff. In regard to one of these Sir R. Keer Porter in 1818 wrote : "From the composition of this piece, even as it now appears, showing a royal union, and, as its more perfect former state is exhibited in the drawing I saw at Shiraz, where a boy with a princely diadem completes the group, I find that it corresponds with a Sassanian silver coin in my possession. On that coin are the profiles of a king, a queen, and a boy. On the reverse is a burning altar, supported by the same man and woman, the latter holding a ring in her right hand. From the Pelhivi legend which surrounds the coin, it is one of the Bahrams, which is there written Vahraran. Comparing certain peculiar circumstances which marked the reign of Bahram the Fifth, surnamed Gour with the design on the coin, and with figures on this excavation, I should conclude that the king in both is Bahram the Fifth."[31] He connected this bas-relief with an anecdote ("Practice makes perfect") about Bahram Gur's romantic affair with a favourite lady, which Malcolm relates in his *History of Persia*. [32] Differing from Porter's view, Modi maintained that the sculpture portrays the confirmation of Bahram Gur's marriage with the Indian princess at Azer Goushasp, the most celebrated fire-temple of ancient Iran.

Neither Sykes nor any other writer on Persia, so far as I am aware, confirms Modi's view about the subject of this bas-relief. Curzon, in his *Persia and the Persian Question* (II, pp. 117 ff.), describes the sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam in considerable detail. Speaking of the one with which we are here concerned, he says : "The central figure facing to the right is a Sassanian monarch with the symbolical globular crown, and immense streamers floating in the air behind. His hair stands out in bushy curls on either side of a handsome countenance, and his beard is tied in a knot below the chin. He is clad in the close-fitting jersey-like garment common to the Sassanian style, terminating in *shulwars*, or loose flapping trousers upon the legs. His left hand rests on the hilt of his sword; with his outstretched right hand he holds the circlet or emblem of royalty, the other half of which is grasped by a figure of scarcely inferior dimensions that confronts him from the right-hand side of the sculpture. This, too, is a royal personage, masses of curled hair projecting above the top of a mural or turrated crown. The beardless face, the long corkscrew—curls hanging upon the shoulders, the apparent formation of the body in front, and the contour of the hips, have suggested to all writers, I think without exception, that this is a female figure and the consort of one of the Sassanian kings. Porter went so far as to say that 'Beauty is sufficiently seen in the Juno port of the Queen, who seems as capable of asserting the rights of sovereignty as the really manly form of the king by her side'. The romantic but scholarly baronet accordingly identified the royal couple as Varahran V,

31. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc*, I. p. 533.

32. I, pp. 119-20 *n*.

or Bahram Gur, the great hunter) and his spouse for no other apparent reason however, than that the story of their separation and reunion is one of the most popular of Persian legends. Between the images of the king and queen (if, indeed, the latter be a woman, which, in spite of *a priori* improbability, it seems somewhat difficult to doubt) is a small and terribly defaced figure, apparently that of a boy. This fact has led Dieulafoy to conjecture that the royal trio are Varahran II, his wife (who, according to Darmesteter was daughter of the leading Jew of Babylon), and their son, whose united figures appear on the coins of the reign. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the public portraiture of a female form would have been admissible as early as the end of the third century A. D. I prefer therefore to leave the identification uncertain."

Modi also argued that some of the old Indian coins support the fact of Bahram Gur's visit to India. He referred in that connection to coins commonly called *Ghadia-ka-paisa*, or 'ass-money', which are found in considerable quantities in Gujarat, Malwa, Saurashtra and Rajasthan, and he quoted with approval Prinsep's view that they afford confirmation of Wilford's theories. "The veteran antiquarian, Wilford", wrote Prinsep, "would have been delighted, could he have witnessed the confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other: yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots on fig. 13, 16 will prove....Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurashtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Bahram-Gor: supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-Purana, that Vikrama, the son of Gadharupa, should ascend the throne of Malwa (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiration of Chanakya, or A. D. 441."[33] The view that this coinage was issued by the rulers of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty descended from Bahram Gur rests on the erroneous supposition that Wilford's theory is defensible. In the opinion of later authorities the Gadhia coins are simply rude copies of Sassanian coins issued by local Hindu dynasties; though derived from the Sassanian type, they are so degraded in execution as to show little similarity to their

33. *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, by Prinsep, ed. by Thomas (1858), I, pp. 341-42. Cf. Bhagavanlal Indraji (*Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, 1876, XII, p. 325) : "The name (of the coins) is derived from the Sanskrit, *Gardabhiya*, meaning 'of the Gardabhi dynasty'. Should the identification by Mr. Wilford of an Indian tradition with Varahvan (Gor) be a correct one, this Gardhabhi is a name of a family of Sassanian kings subsequent to the period of Varahvan Gor : Consequently the date of the beginning of this currency would be subsequent to A. D. 420, when that king flourished."

originals.[34] It is quite possible, however, that these local rulers in Western India acknowledged some dependence on Persia. Hence the adoption of Sassanian model for their coins.

Modi further affirmed that one of the frescoes in cave XVII at Ajanta supports the fact of Bahram Gur's visit to India. The fresco in question is thus described in the *Khandesh Gazetteer* (p. 556) : "On the left end of an ante-chamber, below, a Buddha sits in the middle in the teaching posture; two celestial fly-flap-bearers stand by his side; and above are the usual angels on clouds bringing garlands. On the right side sit about sixteen friars, all bare-headed and dressed alike. Above them are three horses, on one of which is a man in Iranian dress with peaked cap, jerkin and trousers; and, in the background behind these, is an elephant on which sits a great lady with her children and servant behind her, all making obeisance to the Buddha. At the Buddha's feet, two chiefs sit making profound obeisance to the Buddha. To the right and behind him are two with smaller crowns, the one to the right also on a cushion. To the left is another with a small crown, and, beyond him a decidedly Persian personage, with high-peaked cap short black beard and long hair; while in front of him a jewelled chieftain is seated. To the left are four horsemen, one bearded and completely clothed, probably a servant of the prince or chief. Behind the whole group are two more Sassanians and two horses, the riders in which have the Sassanian dress and peaked caps. Above are two elephants, on one of which is a man bare-headed, and with the Sassanian ribbons or banderoles, at the back of his neck, while, behind him, a curious—looking attendant makes obeisance. On the other elephant are several Sassanian people, all engaged in the same way, while three pennants are carried over their heads and three spears in front, with tassels attached to them. In the background beyond this elephant, another fair Sassanian carries an umbrella. Mr. Fergusson considers that this scene represents Bahram Gaur's (420-440) embassy to the king of Malwa." G. Y. Yazdani, who was Director of Archaelogy in the Hyderabad State, in his authoritative work on the Ajanta frescoes, however, does not endorse Fergusson's opinion on which Modi relied. "This scene", says Yazdani (*Ajanta*, I, p. 46), "has been the subject of a great deal of controversy among scholars one class favours the opinion that as some foreigners appear in the fresco, the scene may represent the embassy of the Persian king Khusrau to the Chalukyan Rāja Pulakeśin in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. Scholars of the rival group do not see possibility of any historical event on the rock-walls of Ajanta, and are sanguine that the scene represents a *Jataka* which may some day be identified....even if the date of this fresco, judging from its style, may be fixed at a later period (A. D. 600), there is little chance of the portrait of Pulakeśin, who was a Hindu by religion, having been painted in a Buddhist monastery

34. See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 34; Cunningham *Coins of Medieval India from the Sixth Century*, pp. 47-48; Mandlik, *JBBRAS* (1875), XI, p. 333.

at Ajanta. At the same time there is no doubt that the figures of foreigners represented in the scene bear very striking resemblance to the people of Turkistan and some other countries to the north-west of India, and as in the frescoes the artists have invariably delineated Buddhist stories, adopting characters from contemporary life, the presence of the foreigners seems to mark a period when the people of the Deccan had acquired familiarity with the inhabitants of the countries north-west of India. Such a supposition gains strength by reference to historical records, for in the early centuries of the Christian era Saka Satrapies were established in Surashtra and Malwa, in close vicinity to the Deccan, and the artists of the Ajanta must have known ultimately foreigners of the type represented in the frescoes."[35]

We may, therefore, conclude with sufficient reason that there is hardly any evidence in proof of the story of Bahram Gur's marriage with an Indian princess though it is possible that the story may be founded on fact. Indeed, I am tempted to exclaim—as does a pious Persian writer at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him—God only knows the truth.

35. Cf. M. Alfred Foucher, *Journal of the Hyderabad State Archaeological Society*, 1919-20, pp. 89-100 : " I must declare that, to my great regret, we must decidedly give up the hope, cherished by many admirers of Ajanta, of finding there a sort of historical gallery, telling as about the great events and showing us the great personages of India's past..... Regarding the supposed Persian Embassy in Cave I, if this picture was the only one that represents people dressed in Persian costume, there might have been some reason to consider it the unique exception from the rule : but this costume appears almost every where in the paintings, as one can easily make sure, and the ready knowledge of this dress shown by the artists at Ajanta is sufficiently explained by its nearness to the Western Coast of India. I do not believe I am too dogmatic in saying that of historical nature, properly so called, there is none to be found at Ajanta; nor have I in the course of our review of the iconography found the least trace of historical portraits : I do not think that anybody now is likely to defend the hypothesis, as wanton as it is seductive, that the caissons of the ceiling in Cave I, which I have already mentioned, show us the Sassanian Kings Chosroes, in the company of his beautiful wife Shirin. In the matter of real personage reproduced more or less from nature, I do not know of any other at Ajanta, than here and there some donors, standing or kneeling by the idol they had dedicated."

CHANDĀVAR KADAṀBAS

VASANTHA MADHAVA K. G.

The history of Chandāvar Kadaṁbas is known to us from a few hero-stones found round about Chandāvar and inscriptions. The rulers of this dynasty ruled over the present northern portion of North Kanara district from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth centuries. On the basis of Konāḷḷi inscription of Kāvadēvarsa, it is asserted that they belonged to a branch of the Kadaṁbas of Banavāsi.[1] Though their political history is nothing but mutual quarrels and raids on neighbouring rulers, they too contributed to the cultural activities which included their patronage to the construction of temples and forts, their encouragement to poets and donation to the religious institutions of Hindus and Jains.

As regards the origin of this dynasty, we are indebted to two inscriptions, dated 1064 A.D. (Śaka 1043) and 1143 A.D. found at Guṇḍabale, near Honnavar. These two records inform us that Chanda was the first king of this family and he is mentioned in the records as a king of Śiśukali in Koṅkan.[2] As one of the epigraphs is broken we are not in a position to state beyond this.

One of the early important kings of this house was Kāvadēvarasa, who ruled nearly fifty-six years (1048—1104 A. D.)[3]. His inscriptions found near Honnavar speak of his high sounding titles such as Lord of Ponnavura Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Kadaṁbacakravarti and further states his devotion to Lord Mahābalēśvara of Gōkarṇa. These titles enable us to presume that he was a powerful ruler in that region and that he tried to assert independence by calling himself Kadaṁbacakravarti, but failed in his attempt on account of political condition of Karnataka, and finally he contented to remain as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, which means subordination to some imperial power, probably Chālukyas of Kalyāni. But his subordination was only nominal, as his inscriptions are silent about the name of his overlord. A few hero-stone inscriptions relate his heroic deeds of fighting against neighbouring chieftains, such as Nāgavarma of Gōkarṇa, Kōtiyarasa of Nagire, and Nārana dēvarasa, the chief of the Sāmaṇas.[4] The last one came up to the Gate of Chāndavar, Kāvadēvarasa could not overcome this danger and he finally

1. Panchamukhi R. S. *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province from* 1941 *to* 1946 Part I & II, p. 6 (Dharwar 1948).
2. *The Descriptive Lists of stone and Copper Plate inscriptions Examined by the Kannada Research Institute during* the Years 1940-41 to 1942-43, p 19, Ins. No. 35 and 36, (Dharwar 1961) Cited hereafter as *D. L. S. C. I.* (K. R. I.)
3. *Ibid.*, Ins., No. 29. p. 18.
4. *Ibid.*, Ins, No. 20, 25, 28, 29, 33. pp. 17 to 19.

died in the battle field in the Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara.[5] The inscriptions of Kāvadēvarasa are found at Kumta, Haldipur (Haladipura) Mallapur, Konalli, Onsale, Chandāvar and etc. On the basis of these records we state that his principality extended over Kumta and Honnavar talukas and the river Śaravati was the Southern boundary. His eastern frontier touched the kingdom of Kōtiyarasa, the ruler of Nagire (near Hunnavar but not Girasoppe).

We are not in a position to know about his immediate successors and other rulers till the accession of Malli Dēva.II. An inscription of his dated 1143 A. D. (1063 Śaka) found at Guṇdabale tells us of his title of Tribhuvanamalla, the extent of his kingdom which included Haive 500, Koṅkans 900, Banavāsi 12000 and Śantalige 1000 and his capital at Śiriyur. (Śiśukali)[6] His title Tribhuvanamalla indicates his supremacy in that region.

Chandāvar, near Honnavar, became the capital of this principality from the accession of Bīradēvarasa in 1215 A. D. The above surmise is strengthened by epigraphical evidences.[7]

One of the records of Bīradēvarasa states his high sounding titles of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kadaṁbacakravarti and Tribhuvanamalla Pratāpa.[8] These high sounding titles reveal that he was an independent ruler. As a great warrior, Bīradēvarasa conducted a military expedition against Mallideva of Gutti and in the battle the tax collector and the Sandhigiri of the former sacrifice their lives.[9]

Next we hear Śivacitta Kāvadēvarasa in the year 1234 A. D.[10] in a hero stone found at Uluvari (near Ankola). The epigraph registers the death of a hero in a skirmish and mentions Nāgadēva. The chief, Śivacitta, bears the epithet Gōkarṇa Mahābalēśvara Dibya—Śri Pādapadmārādhaka, besides being described as Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara. He is also mentioned as the worshipper of God Madhukēśvara of Jayanti. An undated hero stone found at Kanagil (Aṅkola), ascribed to the thirteenth century A. D., refers to same ruler with his title Tribhuvanamalladēva and states his devotion to Saptakotēśvara[11]. In spite of damaged condition of these two hero stones, these enable us to conclude that the extent of the kingdom stretched up to Aṅkola.

The political history of this principality is virtually wrapt in obscurity from the end of thirteenth till the beginning of the fourteenth century.[12] It

5. *Supra*, f. n. 3.
6. *D. L. S. C. I.* (K. R. I.), Ins. No. 36. p. 19.
7. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V. VIII. Sorab No. 276. Cited as *Ep. Car. Ibid.* VII. Sikaripur, No. 158. *D. L. S. C. I* (K. R. I). No. 38, p. 19.
8. *D. L. S. C. I.* (K. R. I) No. 38, p. 19
9. *Ibid.*, No 37.
10. *Summaries of Inscriptions*, 1946-47 Ins. No. 13, p. 51 (Dharwar 1966) *Karnatak Inscriptions* Vol. VI, No. 76. Cited as *K. I.* (Dharwar 1973).
11. *Ibid.*, No. 77.
12. Dr. Bhatt Gururaja, *A Political and Cultural History of Tulunadu*, p. 249 (unpublished thesis submitted to Mysore University 1966).

seems these rulers lost their importance due to the incursions of Sēvunas of Dēvagiri.[13]

The last ruler of this dynasty was Basavadēvarasa. It was during his reign the Hoysalas invasion took place under Vira Ballāla III. Before the invasion of the Hoysalas, Basavadēvarasa is described in a broken undated record found at Aṅkola, as Kadaṁbacakravarti and the worshipper of God Mahābalēśvara of Gōkarṇa and Madhukēśvara of Jayanti.[14] Further the same record states his rule over Haive five hundred.

As regards Basavadēva's resistance to the forces of Hoysala, we are grateful to an inscription, dated 1319 A. D., found at Hangavadi. The record says "Basavadeva of Chandāvara below the Ghats had rebelled against the Hoysalas for some unknown reasons. At this Sankiya Sāhani, the brother-in-law of the senior house (palace) minister Baiceya Dannāyaka, was directed to march against Basavadēva. Chandāvūru (Chandāvar) was destroyed and Sankiya Sāhani proceeded against Mutla...which he besieged." In the battle of the Ghats, as it is called in the record, "Tuluvas were destroyed" (Tuluvara Keḍisi).[15]

Commenting on this, Dr. Ramesh K. V. remarks that Ālupa ruler, Sōyidēvarasa, assisted Chandāvara ruler Basavadēva. In addition to this, he observes "Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvara, was in all probability a feudatory of Ālupa."[16]

Following doubts arise before accepting the validity of these statements. First, the record cited above no where mentions the assistance of the Ālupas to the ruler of Chandāvar against the Hoysalas. Second, epigraphical evidences show that the Ālupas neither lost territory nor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hoysalas as a result of this battle. (The author accepts this). This itself indicates that the Ālupa ruler was not involved in this battle. The conflict affected to Chandāvar alone. Third, there is a possibility to believe that in that period Chandāvar was within the Tuluvas[17] and the Tuluva forces means here the forces of Chandāvar Kadaṁbas.

In this context Moraes G. M. says[18] "it is highly probable that to this newly conquered district Ballāla III appointed his veteran general Honnaraja, the progenitor of Gersoppa family as governor".

13. Shrinivas Ritti, Inscriptions from the Saravati Valley "*Journal of Karnatak University*," Social Sciences III, for the year 1967, p. 104.
14. *K. I.* VI, No. 78.
15. *Ep. Car.* VII, HI 117.
16. Ramesh, K. V. *A History of South Kanara*. pp. 137f (Dharwar 1970).
17. Even in the sixteenth century A. D., the people associated the land south of Mirjan, situated on an islet south of Aṅkola, on the Gangavadi river, with Tulluva. See Barbosa, Durate, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar* etc. I p. 184, n 2, Tr by Dames, London, 1918. Saletore B. A. *Ancient Karnataka* Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 2 (Poona 1936).
18. Moraes G. M. "Haryaba of Ibna Batuta" *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1939 No. 15 (N. S) p. 41.

Within decades of the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire, the principality of Chandāvara was brought under its authority.[19]

The last record of Basavadēva of Chandāvar is 1378 A. D. We know from the record that he was a ruler of Banavāsi and Gokarṇa and his overlord was Haiva, the king of Gērasoppe[20] who acknowledged the authority of Vijayanagara. We do not know any ruler of this dynasty after Basavadēva beyond this year. It is probable that it was merged into the principality of Gērasoppe.

The rulers of Chandāvar Kadaṁbas patronised Hinduism and Jainism in this principality. Their patronage Jainism is supported by the fact of the liberal grants made by King Mallidēva to Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara of Mallabasi at Vijayāpura.[21] These rulers were ardent devotees of Gōkarṇa Mahābalēśvara and their records state that they had acquired power through the favour of that God.

These rulers had a set of officers known as ministers, Dannāyaka, Sandhi vigrahi (envoy) and Hejjunkara (Tax collector).[22] These officers helped in the conduct of administration.

They encouraged literary works. This has been proved by the poetic language expressed in their inscriptions. In addition to this, Poet Pàmaṇa received encouragement from Mallidēva II.[23]

The existence of various hero-stones shows that they had great admiration for heros who died in the battlefield.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

The Kadaṁbas of Chandāvar, one of the offshoots of Banavāsi Kadaṁba, wielded powerful influence in the region of the northern portion of North Kanara nearly for three centuries. Their subordination to the imperial authority was nominal and this did not disturb them in conduct of administration and foreign relations, especially in their wars against their neighbours. In the midst of wars and raids, these rulers contributed to cultural activities which are worthy to be remembered.

19. *Mysore Archaeological Department Report for the year* 1929 p. 167.
20. *Ibid.*, for the year 1928, p. 97.
21. *Supra*, f. n. 6.
22. *D. L. S. C. I.* (K. R. I), pp. 18 f.
23. *Supra*, f. n. 6 & 17.

List of Abbreviations

1. *D. L. S. C. I* (K. R. I) Descriptive lists of Stone and Copper plate inscriptions examined by Kannada Research Institute.
2. *Ep. Car.* Epigraphia Carnatica
3. *K. I.* Karnataka Inscriptions.
4. N. S. New series.

SLAVERY IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE XVIIth CENTURY

BALKRISHNA GOVIND GOKHALE

Institutionalized slavery has been an aspect of the social and economic organizations of countries bordering the Indian Ocean since time immemorial. It has been suggested that the Harappan civilization (*circa* 2500-1750 B.C.) contained elements of a servile population and the figure of the *dāsa* is fairly familiar in the Vedic literature (*circa* 1000-700 B.C.). From the period since 325 B.C. (the beginning of the Maurya empire) evidence on slavery in India is fairly continuous. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* and the law books contain elaborate regulations governing the taking and use of slaves.[1] But slavery seldom had a significant economic role in traditional Indic societies and the number of slaves taken in war and by way of debt-bondage was always small.

The advent of Turkish rule both continued and developed the institution of slavery in India. In A.D. 712 the Arab invader Muhammad bin Quasim, in the course of his invasion of Sind took many slaves from among the defeated Hindu population. Similarly the Turk Mahmud of Ghazna (997-1030) carried away many from among the conquered population as slaves to the extent that slave markets in Central India during this time were said to have an abundance of slaves. Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210), the founder of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi was himself a manumitted slave and so were his successors Iltutmish (1211-1236) and Balban. Ala-ud-din Khilji (1296-1316) is reported to have had as many as 50,000 slaves and Firuz Tughlag (1351-1388) owned some 180,000 slaves in the capital and elsewhere, numerous enough to maintain a special department for slaves. These slaves were Hindus, Turks and "Abyssinian". These slaves performed a variety of personal services for members of the ruling groups. They were employed in State-run manufactories and enrolled in the armies as personal bodyguards and the general armed services. Some of the so-called "Abyssinian" slaves rose to high positions and among these way be mentioned Malik Ambar (A.D. 1549-1626) who controlled the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.[2] Malik Ambar dominated the politics of central India for over a quarter of a century and is

1. For Harappan slavery see D. D. Kosambi, *Ancient India* — A History of its Culture and Civilization (New York, 1965), p. 54; for the *dāsa* in Vedic literature see A. A. MacDonell & A. B. Keith (Edrs.), *The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (Varanasi, 1958). I, pp. 356-358; R. P. Kangle (Ed.), *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (Bombay, 1963), II, pp. 271-274; D. R. Chanana, *Slavery In Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1960), pp. 39 ff.

2. For slavery under the Arabs, Turks, Afghans, and Mughals see H. M. Elliot & J. Dowson, *The History of India As Told By Its Own Historians* (Allahabad, Indian Reprint, ND), I, pp 123 ff; 340 ff, H. G. Raverty (Ed. and Trans.), *Tabakati-Nasiri of Minhaj ud-din* (New Delhi, 1970), I, p. 83; J. M. Bannerjee, *History of Firuzsha Tuglug* (Delhi, 1967), pp. 83. 133-134;

a fascinating figure. He is reported to have been born in an Abyssinian family around A. D. 1549 and was sold by his poverty-stricken parents to one Khwaja Mir Baghdadi (or Mir Qasim), a great merchant of Baghdad. It was this patron who brought him to the Deccan where he was sold to a Malik Dabir, a minister of the Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, ruled by Murtaza Nizam Shah I (1565-1588). Malik Dabir had employed some one thousand slaves to bolster his own position at the court and Malik Ambar gained prominence among them very soon by dint of his intelligence and hard work. After the death of his master Malik Ambar joined the royal army of Ahmadnagar as a soldier which he left for the Kingdom of Golconda and later for Bijapur. But he returned to Ahmadnagar along with some other Abyssinians in 1596 and became a commander of 150 horses under an Abyssinian leader known as Abhang Khan, but soon became a leading power and remained a decisive influence at the court of Murtaza Nizam Shah II from 1600 until his death in 1626. Malik Ambar, the ex-Abyssinian slave, became a leading nobleman of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and defied the might of the Great Mughals. Pieter Van Den Broecke, the Dutch Chief at Surat in the 1620's describes Malik Ambar as "a black caffer from the land of Abyssinia (Habessi) or Prester John, has a stern Roman face, tall and strong of person, with white and glazed eyes, rather, unbecoming for his personality" but who had established a good government though an ex-slave who was bought for 20 ducats in Mokha. Van Den Broecke then goes on to speak of Malik Ambar's power at the court of Ahmadnagar, his political astuteness and trade interests.[3]

The rise of Malik Ambar is an interesting instance of the role of the ex-Abyssinian slaves in the history of pre-XVIIth century India. It was Malik Ambar who was also responsible for the establishment of a group of Abyssinians on the west coast of India centered on the island fortress of Janjira and its hinterland on the coast some 40 or 50 miles south of Bombay. These Siddis or Abyssinians rose to particular eminence during the XVIIth century as a naval power in their own right. The origin of this particular group of Abyssinians is not quite clear. Some have described them as traders who acquired political power though their association with Malik Ambar makes it probable that they, like him, also began their career as Abyssinian slaves who were brought to the Deccan and rose to be military commanders and centers of political power in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. The Siddis of Janjira constantly battled against the Marathas and held their own and became the longest surviving African dynasty in India.[4] During the reign of the

3. W. ph. Coolhaas (Ed.), *Pieter Van Den Broecke In Azie* (S-Gravenhage, 1962), I, pp. 141-143; 147-151; also see Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 278 ff.

4. For different views on the social origins of the Siddis of Janjira see J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji And His Times* (Calcutta, 1961), pp. 254-255; G. S. Sardesai, *A New History Of The Marathas* (Bombay, 1958), II, pp 148-151; D. R. Banaji, *Bombay And The Siddis* (Bombay, 1932), pp. xix-xxi.

Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) the Siddis functioned as the admirals of the Mughal Navy in the Arabian Sea area and were entrusted with the task of curbing the Marathas and ensuring the security of Mughal shipping and pilgrims to Arabia. The Mughals also employed a number of Abyssinian slaves at their court for various tasks.

II

The advent of the Portuguese in South and Southeast Asia gave a new direction to the African slave trade in the region. Jan Huygen Van Linschoten (1563-1611), the Dutchman who served under the Portuguese in their colony of Goa for five years (1583-1588), states that Mozambique, the Portuguese colony in east Africa, had already become a great market for Negro slaves at the end of the XVIth century. He states that "from Mossambique they carry into India gold, ambergris, ebony wood and ivory, and many slaves both men and women which are carried thither, because they are the strongest (Moores) in all the East countries, to do their filthiest and hardest labour, wherein they only use them." These slaves were sold in a principal street of the city of Goa "as beasts are sold with us, where every one may choose which likes him best, every one at a certain price." He also speaks of the many Abyssinians living in India, Muslims and Christians; "many of them that are in India that are slaves and captives, both men and women which are brought (tither) out of Ethiopia, and sold like other Oriental nations, the Abyssinians that are Christians have on their faces 4 burnt marks in the manner of a Cross, some over their nose in the middle of the forehead, between (both their) eyes and one under their neither lip (down) to the chin; and this is their Baptism, when they are made Christians (which they use) instead of water". Of the slave market in Mozambique Linschoten says: " From Mosambique great numbers of these Caffares are carried into India, and many times they sail a man or woman that is grown to their full (strength), for two or three Ducats. When the Portuguese ships put in their for fresh water and (other) necessaries, then they are dearer, by reason of the great number of buyers." Besides these enslaved Abyssinians there were also others who were highly valued as expert sailors who sailed with merchants to Goa, China, Japan, Bengal, Malacca, Ormuz and other Asian ports. They served "for small money, and being hired are very lowly (and subject), so that often times they are (beaten and) smitten, not as slaves, but like dogs, which they bear very patiently, not (once) speaking a word; they commonly have their wives and children with them in the ship wherein they are hired, which continually stay with them, what voyage so ever they make, and dress their own meat, which is rice sodden in water with salt fish among it." These Abyssinians worked under an Arab *muqaddam* (headman) who held them under his subjection, even as it they were his slaves or subjects". The Arab contracted for the Abyssinian services concerning their numbers and monthly wages which he received on their behalf. From the conditions of service and the brutal

treatment which the Abyssinians suffered, it seems more than likely that they were held by the Arab in some kind of a servile condition if not actual slavery.[5] The Arabian Red Sea coast area was a major region for the transportation and sale of African slaves who finally found their way to Jedda, Aden, Mokha, Persia and India.[6]

Mozambique continued to be a great market for African slaves used by the Portuguese, Dutch and English in their Asian colonies during the XVIIth century. Along with Mozambique the Island of Madagascar also quickly developed into a slave mart at this time. Pieter Van Dam writing at the end of the XVIIth century refers to the traffic in African slaves by the Dutch East India Company for manning their fortified possessions in the Indonesian Island. A large number of these slaves from Madagascar were also sent to their Cape Colony. The numbers involved at a time were 300 or more.[7]

Mozambique and Madagascar seem to have been the two major areas where African slaves were secured by the Portuguese, Dutch and the English throughout the XVIIth century. While Abyssinia continued, though in a diminished manner, to be a source for slaves, slaves from the east coast of Africa gradually replaced the Abyssinians in labour for the Europeans in their ships and colonies. Tome Pires who wrote in the opening decades of the XVIIth century describes the exports of Abyssinia as gold, ivory, horses, slaves and foodstuffs brought to the Red Sea ports of Zeila and Berbera by Arab merchants and slave-raiders. Duarte Barbosa, writing about the year 1518, calls Zeila a "Moorish town", the people being "black for the most part." It was the capital of Berbera and was taken by the Portuguese either in 1516 or 1518. Van Den Broecke mentions that the demand for Abyssinian slaves continued in early XVIIth century and refers to some 100 such slaves, male and female, being bought by Indian Muslim merchants who preferred them for their hard working habits.[8]

The Factory Records of the English and the Dutch contain scattered references to the East African black slave trade. In July 1628, for instance, the English took a number of black slaves from Mozambique and in January 1638 there was a complaint that the Portuguese would not permit the English ship *Blessing* to buy any slaves from Mozambique. However, they were able to buy 18 at Mohilla (Comoro Islands from a Portuguese skipper in

5. A. C. Burnell (Ed.), *The Voyage Of John Huyghen Van Linschoten To The East Indies* (New York, 1970), pp. 33, 185, 264-266, 275.

6. See W. D. G. Birch (Trans. and Ed.), *The Commentaries Of The Great Afonso Dalboquerque* (New York, 1970), pp. 27-28

7. F. W. Stapel (Ed.), *Pieter Van Dam-Beschryvinghe Van De Oost Indische Compagnie* (S-Gravenhage, 1939), II/3 pp 487-500.

8. A. Cortesao (Ed.), *The Suma Oriental Of Tome Pires* (Nedeln/Liechtenstein, 1967), I, p. 8; M. L. Dames, (Ed.), *The Book Of Duarte Barbosa* (London, 1918), I, pp 35-36; Broecke, *Op. Cit.*, I, p. 102.

exchange for three guns taken by the *Blessing* from another ship. Finally there is a reference to the taking of black slaves in a dispatch of February 14, 1645.[9]

The other places where black African slaves were available were Madagascar (present Malgasay Republic), Mauritius and the Comoro Islands. The Portuguese had named Madagascar as Sam Lourence Island and Barbosa says that it was inhabited "within by Heathen and in the seaports by Moors, who hold many towns there. This Island has many kings, both Moors and Heathen; in it there is great store of flesh-meat, rice, millet, oranges and lemons. There is much ginger in this land of which they make no use, save to eat it (quite green). The men go naked, covering only their middles with cotton cloths. They do not sail to any ports ..... They are brown in colour and speak a tongue of their own, and they often are at war one against the other. Their weapons are assegais, very slender for throwing, with well-worked iron heads. Each man carried a sheaf of them in his hand for throwing. They are very active men and clever wrestlers. They use base silver among themselves. Yams are their principal food. This land is fair and pleasant and abounds in streams with some indifferent large rivers. From the coast near Malinide the distance of this island is (about) three hundred leagues, and from the mainland the distance may be seventy leagues."[10] An interpolated passage in the account of Van Linschoten quoted above calls Madagascar "the greatest of all East Indies", "very temperate, and therefore well peopled, but believe in Mohomet", it is "full of wild beast and strange foules", a great store of sandalwood and amber, rice, barley, oranges, lemons, citrons and mellons, honey and sugar in abundance, saffron and many medicinal herbs and silver. Van Linschoten then goes on to describe Mozambique on the mainland as well as islands and the Arab traders who ranged over the whole territory upto the Red Sea and the governmental system established by the Portuguese.[11] The English seaman John Jourdain touched both Madagascar and the Comoro Islands in 1608 and Thomas Best refers to Mohilla, one of the Comoro Islands and the Island of Madagascar both of which he visited in 1612 in the course of his voyage to India. He reports that both places were frequented by the Portuguese and then Dutch. Peter Mundy writes of the Comoro Islands in 1628 as comprising Mohilla, Johanna, Comoro and others and speaks very favourably of their good climate and provisions in meat and cereals as well as diverse kinds of fruits. Writing in 1655 Mundy

9. W. Foster (Ed.), *The English Factories In India*-A Calendar of Documents in the India Office etc.; this is a series of thirteen volumes published from Oxford between 1906 to 1927 and covers the period from 1618 to 1669. It is cited as *EFI* and serialized as 1618—21 I; 1622-23—II, 1624-29—III; 1630-33—IV; 1634-36—V; 1637-41—VI; 1642-45—VII; 1646-50—VIII; 1651-54—IX; 1655-60—X; 1661-64—XI; 1665-67—XII; 1668-69 — XIII; *EFI*, p. 265; V, p. 54; VI, p. 39; VII, pp. 241-242.

10. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 23-26.

11. *Voyage*, I, pp. 21ff.

refers to Arab trade with Madagascar especially in slaves of whom he saw 300 on one ship. The price of such slaves, reports an English communication of November 18, 1637, were being sold for two *Tumans* a person. In September 1643 the price of blacks from Madagascar was quoted as more than 20 Rials of eight per slave, though another report of the same month quotes the price at two men at 10 Rials each, one boy at 6 Rials and one woman at nine Rials. The pinnace Francis, it was reported on December 29, 1640, bought 22 slaves at very cheap rates" in Madagascar but 13 of them died on the way of small-pox. The *Tuman*, a Persian currency, was worth *b* 3·33 in English currency or some 8·66 at the present rate of exchange. The Rial of Eight was a Spanish silver coin used almost as an international tender in most areas of the Indian Ocean and was worth about 4 shillings and 6 pence in English money.[12]

Slaves came in as a good prize from the English, Dutch and English-Portuguese naval encounters. In October 1621, for instance, the English Captain John Weddell aboard the ship *Jonas* wrote to the English Factory in Surat in western India for instructions as to the disposal of the woman slaves taken from the Portuguese ships. In August, 1622 the English took 54 slaves from a Portuguese ship at Mohilla, in 1629 the English ship *Samuel* took a hundred black men and women as prize and such instances can be multiplied.[13] But both the English and the Dutch also traded in black slaves on their own account. On January 20, 1628 the English in Surat reported to their agents in Batavia in Java that slaves may be easily bought in the Comoro Islands should Batavia need them. In 1628 there is a report of slaves being bought from Mozambique and in 1634 the Governor of Gombroon in Persia was given two Madagascar slaves in requital for some present of wine. The slave market at Mazalagem, New and Old (modern Majambo Bay and Mojanga) says an English communication of Surat to the Company of January 27, 1640, could provided slaves "which are no less useful to our occasions here than those at Bantam". The Island of Mauritius had also developed into a significant slave market in the 1640's. Peter Mundy visited Mauritis in 1638 and describes it as "imcompasse about 25 or 30 leagues" (130 miles in circumference), fertile possessed of, cattle wealth and highly desirable as a colony.[14]

12. W. Foster (Ed.), *The Journal Of John Jourdain* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 21-23, 24; W. Foster (Ed.), *The Voyage Of Thomas Best* (London, 1934), pp. 19-21, 103, 232, 238; for another description of the Comoro Islands see W. Foster (Ed.), *The Voyage Of Nicholas Downton To The East Indies* (London, 1939), pp. 66-58; For Peter Mundy's account of 1628 see R. C. Temple (Ed.), *The Travels Of Peter Mundy's In Europe And Asia* (Nedeln/Liechtenstein, 1967), II, pp. 14-17; V, pp. 46-48; for value of the *Tuman* see *EFI*, II, P. ix, note; for value of the Rial of Eight see *EFI*, I, p. xx; *EFI*, III, p. 224; V, p. 54; VI, pp. 226, 253, 294; VII, pp. 97, 119, 120.

13. *EFI*, I, p. 310; II, p. 6; III, p 357; VI, pp. 51, 253, 254; VIII, pp. 54-55, Note 1.

14. *EFI*, III, pp. 224, 265; V, p. 54; VI, p. 226; VII, pp. 97, 119, 120, 241; VIII, pp. 283-284,

The slave trade carried on by the Dutch was as sustained and extensive as that of the English if not more so. In September 1621 an agreement between the English and the Dutch specified that the Dutch be allowed "to procure blacks and slaves to people the Islands of Banda, Batavia and other places". Jan Pieterszoon Coen, (b. 1587-d. 1629) the founder of the Dutch empire in the East Indies stressed the desirability of securing as many slaves as possible from Madagascar and other places for peopling the Dutch settlements in the Moluccas and this policy was followed assiduously throughout the XVIIth century. The Dutch used the black slaves in their Colony of Cape of Good Hope and also used slaves secured from the eastern coast and islands of Africa in their settlements in the east, principally in the Indonesian Islands. These slaves were used for working on building fortifications and were especially useful for working the silver mines in Sumatra. Pieter Van Dam, in his work quoted above gives us details of the organization of this slave trade under the Dutch and their use in the East Indies. These black slaves were found to be particularly useful as the Dutch were unable to work the Indonesian natives to the desired extent and also that the black slaves were much easier to guard than the Indonesians since runaway black slaves could be easily tracked down which was not the case with the Indonesians taken in bondage.

The need for slaves to work in the eastern colonies felt by the Dutch was such as to make them take slaves wherever they could. African slaves were in demand in the Cape Colony and later in the century began the great slave traffic from the west coast of Africa to the new world. The Asiatic colonies, in this slave traffic, had a low priority and these Colonies then turned to employing Malays and peoples of the Indonesian Islands as slave labour. They also bought slaves from the eastern coast of India especially during times of famine when men, women and children were sold into slavery as a matter of sheer survival. They are reported, as in 1623, to be sending as many as 2,000 slaves at time to Batavia and other Dutch holdings in the region. The Dutch spice plantations employed large numbers of these slaves and a similar system of slave labour was also used in Ceylon under Dutch rule.[15]

One of the interesting features of this slave trade was the use of the slaves on European ships. Since the mortality rate for the European crews was very heavy, most European ships felt the need for replacement for losses on board by the time the ships arrived in the Arabian Sea. Captain Weddell

15. For the Dutch operated slave trade see *EFI*, I, pp. 275, 277, 279; II, pp. xxxviii, note 2, 105, note 2, 106, 127, 229, 261; V, p. 112; IX, p. 235; W. Ph. Coolhaas (Ed.), *General Missiven Van Gouverneurs-General En Raden Aan Meren XVII Der Verenigde Oost Indishce Compagnie* (S-Gravenhage, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1971), I, pp. 44-46, 109-181; II, 493-496, 594-596, 679-682; III, pp. 406-408, 844-847; IV, pp. 137-140, 284-287, 354, 429-433, 528-530, 655-658, 715-718, 792-795 and *passim* the period covered in these documents is from 1610 to 1685; F. W. Stapel, (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, I/2, pp. 653-655; III, pp. 178-179, 198-199, 220-221, 224, 263, 264-265.

referred to above, writing aboard the *Royal James* on April 27, 1625 states "we have above 80 blacks working in our ships, of whom, if there shall be any want in Batavia, we will leave the greatest part there, the rest for Surat". Thomas Kerridge, the English Company's servant who worked in Surat for many years, wrote from aboard the ship *Hart* to Surat giving a list of slaves, men and boys, numbering some 38 in all as "fit for the Company's service in their ships." English communications of the year 1622 mention various numbers of slaves, ranging from 20 to 40 working on ships belonging to fleets of defence in the Indian Ocean area. A communication of April 27, 1625 mentions as many as 80 blacks working on English ships and in October 13, 1625 Batavia wrote to the Company in London that the pinnace *Rose* had 20 English and 10 blacks on board as crew. Another communication of July 23, 1628 mentions the English capturing 19 blacks from cape Cabeceira, on the north side of the Mozambique approach, "along with oranges and lemons". In August 1629 the English ship *Samuel* arrived at Mohilla with 100 blacks, men and women and later every ship took some slaves to carry them to Surat and Batavia. Very often the Surat English Factory was expected to furnish blacks for service on English ships arriving from England presumably to replace loss of English crews on the outward voyage. Employment of slaves by the English in the Asiatic regions went on until 1665 and to a large the English were able to complete many of their voyages with the use of black slaves taken from the eastern coast of Africa. The English also bought slaves on the eastern coast of India, as was the Dutch practice, but black slaves were particularly valuable for service on English ships. They were particularly useful for doing the most arduous work and hence were needed both for commercial ships and ships of the defense fleet.[16]

The transport and use of African slaves in the Indian Ocean area involved the Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French. Without the extensive involvement of the Arab slave traders the capture and sale of slaves from the major regions of East Africa and the Islands would have been very difficult as the Arabs went deep inland on their slave-taking expeditions and drove their "human cargo" to the port areas where the European traders could buy it. The Europeans, on their part, recognized the importance of the slave in their emerging colonial economy by building and operating special ships designed to carry as many as 400 slaves in one voyage. The Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam laid down detailed instructions concerning the conditions under which the African slaves were to be transported and treated. Such solicitude was inspired by the fear of loss of investment in the slave trade as mortality of slaves during a voyage was high and death of slaves transportation meant monetary loss to the ledger-watching "College of XVII"

16. *EFI*, I, pp. 83, 97, 286, 313; II, pp 85, 105-106, 133, 141-142, 155, 165, 174, 175, 195, 223; III, Pp. 10, 83, 97, 118, 136, 165, 224, 265, 357; V, pp. 54, 282, 328; VI, pp. xxii, 39, 139, 205, 313; VII, pp. 28, 37; VIII, pp 11, 234; IX, Pp. 80, 137; XI, pp. 43, 51.

sitting in Amsterdam and overseeing the investments and operation of Dutch capital in Asia. Pieter Van Dam gives us interesting insights into the operation and use of slave transports. According to the regulations laid down by Amsterdam each "slave ship" had to carry stated quantities of victuals and other necessities of life for the slaves for a voyage of three months. The slaves were to be fed twice a day on bread, wheat or rice, beans. In addition to these items ships had to carry tamarind, pepper, tobacco and vinegar and at stated intervals the ship had to be cleaned so as to prevent, as far as possible, an outbreat of disease on board. Personal cleanliness for the slaves had to be insisted upon. The slaves could also be bought in exchange for certain kinds of Indian textiles which the Dutch names "Negrokleden" (Negro fabrics), amber and beads and other "novelties".

Though the number of slaves taken from Mozambique, Madagascar and the Comoro Islands was small when compared to the numbers involved in the slave trade in the New World in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries it was by no means insignificant. In 1667 it was estimated that the Arabs took away more than, 1,000 slaves. After their capture the Arabs branded them on their foreheads with a hot iron and among the group there were many women and children. The Arabs paid 2 to 4 piastres for the children and by the time they had them transported to the Red Sea their value had advanced as much as 25 times. During the time when the slave trade in the Indian Ocean area was carried on as many as 100 ships were used specially for the transportation of slaves. This does not include the numbers taken by the European pirates operating from Madagascar and the Comoro Islands and a fair estimate of the total number of slaves bought and sold during one year by the Arab and European slave traders from the eastern parts of Africa could have been as high as 5,000. There were cases of resistence and rebellion but these were ruthlessly crushed and any slave suspected of being a "trouble-maker" was mercilessly whipped and had around his neck a spiked collar with the spikes pressing again the neck.[17]

What is the significance of this slave trade in the history of European commercial enterprise in Asia during the XIXth century? As stated above the numbers involved in this African slave trade in Asia cannot be compared to the economic role of African slavery in the New World. But in other respects its significance cannot be ignored. As pointed out above the slaves were particularly useful for the European ships and played a significant role in the working of the European ships in the Indian Ocean areas. Many a voyage would have been difficult without these slaves. Secondly, the slaves were also useful for the development and working of the incipient colonial economies ushered by the Dutch and the English. They were used for building

17. Pieter Van Dam, *Op. Cit*, I/2, pp. 668-670; for slavery in Madagascar see Hubert Desschamps, *Histoire De Madagascar* (Paris, 1961), pp. 40-46, 64-68, 78-79, 85-87 (I am grateful to my daughter Jayashree Gokhale for help with this French work).

fortifications and other construction works especially in the Southeast Asian areas as also for working the mines in specific areas such as Sumatra. They worked on plantations, a new form of economic enterprise introduced by the Europeans in Asia. They were also used for all kinds of odd jobs and were preferred over native Asian labour, free or slave, from the Moluccas and other Islands because whereas the native Asian slaves could run away and "blend" with the population the African slaves could not do so. The only limiting factor in larger use of African slaves was the cost. Pieter Van Dam mentions that on one trade deal in slaves from Madagascar as many as 139 of the total number of 236 slaves died on the way. Secondly, the Cape Colony was always hungry for slaves and besides its greater need, its proximity also meant a reduction in costs of transportation and lesser risk of mortality because of the shorter journey. Finally, with the rise of the slave trade in the New World and its insatiable demands the African slave trade in Asia almost ceased to function as all available African slaves were needed in the Americas and fetched much better returns on investment than could the Asian markets. Asia, after all, was not an "empty" land and the plantation did not play the same role in its economic system as it did in the New World. When rubber and sugar became major plantation crops in Malaya and the West Indies in the late XIXth and early XXth centuries slave trade had been long abolished and the needs for the slaves were field by the indentured labour system under which plantation labour was supplied from India to work on the sugar and rubber plantations in the West Indies, South Africa, Kenya, Malaya and the Fiji Islands.[18] African slavery in Asia, thus, was an episode than a chapter in the history of European colonialism. But its importance as phenomenon cannot be entirely ignored. During the XVIIth century, when the African slave trade in Asia went on, it familiarized the European trader with the potential markets in Africa for this human merchandise and created a nexus between the Arab slave trader and the European merchants. Both of these factors were useful for the development of the great age of European slave trade in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries.

18. For the identured Indian labour system.

EMERSON IN WILLIAM JAMES

SATYA S. PACHORI

F. O. Matthiessen has observed that the "comments" of the James's family "upon Emerson compose by themselves a chapter of American intellectual history."[1] Those comments and opinions are significant because of the fact that the three different personalities of the same family evaluated one of their great contemporaries in their own way. Henry James, the great father, interpreted and revered Emerson the man and felt fascinated towards his personality and character. Since the elder James did propound a theological system, his relationship with the transcendentalist was mainly centered upon the poet's divine personality. However, he was slightly critical of Emerson's apparent indifference to intellect and felt it objectionable in his Massachusetts friend. On the other hand, he did appreciate Emerson's sincerity of purpose and "erect attitude of mind." Henry James was not much interested in Ralph Waldo Emerson the writer and philosopher like his two distinguished sons, Henry and William. Henry James, Jr. evaluated Emerson as a literary artist. He was an astute Emersonian critic. He did not find in the Concord litterateur a befitting style of expression as he himself adhered to the dictum that style makes the man. Henry James, Jr. always felt that Emerson never really mastered the art of composition; he had rather one style and one manner for every thing. But satisfactorily enough he was not insensitive to Emerson the philosopher.

But the truth is that neither Henry James, the theologian, nor his younger son, Henry James, Jr., the novelist, had the spiritual or the intellectual affinity with Ralph Waldo Emerson that the elder son William James, the philosopher, had. He admired Emerson's writings and thoughts throughout his life, though with varying degrees of enthusiasm. In his earlier works, William James almost adored Emerson and adopted many of his concepts, while in the later and maturer works he felt little detached from him. The relationship and affinity between Emerson and William James, and the influence of the former upon the latter at certain points is the basis theme of this paper. I will therefore make an attempt to reflect certain Emersonian touches in William James by citing relevant passages from the writings of the both.

It was an important coincidence that with the birth of William James on January 11, 1842, there emerged a lasting friendship between Ralph Waldo Emerson of Concord, Massachusetts, and Henry James of New York City. Emerson gave a lecture on "The Times" in New York, March 3, 1842.[2] James heard him attentively and was so attracted to the style, manner, message,

1. *The James Family* (New York, 1947), p. 428.
2. R. B. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James* (Boston, 1935), I, 39.

and spirit of the speaker and his lecture that he invited Emerson to his place and requested him to bless his lately born son, William, who symbolically once intimated that he thought of himself as Emerson's "intellectual offspring."[3] It well coincided with the fact that Emerson's *Essays, First Series* were published in 1842 and his own son, Waldo, died the same year William was born.[4] Thus William James knew Emerson quite personally, read his books as they were published , and so often visited the Emerson household. Throughout his life, he remained very enthusiastic about Emerson's thoughts and concepts, and incorporated some of them into his own philosophical system. In many of their writings both Emerson and James are complimentary to each other. They often express different aspects of the same truth. If Emerson puts forward an idea in general literary terms, James takes almost the same idea, defines it more exactly, varifies it by scientific methods, rephrases it, and gives it a new shape.

James's thorough study of Emerson besides what he read and heard of him under the roof of his father culminated in 1903, when he was invited to deliver a fifteen-minute address at the Emerson Centenary at Concord, as he wrote to Theodore Flournoy on April 30, 1903 : "I am neither writing nor lecturing, and reading nothing heavy, only Emerson's works again (divine things, some of them!) in order to make a fifteen-minute address about him on his centennial birthday."[5] James at this time was professor of philosophy at Harvard University. It is here interesting to note his reactions to this novel experience of speaking about the person whom he studied from his cradle. These reactions are recorded in his correspondence with his younger brother, Henry James, Jr. He wrote to him on May 3, 1903 :

> The reading of the divine Emerson, volume after volume, has done me a lot of good, and strange to say, has thrown a strong practical light on my own path. The incorruptible way in which he followed his own vocation of seeing such truths as the Universal Soul vouchsafed to him from day to day and month to month, and reporting them in the light literary form, and thereafter kept his limits absolutely, refusing to be entangled with irrelevances, however, urging, and tempting, knowing both his strength and its limits, and clinging unchangeably to the rural environment which he once for all found to be most propitious, seems to me to be a moral lesson to all men who have any genius, however, small to foster.[6]

And shortly afterwards, he further acclaimed the Concord sage : "Emerson is exquisite.....You too have been leading an Emersonian life, though

3. William T. Stafford, "Emerson and the James Family," *American Literature*, XXIV. (1952/1953), 434.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Letters of William James*, ed. Henry James (his son) II (Boston, 1920), 187.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

environment differs to suit the needs of the different psycho-physical organism which you present."[7]

After the occasion of the Centenary James wrote, "I let R. W. E. speak for himself, and I find now hearing much from others of him, that there are only a few things that can be said of him .... Reading the whole of him over again continuously has made me feel his real greatness as I never did before. He's really a critter to be thankful for."[8]

It is somewhat this kind of judgment of William James about Emerson that influenced him so much that I should start elucidating now in different walks of concepts. To begin with "Pragmatism," it may be observed that James far from other sources found it ample in Emerson. Most suggestive of "Pragmatism" for James was the section on "Action," in "The American Scholar." Emerson's very popular essay, where the author says, "The great soul will be strong to live....Thinking is a partial act. Let the grandeur of justice shine in his affairs."[9] Further, Emerson says in chapter on "Language" in his famous work, *Nature*, "Colleges and books only copy the language which the field and workyard made."[10] In another essay of Emerson, "Literary Ethics," James, I surmise, would have noted a pragmatic passage :

> Let him (the man of letters) endeavour....to solve the problem of that life which is set before him. And this by punctual action and not by promises or dreams....Feudalism and Orientalism had long enough thought it majestic to do nothing: the modern majesty consists in work.[11]

In two more essays of Emerson, Jamesian pragmatic germs can also be traced, where the transcendentalist says, "Words are finite organs of the infinite mind. They cannot cover the dimensions of what is in truth. They break, chop, and impoverish it. An action is the perfection and publication of thought."[12]

All these passages, I believe, must have convinced James about the "superiority of action," hence "celebrating pragmatism." But oddly enough, Emerson at times mixed actions and ideas together, as when he says, "The true scholar grudges every opportunity of action past by, as a loss of power It is the raw material out of which the intellect moulds her splendid products."[13] If the scholar's intellect for Emerson flourishes on action or ideas sound little ambiguous here. Which did Emerson consider superior — deeds or thoughts — actions or ideas? If the answer were "ideas", James would

7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
9. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Complete Works*, I-II (New York, 1883), 99.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

call Emerson a "Transcendentalist," if "action," Emerson was a "Pragmatist." Throughout his life James praised the pragmatic Emerson and disapproved the transcendentalist. But it may well be argued here that Emerson was essentially a transcendentalist, for he generally valued ideas more than action. "Action is with the scholar subordinate, but it is essential," wrote Emerson.[14] Certainly he called himself an idealist, and emphasized ideas as the ultimate concern of the American scholar. In this he disagreed with James who laid full stress upon particular acts. But Emerson in a later essay on "Nominalist and Realist," undoubtedly, classed himself with the Platonic realists. Would then this attitude be inconsistent with his earlier pragmatism? The answer of this question depends upon the definition of pragmatism, which would, however, go beyond the subject of this paper.

As we know, pragmatism originated as a theory of ideas in Charles Peirce's historic essay, "How to Make Our Ideas Clear?" It declared that an idea or conception consisted simply in the sum total of R its conceivable relations to practical experience. As Peirce says, "The elements of every concept enter into logical thought at the gate of perception and make their exist at the gate of purposive action, and whatever cannot show it passports at both those gates is to be arrested as unauthorized by reason."[15] In a general way, pragmatism seems to have declared the doctrine of the "necessary interrelation of ideas and active experience." It considered ideas to be meaningless except as they were related with experience, with perception and action. Emerson in as much as he proclaimed the necessary interaction of thought and experience was pragmatic and James so frequently would have recognized this fact. Accordingly, Emerson's pragmatism must have influenced James when the Concordian said :

> Let the scholar first learn the things.... Let him know how the thing stands; in the use of all means, and most in the reverence of the humble commerce and humble needs of life — to hearken what they say, and so, by mutual reaction of thought and life, to make thought solid and life wise.[16]

James would obviously have approved two related aspects of Emerson's thought, the first celebrating the importance of "today" and the second the importance of common, manual labor. Emerson's essay on "Self-Reliance" is very close to pragmatic ideals; while the other essay on "Experience" may stand very well for James's radical empiricism. But as I have previously tried to manifest that James disapproved the abstract transcendentalism in Emerson and admired his pragmatic side, though he would have recognized clearly that the two co-existed.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
15. *Collected Papers*, V (Cambridge, 1934), 131.
16. Emerson, I, 174-175.

Besides pragmatism, there is another dimension of Pluralism, where both Emerson and James can be compared and an attempt be made to reflect if the former influenced the latter. In the first chapter of *A Pluralistic Universe*, James identifies himself in his scheme of philosophy as a pluralist. He maintains that all philosophers are either Spiritualists or Materialists. Then all Spiritualists are either Theists or Pantheists. Theism makes a duality of Man and God, and leaves Man an outsider, while Pantheism identifies Man with God. In this respect, Emerson was a Pantheist, who advocated the existence of divine in every man through the medium of soul, which ultimately becomes a part of Over-Soul. James's philosophy of pluralism is merely a development of Pantheism, at least as I understand. But James always distinguished it from Absolutism, although he saw that the two had much in common when he wrote : "The philosophy of the absolute agrees with the pluralistic philosophy....in that that both identify human substance with divine substance."[17] What then absolutely Absolute was for James. Transcendental Idealism was for Emerson which finally culminated in his concept of Over-Soul. At times, James easily classified Emerson as a Transcendental Absolutist, when he said, "Modern transcendental idealism, Emersonianism, for instance, also seems to let God evaporate into abstract ideality. Not a deity 'in concreto,'....but the immanent divinity in things the essentially spiritual structure of the universe is the object of the transcendentalist cult."[18] But more often he did not. Thus, in another work James wrote of Emerson. "Such a conviction that Divinity is everywhere may easily make one an optimist of the sentimental type that refuses to speak ill of anything. Emerson's drastic perception of differences kept him at the opposite pole from his weaknesses."[19] Here, I believe a little strongly that James recognizes the kindred Emerson the Pluralist.

At times, Emerson wrote unlike a Transcendental Absolutist. He did not believe that the ideal world was more important than the world of experience. In his essay on "Experience" he says :

> The great gifts are not got by analysis. Everything good is on the highway. The middle region of our being is the temperate zone. We may climb into the thin and cold realm of pure geometry and lifeless science, or sink into that of sensation. Between these extremes is the equation of life .....The mid-world is best.[20]

Emerson then was not one of "the absolutistic philosophers," who "dwell on so high a level of abstraction." For him the Over-Soul is never so important as the individual and his particular interests. In Emerson, the absolutist

17. *A Pluralistic Universe* (New York, 1912), p. 34.
18. *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), p. 32.
19. *The Emerson Centenary in Concord* (1903), p. 75.
20. Emerson, III, 62-64.

always gives way before the individualist. This, however, may sound somewhat contradictory to what I have maintained earlier, but the point of reference might have impelled me so. The undisputed fact is, at least as my studies of Emerson so far have led me to believe, that he did not care at all to be pigeonholed with one philosophical sect or the other. That was his real greatness. In a poem, "Saadi", he ridicules the idea to be classified with one particular sect when he says :

> Theist, atheist, pantheist,
> Define and wrangle how they list.[21]

But for the purpose of our discussion here, we may call him a Pantheist in order to manifest that James's pluralism was somehow an offspring of Emerson's Pantheism. In James's classification, Emerson would fall in the general group out of which both Absolutism and Pluralism emerged, because his thought has the elements of both and was never entirely absolutistic or entirely pluralistic. But his influence upon and affinity with James in respect of the philosophy of Pluralism was certainly there.

As Pantheists both Emerson and James were naturally interested in the relationship between God and the individual soul of man. But Emerson wrote in general terms of the Over-Soul, while James attempted to define the particular laws of the individual soul. In his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, James investigated the different religious ideas from a scientific point of view. Instead of contradicting Emerson's hypotheses concerning the relation of the Over-Soul to the individual soul of man, James rather continues the idea. In several cases, a good deal of similarity in their phrasings may be noted. James clearly adopted Emerson's method in coining the word, "over-belief," to describe his faith that "characterisitically divine facts" exist.[22] Again James's phrases convince us of his borrowing from Emerson, when he asserts the reality of the religious experience, saying, "The axis of reality runs solely through the egoistic places, they are stung upon it like so many beads."[23] Emerson wrote almost similarly, "Life is a train of moods like a string of beads....Temperament is the iron wire on which the beads are strung."[24]

Far from these minor borrowings from Emerson, if I dare say so, James in his definition of religion used Emerson to explicate the key word "divine." James defines religion as "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they consider the divine."[25] James while defining the word "divine" says that it is

21. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
22. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 509.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Emerson, III, 50.
25. *The Varieties of Religous Experience*, pp. 31-32.

> the Emersonian religion. The universe has a divine soul of order, which soul is moral, being also the soul within the soul of man. But whether this soul of the universe be a mere quality like the eye's brilliancy or the skin's softness, or whether it be a self-conscious life like the eye's seeing or the skin's feeling, is a decision that never unmistakably appears in Emerson's pages. It quivers on the boundary of these things, sometimes leaning one way, sometimes the other, so suit the literary rather than the philosophic need. Whatever it is, though it is active. As much as if it were a God, we can trust it to protect all ideal interests and keep the world's balance straight.[26]

James goes on to believe that this type of religion is as much "religion" as of any other kind. Though James certainly values Emerson's philosophy, he frankly acknowledges that his final judgment about Emerson will not be a judgment of the philosophical Emerson but of the literary or artistic Emerson. Even here James can state that the later utterances of Emersonian faith "are as fine as anything in literature."[27]

But by far the most important work where James utilized Emerson is his *Principles of Psychology*. In this work, the theory of the Will is the central theme. James's chapter on "Will" suggests several phases of Emerson's thought and we may see a psychological explanation of some of Emerson's transcendental statements. James observes :

> The essential achievement of the will ....is to attend to a difficult object and hold it fast before the mind. The so doing is the 'fiat'; and it is a mere psychological incident that when the object is thus attended to, immediate motor consequences should ensue. A resolve ....involves all the psychic element of a motor fiat except the word 'now.'[28]

This is an evident explanation of Emerson's remark that "Words and deeds are quite indifferent modes of the divine energy. Words are also actions. and actions are a kind of words."[29]

Much more Emersonian is the close of James's chapter on the "Will" when he says :

> The world thus finds in the heroic man its worthy match and mate..... He can 'stand' this universe .... And hereby he becomes one of the masters and lords of life. He must be counted with henceforth; he forms a part of human destiny....We draw a new life from the heroic example. The prophet has drunk more deeply than anyone of the cup.[30]

26. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
28. *Principles of Psychology* (New York, 1923), II, 561.
29. Emerson, III, 8.
30. *Principles of Psychology*, II, 578-579.

We can find similar thoughts in Emerson's essay on "Experience" and his theory of the "Uses of Great Men." With the former essay, Emerson prefixed a poem on "The Lords of Life," which is the miniature of the essay. The poem suggests how "little man is actually the creator of his own moods, and how he by realizing his power, can control his life."[31] This kind of thought, shall I suggest, is the quintessence of the whole chapter on "Will." But as the above passage manifests, James connected this thought with that of Heroism and the effect of heroic example. In his essays on "Great Men and Their Environment," and "The Importance of Individuals," James expressed this at greater length. Emerson emphasized the "representative" quality of great men, every man embodying the highest potentialities of his type of mind, and of his temporal environment. This aspect of Emerson's thought has been developed to the full in William James, when he says :

> Not every man fits every 'hour' ....A given genius may either too early or too late ...Cromwell and Napoleon need their revolutions. Grant his Civil War.[32]

It would not be irrelevant for me to point out the direct influence of Emerson upon James in his doctrine of the ' Will to Believe' from the essay on "Experience," where Emerson says, "It is for us to believe in the rule, not in the exception .....So, in accepting the leading of the sentiments, *it is not what we believe concerning the immortality of the soul or the like, 'but the Universal impulse to believe* ' that is the material circumstance and is the principal factor in the history of the globe.'[33] The underlined sentence :(I have pointedly done so) alone suggests Jamesian doctrine of the Will.

Even in his last work, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, James seems to have borrowed some ideas from Emerson, though only to a limited extent. James here explains that for the rationalists conceptual knowledge is a "self-sufficing revelation" which, for them, admits of a diviner world, "the world of universal rather than that of perishing fact, of essential qualities, immutable relations, external principles of truth and right." [34] It is Emerson he quotes in order to clarify his appeal : "Generalization is always a new influx of divinity into the mind, hence the thrill that attends it".[35]

In this way, there may be drawn a few other minor aspects where James may have been influenced by his benedictor. It was not, however, Emerson's individuality and personality, but the harmonious combination of his gifts that pleased William James. He liked Emerson's belief in being truthful

31. Emerson, III, 45.
32. *The Will to Believe* (New York, 1897), pp. 229-230.
33. Emerson, III, 74.
34. *Some Problems of Philosophy*, ed. H. M. Kallen and Henry James (New York. 1911), p. 56.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

to one's own consciousness. He admired Emerson's absence of vanity and pretence and hence respected his Guru ardently. It may well be observed that the general philosophic attitudes of James and of Emerson were largely the same. Both men believed in the values of great men, in self-reliance, and in the existence of some kind of Over-Soul. Emerson in his own way, may be somewhat vaguely, anticipated some of James's theories of psychology and pragmatism. It was certainly Emerson, as previously maintained, who suggested James the title of *Will to Believe*. In a way, James's thorough study of his family friend's writings evidently influenced him. It may be appropriate to call Ralph Waldo Emerson an exponent of pragmatic mysticism, which would incorporate William James the pragmatist into his philosophical dimension and leave him independent for his transcendental idealism and mysticism. Thus Emerson is richly present in William James.

A CENTURY OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN NOVEL
(1825–1925)

DAYA PATWARDHAN

The British rulers of India came from a land whose civilization and literature had made a distinct contribution to the advance of ideas in the world. They came to a country with an ancient heritage and a long history of civilization and culture. It was inconceivable that the sensitive among the British would remain unstirred by connection with this country. Moved by the stimulus of India's romance, culture and beauty, these sensitive spirits have left records, some of them of unique literary value, many of them of fascinating historical interest.

Histories of English literature are singularly destitute of any allusion to Anglo-Indian literature. Except for E. M. Forster and Rudyard Kipling no Anglo-Indian novelist finds a place in the history of English literature. An injustice was done to some of the great Anglo-Indian writers. They too erred in having their eye fixed on the reading public in Britain rather than in India. The British public did not care to read a novel of Anglo-Indian life merely because it painted life in Anglo-India. They were not interested in India to that extent. In India there was not a reading public large enough to encourage them. The reading public was not only small but was divided into two sections, the very idle and the very busy. It is the hard working man with a fair amount of leisure who is the real patron of literature. Such a class of readers was lacking in India.

The authors themselves were not professionals but officers engaged in full day's work. Lord William Bentinck held the utilitarian view that literary achievement and efficiency in administration did not go together. A literary achievement would even stand in the way of promotion. The authors themselves often thought that their first duty was with their work and not with their writing. Under these circumstances, that they provided such a rich literature comprising of novels, short stories, poems and essays, is itself a laudatory achievement.

The greatest triumphs of Anglo-Indian literature are in the domain of the novel. It is the novel that has maintained a high level of excellence. Among the novelists, the highest reputations have been earned by the tallest — Philip Meadows Taylor, Rudyard Kipling, Flora Annie Steel and E. M. Forster. The four master novelists demand a detailed study but there are many others of note, whom we cannot forget in a survey of this kind. It is creditable that such a small community as the British in India should have produced a large number of novels in a short period. Compared to the great novels

that were being written in the homecountry, some of the Anglo-Indian novels appear mediocre. But they are not imitative of British novels. They sincerely express their impressions of India and depict Indian and Anglo-Indian life with its joys and sorrows with a facile pen. These novels draw very charming pictures of Anglo-Indian life, gloomy as well as gay. The gloomy side of their work springs from a sense of being an exile, separated as they are, by thousands of miles from their homeland in those days of slow travel. Lack of social life, separation from children and wives for long period, uncongenial climate — these are some of the reasons for this melancholy. The Anglo-Indians were conscious of the fact that they were living in a foreign country and ruling over aliens whom they did not know well. At any moment an uprising or a mutiny may flare up. This adds a darker shade to the gloom. The gay side of Anglo-Indian literature pertains to the official and social life of Anglo-India. These novels also depict Indian native life and scenery.

The four great novelists, Philip Meadow Taylor, Rudyard Kipling, Flora Annie Steel and E. M. Forster have succeeded in interpreting India to the stay-at-home reader in England. Some of their creations have rivalled the creations of the greatest masters of the novel in England. These novels are works of art.

Before we discuss the contribution of these four novelists to Anglo-Indian literature it will be worthwhile to review the work of other minor novelists who also nourished the growth of the novel.

It was difficult for the Anglo-Indian to have an intimate knowledge of native life. The separation of the Anglo-Indian life from the bazaar sections of Indian life offered little facility for an understanding between the rulers and the ruled. Except for the great masters, few of them showed insight into Indian life. To compress the review of the numerous Anglo-Indian writers into the short space of an article, it has been necessary to omit many a worthy name which has achieved success. Some of them wrote only a novel or two but they did enrich the main trunk of the novel.

The greatest success was achieved in the novel of Anglo-Indian life. William Delafield Arnold, brother of Matthew Arnold, published in 1853 *Oakfield or Fellowship in the East*. It shows a transition from letters to the novel of Anglo Indian manners. This novel fails to attain the artistic form demanded of a novel. It is the story of an Oxford man brought up in rigid ideas of conduct and duty, who goes to India and revolts from the life of dissipation of the Anglo-Indian community who seem to have no regard for native life. John Lang in *Wetherbys* (1853) and *Too Clever by Half* (1856) gives an exaggerated and ugly picture of the dissipations in which the Anglo-Indians indulged. There are numerous writers of indifferent fiction beside these. Florence Marryat (Mrs. Rose Church) sorrowed by the nine years of exile in India took her revenge on the country in *Veronique* (1869)

and *Gup* (1868). She called it the "nursery of bigotry, prejudice and small-mindedness." But the two greatest names of the period are Sir George T. Chesney and Sir Henry Cunningham. Both wrote several novels. *Dilemma* dealing with the mutiny of 1857 by Sir George Chesney is a true tragedy, and unlike other Anglo-Indian novels, is not a mere colourless tale of Anglo-Indian life. It enables us to visualise the terrible, exciting incidents of the mutiny. The heroine's ravings remind us of Ophelia in her madness. Equally good are the *Chronicles of Dustypore* (1877) by Sir H. S. Cunningham. It is a contrast to *Dilemma* being an amusing story told in a light-hearted manner of official and social life in a remote station. Social life in the hill stations usually provided much excitement and amusement to the Anglo Indian novelist. In *Coeruleans* (1877), Sir Henry Cunningham gives a picture of the amusing fun at a hill station. The gloomy and gay sides of Anglo Indian life are well represented by Chesney and Cunningham.

Some women novelists have written good novels. Mr. Croker, and Mrs. Everard Cotes deserve mention. These novelists wrote novels not only of Indian life but also of Irish and American life. Mrs. Steel too represents this trend among Anglo-Indian novelists for she too wrote six novels of Scotish life besides eight novels of Anglo-Indian life and four historical novels. Mrs. Croker is the author of nine novels including the well-known *Diana Barrington* (1888). She is an interesting writer but her novels exclude all religious, political and psychological problems. She gave Englishmen an idea of Anglo-Indian society. But she gives improbable incidents, irrelevant events and lacking in dramatic effect, often becomes monotonous. Mrs. Cotes is a satirist and her reputation rests on two novels–*His Honour* and *Lady* and *The Path of a Star*. She has the lightness of touch of Anglo-Indian essayists.

Alexander Allardyce in *The City of Sunshine* (1877) depicted life in the village of Dhupnagar in a fairly accurate and vivid manner. He depicts the religious and educational problems that faced a young Hindu student of the time. Such deep knowledge of India's problems distinguished later the novels of Mrs. Steel. Another novelist who has received less attention than he deserves is W. B. Hockley who produced *Pandurang Hari-Memoirs of a Hindu* (1826). *Pandurang Hari* is the first Anglo-Indian novel giving an account of the social life of the Deccan. In this novel, Hindus are depicted as treacherous and deceitful. It was Taylor who in his character of Tara corrected this wrong impression of the Maratha character. Hockley thus represents that class of Anglo Indians who found no nobility or heroism in the character of the Indian people. Fortunately there were others, far greater masters of the art of the novel, like Mrs. Steel and Col. Meadows Taylor who corrected this impression.

Besides the names already mentioned there were others — Capt. Abbot, the author of *Thakoorine* (1841), Anonymous, the author of ten novels,

G. K. Betham, *The Story of a Decoity* (1853) Mrs. Cadell, Mrs. Chew, Chillington, Colquhoun, Curwen, Sara Duncan, Durand, Frorde, Mrs. Field, Fletcher, Forrest, J. B. Fraser, R. W. Gillean, Glasgow, Greenhow, P. W. Jacob, J. W. Kaye, General Napier, O'Beirne Ivan, Oldenbuck, Ottley, Miss Owenson Prinsep, Iltudus Prichard, Capt. Rafter, Reid, D. H. Thomas Schorn, Sherer, Sherring, Sherwood, Sinnet and Yoke-Wright. These are forty novelists who deserve at least a mention in an article on the Anglo-Indian novel.

The first great name among Anglo-Indian novelists is that of Philip Meadows Taylor. His fame rests not on *The Confessions of a Thug* which brought him popularity but on a series of historical novels. *The Confessions of a Thug* (1839) like Hockley's *The Memoirs of a Brahmin* (1843) is a novel on Thugee. It is not dictated by a Thug as Taylor claimed; incidents from Sleeman's and Thornton's official reports are used to enrich it. It is a picaresque type of novel which depicts the thrilling life on the road. The interest of the novel lies in incident and action but the characters are sketched in a picturesque manner. The settings are various—from wild and desolated deserts to cornfields and beaches and these provide a background to the story. Today its interest lies in the picture it gives of a past epoch.

Taylor's four historical novels are very long and leisurely and like most of the novels of a hundred years ago, they make very heavy reading. They are not very interesting stories but are excellent depictions of native life and customs. E. F. Oaten in his *A Sketch of Anglo Indian Literature* criticizes the characters as idealised. The open, frank nature of Tara, a Maratha woman, does not, according to that critic, find counterpart in real life. He praises Hockley's *Pandurang Hari* for its portrayal of the Maratha character as treacherous and deceitful and blames Taylor for endowing the Maratha character with chivalry. Oaten even doubts if such Hindu woman as Tara and Seeta could have existed in that age! He criticises Taylor for endowing the Maratha women with attributes as are met with in the most noble and civilised races — as if the Marathas were not a civilized race! This shows how prejudiced the English critics were against the Indian character in that age.

The first historical novel *Tippoo Sultan* (1840), is not a great historical novel, says G. S. Mansukhani[1] in his study of Philip Meadows Taylor. It gives the story of the Mysore War of 1788-89.

Taylor's fame reached its zenith with the four historical novels that followed. Of these, the first three, *Tara*, *Ralph Darnell* and *Seeta* represent three milestones in Indian history in the years 1657, 1757 and 1857, the dates of the success of Shivaji at Bijapur, the Battle of Plassey and the Mutiny, respectively. *The Noble Queen* depicts the character of Chandbibi in the 16th century.

1. Mansukhani, G. B. *Philip Meadows Taylor, A Critical Study*, New Book Co. Ltd., Bombay 1951, p. 135.

Tippoo Sultan gives pictures of English life which are out of place in a novel dealing with Indian history. The scenes of fighting, of tiger hunt, are memorable: the description of Tungabhadra in flood, the beautiful sunset at sea are drawn from personal knowledge. Tippoo's cruelty, vanity, arrogance and superstition, his duplicity and cunning have been the favourable hunting ground of the British historian Taylor's character of Tippoo cannot be accepted as true. His bravery and nobility have not been brought out. Taylor's novel belongs to the period when English writers did not care for accuracy with reference to Indians who had been their enemies. Until we come to the historical novels of Flora Annie Steel, this accuracy in depiction of historical events and sympathy for Indians who till yesterday were enemies, is lacking. Sir Walter Scott in his *The Surgeon's Daughter* gives more vivid scenes of Tippoo's Darbar and the array of Hyder's army, or a dark jungle than could Taylor. And yet Scott's knowledge was borrowed only from romances and secondary sources. This illustrates the difference between a gifted writer and a second-rate writer whose knowledge of India might have been deep, but whose art was not equal to his knowledge.

Tara published in 1863 was written at the suggestion of Professor John Wilson of Edinburgh University to illustrate events in Indian history. It is the first of the triology to show the rise of Shivaji to power. It depicts the defeat of the Bijapur army at the hands of Shivaji. Today we appreciate the guerilla tactics used by Shivaji in the face of a powerful Mogul army. Taylor blindly following Grant Duff, accuses Shivaji of cruelty and meanness in his combat with Afzul Khan. An advance in historical accuracy and recognition of Shivaji's greatness are to be found in Mrs. Steel's playlet 'The Escape of Shivaji from Agra', from *A Dramatic History of India* where Shivaji is depicted as a hero. Shivaji's clandestine relations with Radha in the novel are scandalous in view of Shivaji's well-known strict behaviour towards all women. Afzul Khan, on the other hand, is endowed with domestic virtues. Here Taylor exhibits the British rulers' preference for Muslims perhaps because the Marathas had been their true enemies and had fought with them till the last. Taylor succeeds in giving brilliant scenes of Tulzapur, the duel at Pratapgarh and the consecration of Tara as a Suttee. Taylor's knowledge of Hindu customs is not accurate. A virgin widow cannot be a Suttee in pursuance of a vow. The conflict in Tara's mind is well described for she does not wish to discard her religion to marry a Muslim who had rescued her. Her marriage with Fazul Khan after her conversion to the Muslim faith is remotely probable. The scenes of the Western ghats and the mountain landscape at Ooty are based on Taylor's personal knowledge. Taylor's habit of addressing the reader is a little disturbing. In spite of its historical inaccuracies *Tara* draws a sympathetic portrait of a Maratha woman and gives snatches of historical scenes and natural scenery that make it an impressive landmark in the history of the Anglo-Indian novel.

In *Ralph Darnell* (1865), Taylor shows the emergence of the British as a political power in India. It is an English novel with an Indian interlude. Like other Anglo-Indian novelists, Taylor dwells, in this novel, on the vices and dissipations of a Calcutta society. The historical background is supplied by Holwell's surrender of Calcutta Fort, the unproved incidence of the Black Hole of Calcutta and the Battle of Plassey. The hero of the novel is Ralph, an Englishman. There are English characters and Indian characters. Ralph's marriage with Queen Noor-ul-Nissa gives Taylor an opportunity to advocate mixed marriages which he thinks would bind the English and Indians closely, History has shown that Taylor's plea has not been taken seriously by the two races. Many of the settings in this novel are macabre. The scene of the Black Hole is remarkable for its realism and pathos. The habit of addressing the reader has grown upon Taylor.

Seeta (1872) is superior to *Ralph Darnell.* It gives prominence to Indian life and deals with the problems of an Indian lady's marriage with a European-a favourite theme with Taylor. Taylor shows in this novel how the British emerged victorious from the crisis of the Mutiny. Following Kaye's 'History of the Sepoy War', he dwells on the courage and heroism of the English and does not refer to the atrocities committed by them. Taylor does not recreate any great historical characters like Nana Peshwa or Bahadur Shah. The Rani of Jhansi is depicted as a cool, calculating, blood-thirsty woman. Taylor has completely ignored her bravery and heroism which have made her dear to generations of Indians. *Seeta* is a Hindu woman who finds no sacrifice too great for her husband. Seeta's marriage with Brandon, an able Anglo-Indian administrator, is the theme of the novel. This Mutiny novel is much inferior to Mrs. Steel's classic *On The Face of the Waters* (1897) where scrupulous accuracy is maintained in the depiction of events of the Mutiny and in the delineation of the characters who participated in them. Chesny's *Dilemma* (1876) is another Anglo-Indian Mutiny novel which uses the Mutiny merely as a background for an intriguing story of love.

The Noble Queen (1877) gives a portrait of Chandbibi who in the 16th century had successfully repused the Moguls and saved her kingdom. The novel takes the reader to Bijapur in medieval times at the time of Chandbibi. It covers a period of 14 years and the entire political career of Chandbibi. Her portrait is drawn with sympathy and understanding. Taylor's sketch of the social life at Bijapur in the 16th century is shadowy and vague. But the novel is rich in descriptions of nature. Cities of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Gulbarga are described in an impressive manner. Taylor is in the habit of dumping chapters of pure history which is annoying. The author of *Tara* was showing signs of deterioration.

As a historical novelist, Taylor takes liberties with history. He devotes chapters to pure history. His novels, therefore, may be said to form the the beginning of hills on landscape of the historical novel which later reached great heights in the historical novels of Mrs. Flora Annie Steel.

Of Rudyard Kipling, E. F. Oaten[2] says, "In Anglo Indian literature he is probably destined for many years to be the Colossus, beneath whose huge legs, all other literary Anglo-Indians must crawl". Kipling's many-sided genius was not very well suited to the creation of great novels. As a story-teller, as a poet, as a journalist, he is supreme in the domain of Anglo-Indian literature, but as a novelist, he will have to yield the first place to Flora Annie Steel, author of 16 full-fledged novels, 6 of them of Anglo-Indian life, 4 on Mogul history and 6 of British life.

Kipling's fame as a novelist rests on two novels, *Kim* and *Naulakha*. It was one of Kipling's disappointments that he could not write novels. *Kim*[3] has been called a masterpiece of journalism rather than a novel and *Naulakha* does not give a consistent picture of Anglo-Indian life. The famous story-writer could not master the architectonics of the novel. In the words of Oaten, *Kim*[4] " is in no sense a novel; even to call it a work of fiction is a little misleading .... It is the greatest masterpiece of journalism by the greatest living journalist". And yet *Kim* is a remarkable book and Kipling emerges as a great story-writer. If we judge it as a novel, we shall be disappointed but if we read it as a piece of descriptive writing, we shall have only praise for it.

Among the descriptions must be specially mentioned the wonderful descriptions of the road, the caravanserais and the Lama's account of the way in which "the soul left the body and passed beyond the illusion of Space and Things", and how he found the River of Arrow. The sustained loftiness of thought and the pervading mysticism of tone displayed in the book exhibits a new facet of Kipling's genius. In such passages, Kipling interprets India's philosophy to the English and does a priceless service to India. " The book conveys an uncanny sense of strange knowledge".[5] The brilliant details of mountain scenery are memorable. It is a nakedly picaresque book. A very special and complex world is revaled to the reader. Kipling's genius for creating life and colour is displayed throughout. He is masterly in his appeal to the aural imagination.

The characters are types, except perhaps Kim himself. Yet they are not sketchy, but remain clear-cut. The Buddhist Lama is a lovable, pathetic and wonderful figure. The novel contains an infinite variety of characters. Kim himself represents the immortal boy that haunts the soul of every creative writer. Mehboob Ali, the horse dealer, Hari Chunder Mookerjee, Lurgan Sahib—all remain fixed in one's memory.

2. Oaten, E. F. *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*-Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., Ltd., London — 1908, p. 193.
3. *Op-Cit.*, p. 185.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Canning — *Hundred Great Stories* — Asia Publishing House., p. 442.

Kipling has been unjustly accused of jingoism. In *Kim* there is nothing of this. What stands out in *Kim* is Kipling's deep love for the ordinary people and his scorn for most of the English, particularly of Her Majesty's soldiery. A true understanding of the different races, colours, and creeds shines like a beacon light through the pages of the novel. The Lama stands out as a noble representative of Buddhism with his generosity, kindness and simplicity. Kipling's presentation of his lofty philosophy enables the reader to understand the depth of Eastern philosophy.

Naulakha resembles 'Letters of Marque', the masterpiece articles Kipling had written on his tour of Rajaputana. The author does not seem to have bestowed much labour or care on the writing of the novel. The hero and heroine of the novel are American. As Tompkins[6] said, it resulted in confusion and nullity. Kipling's knowledge of Indian women was vague and second-hand. Sitabai in *Naulakha* has no queenly qualities. She is little better than an unscrupulous gipsy girl. Sahiba in *Kim* can hardly be called a respectable woman with her vulgar talk and crude jokes to the passers-by.

With all these faults *Kim* is superior to many of its predecessors for it shows Kipling's genius for creating life and colour at its greatest.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel (1847-1929) according to Oaten[7] is the greatest novelist of whom Anglo-Indian literature can boast. Her claim to this title rests on the authorship of 16 full-fledged novels. 6 of them being novels of Anglo-Indian life, 4 on Indian History and 6 novels of British life. All these novels exhibit the carefulness with which the authoress attended to the architectonics of novel writing. She was often compared by reviewers[8] with Rudyard Kipling. Kipling was famous for his short stories. If he was reckoned her superior in virtue of the picturesque and dramatic impressiveness of his stories and in the delineation of character, Mrs. Steel's superiority in the knowledge of Indian life and Indian character was readily acknowledged. She was called the[9] 'Female Rudyard Kipling' though her work offered many points of contrast with that of the noted writer. In the truth of representation Mrs. Steel was Kipling's superior. But he was a greater artist and a a born story-teller.

India , as depicted in *Kim*, is confined to the serais, cantonments, curio-dealers' shops, 'Ajabghurs', roads, railway platforms and bazaars. Mrs. Steel depicts the calm, peaceful life of ordinary Indians living in villages and towns.

6. Tompkins, J. M. *The Art of Rudyard Kipling*, Meuthuen & Co. Ltd., London., p. 1.
7. Oaten E. F. *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*, p. 159.
8. *The Spectator*, July 21, 1894.
9. *The Spectator*, December 11, 1897. p. 862.

In an age when Anglo-Indian characters were introduced even in historical novels by novelists like Taylor, Mrs. Steel emphasized the Indian side of life to such an extent that her English critics accused her of partiality towards the Indian characters. If Kipling thought that it was the Hindu widows' love of bustle and stir of the open road that drove them to pilgrimages, Mrs. Steel knew better of their selfless devotion and austerity as revealed in her portraits of Chris Devanant's mother from *Voices in the Night*. Mrs. Steel's Maya Day from *The Law of the Threshold* is the portrait of a cultured Indian lady who returns from America to teach the people the truth of Tantric philosophy. Khojee in *Voices in the Night* is the pathetic portrait of a princess of royal blood now living in abject poverty, because her brother, the descendant of the Nawab of Nushapore (i. e. Lucknow in 1897) has been deposed. Both Khojee and Maya are complimentary to Indian womanhood. Akas Ram in the novel *The Law of the Threshold* is a sympathetic portrait of a learned Brahman. If Kipling's Hurree Chunder is a caricature of the examination-ridden educated Indian, Mrs. Steel's Chris Devanant is the sympathetic portrait of a cultured Indian barrister married to a vulgar English woman who makes his life miserable.

In her novel *On the face of the Waters* Mrs. Steel has given her readers such an unforgettable picture of Delhi as it must have been in the year 1857, that the reader reads on with ever-increasing surprise and admiration as to how an English author could have gained such an accurate knowledge of the East and the West, of vice and virtue, of idiocy and greatness that Delhi must have presented in the year of the Mutiny. Her sketches of British civil and military life as given in the novels *On The Face of The Waters*, *Hosts of the Lord*, *Miss Stuart's Legacy and The Potter's Thumb* are absolutely convincing. In the *Hosts of The Lord* we get such a vivid picture of the jumble of nationalities in India—The Anglo-Indian, Mahomedan, Hindu, the aboriginal and the missionary—that we immediately accept it as true. The conflict between the native races and the alien masters forms one of the most interesting parts of the novel *Miss Stuart's Legacy*. In *Voices in the Night* it is the chaoic conditions that existed in the time of the outbreak of the plague; In the *Hosts of the Lord*, it is the Vaishakh festival where the Hindu pilgrims in their thousands gather, that synchronizes with the outbreak of an uprising; In *The law of the Threshold* the confusion results from the practices of various old-world Tantrics prevailing side by side with the preachings of their Americanized namesakes.

Mrs. Steel achieved these marvellous effects by her descriptions which are filled with picturesque details. Her ability to evoke atmosphere by describing sounds, silences and smell of places, helps her to achieve her effects. She can also give her reader a sense of the multitudes moving across her canvass. The welter of 'sadhus', sepoys, Anglo-Indian officers, devotees, aboriginals, Indian leaders, mischief-mongers gives a sense of the teeming millions of India, such as we get in few novels.

Mrs. Steel is unable to appreciate the role of the educated Indian who wishes to make his country independent. All the disturbances described in her novels are unnecessary and achieve nothing. Such seems to be the view of the authoress. She threw the whole blame on dissatisfied mischief-makers. In this respect she is far behind E. M. Forster who, in his *A Passage to India* lays his finger on the exact cause of the rupture in the relationship of the two communities in India, the rulers and the ruled.

Mrs. Steel is one of the most accurate Anglo-Indian writers. Her knowledge of Tantric philosophy as represented in *The Law of the Threshold* is in consonance with that explained in books of philosophy. The lot of the ex-royalty has been portrayed faithfully in *Voices in the Night*, *Hosts of the Lord*, *On the Face of the Waters* and *The Potter's Thumb*. The dangers and difficulties lurking in the apparently easy-going Anglo-Indian life are brought home to the reader in four of her novels. The scene of the Viceroy's Darbar in *Hosts of the Lord* is of documentary value as it throws light on the difficulties experienced by the alien ruler in keeping the various sections of the Indians community satisfied. Mrs. Steel has created numerous characters belonging to different walks of life. There are Eurasians, military officers, civilians, money-lenders, farmers, sepoys, missionaries, ex-royalty, educated Indians torn in a conflict between Western thought and Eastern inheritance. Some of her characters do not carry conviction as do those of Rudyard Kipling. Her characters are at times sketches, rather than creations. This does not mean that she has created no life-like characters. Mrs. Boynton from *The Potter's Thumb* is a rival to Kipling's Hauksbee. Abul Bukre from her *On the Face of The Waters*, is a dissolute yet poetic figure, a prince turned jester.

Mrs. Steel's Mutiny novel *On the Face of the Waters* is her masterpiece. It was called a classic by the critics. Mrs. Steel had as many as six predecessors in the choice of her theme. One reason of her superiority to her predecessors is to be found in her great painstaking research before writing the novel. She lived in Kasur, prowled about the alleys and bazaars of Delhi, made acquaintance with people who had first-hand information of the various events of the Mutiny. She inspected confidential brass-bound chests in which there was first-hand evidence. There were tiny notes in quills, in a chupatti and things of endless value which absorbed her completely. And indeed, the authenticity of her facts has never been questioned. In her preface she claims that her account is exact even to the date, the hour, the scene, the very weather. Comparing her dates and times with those given by historians, the claim will be found correct. Mrs. Steel has painted the scene of the Mutiny in an impartial manner. She holds the English rulers responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny and herein lies her superiority over other novelists who had written on the Mutiny. Mrs. Steel cannot fulfil the modern Indian's expectations regarding an understanding of his rightful aspirations for freedom. She was too early in the day.

The novel not only gives accurate history, it is also a great work of art. By the virtue of this novel alone, the author is entitled to rank with the great women novelists of the English language.

Mrs. Steel was steeped in Mogul times; she hero-worshipped Akbar. Her four novels on Mogul history cover the times of the four Moguls, Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Before writing these novels Mrs. Steel had spent time reading *Memoirs* of Babar, Gulbadan Begum, Abdul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Badshahnama* of Shahjahan: and the historical accuracy of these novels is unquestionable. In this she is far superior to Taylor who took liberties with history. Mrs. Steel not only gives living pictures of the times but she tries something which Taylor had disregarded. Taylor's Tippoo Sultan is different from what history painted him to be. His Shivaji is misrepresented. Mrs. Steel, on the other hand, has made her characters true to history. Not only that but her greatest achievement is that she has given an insight into her historical characters. She completes the personality of the historical figures in her imagination. Thus she traces the true cause of Akbar's disappointment, in his lack of a loving wife, unlike what Humayun had in Hamida or Babar in Maham. In *Mistress of Men* Nurjahan emerges as an unhappy woman drawn in plottings and counter-plottings which she originally hated. Shahjahan indulged in immorality after Mumtaz Mahal's death because he separated his soul from his body. Of the four novels, *A Prince of Dreamers* and *Mistress of Men* are far superior to the remaining two, *King Errant* and *The Builder*. Mrs. Steel's historical novels certainly add to her fame as a great Anglo-Indian novelist depicting India.

Mrs. Steel's novels embrace a wider scope than those of her predecessors. A note of melancholy from an exile runs through the novels of W. Delafield Arnold, author of *Oakfield*. Mrs. Steel is quite happy in the country of her adoption. The Indian background in Mrs. Savi's novels is merely ornamental: in Mrs. Steel's, it forms an intrinsic part. Mrs. Bell's Anglo-Indians mix with the Indian people, in order to maintain the prestige of the "Sahib-logue" in India. Mrs. Steel's Anglo-Indians freely mix with the Indians without any such motive. The Indian women in many other Anglo-Indian novels are strange, unusual creatures. Mrs. Steel is perhaps the only Anglo-Indian novelist whose Indian women are convincing. Thus in her choice of themes, her depiction of the Indian scene, her complete identification with the Indian characters, her knowledge and understanding of India and finally in her sympathetic attitude to this country, Mrs. Steel stands apart from other contemporary Anglo-Indian novelists of her time.

William Delafield Arnold, in his novel *Oakfield* or *Fellowship of the East*, had, in bitter terms, denounced the English for making India a 'rupee mine'. He had deplored that the 'grandwork' of civilizing India was all humbug. Perhaps, he thought, the Church of England could bring about some change. This was in 1853. In 1925, 92 years later, E. M. Forster wrote a novel which

showed that Christianity was not adequate and that the Indo-British relations could not be improved until India was free. Mrs. Steel, a lover of India, was vexed with the strained nature of Indo-British relations but she was too early in the day to appreciate the idea of India's freedom.

Forster visited India in 1912 when the plot was sketched but the story did not take shape till he visited India again in 1921. *A Passage to India* was published in 1925. Unlike other Anglo-Indian novels of the earlier period, it was not neglected but reviewed by famous English novelists and critics such as D. H. Lawrence, L. P. Hartley, J. B. Priestley, Virginia Woolf, Lionel Trilling and others and it was applauded as one of the greatest novels of the 20th century. It has been bracketed[10] with *Women in Love*, *Lord Jim* and *Ulysses*. This appreciation sprang, no doubt, from the merits of the book but it was also because Forster was a well-known British novelist, who lived in England and not in India and had already built a reputation as a great novelist. Other Anglo-Indian critics were not given the same notice by literary critics of the earlier day.

If the earlier Anglo-Indian novelists had treated Hinduism as a pagan religion, E. M. Forster found in Hinduism a corrective to the limitations of individualism, a salvation to a world doomed by fragmentation. For the theme of separateness runs through the novel. The separation of race from race, sex from sex, culture from culture, even man from himself—this is what underlies every relationship. The story is suffused with Hinduism. It is essentially concerned with Mrs. Moore's discovery that Christianity is not enough–Ralph and Stella, Mrs. Moore's children, like Hinduism. They are shy of Fielding because he thinks they are mistaken.

Some critics have seen the novel as a social comedy, others as a religious novel, some as a symbolic novel; few have seen it as a traditional Victorian novel. It is a large, mysterious and modern book difficult to read. It is more than a political novel. Critic after critic has said that *A Passage to India* is much more than a study of racial contrasts and disabilities. It is a sophisticated book. It is not about India alone, it is about all human life. We, as students of Anglo-Indian literature, are concerned with the novel as a study of the racial relations in India, of the ruler and the ruled and so we shall dwell neither on its symbolism nor the cosmic aspect, but the problem of Indo-British relations.

The Anglo-Indians stand for much that Forster dislikes; insensitiveness, officialdom, stupidity, repressiveness, rudeness. The Indians are the children of Nature, courteous, affectionate, irresponsible, wayward. But though Forster's heart lies with them it does not blind him to their faults — their impracticability, their double-dealing, their intrigue. Aziz is vague, eager, quick to take offence and sensitive, but he is inefficient. Fielding is the un-

10. Bradbury, Malcolm, ed — *A Passage to India*, a Selection of Critical Essays p. 23.

conventional Anglo-Indian schoolmaster whom ladies of the station called 'not quite pukka'. Hindu Godbole is learned and incomprehensible, a tribute to Hindu character. Fielding represents liberal culture, humanity, disinterestedness, tolerance and free religion associated with dogma.

After the incident in the cave, individuals cease to be individuals and become one of the herd Unreason is loose, Indians and English become angry and ugly. Only old Godbole, the learned Hindu, remains unmoved.

The end shows Forster's view that Englishmen cannot be friends of Indians until India gains freedom. However, Forster offers no solution. He refuses to generalize.

The novel is most delicately written. It is full of knowledge and beautifully perceptive. It is a sensitive book.

Comparing Forster with Mrs. Steel, we observe that Mrs. Steel's India is the India as it existed before 1900: Mr. Forster's India represents the country in 1925, and this accounts for some of the points of difference noted in their two portrayals of India. Mrs. Steel's India is picturesque and romantic. Though the atmosphere is frequently disturbed by rebellions and uprisings, it regains its balance within a short time. Mrs. Steel's India is a peaceful country that a foreigner would like to visit again and again. Forster's *A Passage to India* is a disturbing book. Forster has gone to the root of the problem of inter-racial relationship. The social relationship of the Anglo-Indian community and the Indian people has been ruptured beyond repair.

India has since regained her independence. Anglo-India has ceased to exist and the relations of Indians with the British have quickly improved as Forster had predicted in his novel, *A Passage to India*. The memory of the past imperial rule need not, however, mar our interest in the study of the literature of Anglo-India. Anglo-Indians and their literature have become part of our social and literary history and every effort must be made to preserve this literature. Histories of English literature take scant notice of their work except when they are masters like Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster, who have earned fame in English literature, as well as in Anglo-Indian literature. Many of the books written by these Anglo-Indians are fast becoming rare and unavailable and hence an effort will have to be made to preserve them by use of modern methods like photo-stat copying and tape-recording. Here students of literature have a special duty to perform. They must move the conscience of the reading public and librarians to preserve them. The Anglo-Indians have left treasures in different forms of literature besides the novel. The humorous and light verse, the humorous and satiric essay need exploration. Humour is somewhat alien to our Indian temperament and our own literature will be richer after a study of Anglo-Indian humour and satire. It is a task before the students of literature and a labour of love as well to bring the beauty of their writing to the notice of the Indian reader of today. Otherwise this noble literature will die a death of neglect.

JOHN WILSON—AN ORIENTALIST*

M. D. DAVID

> "India has not seen a greater or a wiser friend and benefactor, nor Christianity itself an able and more judicious and loving representative than Rev. Dr. Wilson."
>
> Dr. Bhau Daji.[1]

So said, Dr. Bhau Daji, himself a well-known Orientalist and Medical practitioner, while eulogising the services of Dr. John Wilson at a public meeting held in his honour in the Town Hall, Bombay, on 15th February, 1869.** Dr. John Wilson was a unique missionary We have many names of missionaries who have made pioneering contributions to the development of Indian languages, literature, education and social reform. Wilson, in addition to making contributions to all these aspects, has rendered valuable service to the development of Oriental Studies in Western India by collecting and studying original MSS, coins, inscriptions and the like.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, two events of great significance occured in India. One was the British Conquest of India and the other was the revival of Oriental learning. Warren Hastings, a controversial yet enlightened imperialist, gave his mighty support to the revival of Oriental learning by patronising scholars like Nathanieal Halhed, Charles Wilkins and William Jones. William Jones, a puisne judge of the Supreme Court, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 on the lines of the Royal Society in London.[2] This Society became an important corner stone in the cultural development of India. The Society's main aim was to study the history, antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia. But the society was not opened for the Indian membership until 1829. The publications of the Society lifted the studies in Indian culture to a status of scientific research. By emphasising rational knowledge, the Society helped Indians to learn and appreciate Indian culture from a scientific angle. H.T. Colebrooke who was a successor to William Jones, founded the Royal Asiatic Society in England when he finally returned to his country. Thus the Asiatic Society of Bengal became the mother of all "Oriental Associations". These Societies inspired the Orientalists in Western India to start a similar organisation which today is known as the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

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* This article was written to Commemorate the one hundredth death anniversary of John Wilson who died on 1st December, 1875 at the 'Cliff', Malabar Hill, Bombay.

1. Mainkar, T. G. Ed. *Writings and Speeches of Dr. Bhau Daji* (Bombay, 1974), p. 379.

**. Dr. Wilson visited England twice during his missionary career once in 1843 for four years and again in 1870. This meeting was held before his departure on the latter occasion.

2. Arberry, A. J., *Asiatic Jones*, (London, 1946), p. 21.

The revival of Oriental learning together with the introduction of Western education in the early decades of the nineteenth century caused the reawakening of India. Revival of Oriental learning infused a new pride and self-respect among the Indians about their own culture and literature. Dr. John Wilson was closely associated with these events. When the reawakening of India led to social and religious reforms, John Wilson helped to hasten the process of social reform movement in Western India, in particular.

Early life :

John, born on 11th December, 1804 in Berwickshire in the burgh of Lauder in Scotland was the eldest of the seven children of Andrew and Janet Wilson. Andrew Wilson who was a councillor of the burgh and an elder in his Church owned a large farm. Janet was kindly and unselfish and her help was often sought after by her neighbours. Both lived to a ripe old age John naturally inherited from his parents, a strong constitution, kindliness, unselfishness, strong faith and qualities of leadership. Like most great men, John was an uncommon child. From infancy he showed a remarkable intelligence. Probably, because of his scholarship and religious bent of mind, his school fellows called him"the priest".[3] He was always truthful, honest and sincere. John Wilson was indeed fortunate in his teachers, friends and environment as he was in his inheritance.

His first contact with anything Indian, was when he learnt a few words of Hindustani. At the age of sixteen he was appointed a tutor to teach the children of Col. John Rose who was serving in India. He had sent his children to study in the Manse at Stow and the children had learnt some Hindustani because of the influence of the Indian servants. It is from the Rose children that he knew of Hindustani. In 1819, he met General Walker, who was the political officer in-charge of Baroda, Kathiawar, Kutch and had worked for the suppression of infanticide. He greatly influenced Wilson and probably deepened his love for India. John Wilson, while in India, wrote in 1855, "*History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*".

John Wilson was identified with Edinburgh both in its University life and in its literary and ecclesiastical coteries. In addition to theology and the liberal arts, he studied mathematical principles, physical law and the natural sciences. Before his departure for India, he equipped himself with medical knowledge which was to stand him in goodstead in his travels in Western India. He was a monument of Scotch education. That system owes its origin to John Knox in the sixteenth century."[4]

The Scottish Missionary Society accepted him as a candidate and assigned India as his field of work. John was happy and wrote to a friend, "I rejoice when I think that I shall live, and labour, and die in India." The missio-

3. Smith, George, *Life of John Wilson*, (London, 1878) p. 7.
4. Douglas, James, *A Book of Bombay* (Bombay, 1882), p. 521.

naries who went to far-off lands were admired by the people in Scotland. Before his departure to India he was married to Miss Margaret Bayne, a devout lady of high accomplishments. She doubled his strength and during the six years of her life in India, she set up girls' schools, mastered Indian language and also looked after her husband and children. They were married on 12th August, 1828 and were on their way to India on 30th August.

Arrival in India :

After a sea voyage of five months round the Cape of Good Hope, the Wilsons first saw Cape Commorin on 1st February, 1829. They sailed along the West Coast and finally arrived in Bombay on 14th February, 1829. On the 15th morning, Rev. Laurie of the Scottish Church went with a boat and took them on shore.[5]

Harnai to Bombay :

John and Margaret Wilson proceeded from Bombay to Harnai, a mission station in Konkan, from where he was expected to carry on his work. When John Wilson found that he could do more effective work with Bombay as his headquarters he shifted to Bombay in 1830. Immediately he plunged into work by learning and mastering first Marathi and then Gujarati. In order to understand and equip himself with the first hand knowledge of the Vedas he studied Sanskrit thoroughly. He was a born linguist and possessed great mental and physical abilities.

A new age :

His work in Western India spans the significant period of the English history in India covering a little over half a century from 1830 to 1875. This was a period of new activity in all spheres of Indian life. This was the time when India passed from medieval to modern times. It was during this period that Western education was introduced and popularised in India. The new education became not only the basis of the Indian educational system but it also formed a vital factor in bringing about the Indian Renaissance. John Wilson's work in Bombay undoubtedly became one of the important factors that led to the growth of Renaissance in Western India.

A Scholar :

Like most of the pioneering missionaries of his times, such as Alexander Duff in Calcutta and David Livingstone in Africa, John Wilson was extremely gifted and versatile. He was an educationist,[6] social reformer, evangelist, oriental scholar, confidant of the government and above all a lovable person. He had started the General Assembly's institution in 1832 which later became the Wilson College. It was the first non-government institution in Bombay

5. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

6. For fuller details please refer to the author's article "John Wilson — An Educationist" published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay, Arts number,* vol. 43 (1974), pp. 87-114.

that was established to teach Western knowledge through English. He had achieved such social eminence in Bombay that hardly a public function was held without him. Hardly a dignitary or a scholar visited Bombay without paying a visit to this respected scholar. Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India, when he visited Bombay sought his help in his sightseeing tour of Elephanta. Every Governor of Bombay was his friend for as an administrator he could depend upon Wilson's knowledge and study of the religion, customs and character of the people. During the Rebellion of 1857, he was trusted by Indians as well as the Government. Great scholar as he was, he would not hesitate to get up from his study to receive a guest at any time of the day.

Orientalist :

John Wilson loved Oriental learning and enriched it by painstaking study and strenuous tours, which he undertook every year. There is hardly a place of historic importance in Western India which Wilson failed to visit.

John Wilson's contribution to the development of Oriental studies begins with his association with the Asiatic Society of Bombay. Sir James Mackintosh established the Literary Society of Bombay on 26th November 1804, which in 1827 was incorporated as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This Society was certainly inspired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to which a reference has been made already.

Under the auspices of this august body great Orientalists like William Erskine, Col. Boden, Col. Briggs, Capt. Grant Duff, Col. Vans Kennedy, Capt. Basil Hall, Monstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm worked. Sir James Mackintosh was undoubtedly the source of inspiration for the works of Wilke's *Mysore*, Elphinstone's *Kabul*, Brigg's *Ferishta*, Dr. John Taylor's *Lilavati*, and Malcolm's *Political study of India*. The other noted early Orientalists who were associated with this Society were Joseph Hammer, Lord Valentia, Col. Sykes, Charles Forbes and the like. Mackintosh made the Society a centre of learning by adding a library to it. The Library of the Asiatic Society of Bombay is one of the largest of its kind in Asia. When John Wilson came from Harnai to Bombay in 1830, he joined the group of Orientalists. Wilson later acknowledged his indebtedness to the library and said, "I never could have prosecuted my studies, such as they have been, without access to such a library as that we possess here." [7]

John Wilson was elected a member of the Asiatic Society in 1830 and joined the company of the great scholars. He soon impressed the learned members of the august body by his deep study and erudition which he displayed in his writings. The Society was happy to discover in Wilson the right kind of dynamism to lead the Society and he was unanimously elected its President in 1835.[8] This position he occupied until 1842 when he resigned his President-

7. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

8. *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1835, p. 487.
(Hereafter, it will be referred to as *OCS*)

ship before his departure to England. He was the third honorary President, a rare honour conferred only on outstanding scholars by the Society.

It may be pointed out here that Indians hardly took any interest in this kind of work, most of which was undertaken by Europeans. Bal Shastri Jambhekar was one of the first Indians to a be associated with this Society. He wrote in *Darpan* "we should be glad to see many of our countrymen as much interested in the antiquities of India, as the strangers, who have come to sojourn among us, and whose curiosity, industry, and research are worthy of the highest commendation."[9]

In his very first address as the President of the Society, at its meeting on 27th January, 1836, John Wilson gave an idea of his vast learning and his profound grasp of the problems and lacunae in Oriental learning concerning Western India.[10]

He firstly reviewed the past proceedings of the Society and some of the subjects of Oriental research with particular reference to Western India from the times of Mackintosh. Wilson was keenly interested in Natural History also, and pointed out at the meeting that the mountains and forests in the neighbourhood of Bombay had innumerable objects connected specially with Geology, Botany and Zoology which had to be studied for their novelty and their intrinsic interest.[11]

The paramount aim of the Asiatic Society, he emphasised, was to study the condition of the people in different provinces in regard to language, religion, literature, science, art, economic conditions, their manners and customs. In view of this he refered to the work done and to be done regarding the study of Parsi religion, Hinduism and Islam. Referring to Parsi religion he alluded to the work of Messrs. John Malcolm, Col. Kennedy, Erskine, Rask, Mohl, Shea, Neumann and Alkinson. He made a special reference to Professor Burnouf's effort to furnish a faithful translation of the *Vendidad Sade*.[12] Wilson himself, a few years later, became the first Englishman to translate the sacred books of the Parsis.

Alluding to the researches of the Society regarding Islam he eulogised the work of Col. Kennedy, John Malcolm, Col. Miles, Ccl. Briggs, Capt. Rowlandson, Dr. Bird, Dr. Horklots and Messrs Ross and Frissell. He referred to the study left incomplete regarding the state of Arabia at the time of the origin of Islam; religious influence of Islam distinguished from its military exploits and the influence of Hinduism on Islam.

9. Jambhekar, G. G., *Memoirs and writings of Acharya Balgangadhar Shastri Jambhekar* (1812-1846) (Bom. 1950) Vol. I. P. 124.
10. Wilson, John, *Address before the monthly meeting of Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bom. 1836) (It is really a brilliant paper as it gives succinctly an idea of his Oriental scholarship).
11. *OCS*, 1836 ,p. 86.
12. *Ibid.*

Referring to Hinduism he pointed out that much had yet to be achieved. The Society was helped in the translation of Sanskrit works and had encouraged printing of *Lilavati* and *Prabodha Chandrodaya*.. He referred to the work of Col. Kennedy and Major E. More and the major work done in the translation of the Rigveda. "On the various sects of the Hindus and on their provincial superstitions and on the religion of the Jains much light is required to be cast.[13] He observed that particular attention had to be paid to the residents of jungles and mountainous districts. This led him to make study of the tribals in Bombay Presidency and to the writing of his book *Aboriginal Tribes of Bombay Presidency*.

The English Officers had taken much interest in reviving and studying India's past and her culture with the main intention of understanding her people and their life. Such understanding of the people is essential for any good administrator. Unlike the above mentioned scholars, Wilson was a missionary and the understanding of the Indian people and their way of life was of greater necessity to him. John Wilson in his address emphasised the benefits of research connected with the understanding of different faiths of India which was "a right key to the native mind, and desirable facilities for the introduction into the country of a body of rational and equitable law, the propagation of the Gospel, and the advancement of general education."[14] He studied thoroughly most of the important religions in India and the languages in which the scriptures of these religions are written It was necessary for him to do so, as he many times entered into dialogues with the leaders of other faiths, like Islam, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism. Many of these dialogues are published in the early volumes of the *Oriental Christian Spectator*.

He was probably one of the first to urge the government to speedily collect Sanskrit manuscripts. These manuscripts were found in purer form in the Deccan than any where else in India.[15] Wilson personally took interest in collecting a number of old MSS which he presented to the Asiatic Society. He started his own printing press in collaboration with American Missionaries. This helped him to write copiously on a variety of subjects.

John Wilson was an archaeologist, epigraphist and an antiquarian. He gave a clear evidence of these interests by making suggestions regarding research work which had remained still undone in regard to Hindu antiquities and the cave temple in Western India. He referred to Hindu antiquities and "in particular the descriptions which have been furnished of the excavations of Elephanta, Salsette, Ellora, Bag and Ajanta, and which though few errors and oversights may be detected in them, are very valuable. Mr. Erskine's papers take precedence in importance, Mr. Stevenson had been successful to a great extent in deciphering the ancient inscriptions at Karli : and those

13. *Ibid.*, p. 88
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

at Kanadi in Salsette were very similar to them. The caves of Nasik and Junar etc. and the temples of Abu, Palitana, and Girnar, require to be particularly described. The ancient grants of land were next to them in importance. One had been translated by the late Dr. Taylor: and Mr. Wathen had been successful in deciphering and translating the most ancient of those in the Society's museum; and the results were both curious and useful. The ancient coins found to the northward, promised to be useful in a chronological point of view, as had been well evinced by Mr. Princep of Calcutta.[16]

Wilson referred to the Bene-Israel and the Armenian communities in Bombay. Some work was done regarding the antiquity of the Armenian language.[17] Wilson himself had written a Hebrew grammar in Marathi in order to encourage the Jews to read the Old Testament.[18]

Wilson's address is specially notable because he later worked on every one of the problems he referred to in his address. It serves as a directory of much of what he meant to undertake. Its importance can be surmised from the fact that James Princep published the address in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society and when the Journal reached Europe the young Orientalist was commended by the European scholars for the scholarly survey. In June 1836 he was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.[19] It will be hardly possible here to described the work he did, but certainly mention may be made of the voluminous and varied work that he did as an Orientalist. His particularly noteworthy works[20] include, *Karla Caves, Memoir on Cave Temples, Lecture on Religious Excavation of West India, Lands of the Bible, English Marathi Language, Introduction to Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, India Three Thousand Years Ago, Narrative of Missionary Journey in Gujarat, Raddi-i-Din Musalmani, A Second Exposure of the Hindu Religion, Parsi Religion as contained in the Zond Awasta, History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India, Aboriginal tribes of Bombay Presidency, Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson, Evangelisation of India* and *Indian Castes*. He started a monthly in 1830 called *Oriental Christian Spectator* which he edited for thirty years and for which he wrote prolifically. This impressive list of his main publications gives us an idea of the depth, range and the versatility of his scholarship. Besides these, he wrote and read many learned papers on these and allied subjects.

Romanising of Indian alphabets :

John Wilson's enthusiasm touched yet another subject viz. Romanising of Indian alphabets. In 1830 there was a move by some scholars in

16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *OCS*, 1832, p. 90.
19. Smith *op. cit.*, p 320.
20. Most of these works are available in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, University of Bombay and the Wilson College, Bombay.

Bengal to adopt the Roman script for all Oriental languages. In this respect a series of articles were written by Travelyan, J. Princep, Tytler, Alexander Duff and H. T. Princep in 1834. John Wilson reproduced the relevant portions of the articles of the above enthusiasts in the *Original Christian Spectator* numbers of 1834 and 1836 and systematically refuted all the arguments of the Romanists[21] and proved with illustrations that the Devanagari Character was more admirably suited, to express Sanskrit words. Devanagari Character, he proved, was more economical even for the lithographic press. He further pointed out that the diacritical marks, which were necessary to accommodate the Roman alphabet for the Indian alphabets would be the source of perpetual trouble.[22] Any one who goes through Wilson's arguments would feel convinced, even today, that Romanising Indian alphabets would be a wasteful effort. It is apt to add here that, in India, at that time, a great educational controversy was going on between the Orientalists and Anglicists. John Wilson was in favour of the introduction of Western knowledge through the language of the people.

Wilson had made a name for himself as a scholar in India and in his own country. In recognition of his achievements the University of Edinburgh, his own University, conferred on him the Degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1836.[23]

John Wilson's knowledge of oriental and occidental languages became a great asset to him as a scholar, orientalist and missionary. In England he had learnt English, Latin, Greek, French and as a clergyman he knew Hebrew. In Bombay he learnt Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. The latter two helped him to study Islam and Hinduism and read the Koran and the Vedas in original.[24] "The business of a missionary is with man",[25] was the maxim he kept in his view and his knowledge of Indian languages helped him to travel all over Western India without any difficulty and to understand India and her people by personal experience and knowledge.

He made important contributions to the development of the Marathi language. He wrote a learned introduction to Molesworth's dictionary and wrote other books such as grammar of Hebrew language and Marathi proverbs in Marathi. Recognising his proficiency in Indian languages he was elected member of the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society. Its other members were mostly eminent officers of the government.[26] In 1854 the Government appointed him Oriental translator to the Government but

21. *OCS*, 1836, pp. 38-42; pp. 386-400
22. *OCS*, 1834, p. 210.
23. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
24. Day, Lal Behari, *The Life and Labours of Rev. Dr. John Wilson*, (Edinburgh, 1876) pp. 14-17.
25. Wilson, John, *Lands of the Bible*, (Edinburgh, 1847) Vol. I, p. IX.
26. *OCS*, 1849, pp. 126-127.

Wilson politely refused the offer. Earlier in 1849 he was invited to be the President of the Committee for examination of Civilian Officers which offer also he declined. However in 1855 he agreed to work when he was appointed on the Civil and Military Examination Committee to regulate the language requirements of professional examinations for recruitment to civil service in Western India in the Oriental languages and literature.[27] All these instances prove that the government recognised him as the first scholar in Western India.

There are two things to which we must make a specific reference for they are certainly the most outstanding contributions of John Wilson. One is his work regarding the decipherment of the Brahmi Script and the other his work regarding Zend-Avesta.

An outstanding contribution of John Wilson as an Orientalist was in regard to the help he rendered in the decipherment of the Brahmi Script. Hitherto very little was known about Wilson's contributions to the great historical achievement of James Prinsep. Prinsep himself publicly acknowledged his debt to Wilson in 1838 and while referring to Wilson's fascimile of the inscription says, "The body of the matter is sufficiently intelligible, both in the Pali edicts of Girnar, lately published, and in the Sanskrit inscription from Junagadh, which I have chosen for the subject of my present notice."

'I should, indeed, be doing an injustice to Capt. Laing, who executed the cloth fascimile for the President of the Bombay Literary Society, and to Dr. Wilson himself, who so graciously placed it at my disposal, when, doubtless, he might with little trouble have succeeded himself in interpreting it much better than I can do, from his well-known proficiency in the Sanskrit language, it would, I say, be an injustice to them were I to withhold the publication of what is already prepared for the press, which may be looked upon as their property and their discovery and to mix it with what may hereafter be obtained by a more accurate survey of the spot."[28]

Ashokan Inscriptions

James Prinsep who is acclaimed to be the hero who deciphered Ashokan inscriptions, himself showers unreserved praise on John Wilson for his work on the Girnar inscription. This makes clear the important role played by John Wilson in helping Prinsep.

During his tour of Western India, through Gujarat and Kathiawar on 13th March 1835, John Wilson proceeded to Girnar hill. He writes in his narrative, "I made as quick a descent of the mountain as possible, that I might reach, before the darkness of night settled upon me, the block of granite near Junagadh, which contains the ancient inscriptions which, though never deciphered, have attracted much attention. I was able to accomplish the object which I had in view. After examining the block for a little,

27. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-487.

28. Thomas, Edward, Ed., *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II, (Delhi, 1971), pp. 55-56.

and comparing the letters with several ancient Sanskrit alphabets in my possession, I found myself able, to my great joy, and that of the Brahmans who were with me, to make out several works, and to decide as to the probable possibility of making out the whole. The taking a copy of the inscriptions, I found, from their extent, to be a hopeless task; but, as Capt. Laing had kindly promised to procure a transcript of the whole for me, I did not regret the circumstance."[29]

Capt. Laing sent the fascimile to Dr. Wilson which he sent it to James Prinsep along with his notes. James Prinsep acknowledges his indebtedness to Wilson and Capt. Laing and he considered that Wilson himself could have deciphered the inscriptions as he knew Sanskrit. Prinsep was really at a loss for the lack of a proper knowledge of Sanskrit. With the departure of Horace H. Wilson, a great Sanskrit scholar, in 1832 and in the going away of Dr. Mill in 1837 from Calcutta, Prinsep found himself greatly handicapped.[30]

Later John Wilson made use of Prinsep's alphabet to decipher the inscription in the Buddhist caves at Karla along with another orientalist and friend Dr. Stevenson.[31] John Wilson's interests embraced wider fields of Indian life thans merely the study of antiquites. His close association with the Raja of Satara and his thorough knowledge of the political conditions there made the Government of Bombay to consult him on matters relating to Satara. Similarly, his deep knowledge about the State of Baroda made the Governor General to write to him to seek his advice on the "native rule in Baroda and native opinion on British rule". Thanking Dr. Wilson, Lord Northbrook wrote, "It is the more valuable as you have so long an experience, and many means of forming a sound judgement which officers of Government do not possess, or at least do not so fully possess."[32]

Parsi Religion

Dr. Wilson was the first English scholar to master the original Zend texts and write the scholarly work, *The Parsi Religion* in 1842. Before him other European scholars like Frater, Paulinus, William Jones, Anquetil Du Perron, John Romer, Vans Kennedy and Rask[33] had worked on the subject. Dr. Westergaard, a great scholar of Avesta, paid a visit to Bombay and stayed with John Wilson as his guest. Later Westergaard edited the first complete edition of Avesta in 1852-54.[34] Wilson's interest in the deeper study of the Parsi religion increased when he entered into a dialogue with the religious leaders of Zoroastrianism in 1831. His expertise in Parsi religion, Law and Customs, was recognised by the Government and the Judges. In 1835, the Chief Justice of Supreme Court thanked him for the clear, concise and

29. *OCS*, 1835, p. 341.
30. Thomas, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. IX to XI.
31. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
32. *Ibid*, p. 638
33. *OCS*, 1838, pp. 485-487.
34. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

lucid manner in which he had framed the answers to the queries made by the court.[35] He was the first Missionary to convert the two Parsi youths, Dhanjibhoy Nowrojee and Hormusjee Pestonji Dawar to Christianity.[36]

In his preface to his learned work *The Parsi Religion*, he describes the the circumstances that led to its writing. Wilson acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier scholars like Dr. Hyde, Du Perron, William Erskine, M. Burnouf, Professor Bopp and Westergaard and Rask. He writes, "The whole of the Vendidad, I have perused in the original Zend, having respect to its legitimate meaning, so far as it can be discovered by such grammatical analysis as the philological labours of Rask, Burnouf and Bopp, and a consideration of the analogies to the Sanskrit....and by a comparison of the French version with the Gujarati translation". etc.[37] Thus Dr. Wilson's work superseded all the previous works and Martin Haug, Professor of Sanskrit and Zend Scholar described Wilson's *The Parsi Religion* as the first work written in English on the subject which shows acquaintance with the original Avesta texts. He further says that though it chiefly relies upon Burnouf's researches, it contains frequent indications of independent investigations.[38] In European circles and in India the work was received with great enthusiasm.

In 1842, on the eve of his departure to England he resigned the Presidentship of the Asiatic Society and presented a copy of his new book, *Parsi Religion* to the Society. The Society at a special meeting in December 1842 expressed its gratitude for all that Wilson had done during the seven years of his presidentship between 1835 and 1842. They have recorded the impressive list of contributions made by Wilson in their letter to him. It was at this meeting that he was requested to accept the Honorary Presidentship of the Society. It is amazing to note the vast contribution he had made in such a short time to the advancement of Oriental literature.[39] By 1842, John Wilson had joined the galaxy of great orientalists of Western India such as Erskine, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Kennedy.

By the time he reached England by way of Palestine, Wilson's *Parsi Religion* had reached Europe and had won for him the encomiums from European Orientalists. Wilson's visit to Palestine, Egypt and Syria, on his way to England was not a pleasure trip but a visit that helped him to produce a scholarly work on Biblical geography and history, viz. *The Lands of the Bible, visited and described in an extensive Journey undertaken with special Reference to the Promotion of Biblical Research*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 341
36. *OCS*, 1839, p. 20 , and p. 271.
37. *OCS*, 1842, p. 511; Wilson John, *The Parsi Religion As contained in the Zand-Avasta* (Bombay, 1843), pp. 11-12.
38. Haug Martin, *Essays on the Sacred Language Writings, and Religion of the Parsis* (London, 1878), p. 32.
39. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-346

and the Advancement of the cause of Philanthrophy (with maps and illustrations).[40] This monumental work in two big volumes published in 1847 followed in quick succession, as it did, his *Parsi Religion* inspired the admiration of European scholars for John Wilson's erudition. Honours followed one after another. He was elected the Fellow of the Royal Society in 1845. He was elected member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. This information was communicated to him by his friend Professor Westergaard.[41] In his letter to his colleague Rev. Robert Nesbit, Wilson wrote from England on 1st February, 1845 and said, "At the Royal Asiatic Society on Saturday, I reported progress in the decipherment of the Himyaritic inscriptions of the South of Arabia, some of which, the most eminent orientalists here and elsewhere being witnesses, I have now clearly made out. Mr. Foster and Dr. Bird are both wrong. Gesenius was partly right and partly wrong. Rodiger is nearly right."

" I am with Jervis, who is doing great and good things for the East. Yesterday morning he forwarded to Prince Albert, without my knowledge, my proof of the raised map of Palestine. The Prince himself laid it before the Queen, who was much pleased with it, and ordered her private secretary to inform us that Her Majesty will graciously accept the dedication of the map from him and Dr. Wilson. "[42]

John Wilson's systematic study of cave temples, their inscriptions and their excavations added fresh knowledge to the subject. Before him Henry Salt had described the Salsette Caves in 1806 and Erskine wrote his account of the *Cave temples of Elephanta* in 1813. Later, Fergusson carried on the same work and published his *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples* in 1845.

On the suggestion of James Fergusson, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland suggested to the East India Company to take steps to preserve the Cave-temples and other ancient religious memorials in India. As a result of this, with the approval of the Government of India a Commission was set up with the assistance of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the purpose. Dr. Wilson was appointed President of the "Cave Temple Commission for Western India." The Commission was to make preliminary enquiries,[43] about the situation and extent and general character of the antiquities, and find out "authentic information as to the number and situation of all monuments and Cave temples of antiquity"[44] in Western India. This resulted in a very scholarly work which still makes a most profitable reading, viz. *Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina Remains of Western India.* The Commission worked for thirteen years to reprieve the ancient relics.

40. Wilson, John, *Lands of the Bible* (Edinburgh, 1847), Vol. I.
41. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 423
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.
43. Wilson, John, *Memoir on the Cave Temples*, etc. p. 1 (Reprinted from the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XIII, 1850).
44. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

His other publications on Caves of Western India include *Karla Caves and Lectures on Religious Excavations of Western India.* In his preface to the latter work he writes : "During my professional journeyings throughout this great country, I have often been brought in contact with its more remarkable antiquarian wonders which in a considerable manner of instances. I have been among the first to observe and describe, though sometimes with unsatisfied curiosity as well as with qualified admiration."[45]

Reformer :

One of the important factors responsible for the development of vigorous social reform movement in the 19th Century in India was the work of Christian Missionaries who pin-pointed the social evils of Hindu Society in order to influence the minds of the Indians favourably towards Christianity. This had awakened many Hindu leaders to think afresh about their own society, some of whom became social reformers. During the early stages of the Renaissance movement in Western India, both the religious and social reform organisations recruited their members largely from the students and graduates of the Elphinstone Institution founded in 1827 and John Wilson's institution started in 1832.[46]

John Wilson's work as a scholar and missionary became one of the forces that indirectly stimulated the social reform movement in Western India. Being inspired by Christian zeal, Wilson was keenly interested in working for the amelioration of the conditions of the neglected section of the Indian Society. His attention was naturally drawn first towards the improvement of conditions of Indian women. In this respect Mrs. Margaret Wilson, his first wife, became one of the pioneers in developing female education in Western India.[47] Wilson's scholarly approach to the improvement of the condition of hill tribes of Western India, suppression of infanticide and the abolition of the caste system are specially notable.

In order to equip himself with the necessary understanding and the perspective of the Hindu Society he first became a deep scholar of the Vedas and Indian Philosophy. His work, *India–three thousand years ago*, was a result of his keen scholarship. In this, Wilson gave to the Western world a succinct and authentic account of ancient Indian civilisation. He writes in the preface: "I have endeavoured to glean from the oldest compositions of the Hindus, the Vedas, and especially from the first of them, the Rig-veda–of which two of the others, the Sama and Yajur are principally extracts, while the fourth Atharvan is of much later origin. The general information which they contain concerning the earliest state of Indian Society, particularly as it bears on the

45. Wilson, John, *Lectures on the Religious Excavations of Western* India, (Bombay, 1875) p. III.
46. Heimsath, C. H., *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, (Princeton, 1964), p. 100.
47. The St. Columba School for girls in Bombay developed out of the school she started for girls soon after her arrival in Bombay.

illustration of that of later times." [48] He points out in his study that caste, in the sense it exists in the present day was altogether unknown to the Ancient Indians. They had varieties of rank and order and occupations in their community.[49] Here he displays his thorough study of the Sanskrit classics and the understanding of the Hindu Society and social practices. Another outcome of this study was his scholarly paper on 'Six Systems of Indian Philosophy".

John Wilson was not alone in creating an attitude of self-criticism in the Hindu Society in Western India. The ferment of Indian Renaissance had already stirred up a new life in the intellectuals of Bombay and Western India. Balshastri Jambhekar, a brilliant scholar who was Assistant Professor of Mathematics in Elphinstone Institute in Bombay, had written and spoken forcefully in favour of the development of education for women.

Jambhekar was the first Hindu social reformer and pioneer of Renaissance in Western India. He was a student of Elphinstone Institute and was influenced by Western education. He pleaded not only for the education of women but also for the remarriage of young widows so far back in 1830s, and was himself free from caste, creed and sect prejudices.[50] His ideas were far ahead of his times and his journal *The Bombay Darpan*, the first vernacular paper in Western India, made a great impact on the people. Wilson's *Oriental Christian Spectator* and Jambhekar's *The Bombay Darpan* (started in 1832) did not compete but complemented one another. Wilson in fact paid compliments to Jambhekar for his *Darpan*.[51] Jambhekar and Wilson were probably well-known to each other. Jambhekar was no friend of Christianity and took leadership in reconverting Narayan Sheshadri's younger brother, Shripat Sheshadri and prevented him from joining Christianity. John Wilson at that time was away in England and Rev. Robert Nesbit was in charge.

One among the early social reformers of Western India, was Dadoba Pandurang, one time a close friend and disciple of John Wilson. He was responsible for establishing the Paramahamsa Sabha in 1840 to fight against idolatry, caste system and prohibition of widow remarriage.[52] Dadoba was much influenced by Wilson and the other missionaries.[53] The Paramahamsa Sabha can be considered a predecessor of Prarthana Samaj which was founded in 1867. Its members, Dadoba Pandurang, Rama Balkrishna, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, were influenced by Christian ideals. Though they never became Christians, their main ideas were (i) rejection of image worship; (ii) belief in one God; (iii) fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man;

48. Wilson, John, *India three thousand years ago*, (Varanasi, 1958), p. 4.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
50. Jambhekar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. XXXVII.
51. *Ibid.*, p. XVI.
52. Priolkar, A. K., *Dadoba Pandurang* (Atma Katha) (Marathi) (Bombay, 1947), p. 241.
53. *OCS*, 1837; p. 463 Priolkar A. K., *Paramahamsa Sabha and its President Ramchandra Balal rishna* (Marathi), (Bombay, 1966), pp. 17-18.

(iv) widow remarriage; (v) rejection of caste system. They began and ended their meetings with prayer in Marathi.[54]

John Wilson and Mrs. Margaret Wilson took a very keen interest in the development of female education. The Scottish Mission had emphasised that its missionaries should help in the education of girls. Margaret Wilson started the first boarding school for girls in 1829 in Bombay. The Scottish mission continued to run such a school for girls which came to be patronised in larger numbers.

Wilson gave supreme importance to female education. In order to popularise its importance he organised essay competitions on the promotion of female education in India. Prize winning essays were published in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*. In 1838, in his preface to the prize winning essay by Hari Keshavji Turumal Rao on the subject, Wilson wrote, "The fruit of the endeavours of two of them, is now laid before the public, under the conviction that no little interest will be felt in it by all who seek the moral improvement of this great country, and especially by those who sigh over the dreadful, but not hopeless, degradation of the female portion of its population.[55] In the same preface, while listing the various restrictions laid down by the Shastras that degrade a Hindu woman, he points out that nowhere in the Shastras, was education of women forbidden. He writes "The very degradation of woman in India, however, though it renders all efforts for its remedy immensely difficult, is a most cogent reason for the determined and vigorous prosecution of these efforts. We must look upon the females of this country, not only as possessed of immortal souls, alienated from God....but look upon the incalculable injury which accrues in the family, from their ignorance, the restraint and almost entire suppression of affections and tenderness natural to them, their want of domestic and social virtue, and their total incapacity to do their part in informing the minds, and moulding the characters of their children, and in soothing, comforting, counselling, and humanising their husbands. The general state of native society, can never be improved, while their education is neglected or partially attended to. "[56] Dadoba Pandurang, one of the early social reformers in Western India, who came under the influence of Wilson wrote in another prize winning essay, *On the condition of Hindu Females* and said, "Native females being possessed of great influence in their families, their education will be of the highest advantage, nay, almost necessary, for raising the character and condition of the males."[57] This is enough to show that John Wilson was certainly one of the sources of inspiration for the reform movement started in order to improve the condition of women.

54. Priolkar, *Paramahamsa Sabha and its President, etc.*, p. 41; Kellock, James, *Mahadev Govind Ranade* (Calcutta 1926); pp. 18-19.
55. *OCS*, 1838, p. 129.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
57. *OCS*, 1841, p. 343.

Wilson produced a more scholarly work with regard to the abolition of infanticide. As a result of his deep study and travels in Western India, he wrote the profound work entitled *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*. He refers to the earlier work done by Duncan, Walker and Willoughby regarding the abolition of infanticide. Duncan discovered the existence of the horrible practice of child murder among the Jadejas of Kathiawad and Katch. Wilson traces the origin of infanticide and its prevalence among the princes near Benares and the Jadejas of Kathiawad and Katch. He gives a detailed account of the efforts of the government to suppress it. The book is a masterly work and Wilson highlights the benevolent policy of the British government in the abolition of this evil.[58]

In his maiden address as the President of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society on 27th January, 1836, John Wilson, gave a clear indication of his concern for the neglected forest and hill tribes of Maharashtra. He said, "Of various tribes of the Hindus, as the Katis, the Bhils, the Banjaris, the Pandu Kolis, the Dakhan Kunbis, and the Karadi Brahmans, and the inhabitants of Sindh, very curious notices are to be found in our transactions. Of many other tribes, accounts have appeared in separate publications. Many more, however, with marked natural peculiarities and in a strange social state, still remain to be described. Those who are found resident in the jungles, and in the mountainous districts, and who are probably the remains of the aborigines of the country are particularly worthy of investigation. Attention to them is called for, by all who desire to advance their civilisation, and to elevate them from their present degradation. Description must precede any considerable efforts made for their improvement. Perhaps some similarities may be discovered in their language, religion, and customs, which may lead to important conjectures as to the ancient history of India. Of many of them it has been already ascertained, that they have had no connexion with Brahmanism, except in so far as they may have felt excluding them from the common privileges of humanity and banishing them to the wilds, or dooming them to ignorance and unwilling and unrewarded servitude."[59]

This concern led him to study the different aboriginal tribes of Western India. The study was published as a book entitled "*Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency*" by the Government Central Press. The study is inspired by a desire to understand the conditions and sufferings of the tribes and the low castes in order to work for the betterment of their conditions. The fact that the Government itself undertook to publish it indicated that the government was much interested in this project and Wilson's well-studied work served as a guide for the governmental efforts to improve the conditions of this exploited class. He has tried to trace the origin of the different depressed tribes,

58. Wilson, John, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*, (Bombay 1855), pp. 17-19 and 432-438.

59. Wilson, John, *Address* read before the monthly meeting of BBRAS (Jan. 1836), pp. 18-21.

their habitation, habits and manners. He says that they are found in four positions–they exist in a state of comparative independence of the people, partial intermingling or limited isolation, utter depression or restless wanderings."[60]

As a pioneering effort and being the work of one who showed a real concern for the forlorn in the Society, Wilson's work is indeed commendable. In this respect he became the fore-runner of Verrier Elwin and Thakkar Bappa.

The caste system has been the concern of all the social reformers. Wilson certainly worked to establish the equality of all human beings. Wilson was one of those outstanding missionaries who would make a thorough study of a subject before he would launch his reform activities. If he had succeeded in completing his work *Indian Caste*, he would have left a long enduring scholarly work. But he died before he could complete it. In the first two volumes on caste, he could discuss only the Brahmin caste. This work is a clear specimen of Wilson's sound scholarship as a reformer, linguist and Orientalist. He intended to review the Indian castes and classes as they existed and he began his study with the upper caste.[61] This enquiry taken up after the Mutiny was entitled, *Indian Caste : What it is what it does and what should be done with it.* He was engaged in the composition and revision of this work until his death on 1st December, 1875. The incomplete work was published two years after his death.

The Times of India,[62] commenting on his most fruitful life, in a long editorial on 2nd December, 1875 described Wilson's work in the befitting words of Dr. Bhau Daji's speech, delivered at the meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1870 before Wilson left for England to preside over the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

"He early set about studying Sanskrit, the classical language of India, and mastered several of the vernacular tongues as the Mahratti, Gujarati, and Hindustani, and has made himself acquainted with several other oriental languages. In the course of his travels throughout this Presidency, and also in other parts of India, besides ably performing his sacred duties, he managed to find time to collect every variety of information regarding the country and its peoples, and the various ancient remains which are scattered over this Presidency in particular. Dr. Wilson's collection of manuscripts, coins, copper-plates, grants, inscriptions, geological and natural history specimens curiosities of every kind was extensive and valuable. Dr. Wilson was one of the first to apply himself to the decipherment of the Girnar inscriptions, about the time Prinsep made his brilliant and invaluable discoveries, who acknowledges the value of the copy made under the late Capt. Laing's directions,

60. Wilson, John *Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1876), p. 2.
61. Wilson, John, *Indian Caste*,, Vol. II (Bombay, 1877) p. 1.
62. *The Times of India*, 2 Dec., 1875, page-2, Col. 4.

and placed by Dr. Wilson at his disposal. To the services which Dr. Wilson had rendered to the Society upto 1843. when the address just read was presented to him, he has added vastly to his claims on the gratitude and admiration of the members of the Society by labour extending over the last seventeen years, characterised by the same resistless energy, the same punctuality and goodness. Dr. Wilson's memoir on the cave temples and monasteries and other ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jain remains of Western India, written in 1850, is still the best guide to them. He has, along with James Fergusson, kept the importance of a full delineation and description of them before the Government and the public. And if the history, literature, religion and art of Ancient India have not yet been illustrated, in the way they should be, it is not from a want of advocacy of learned Orientalists like Dr. Wilson or of liberality , on the part of the Government. Dr. Wilson has been the most popular exponent of the discoveries of the eminent Orientalists in Europe, such as Burnouf, Lassen, Westergaard, the latter being in constant communication with the last two. Every year we have heard from the lips of the learned Hon. president, a resume, brief but interesting of the progress of Oriental research. Dr. Wilson's work on the Parsee religion, the Lands of the Bible and suppression of infanticide in Western India have been pronounced by able critics to be learned and exhaustive works (of) authority. No gentleman in Bombay has had the privilege of giving so many learned, instructive and eloquent lectures touching almost every subject within the domain of science. His lecture on *India Three Thousand Years Ago* has been repeatedly quoted by writers on that dark age of Indian history. His Excellency the Governor has well attended to the two of the most prominent characteristics of this learned and virtuous gentleman–his versatility of genius, which enables him to approach almost every subject with an ability and fulness which few making each the subject of a life-time can; the second characteristic is his intense and universal sympathy with all classes of his country, and which has made both the educated and the most bigoted orthodox look upon him as a friend and benefactor. I have heard several orthodox pundits express their great regret at the approaching departure of so good and saintly a man."

VERRIER ELWIN AS ANTHROPOLOGIST

JOHN V. FERREIRA

In his day Verrier Elwin was highly regarded in India where he was widely known as an anthropologist deeply concerned about the welfare of the tribals in the backward areas of this country. His books and articles were written in a lively style, thus serving to make his name known far and wide. His first attempt at tribal ethnography was an informative description of the Baigas. He next turned his attention to the Agaria and gave us a book-length account of their way of life On gathering that the Muria Gonds were addicted to murder and suicide, he studied the problem himself and wrote an interesting book about it. Thereafter he did field-work among the Muria Gonds and went on to write a fascinating account of their customs with particular reference to their ghotul system. This study was followed by a large work on the Bondos and another large one on the Saoras. He then began to devote his time and energy to the Nagas. In addition to these ethnographic works, Elwin wrote several others on the myths, songs and arts of the Indian tribals and on more general anthropological themes of which *A Philosophy for NEFA* is an outstanding example. *Anthropology and Archaeology : Essays in commemoration of Verrier Elwin* (edited by M. C. Pradhan, R. D. Singh, P. K. Misra and D. B. Sastry, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969) mentions 180 items in the appended bibliography of Elwin's writings, and there is reason to believe that the list is not complete.

Thus from the standpoint of selfless dedication to the interests of a section of down-trodden mankind in India, Elwin's life can well be regarded as a fruitful one. But what about his worth as an anthropologist? The Indian anthropologist D. N. Majumdar, for instance, did not think highly of Elwin as an anthropologist and characterised one of his attempts to portray tribal character and personality as amateurish, as Frank Fernandez tells us in the commemoration volume. Writing on 'A Critique of Verrier Elwin's Anthropology' Fernandez undertakes to give us an accurate and just assessment of Elwin's contributions to Indian anthropology. In order to assess Elwin's disabilities as an anthropologist he examines two chapters of Elwin's monograph *Bondo Highlander*, avoiding a complete analysis for reasons of space limitations. According to Fernandez, Elwin's shortcomings as an anthropologist are as follows : 1. His account of the Bondo social organisation shows several omissions; 2. He depends too excessively on conjectural history. His book, adds Fernandez, is an admirably written ethnography in the sense that it brings the Bondo to life for the reader but it suffers from a wealth of data which is largely less than useful because of critical omissions which therefore impede comparative analysis. Fernandez concludes that 'no adequate

analysis of Bondo society has yet been done (and, by extrapolation, the same critique probably applies to Elwin's other ethnographies).' Another well-known social anthropologist, V. W. Turner, calls Elwin an eclectic ethnographer and adds that where he interprets he uses the language of the theologian. He found Elwin's work on the Hill Saoras of Orissa disappointing from a comparative standpoint. To Turner it is only legitimate to speak of a luminous element in religion after the sociological and psychological factors influencing religious behaviour have been closely examined, which of course Elwin had failed to do. Turner's views appear in a volume which purports to tell us a good deal about the craft of social anthropology.

If we turn to M. C. Pradhan's piece in the commemoration volume which he entitles 'Verrier Elwin as Anthropologist', we find Elwin described as 'an anthropologist of a unique kind.' His uniqueness as an anthropologist arose from a combination of several elements. One of them was that like Albert Schweitzer, Danilo Dolci and Tom Dooley he lived most of his life outside the narrow confines of creed and country and sought to be of help and solace to his fellow humans in another part of the world. Another was his belief that anthropology should not be confined to the task of arriving at theoretical generalisations but should also include the finding of solutions to the practical problems of the people studied. That is why, for instance, Elwin distinguished between 'technical anthropology' and 'philanthropology'. A third was that his anthropological interests were varied as his 26 monographs indicate. He had descriptive, theoretical, historical, practical and other interests. A fourth was that Elwin believed in love as the essence and art of anthropology. In other words, Elwin held that without this important ingredient, concepts and methodology could not take anthropology very far. Pradhan thinks that Elwin's writings have not received sufficient attention because he was not a professor of anthropology occupying a chair in a university, and so could not train students who would then carry his work and ideas further. Likewise the problems he attempted to study were not the height of anthropological fashion, at least in academic circles, and so his works tended to be ignored. How could a typical social anthropologist concerned about mere analysis and comparison, care for works which served broader and more human interests?

* * *

Verrier Elwin was born in 1902 at Dover in England. He was the eldest of three children and his father was an Anglican bishop who died at the early age of 38 when Verrier was only seven years old. He was for some time a missionary in West Africa. In his autobiography *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin*, Elwin describes his mother in the following terms : 'My mother was a beautiful, intelligent and imaginative woman. Witty and well-bred, she liked all the right things, poetry, music and art but unfortunately her fundamental interest was in a form of religion that was the negation of all of them.' In

the University of Oxford, Elwin did the English course and the Theology Finals. After that he was appointed vice-principal of Wycliffe Hall and a few months later was ordained and made chaplain of Merton. Trying to discover the Will of God, Elwin chose India as the field of his future work. In this choice he was actuated by the idea of reparation, since his family and country had exploited the sub-continent. On being introduced to the writings of Tagore and the views of Gandhi, he became fired by the ideals of Indian nationalism.

In India he was associated with the Christa Seva Sangh founded by Father Jack Winslow to explore the possibilities of the reorientalization of the Christian religion. In the Sangh they slept on the floor, ate food in the Indian way and removed their sandals when entering a building. Going to Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati in 1928 to attend a conference of the Inter-Religious Fellowship, Elwin came into personal contact with Gandhi and identified himself all the more with his views and movement. In Poona he met Shamrao Hivale who was associated with him in his anthropological activities thereafter. At first Elwin thought of working among the untouchables, but was dissuaded from doing so by Sardar Vallabhai Patel who suggested the tribals as a clear field for Elwin to establish himself. And when later Seth Jamnalal Bajaj mentioned the Gonds, Elwin decided to dedicate his life to them and to the other tribals of India together with his friend Hivale. He now broke with the Christa Seva Sangh and after some participation in the political activities unleashed by the national movement, settled in the Gond country.

In the meanwhile Elwin had begun to move slowly but unavoidably away from the church into a life of religious and intellectual freedom. The reasons he gives for this development were the political attitudes of the English clergy and his experience in Gandhi's ashram.

From 1931 to 1953 Elwin spent most of his time, as he tells us, in houses of mud and thatch. His idea was to set up a small settlement in order to help the tribal people. There thus came into existence the Gond Seva Mandal which was later reorganized as the Tribal Welfare and Research Unit. The policy of this unit, as Elwin and Hivale viewed it, was to be based on a mixture of Franciscan and Gandhian ideas. Elwin describes his early years in this part of the country in his book *Leaves from the Jungle* which bore a foreword by Romain Rolland.

Elwin's interest in research had also begun to grow side by side with his dedication to the task of tribal uplift.

Soon after settling in the Gond country, Elwin married a Gond girl and got a son by her; but this marriage did not work out well; so after some years he got a divorce. Latter he married a Pardhan girl and this marriage worked out well.

Coming to the crucial question of his anthropological knowledge, Elwin himself says : ' I have read a great deal of anthropology in the last thirty years.

But unlike the professional anthropologists of today I did not begin with it. My interest in human beings began with literature and my first teachers were Jane Austen and Swift. What a wealth of sociological information and analysis can be found in *Pride and Prejudice* or *Gulliver's Travels*. And later, curiously enough, my studies in theology developed my interest in Man. The science of God led me to the science of human beings. I read a little history, philosophy and psychology : they too prepared the way.'

He continues : 'Anthropology is a very big subject, the science of man, man as a whole. We need different kinds of people to study it. We need the scholar trained in pre-history, archaeology, the exact measurement of physical characters, biology, statistics. But we also need some who come from a humanist background and I think it is unfortunate that nowadays what I may call the technical anthropologists look down on the humanist anthropologists though I must admit that the latter fully return the compliment.'

Believing that scientific inquiry can be combined with human interests, Elwin adds : 'There is nothing whatever hostile to scientific inquiry in having an intense and affectionate interest in the people one studies, in desiring their progress and welfare and in regarding them as human beings rather than as laboratory specimens.'

And then comes the remarkable sentence to which Pradhan refers : 'The essence and art of anthropolopy is love. Without it, nothing is fertile, nothing is true.' And so anthropology was not mere field-work to him; it was his whole life; his method consisted in settling down among the people, in living with them, sharing their life as far he could, and generally doing several books at the same time. Thus knowledge of the people gradually seeped into him and became a part of him; and with knowledge came the desire to help.

Finally Elwin says : 'One of the things that roused great suspicion among the pandits was that I came to anthropology through poetry I still cannot see what was wrong with this. The chief problem of the student of man is to find his way underneath the surface; he has to "dig" people. Poetry is the revealer, the unveiler; by heightening a man's own sensitivity, by opening to him the treasures of the imagination, it increases his powers of sympathy and understanding.'

In 1946 Elwin was invited by Dr. B. S. Guha who had been appointed Director of the Anthropological Survey established by the Government of India to join him for a time as Deputy Director in order to get the Survey started. Two or three years later Elwin was offered the directorship but did not take it up because he preferred to live in a village, studying and helping the tribals there. During his stay in Calcutta he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the National Institutes of Sciences of India.

From the Gond country Elwin went to Bastar and Orissa where his years of research were happy and rewarding. Thereafter on hearing about the possibilities of research in Assam from Dr. J. H. Hutton, Elwin and Shamrao went to that part of the country, Shamrao returning to Patangarh soon afterwards. When Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that Elwin should join the NEFA administration, he decided to accept. His time was now spent in touring, research, evolution of policy and the writing of books In 1959 he was made chairman of a committee to study the progress of development in the tribal areas throughout the country. This was necessary because under the Second Five-Year Plan the normal Community Development blocks had been added to by special multi-purpose tribal blocks and the government wanted to know how the money allocated was spent. His report was well received.

Other events which followed may be briefly enumerated. In 1960 Elwin was appointed member of a scheduled areas and scheduled tribes commission of which the chairman was U. N. Dhebar. He was also invited to deliver the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Memorial Lectures in which he took as his subject 'The Philosophy of Love'. In 1961 he was awarded the Padma Bhushan.

Although early in his life among the tribes Elwin advocated a policy of protection, a national park for the tribes, he later toned down this idea considerably.

It remains to state that at this period of his life Elwin professed no particular religion, although he had a strong feeling for Buddhism. His Pardhan wife, Lila, likewise professed no religion. Of his four children he says : 'Kumar became a Roman Catholic when he was seventeen and in a position to choose for himself. Wasant claims to be a Hindu and refuses "to eat cows". Nakul declares himself a pagan. Ashok is a Buddhist, can relate some of the sacred verses and makes flower-offerings at our shrine.'

Elwin died in 1964, the year in which his autobiography was published.

* * *

Considering his long life of dedicated service in India, his efforts and sacrifices directed towards the study and uplift of India's tribal population, the many books written or compiled in so readable a fashion, adding to our ethnographic knowledge of the country's tribes and attracting the attention of the authorities and other individuals to the tribal cause, it goes without saying that the editors of this commemorative volume—*Anthropology and Archaeology*—have done well in bringing it out in honour of Verrier Elwin, one-time missionary, later humanist and philanthropologist. The volume contains fifteen contributions of which two fall under Prehistoric Archaeology. We have already referred to two of these fifteen articles and shall have occasion to return to them again when we take up the question of Elwin's merits as an anthropologist by way of conclusion to this review-article. In the meanwhile let us consider some of the other contributions to the volume.

Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark who has for long taken an interest in polyandry in India and has a large book on the subject writes on 'Patterns of Polyandry in Tibet and India'. Studying polyandry among the Tibetans, the Todas and the Kerala populations with a view to gathering factual information about the psychology of peoples living in other parts of the world and in particular of peoples with entirely different family organizations, and also because polyandry has been very little studied by ethnologists, Prince Peter comes to the conclusion that polyandry does not seem to be a primitive form of marriage and most really primitive tribes abhor it. It is found among peoples of higher culture and especially among those who have a developed sense of property and are unwilling to divide it up. This sense of property tends to develop in environments which are relatively poor, thus forcing the growth of mental attitudes in which fraternal and familial aggressiveness is curbed, one wife married by brothers or others, jealousy eliminated and the family property maintained intact from generation to generation. Presumably the other reasons quoted in anthropological literature by way of explanations would be regarded by Prince Peter as supporting but not central explanations in the formation and growth of polyandry. However Prince Peter has not found, as he himself tells us, an answer to the question why certain peoples faced with the same sort of problems as the polyandrous ones have not invariably developed polyandrous relations also. Accordingly, he suggests more research into this very interesting and instructive question, a recommendation which our younger anthropologists would be well advised to consider seriously.

P. G. Ganguly takes as his theme 'Separatism in the Indian Polity : A Case Study.' He attempts a theoretical analysis of the independence movement among the tribals of the Chota Nagpur Plateau in Bihar, which reached its culmination in the Second Adibasi Mahasabha with Mr. Jaipal Singh as its President. It is true, as Ganguly points out, that the politics of the Plateau tribals have not been studied adequately and that their study from the standpoint of theoretical analysis of independence movements could prove exceedingly instructive. What are the results of his analysis? We must first recognize, according to Ganguly, that the tribal agitation in this area was a logical outcome of the tribal reaction to the specific attributes of their situation. These attributes which he has summarized in section four of his paper are as follows : a differentiation of the tribals into elite and masses; the tribal elite resembled their rulers in the ruled-ruler relation in some respects and the masses in others; the elite and the masses were interdependent as against those who ruled them ; the elite was a group and not a category; and the appearance of a single leader who was both an insider and outsider symbolizing the aspirations of both the elite and the masses. From the Mahasabha data at his disposal Ganguly derives ten other attributes of which the existence of multiple cleavages between the rulers and the ruled, which were intrinsic and therefore unalterable, irreconcilable claims of superiority on

both sides, the absence of a mechanism for the resolution of the conflicts which emerged, an identity or existence crisis among the tribals and their alternations between extreme anxiety and magic hope are key examples. Therefore the tribals were faced with two courses of action only: either succumb to the existing power situation or pull out of it. From this case study Ganguly concludes that independence movements will develop if the ruled in a power system perceived the attributes which were perceived by the tribals in the area studied, but grants that comparative studies are necessary to confirm, refine or reject this general conclusion. Ganguly's analysis has the hallmarks of a systematic and acute inquiry. He merits emphatic support in his attack on the myth of objectivity but regrettably falls into the trap of calling for a confirmation of his 'theory' through 'comparative' studies. He also merits support in his attack on the attempt of the British social anthropologists to make a virtue out of their ignorance of psychology and related disciplines. However, when he concludes that practically nothing can be deduced about inter-group relations and particularly power relations by beginning one's analysis with the concept of culture, is he not inadvertently perpetrating the same error as the British? Is he thereby not attempting to grant too much of autonomy to power or social relations? If so, then is not the standpoint of integral anthropology with its linear and circular series : man-socioculture-power and so on a more relevant framework of analysis than the partial claims and counter-claims mentioned above?

Beatrice Diamond Miller's essay entitled 'Revitalization Movements : Theory and Practice : As Evidenced among the Buddhists of Maharashtra' which follows next attempts to test the validity of Anthony F. C. Wallace's ideas on revitalization movements as enunciated in his *Culture and Personality*. According to Wallace a society's culture tends towards a steady state; but with an increase in individual stress as result of radical changes in many cultural spheres, the sociocultural system tends to be pushed out of equilibrium. As the loss of equilibrium increases, individual stress also augments, and the individual concerned finds the breakdown disturbing. Thereafter comes a period of cultural distortions which are characterized by breaches of mores, 'scapegoating' and other forms of a social behaviour. Such a situation becomes exceedingly intolerable and therefore attempts at revitalization follow. For its successful completion the revitalization movement requires a certain number of stages. For one thing, some individual must be able to present a picture of the ideal society or cultural goal : for another, the picture must be framed as a code which must be communicated to the others with evangelistic fervour; for a third, an executive organization must be formed consisting of the disciples who transmit the teachings of the formulator to the masses; for a fourth, as time goes by and opposition to the movement is generated and defects in the code unveiled, adaptation must take the form of a defence of the movement and reworking of the code; for a fifth, the revitalization movement now enters the phase of cultural

transformation involving a considerable decline in the quasi-pathological individual symptoms of anomie and the elimination of cultural distortions; for a sixth, the stage of routinization appears and the successful revitalization movement becomes the new steady state. Thus revitalization movements are a kind of 'quantum leap' into a radically new cultural configuration. Does Wallace's scheme fit the conversion movement by the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar which brought a large number of Mahars and other untouchables into the Buddhist fold? After a careful study of the facts of the movement Miller concludes as follows : "... it seems reasonable to designate the Buddhist conversion movement in India as an example of a true revitalization movement according to Wallace's criteria. Where there are divergences from the classical or typical revitalization movement, the divergences point out the need to modify or qualify the criteria when studying such movements in complex societies. Such modifications or qualifications, moreover, may have application also to less complex societies if the latter are examined more rigorously. With such modifications and qualifications, Anthony Wallace's revitalization movement concept with its breakdowns of requirements and phases along the way, is an extremely useful frame of reference for approaching *deliberate, drastic* change, or "quantum leaps", in cultural orientations. This is a reasonable conclusion and is worthy of being tested further in India, because movements of this and related kinds have been numerous as Stephen Fuchs as shown in his book *Rebellious Prophets*.

Examining 'Political Party Conflict in a Kerala Village' Kathleen Gough points out that in Palakkara, a village in Central Kerala, most of the villagers, both men and women, and most of the communities, Nayars, Christians, Iravas and Harijans, support either the Congress or the Communist Party. There is a moderately strong and highly significant association between caste rank and party affiliation and between economic class and party affiliation. The conflicts between the Congress and Communist parties arose either as a result of class struggles or party-political competition. There were struggles to control land since the village was over-crowded: there were struggles inside factories and government offices which resembled those over land; there were struggles to control public funds obtained from local taxes or provided to the village by government agencies ; there were struggles also relating to the control of churches and temples; and there were struggles to gain control over the caste associations of the Nayars and Iravas. As a result of these power struggles between the Congress and Communist factions, there was a constant state of tension in Palakkara and in the other villages of Kerala where the two parties came into collision. Consequently there was a stalemate in many activities which impeded the attainment of production goals and promotion of public welfare in the village. This in turn futhered the political struggle and multiplied the occasions of conflicts. And so there were periodic outbreaks of violence in Palakkara. Nevertheless,

says Kathleen Gough, the temper in the village continued to remain cheerful and kindly and a spirit of mutual restraint prevailed everywhere. What were the reasons for this temper and spirit ? One reason was that class conflicts and party conflicts were not always identical and sometimes weakened each other. Another reason was that kinship and other relationships cut across party lines and in many individual cases proved temporarily stronger than party loyalties. Furthermore, inter-party conflicts were reduced because the panchayat board had a strong desire to maintain peace and to carry out projects of public development. These, then, were some of the mitigating factors which have been at play in the party conflicts at Palakkara. But Gough is of the view that in spite of them other factors have tended to foster a class struggle in the area, endangering parliamentary democracy. These factors are the failure to expand production with any degree of speed, the increase in population, the resulting land hunger and the growing politicization of the propertyless classes. From the fall of the Communist government in 1960 and of the Congress government in 1964 Gough draws the conclusion that the containment of this conflict within the system of electoral democracy is likely to prove difficult. In the summer of 1964 class relations were deadlocked, suggesting 'the stalemate of an arrested revolution.' With the victory of the Left Communists and the United Front in 1967, Gough believed that the solution of the food problem and a sufficient increase in productivity and incomes within the framework of the Indian constitution were crucial in order to forestall an open revolutionary outbreak. But the prospects for an orderly reform through the democratic system, she thinks, are uncertain. Some would even go so far as to say that they are bleak. And events which have followed since have added nothing to raise hopes of a democratic success in these directions.

In his paper 'A Theory of Social Stratification and the case of Indian Society, Harold A. Gould adopts the anthropological approach to social stratification and develops a model which takes into account comparison on a grand scale in terms of general culture areas. One such area is the Fertile Crescent of which India is an extension. In India the traditional caste society is one in which occupational roles are fixed essentially through the fact of birth, and ascription not achievement is the mode of affixation. The broad structural type to which India belongs is that of the premodern urban societies. In these societies work became occupational in character and occupations became the principal foundation for social stratification. Occupational roles proliferated in these societies and became clustered in discrete status differentiations. The ranked occupational differentiations acquired each a distinctive pattern of life or subculture, a development which was reinforced by the identity of occupational role and its occupant. However, inspite of this occupational proliferation and differentiation, work remained rooted in kin groups, and a large number of these groups resided in peasant agri-

cultural communities or small towns in which face-to-face relations predominated. India's ascription-oriented occupational stratification acquired its distinctive character through Hinduism which consolidated the system through the principle of ritual hierarchy. This traditional system of stratification has come into contact with a different order based on science and technology and achievement orientation. Industrialization which ushered in the new order in Europe was a fundamental revolution there, and in India, encountering the traditional system, it rendered the stratified situation extremely complex, compelling the anthropologist or sociologist to take note of what is happening to the castes as they undergo modification through the impact of industrialization. With the transfer of occupations from kin groups to bureaucratic groups, social and spatial mobility has increased, particularly in those upper groups which could take advantage of the kind of occupations that the British at first threw open to the Indian population. One of the first results of this achievement-oriented stratification which the British introduced in the second half of the 19th century was nationalist politics. But it must not be forgotten that about 80 per cent of India's population remains rural and is therefore ascription-oriented. In the cities, too, caste-dominated labour continues and caste acquires adaptive functions which make it complementary to bureaucratic structures. 'People are actually moving,' says Gould, 'between the two systems of stratification and many, if not most, are simultaneously interacting in both. But in some limited spheres achievement-oriented stratification has proceeded very far. Believing that social mobility is correlated with tendencies towards spatial mobility, Gould next endeavours to test his theory by a study of occupational groups in Lucknow. He finds, to put it briefly, that the higher groups show greater spatial mobility. Gould suggests finally that the anthropological model used above must embody an evolutionary perspective after the manner of Gordon Childe, Julian Steward and other modern anthropologists. But, as Gould himself points out, 'It remains to be seen whether the model will survive the critical scrutiny of others or prove to be an adequate starting-point for a world-comparative approach to the problem of social stratification.'

How do the Nagas deal with questions of morality and prestige? This is an interesting subject because the Nagas, as is well-known, were for long head-hunters who gained prestige through the acquisition of human heads and feasts of merit. In his inquiry into this question 'Morality and Prestige among the Nagas,' C. Fuerer-Haimendorf rightly points out that no human society could survive without striving towards and maintaining some measure of consensus on the rightness or wrongness of different types of behaviour. This is so because, as is evident, human behaviour would become unpredictable in the absence of such consensus. Accordingly the question of morality and prestige in various societies is an important subject of study and Fuerer-Haimendorf deserves to be highly commended for undertaking such a study among the Nagas, and in particular among the Konyak Nagas whom he personally

investigated. In Naga societies public sanctions uphold the moral code only in relation to ties of kinship and common residence in the same village. For example, if a clansman or villager inflicts an injury on another clansman or co-villager, he is subject to penalties imposed by the representative authority. But since the acquisition of human heads other than those of one's clan or village is presumed to promote fertility and the welfare of one's own village, aggressiveness against outsiders is considered morally neutral in so far as the reaction of the head-hunter's own community is concerned. In this case murder is not murder but brings merit and prestige to the head-hunter. War and head-hunting thus accentuate the difference between one's own group or in-group and other groups or out-groups. One's own group is the group from which one expects assistance and to which one owes a number of obligations: the out-group consists of one's enemies. Apart from war and head-hunting the Nagas also acquire prestige through a graded series of feasts of merit. The feasts of merit enable the wealthy to display lavish generosity and thus gain prestige for themselves even while they benefit the less wealthier members of their clan or village. Self-denial and moral striving as paths of virtue are unknown among the Nagas. Nor does a breach of the moral code lower one's ritual status or render one polluted as among the Hindus, although contagious pollution does occur under certain rare circumstances. So far as property is concerned, the individual has absolute freedom to dispose of his goods as he thinks fit, and the inviolability of this right is basic to the Naga's moral ideas. Property rights also relate to intangible goods such as certain songs and to slaves. Sexually the individual is allowed considerable freedom both premaritally and extra-maritally, and amatory conquests are even commemorated by small stones on the grave of the man concerned, However, the Nagas assess the rights and wrongs of a particular item of behaviour on prudential grounds and not through an appeal to general moral principles. In fact they lack, as Fuerer-Haimendorf tells us, 'any concept of universal moral principles applicable to mankind in general.'

Francis L. K. Hsu is of the view that the distinction made by many scholars including anthropologists between primitive and advanced or civilized religion is not warranted by the facts. In fact he thinks that the primitive-civilized dichotomy is useless for all scientific purposes. In his paper 'Christianity and the Anthropologist' he concludes that '....the difference between Western monotheistic Christianity (and Islam and Judaism as well) and the other religions in literate and non-literate societies are in the order of those among species; the differences between indigenous Asian religions and non-literate religions are in the order of those among races, while the differences among non-literate religions are probably in the order of those among sub-species.' From this classification it would follow that Western Christianity would find it difficult to make much headway in Asia because of species-specific differences between it and the religions of Asia. The poor results of the long-drawn Christian missionary effort in Asia seem to confirm this

conclusion. Hsu enumerates the following characteristics of Western Christianity: (1) Christians believe that their view of God is the only true one and their theology the only pure scripture and are therefore intolerant of other views and practices. (2) Christianity is a missionary religion whereas most believers in Asia see no need for proselytization. (3) Christian theology grows more and more extensive as a means of defence and extension of its sphere of influence. (4) In Christianity religion often becomes involved in conflicts which have nothing to do with it. (5) Christianity moves more and more towards rationalism in its belief and practices resulting in one of its main characteristics, that is, denominationalism. Hsu nexts compares Western Christianity and Christianity in the east and concludes that the characteristics of Western Christianity will not become those of a majority of Asian and African Christians. Indeed, there are quantitative and qualitative differences between a majority of Asian Christians and a majority of Eur-American Christians, and these differences cannot be explained away easily. For example, the number of Christians in Asia is small as compared with the number in Eur-America, and many Christians in Asia have no qualms in retaining significant elements of the religion from which they were converted. This is true even of those Christians who were converted, for instance, by the Portuguese in India, as C. Godwin shows in a recent dissertation on a section of Bombay Christians. No doubt the peoples of non-literate societies are more inclined to accept Christianity than the peoples of Asia. Christianity has, as the figures indicate, advanced considerably in Negro Africa and in Polynesia. But here, too, the Christianity of the converts is of an easy-going nature. As Hsu puts it, 'there is a basic and qualitative gulf between the Polynesian's Christianity and the Western man's Christianity which cannot but confuse the anthropologist who fails to perceive it and impairs his analysis. According to Hsu, Christianity, for example, has made little difference to the Tikopians. There is much to commend itself in Hsu's taxonomy of the religions in relation to Christianity. But there is also such a thing as the effects of rapid cultural change which is so charateristic of our age: such a change points in the direction of universalization and Christianity has always had this as its aim, which may, after all, turn out to be its main advantage sooner or later. As for Hsu's adverse comment on Lang, Schmidt and Radin, David Bidney's estimation in this connection is worthy of note. Bidney says : 'While there are still some contemporary anthropologists who follow Tylor in presuming that "the concept of a single all-powerful deity is apparently lacking among all non-literate peoples," the majority of cultural anthropologists would concede the point.' In regard to Schmidt's reconstructions, J. Haekel's recent revaluation should also be taken into account.

M. C. Pradhan who has investigated the Jats of Northern India attempts to show in his paper 'Some Aspects of the Jat Religion and Ethics' that certain religious beliefs, practices, ideologies, and value systems of the Jats are functionally integrated or related to their kinship and political system and form

a coherent whole. In undertaking this task, however, he demonstrates that there is a correlation between some of the religious beliefs and practices and the total social system of the Jats but not in every respect. He believes, further, that it is 'not necessary' to demonstrate that every aspect in the field of religion and ideology is definitely related to that total system. He, therefore, attacks the organismic interpretation of society and in particular the interpretations of James Frazer and Emile Durkheim. The organismic interpretation of society, however, when rightly interpreted, must reflect the predisposition of man as an organism, and this predisposition is a predisposition towards organic unity in the personality, the socioculture and in the attitudes towards the rest of reality. Therefore, to condemn the organismic interpretation on the ground that societies do not show complete solidarity or integration is to take one's stand on a mistaken view of the organismic interpretation. Societies move towards or away from the ideal of total unity and if the organismic interpretation is viewed dynamically, it serves considerably in giving us an authentic understanding of man-in-the-world, an understanding which is superior to the mechanist models so common among anthropologists and sociologists till recently. Pradhan also stresses kinship and the political structure in his interpretations, excluding the more integral view now growing in strength all over the world; in this connection he reveals the weaknesses and bias of the British social anthropologists. One of his merits, however, is that he takes up the concept of function and waters it down. The watering down or broadening of that concept is an indication of the direction in which the winds are blowing today. But Pradhan should also ask himself whether the concept of meaning has no relevance in sociocultural studies.

Stephen Fuchs turns his attention to 'Applied Anthropology in India' and after reviewing the pitiable plight to which the tribals have been reduced as a consequence of the British Policy of Land Settlement, the encroachments of traders and money-lenders and the upheavals caused by the industrialization of tribal tracts, suggests the following measures as a possible way of improving the tribal lot : (1) Government should attempt to train tribal leaders to undertake the task of acculturation rather than impose reforms and other changes through outsiders. (2) Government should also be careful in not choosing the wrong agents for the purpose of carrying out Government-sponsored welfare schemes. By wrong agents Fuchs means members of those castes and communities who in the past mercilessly exploited the tribals, took away their land, interfered with their customs and ridiculed their traditions. (3) Social reformers should not be too impatient or hasty in pushing their reforms or too high-handed in doing so. A patronizing or superior attitude antagonizes the tribals. (4) Government should not employ tribals in the promotion of its welfare schemes who have been completely up-rooted and have lost their tribal contacts and taken entirely to the ways of the superior civilization. Such tribals are equated with the outsiders who have exploited them in the past. Just as these outsiders have been called robbers by the tribals, so these

uprooted tribals are regards as traitors and not trusted at all. (5) Government-sponsored economic and social uplift work should not be based solely on economic considerations. Social and spiritual values are a very important part of tribal culture and should be considered sympathetically by social reformers. (6) Government should accept the notion of the inevitability of gradualness so that the tribals do not lose their economic equilibrium and accordingly suffer from personality disintegration. As Fuchs puts it. 'History is full of warnings against an all too sudden acculturation. It does violence to the subconscious mind of the people. All over the world it has been noted that the sudden break-up of tribal societies leads to a loss of tribal virtues and a rapid acquisition of all the vices of civilization.' From India Fuchs himself has collected material on messianic movements which have taken place among the tribals that he has incorporated in a recently published book entitled *Rebellious Prophets*. Furthermore, quoting Sachchidananda, Fuchs points out that although the tribals have become citizens of India, with all the rights relating to that fact, the gulf which separates them from their more sophisticated countrymen has not narrowed; their economic position has not improved much; education has failed to achieve expected results; and the community development projects have eaten into the self-reliance of the people. Most of them are accordingly inclined to depend on the Government for everything. Therefore, Fuchs rightly suggests that the integration of the tribal and backward communities into the national stream of life can only occur after an impartial and scientific study of their cultural background. This of course will require the services of a large team of anthropologists who should undertake their work of ethnographic investigations and applied anthropology with the zeal and self-sacrifice of a missionary.

In 'Descriptive Dialogue Songs in Mundari' Norman Zide and R. D. Munda take up five descriptive dialogue songs for analysis. The paper is the first part of a more ambitious study of Mundari songs. The collection of tribal folksongs and their analysis is a relatively neglected field of study. One, therefore, wishes Zide and Munda every success in their more ambitious project and hopes that others will be tempted to follow in their footsteps and those of Elwin and Archer.

D. Sen and V. N. Misra contribute the two papers on Archaeology in this commemorative volume. Sen, writing on 'Pebble Chopper/Chopping Tools and Flakes in India and Pakistan' and reviewing the situation in the light of recent finds in Europe and Asia concludes that while the typological pattern of all the reported finds is broadly similar, no genetic affiliation can be traced or maintained at present. Nevertheless, he is inclined to explain the similarity in terms of 'parallelism of human behaviour under the stimulus of similar basic needs in appropriate environmental situations with easy availability of suggestive raw material.' As for adjoining areas in Asia, he brings in the concept of diffusion. Presumably both interpretative notions, evolution

and diffusion, when considered in moderation, are applicable to the human situation, as I have tried to point out in my book *Totemism in India*. To what extent and in what combinations is a matter for research in specific regions.

Misra writes on 'Early Village Communities of the Banas Basin, Rajasthan.' As is well-known, a gap has existed archaeologically between the end of the Indus Valley Civilization and the beginnings of historical times, that is to say, between 1500 B. C. and 400 B. C. During the last fifteen years, however, Indian archaeologists have excavated several chalcolithic and neolithic sites belonging to this period which have helped a great deal in narrowing the above-mentioned gap. In this paper Misra gives a sketch of one of these cultures which he provisionally prefers to call Ahar. Forty-nine sites of the Ahar culture have been located so far. Ahar was a riverine culture with settlements highly concentrated, thus testifying to the existence at that time of a prosperous community in the second millennium B. C. Agriculture was the principal occupation of the people, but animal husbandry and hunting were also pursued. The culture was largely based on copper technology and a rich and varied pottery industry flourished. Architecturally there was considerable identity but also changes in plans. The Ahar culture shows affinities with Harappa, the Navdatoli culture, Tepe Hissar in Iran and other sites in Western Asia, and of course also with the Amri, Nal and Kuli cultures in Baluchistan. The dates of the Ahar culture are from 1800 B. C. to 1200 B. C.

To return finally to the question of Verrier Elwin as an anthropologist with which we began, are the criticisms levelled against him by Majumdar, Turner and Fernandez justified? Majumdar's characterisation of Elwin's anthropological studies as 'amateurish' need not be taken seriously. For one thing, Majumdar's own ethnographic and other work is often characterized by interpretative confusion: and for another, Majumdar certainly did not reflect on the methodological foundations of Anthropology so long or depthfully or usefully as to justify his strictures against Elwin. His characterisation of Elwin reveals not only bias, but possibly the negative attitude which Helmut Schoeck is of the view is all-pervasive in society, in other words, envy. Turner calls Elwin an eclectic anthropologist and theologian, and Fernandez thinks that his work is admirably written but suffers from critical omissions. Both writers belong doubtlessly to the tradition of British Social Anthropology, Turner being schooled in England and Fernandez, although teaching in the USA, presumably owes his allegiance to the American variation of the British tradition. British Social Anthropology was once the talk of the world, except in those parts of it in which German or related languages were spoken. But today, alas, as the younger social anthropologists have found out, social anthropology suffers from a blurred identity. Hence, the question of prime importance is : Has Social Anthropology attained its aims, whatever they are, scientific or humanistic, even when there have been no critical omissions? The answer

is : Far from it. And is not eclectism the first step towards holism or integralism, which the world is craving today? Elwin's philanthropology is what the hippies, yippies and other student revolutionaries are after. The younger generations have seen through the shams and pretentious claims of the limited outlooks of British Social Anthropology or American Cultural Anthropology. The idealistic-humanistic-historical-integral orientation is rightly coming into its own once again.

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REVIEWS

H. R. DIWEKAR, V. P. LIMAYE, R. N. DANDEKAR, C. G. KASHIKAR and V. V. BHIDE, Ed., *Kauśikasūtra* Dārilabhāṣya, Post-Graduate and Research Department of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitha, Poona, 1972. pp. xvi, 36, 136 + 136, 59, Price Rs. 50, £ 3, $ 8.

Among the ancilliary texts belonging to the different Vedas, the *Kauśika-sūtra* (*KS*), belonging to the *Atharvaveda*, occupies a peculiar position. It is neither a Śrauta, nor a Gṛhya-sūtra but "a mixture of two distinct kinds of Sūtras, Atharva-sūtrās and Gṛhya-sūtras" (Bloomfield *JAOS* 14·xxi). The text of the *KS* itself is not easily intelligible and hence one is often required to take help from the commentary of Dārila and the Paddhati of Keśava. Until recently only extracts from these two texts, published by Bloomfield in *JAOS* 14, along with the text of the *Kauśika-sūtra*, were available to scholars. It was therefore necessary to publish the entire text of the commentary of Dārila.

This task has now been accomplished by a group of eminent and devoted Sanskrit scholars. Unfortunately they were compelled to base their text on a single manuscript, a microfilm of which was made available to them by the authorities of the University Library at Tübingen (W. Germany). Three other manuscripts of the commentary are known to exist; but these could not be traced by the editors in spite of their great efforts to procure them. The only manuscript, on the other hand, on which the present text is based, is corrupt beyond imagination. The difficulties of the editors in this situation therefore can be imagined. They must have been required indeed to struggle very hard to obtain a fairly intelligible text out of the corrupt manuscript. A look at the original text, which also has been reproduced in the editon by the off-set process, will convince any one about the truth of the following statement of the editors: "The editors had literally to wrestle with many passages for hours together—not unoften, in several sittings—before they could restore them to an intelligible form" (p. xiii). One really admires the patience, the tenacity and the ingenuity expended by the editors in bringing out this excellent edition. It is indeed difficult to express adequately our gratitude to the editors for this devoted work.

The edition first gives the text of the *KS* upto the end of Kaṇḍikā 48. This is followed by the commentary of Dārila—both as it appears in the original and as read by the editors. In the end are given some very useful and informative Appendices. In the Appendix where citations from the accented texts like the *Atharvaveda* are given it would have been better to give those citations with accent. In App. A (p. 12) we have a note (28·6) on *sarvayajñānāṁ cendrabhaktitvāt*. In this note we are referred to the

Nirukta 7·10. But this section of the *Nirukta* does not list sacrifice in general among the shares (*bhakti*) of Indra. In the note 53·3 on p. 31 of App. A. it would have been better to add that the *Nighaṇṭu* (1·12) itself does not list *rajaḥ* among the synonyms of water.

In the note 61·8 given in App. A. p. 24 one could have also referred to H. Lüders : Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien, Phil. Indica p. 106 ff. On p. 61 lines 10–11 of the commentary occurs the word *tālpāḥ* as qualifying *rājaputrāḥ*. Here the editors might have referred to the Śat. Br. 13·1·6·2 where we get the word *tàlpya* qualifying *rājaputrá* (*śatàṁ vaí tálpyā rājaputrā āśāpālāḥ*). The commentator explains the word *tàlpya* as *talpasādhavas talpyāḥ śayyāgatāḥ talpena samaṁ rātrau ye sādhu rakṣanti.* On p. 107, line 13 Dārila explains the sūtra word *ākarṣa* as *ākarṣaḥ lohakaraṇam / aṅgārākarṣaṇārthaṁ kuṭakaḥ.* One may note in passing that the commentary Tattvabodhinī explains *ākarṣa* as *ākṛṣyate' nena khalādigataṁ dhānyam ity ākarṣaḥ* (while commenting on the example *ākarṣaśvaḥ* given under P. 5-4-97)

On p. 123 of the text, in line 1 occurs the expression *amuṣyāḥ putrasya* as two different words. It is also given as two words in the Padapāṭha of *AV* 10·5·36. In App. B (p. 49) the editors offer the following comment : " But according to P. 5·1·133 *amuṣyāḥputrasya* is a compound-word." This statement, however, does not seem to be correct. P. 5·1·133 (*dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*) only tells us that the suffix *aka* (*vuñ*) may occur after a *dvandva* compound and the words listed in the *manojñādi gaṇa.* Hence we can have forms like *gaupālapaśupālikā* or *mānojñaka* etc. Now the expression *amuṣyapautra* (but not *amuṣyāḥputra*) occurs as one word in the *manojñādi gaṇa* and hence, according to the sūtra in question, we can have a form like *āmuṣyaputraka.* But the Sūtra itself does not say anything about the formation of *amuṣyaputra*, much less of *amuṣyāḥputra.* It would have been therefore better to state simply that *amuṣyaputra* as a compound from occurs in the *manojñādi gaṇa* (P. 5·1·133)

On p. 123 line 3 we read *idam aham akṣabrāhmaṇāyanaputrasya veccikāputrasya prāṇāpānāṁ apakṛntāmi.* On this, in App. B (p. 49), the editors have the following comment : " It is better to read *akṣasya brāhmaṇāyanaputrasya.*" But this may not be justified. The sūtra (44·31) on which Dārila is commenting runs as *idam aham—āmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya...* Thus the Sūtra does not give any scope to name the individual, against whom the black magic is to be practised, by his personal name. The Sūtra wants him to be referred to only by way of his father and mother.

The title of the text as given by Dārila himself is Kauśikabhāṣya. The same could have been retained without change.

M. A. M.

B. R. SHARMA, Ed., *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (with the commentary of Sāyaṇa) Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Tirupati, 1967. pp. 22 + 306. price Rs. 20/-

Dr. B. R. Sharma is pretty well-known to the world of Vedic scholarship. He has been engaged for the last some years in bringing out critical editions of the Brāhmaṇas of the Kauthuma School, and with the present Brāhmaṇa, he has brought out the editions of six Brāhmaṇas of that school.

The present edition is based on one printed edition and eleven manuscripts. The editor has used the edition of Hermann Frederik Eelsingh (Leiden 1908) and also the English Tr. of Bollee (1956). He has divided the Brāhmaṇa into six chapters, unlike the previous edition. The first five chapters deal with the sacrificial ceremonies and rituals related to the Soma sacrifice, while in the sixth are to be found expiatory rites for omens and calamities of all kinds. The sixth chapter, hence, is not quite in tune with the first five; and this is the reason why certain scholars feel that it is added later on. The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* itself is an appendix to the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, called also the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*.

The edition is prepared painstakingly, comparing the material made available; and the variants are noted at the various pages. It contains the introduction, the text in bold characters, the commentary of Sāyaṇa, four appendices, and a detailed index. It also contains a small chapter of "Critical Notes" on the various readings of the text; and at many places the defects in the textual readings are sought to be corrected. In Appendix A, comprising the Glossary, technical words from the texts are collected, and their explanation from the commentary is also given. Where in the commentary no explanation is available, it is provided in English. In Appendix B are collected together quotations from the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads found in the text and in the commentary. In Appendix C quotations from the non-Vedic sources, appearing in the text, are collected. Appendix D has various *gāṇa*-s referred to by name in the text, as also in the commentary. The introduction is useful as it contains chapterwise summaries, a critical note on the nature of the text, the legends occurring in the text, grammatical peculiarities, and a note on the material used for the edition. The edition undoubtedly fulfils a long-felt need for a good critical edition of the Brāhmaṇa with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. The book is neatly printed and has a good get-up.

A few points are, however, to be noted. The book has an "Errata"; but it runs only for 157 pages from the text; yet there are quite a few typographical (?) mistakes extending beyond this limit. There are some cases of the references being left blank. Thus, at page 20 (Introduction) a reference Pāṇini is left blank; and we read, "एचोऽयवायावः (Pā)". Likewise in the commentary we meet places where brackets are left without the expected references (see pp. 147; 173). Against अत्रिणम् we read "मंसादेरत्तारम्"

instead of मांसादेरत्तारम् (p. 235). The lively discussion on the reading "प्राचीमेनम्" (text p. 119, line 12) gets spoilt by the last line, "Therefore the correct reading should be "प्रचीमन्वित्यर्थः" (p. 231). What actually the editor would have is "प्राचीमन्वित्यर्थः". The discussion could have well been concluded with a refererce to the well known expression "प्राचीमनु प्रदिशम्". In Appendix A we read the word "आप्तोर्यामा" (p. 236); and, obviously, the editor meant it to be so, as he gives it under the class आ, and below आदि. we expect the word to be आप्तोर्यामा. The text itself has "वाजपेयाप्तोर्याम्णोः" (p. 176 वाजपेय + आप्तोर्यामी) The same word appears as *yajña-puruṣa*. (*-puruṣa*) and as *yagna-puruṣa* at the same page and in the same line (p. 230). We have "गयत्री" for "गायत्री" (p. 229); and the name Bollee appears as Bolle (p. 16) and also as Boillee (p. 229). Similarly must be pointed out rather jarring cases of transliteration. The editor writes Brahmā and Subrahmā (p. 12), where in the text we have ब्रह्म and सुब्रह्म, (p. 2). Again we have *ṛcā* and the plural as *ṛcās*, where we expect *ṛc* and *ṛc*-s (p. 229). Again we have such cases as "*Shyena*" "*samdamsha*" (p. 18); and also "*Saḍvimsha*" (Abbreviations). There is also lack of proper similarity in giving the references in the body of the commentary. Thus, though the references to the other texts are given with Indian numbers, at a few places we find them in English (p. 56; 58; 60; 61; 65; 73 etc).

In certain cases the explanation offered, and the meaning suggested, is not sufficiently clear. Thus, for "*caṣāla*" the meaning, "wooden ring at the top of the sacrificial post" (taken from Apte's Dictionary ?) is not quite sufficient. Actually *caṣāla* is not at the top; it is at the place on the upper part of the sacrificial post, whence it tapers to the top. It cannot rightly be explained as the ring either. It is more like a disc fixed in the upper portion of the post, sometimes having an edge. In certain cases it is prepared out of flour (*Śat. Br.* 5. 2. 1. 6). The Brāhmaṇa explains the word "स्वाहा" to say that it has three syllables (P. 192. त्रीण्यक्षराणि). The editor's comment, that the word should be written, in that case, as "सुवाहा (*सु + आहा)" is understandable. In fact Yāska (*Nir* 8·20) has already "सु + आह" as one of the explanations (which the editor does not note). But the point should have been, better, left at that, as an alternative explanation. But the editor says that "in older Sanskrit internal "गणसन्धि" was not generally observed and "स्वाह" (स्वाहा ?) was spelt as "सुवाह (*सु − आहा)". This is rather unclear. What is exactly meant by "older Sanskrit"? If it is taken to mean the Vedic language (as it should rightly mean in this context), the statement is questionable. The *Rgveda* has the word "स्वाहा" at various places, and there is no necessity to spell it as "सुवाहा"; for the former perfectly suits the metre. Generally the addition of a vowel is necessary to suit the metre, (as, for example, in the case of *svar = su-ar*; *tugryāsu*

= *tugriyāsu*). Such is not the case with *svāhā*. The fact is that if the word is spelt as *suv-āhā*, the metre will be in jeopardy, with an additional letter (Cf. *R*gV. I. 13, 12; II. 36. 1 and at various other pleces) The change of *svāhā* to *suv āhā*, showing three syllables, is, hence, a later one. Again one is rather doubtful as to the sense of the word "*akṣarāṇi*" as contemplated by this Brāhmaṇa. It is interesting to note that Sāyaṇa understands by this word only the "letter" and not the syllable. (cf. तस्या अक्षराणि सकार-वकार-हकारात्मकानि). These are not very serious shortcomings and they do not, any way, mar the value of the book. Dr. Sharma deserve thanks for this laudable effort.

S. A. D.

S. VENKATSUBRAMONIA IYER, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Prakriyā-sarvasva*. a Critical Study, Department of Sanskrit University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1972. pp. i – x + 347, Price Rs. 15/-.

The work under review has been a thesis for the degree of Ph. D. of the University of Kerala. The Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit Grammar has received immense popularity due its methodology, and send into oblivion other systems such as the Kātantra, Cāndra, the Jainendra and the Kāśakṛtsna. Definite contributions were made to it by savants like Kātyāyana and Patañjali, who, together with Pāṇini, came to be called the "three Muni-s". However, the arrangement of the aphorisms made by Pāṇini was not always thought to be the best and efforts were made to change it to suit the formations of words in the actual usage, and under different heads. As examples to this effect might be suggested the *Rupāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti (12th century A. D.), the *Rūpamālā* of Vimalasūri (13th century A. D.), and the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* of Rāmacandra (15th century A. D.). Unlike these works, that do not treat of all the aphorisms of Pāṇini but only the more important ones, the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (1550-1630 A.D.) treats of all the aphorisms, though its plan is based on the *Prakriyākaumudī*. This is one of the reasons why the *Siddhāntakaumudī* has won for itself an adorable place, in the field of Sanskrit Grammar. The *Prakriyāsarvasva* (*PS*) of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭātiri 1560–1660, according to Prof. Venkatasubramonia Iyer), the Kerala Pundit, is generally modelled on the *Prakriyākaumudī* though in the arrangement of topics it follows a different method.

The text of *PS* comprises about 15000 *grantha*-s (verses) of 32 syllables each; and out of the twenty sections, into which it is divided, only the first nine and the nineteenth have been so for published. The rest is available in manuscript form. Prof. Venkatasubramonia Iyer has painstakingly studied all the available material printed and manuscript for the present study, which is divided into three parts : (i) General, (ii) Textual Examination and (iii) Observations. These main chapters are further subdivided into ten

chapters, the eleventh being that of Conclusion. The first part, which has three chapters, presents the general outline of the work, dealing also with the sources of its material Pāṇinian and non-Pāṇinian, and gives information of other texts and commentaries used by the Bhaṭṭātirī. It also gives useful information about the personal life of the Bhaṭṭātirī, including an interesting detail that the Bhaṭṭātirī was believed to be the incarnation of Śeṣa (like Patañjali) due to his mastery of the science of Grammar and other *śāstra*-s. The *PS* had already won wide recognition, which is clear from the fact that it has many commentaries, some of which being, the *Vyākhyā* of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, and the commentary attributed to Rudra Variar. It has also the *Tippaṇī* by Kerala Varma (1845–1915). The first part of the work gives an idea of the general nature of the *PS*, the method adopted by the Bhaṭṭātirī, and its characteristics distinct from the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, which just precedes it chronologically. In the second part the author deals with the various aphorisms from different angles. He examines the readings of the *sūtra*-s as they occur in the *PS*, and compares them with those from the earlier texts. He studies the form, application and the meanings of the *sūtras*. He also studies and examines certain forms occurring in the *PS* as examples. So are examined also the *Paribhāṣā*-s, *Vārtika*-s and the *Uṇādi* aphorisms. In Part Three, the "observations" comprise Phonological, Etymological and Terminological study. In this part are included the personal observations about the author, including his personal Kṛṣṇaite creed etc. which would have better been included in the first chapter itself where the author deals with the personal history of the Bhaṭṭātirī. In the Appendix are collected some typical passages implying grammatical ideas or terms in the other literary works of the Bhaṭṭātirī. At the end there are two indices: one being the Index of *Sūtra*-s, *Vārtika*-s and the *Paribhāṣā*-s, and the other is the Index of words.

The work, obviously, aims, not so much at a comprehensive study of the *PS* as, at introducing the Bhaṭṭātirī and the PS to the scholarly world. Hence, his surprise at the fact that even Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (*A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar* 1961) does not mention the name of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭātirī, or the PS, though the first part of this notable work was published in 1931 is quite understandable. Though not stated in so many words, the aim of the author is hence, to introduce the work of the Bhaṭṭātirī for a careful wider further study. In fact some of the chapters of the *PS* have already been edited and published; and these include the chapter on the Kṛt, Taddhita, Samāsa, Sub-vidhi and the Uṇādi-s and the author has made use of these editions.

The utility of the work lies in the fact that it would serve to focus the attention of the scholars to take up a fuller study of the *PS*. It would also be of use to students who would study the *PS*. The author has chosen a rather descriptive way of study. The present reviewer feels that a fuller and

more critical study of a particular topic, with a detailed comparison with other texts on Grammar, would have given a better clue to the erudition of the Bhaṭṭātirī, and in a way, done him better justice. The reviewer hopes that this would be done by some other scholar, or by the author himself, better equipped now as he is.

The *PS* has twenty-one sections dealing with *Saṁjñaparibhāśa Sandhi, Kṛt, Taddhita, Samāsa, Strī-pratyaya, Sub-artha,* Sub-*vidhi Ātmanepada-vibhāga, Tiṅ. La-artha-viśeṣa, Sannanta, Yaṅ-anta Yaṅ-luk, Sub-dhātu, Nyāya, Dhātu, Uṇādi and Chāndasa.* The names are fairly known to the students of Grammar though certain names are new. In the *Ātmanepada-vibhāga* there is consideration of the *Parasmaipada* also. The Sub-dhātu section deals with the denominatives, and the forms in the desideratives etc. are treated herein. In the section on *Nyāya* the *Paribhāṣā*-s, not mentioned by Pāṇini, are collected. Here are collected also the *paribhāṣā*-s from popular usage. A specially noteworthy feature of this work is that a considerable portion from it is composed in verse, mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. These and certain other peculiarities of the work have been well noted by Prof. Venkatasubramonia Iyer. He has also noted the difference of views as regards the interpretation of certain *sūtra*-s: and has also pointed out some of the defects and inaccuracies of the Bhaṭṭātiri. But being bound by the task of simply introducing the work and its general methodolgy he, obviously, could not do full justice to the various points in discussion. The result is that some times the generalizations are tame and unimpressive. If the readings in the *PS* may be taken to be representative of the *pāṭhas* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Kāśikāvṛttī* as current in Kerala " (p. 99) it would have really been useful to see if the same peculiarites prevail even today in certain places in Kerala. This would have added strength to the hypothesis. However, the author has done well to mark some interesting deviations from the tradition in the *PS*. The *sūtra*: *dhuro yaḍhakau*, appearing as " *dhure yaḍhakañau* ", is an example to this effect. (P. 98). Another interesting example is of the *sūtra*: *poṭāyuvati* etc. (*Pāṇ* 1·65.) where in the place of the word "*adhyāpaka*" the *PS* has a variant as " *adhyāyaka* " with the change in the meaning duly noted by the Bhaṭṭātiri. Likewise at " *halisakthyoḥ* " (*Pāṇ*. V. 4.121) the PS gives a variant as " *sṛkthyoḥ* " (P. 95). Many *sūtra*-s enjoined by Pāṇini for the Vedic language have been taken to be applied by the *PS* to the classical language.

It must be said without reservation that Prof. Venkatasubramonia Iyer has successfully placed before the students of Sanskrit Grammar the salient features of the work of the Bhaṭṭātirī, and rightly stressed the need for the study of this valuable work, for which he deserves congratulations of the scholars. The book is well printed and has a good get up.

S. A. D.

B. N. BHATT, *Śrikaṇṭhacaritam*—a study M. S. University of Baroda, 1973, pp. xv, 180, Price Rs. 9/-.

The book under review is a Ph. D. thesis of Dr. B. N. Bhatt accepted by the M. S. University of Baroda for the award of the Ph.D degree. While publishing the thesis the author has carried out improvements in the light of the suggestions made by the referees who examined this thesis.

The thesis has been divided into two parts-one dealing with the text, and its author Maṅkha, and the other part being devoted to a cultural and literary study of the text. In part I a summary of the contents (chap. 1) is followed by a discussion of the sources and the innovations by the author (chap. 2). This is followed by a discussion about Maṅkha where the author has discussed his life and personality (chap. 3), works (chap. 4) and scholarship (chaps. 5, 6 and 7). Under the cultural study the author has collected geographical data from the text (chap. 8) which is followed by the historical and political data (chap. 9) and social and religious data (chap. 10). The author then proceeds to consider the age of Maṅkha (chap. 11), his language and style (chap. 12) characterisation (chap. 13) and offers a literary estimate of the poem which is his critical appreciation (chap. 14). The entire discussion is rounded off by a brief resume in the form of his Conclusion (chap. 15) This will indicate how the study has been carried out in a very systematic manner with a definite plan covering all aspects connected with the poem under discussion. Dr. Bhatt has also consulted all the relevant authorities and one may say that the discussion is well-nigh complete and properly documented.

Maṅkha is after all a star of second or third magnitude. His scholarship, technical skill and the sentiment of devotion have not been able to secure for him that popularity which Bhāravi, Māgha and ŚrīHarṣa could win. The reason is obvious. Maṅkha neither has the simplicity, grace and charm of Kālidāsa nor has he the studied massive elegance of Bhāravi, Māgha and ŚrīHarṣa. Maṅkha belonged to Kashmir and it is but natural that his poem also should breath in that atmosphere of philosophy, poetics and Śaivism. One might think of another reason for this neglect of Maṅkha by lovers of Sanskrit classical literature. The Tripura-dahana episode occupies only but a secondary position in the legends connected with Lord Śiva. Kālidāsa showed greater and surer poetical insight in selecting the *Kumārasaṁbhava* theme and in giving greater scope to the Śiva-Pārvatī episode. The Tripura-dahana incident affords no scope for delineation of Śṛṅgara and the other happy sentiments which normally appeal to lovers of Sanskrit, ' Sahṛdayas ' nor could Maṅkha successfully develop the Vīra rasa which the legend selected requires. Dr. Bhatt happily is conscious of the limitations of Maṅkha and his work under discussion, and writes a few lines about the factors which prevented him from securing wider popularity than that it already enjoyed. One feels that Dr. Bhatt's

discussion could have been more illuminating on this point. Dr. Bhatt's discussions about the works of Maṅkha, his scholarship etc. show the pains he has taken to study these problems critically. One however, wishes for critical attitude and also necessary warmth, when Dr. Bhatt discusses characterisation in the poem. As a result, the chapter on characterisation has also an appearance of collection of data like his other chapters devoted to the collection of geographical and historical data. The study has useful appendices which enhance the utility of the work. All in all Dr. Bhatt has given us a very systematic and thorough study of the poem '*Śrīkaṇṭha-caritam*' by Maṅkha for which students of Sanskrit literature will remain grateful to him.

T. G. M.

MINAKSHI L. DALAL. *Conflict in Sanskrit drama*. Somaiya Publications, Bombay, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 342, Rs. 50·00.

It is a truism to say that conflict is essential to a drama. As the author of the work under review points out conflict is 'the backbone of a drama'. For, indeed, without the struggle that grows out of the interplay of opposing forces in the plot there would be no suspense which is necessary for sustaining the interest of the audience. The present work, which is a doctoral thesis of Mrs. Dalal, seeks to investigate the place that may be regarded as occupied by conflict in Sanskrit drama, both in theory and in practice.

Mrs. Dalal start by tracing the meaning of the word conflict and refers to some of the views concerning the essentials of a drama expressed by critics in the West, ancient as well as modern. She then goes on to analyse, with a view to see what part conflict plays in them, some Western plays, among them the *Antigone* of Sophocles, the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, the *Andromaque* of Racine, *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* of Ibsen, with a fleeting reference to the works of Shakespeare and Shaw.

In the second chapter Mrs. Dalal discusses at length the theory of Sanskrit drama as set forth in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and later Sanskrit works on dramaturgy. While doing so, she mainly looks for the 'element of conflict' or likely occasions for conflict that may be discovered in the various aspects of the theory. In the next chapter, Mrs. Dalal subjects most of the major Sanskrit dramas, known at the present time, to a fairly detailed analysis with the same object in view.

In the last chapter Mrs. Dalal sums up her conclusions. She realises that the Sanskrit theory does not recognise conflict as an essential element in a drama and that what the theory regards as of far greater importance is the development of a *rasa*. However, she remarks that conflict is implied in the theory, if not directly referred to. Otherwise, she thinks, the theory of the five *saṁdhis* would be inconceivable. In this connection she quotes

with approval Keith's remark that the *saṁdhis* do recognise the essential need of dramatic conflict of obstacles to be overcome for ensuring abiding union.

There is no doubt that much erudition and a great amount of labour have gone into the preparation of the thesis. However, there are a few points that do call for comment.

First, one may well ask what is the exact scope of the expression 'conflict in a drama' as understood here? In her zeal for the concept, Mrs. Dalal seems to have gone about looking for conflict not only where it could be found in actual fact, but also where there may be some sort of tension which can conceivably lead of conflict. Thus she is able to find possibilities of conflict, for example, in one of the *nāndī* stanzas of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, because the fear and confusion of the Asura women referred to therein (*bhayāt saṁbhramāc cāsurībhiḥ*) imply tension capable of leading to conflict (p. 46), in many of the *saṁdhyaṅgas*, which, according to her, 'show the detailed and minute movements of the element of conflict' (p. 105), in some the *vīthyaṅgas* like *asatpralāpa*, *vākkelī* etc., because they involve tension (pp. 48-53), in almost all the *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *sāttvika bhāvas*, where 'the element of conflict is not only present but is essentially a necessary element' (p. 132), and so on. She thinks that the various types of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* (hero and heroine) mentioned in the theory reveal 'the constant presence of the element of conflict' (p. 140). Again, she finds that in the Third Act of the *Nāgānanda* (where the Vidūṣaka is made fun of) 'the situation is not so important and is in a light vein; still it has conflict as far as the Vidūṣaka is concerned' (p. 207). Similarly, in the Second Act of the *Pañcarātra*, she finds that towards the end there is 'no conflict as such in the situation as the fight is over; but Abhimanyu's dignified attitude as he faces the Virāṭa king, Bṛhannalā and others, adds a trace of conflict and dramatic interest' (p. 176). In the light of these and other similar statements, one wonders if this sort of conflict can be really regarded as the backbone of a drama, which apparently is the subject-matter of the present investigation. The concept of conflict seems to have been overstretched and elements of conflict discovered in places that have little relevance to dramatic conflict.

In her analysis of the plot according to the theory Mrs. Dalal finds correspondence not only between the five *saṁdhis*, junctures and the five *avasthās*, stages in the development of the plot, but also between these and the five *arthaprakṛtis*, elements of the plot, so that she thinks that *ārambha* and *bīja* combine to constitute the *mukhasaṁdhi*, *prayatna* and *bindu* combine to constitute the *pratimukha saṁdhi* and so on. This seems to show a misapprehension of the nature of the *arthaprakṛtis*. It is not true that the *bīja* is restricted to the *mukhasaṁdhi* or that the *bindu* is to be found only in the *pratimukhasaṁdhi*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to *bījasamutpattiḥ* in the *mukha-*, *bījasya udghāṭanam* in the *pratimukha*, *bijasya udbhedaḥ* in the *garbha-*, and *garbhanirbhinnabījārthaḥ* in the *vimarśa-saṁdhi*. As to *bindu*, Bharata distinctly

says that it could be found right till the end of the lot (*yāvat samāptir bandhasya*). As Abhinavagupta explains, the *bīja* unfolds itself from the beginning, the *bindu* only after that; this is the only difference between the two, but both of them cover the entire plot (*bījam ca mukhasaṁdhireva prabhṛtyātmānam unmeṣayati, bindustadanantaram iti viśeṣo' nayoḥ, dve api tu samastetivṛttavyapāke*).

Mrs Dalal also does not appear to have understood properly the significance of *patākā* and *prakarī*, two of the other *arthaprakṛtis*. That is probably because she has apparently ignored the distinction made by Bharata between the *ādhikārika itivṛtta*, the main plot and the *prāsaṅgika itivṛtta*, the subsidiary plot. That the *patākā* can be a fairly lengthy episode is clear from Bharata's statement that there can be one or more *saṁdhis* in a *patākā*, only they are called *anusaṁdhis*. The *prakarī* is a comparative minor episode. There can be no doubt that these are secondary episodes, unconnected with the main plot, though contributing indirectly to its development. In any case, the hero is not directly concerned in either of them. However, Mrs. Dalal think that in the Third Act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* 'the episode in which the lovers meet can be called a *Patākā's* (p. 188); or, again, that in the *Mudrārākṣasa* in the Second Act (which, according to her, already constitutes the *garbhasaṁdhi*), 'the episode in Kusumapura (in Virādhagupta's narrative) is the *Patākā* (p. 212) and that the quarrel between Cāṇakya and Candragupta in the Third Act is the *Prakarī*, as it misleads Rākṣasa and leads to his downfall, which shows *niyatāpti* (p. 214). These are very strange propositions.

A very curious statement is found in this work concerning the use of the *lāsyāṅgas*. Mrs. Dalal expresses the opinion that these are meant to be used in a Bhāṇa (p. 152). This is altogether unlikely. The character appearing in a Bhāṇa is either a Viṭa (gallant) or a Dhūrta (gambler), whereas the *lāsyāṅgas* (of which there are ten, *geyapada, sthitapāṭhya* and others) are dance-items gone through by a danseuse, often to the accompaniment of a song, reflecting some mood, mostly of love in separation. It is impossible to suppose, as suggested here, that the Viṭa or the Dhūrta could go through the motions of the dances by mimicry. The misunderstanding seems to have arisen because of failure to take note of the particle *iva* in Bharata's *bhāṇa ivaikaprayojyāni* (to be performed by one character as in a Bhāṇa). The presence of only one person on the stage during the performance is the only thing common to a Bhāṇa and a *lāsyāṅga*.

The analysis of the plots of Sanskrit plays in the third chapter of this work is useful so far as it goes. But often it reads more like a summary of the plot than an analysis in depth of the opposing forces, the interplay of which would really constitute the conflict that can legitimately be called the 'backbone of drama'. There is no doubt constant reference to the presence of the 'element of conflict'. But often one cannot avoid the feeling that one is missing the wood for the trees.

Perhaps the Publishers would have been well-advised to have held over the printing of the book till the author's return from abroad or at least to have entrusted the reading of proofs to some competent Sanskritist. The reader of a high-priced book certainly deserved to be spared the constant irritation felt on coming across awfully printed Sanskrit quotations reproduced in the text.

R. P. K.

A. K. WARDER, *Indian Kavya Literature*, Vol. I, Literary Criticism, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1972, pp. xvii + 281, Price Rs. 40·00

Professor Warder's *Indian Kāvya Literature* is planned in six volumes as a comprehensive study of Indian Literature from the standpoint of Indian Literary Criticism. He regards, and rightly so, that the literature should be presented on its own terms seeking guidance from its creators and from the long and ancient Indian tradition of literary criticism which developed with it. Further, he asserts that "it has been an important part of the critical purpose, here proposed, to study the positions of *Kāvya* composers in the social and cultural history of India, a form of literary criticism which has not been seriously attempted before in the case of India. Besides having in mind the social milieu of each Indian author when reading his works, and visualising him as a real person in real situations of life, the present writer has set his literary panorama in his vision of Indian history as a whole." He firmly believes that Indian literature till now has been presented and judged, rather misrepresented and misjudged, from a narrowly European and distant standpoint. No literature, least of all a highly sophisticated movement such as *Kāvya*, can be understood unless we know what its creators were trying to achieve and what sort of contemporary criticism they may have hoped to satisfy. A new evaluation of Indian literature is long overdue since *almost* all the modern and widely accepted as standard works on Indian Literature, whether of Western writers or modern Indian writers who blindly follow them, have been written from a prejudiced, biased and colonial outlook. Professor Warder, therefore, undertakes this work of evaluation. The method of presentation in this work, the author declares, involves no anticolonialist counterblast or the criticism of prejudiced secondary sources. His aim is direct and positive enjoyment of literature as it was meant to be enjoyed.

Volume one prepared the way for the enjoyment of Indian Literature by presenting Indian literary criticism covering and clarifying the techniques of dramaturgy and poetics and drawing a sketch of the social and cultural milieu of the writers and critics.

Chapter I deals with *Kāvya* and its languages. The discussion about Paiśācī, Pāli, the dialects of Inscriptions and Early Māgadhī forming a closely related group representing what may be called early Prakrit, is rather too

brief. His statement "It appears that the Apabhraṁśa trend originated in Sindhu and spread from there, being thus known as Saindhava" needs to be supported by evidence.

The author intends to concentrate mainly on Sanskrit literature and incidentally to treat of the literature in Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa and to refer to Kāvyas in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Since he does not intend giving an adequate survey of literatures in the modern langages which number fourteen and these literatures are vast and varied and rich in content and such a task is beyond the ability of any one scholar howsoever learned he may be, the term Indian used in the title is rather too wide.

In Chapter II (Indian Aesthetics) the author considers the dramatic theory of the aesthetic experience (*rasa*) and matters related to it. The interpretations and views of different commentators and Ālaṁkārikas about the nature of *rasa* are set forth. The treatment, however, is not thorough or exhaustive which the all important theory of *rasa* demands. The chapter incidentally deals with the problem of the number of *rasas* too — whether the *rasa* are nine including the *Śānta* or more or whether there is really only one *rasa*. The author speaks of the Jaina school with reference to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, the joint work of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra. Elsewhere, the author observes : "So the primacy of the heroic may have been an early contribution to aesthetics by the Jaina tradition." The term Jaina school or tradition appears to be a misnomer. There is nothing peculiarly Jaina about the theory of *rasa* propounded by the joint Jaina authors. Again, Hemacandra, who himself was a devout Jaina, fully agrees with Abhinavagupta and reproduces the whole *rasa* — discussion from his Abhinavabhāratī when writing his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. If there were such a distinct and ancient Jaina tradition Hemacandra would have taken note of it in his work. On p. 40 (paragraph 92) the author says *pasaṁta* in Prakrit—Śānta. To be more precise, *pasaṁta* in Prakrit-praśānta (pra — śānta)

On p. 22 (paragraph 52) the author seems to understand *Ṣāḍava* to mean 'six tastes'. This meaning assigned to the Sanskrit word is quite extraordinary and needs to be supported by lexicographical evidence. It runs counter to its usually accepted meaning by Indian writes.

In Chapter III the author takes up another major aspect of the theory of drama, namely, the construction of plays and gives a critical and clear exposition of the elements of the matter (*artha-prakṛtis*) constituting the story, the stages of the action (*Kāryāvasthās*) together with the essential conjunctions (*Saṁdhis*) and their limbs (aṅgas) in the development of the story and numerous secondary devices such as the limbs of the street-play (*Vithyaṅgas*), the other conjunctions (*Saṁdhyantaras*) varieties of injection of subsidiary matter (*patākā-sthānaka*) into the main action and the like.

On p. 55 (paragraph 122) the author says, when discussing the third element the intervention (*prakarī*), "the other character may gain nothing for

himself and his helpful action may be tragic." Strictly speaking, the first part of the statement alone is intended to differentiate it from *patākā*.

In Chapter IV the author takes up Indian poetics, a topic related to Dramaturgy and considers at some length the question of what it is that constitutes the beauty of the language of *Kāvya*. Among the works on poetics he treats of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-Jīvita* in great detail. It is rather surprising that the *Dhvanyāloka* of Anandavardhana, an epoch-making, work, should receive less attention and that the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Panditarāja Jagannātha, which is a major work on Alaṅkāraśāstra, should altogether be ignored.

In the next three chapters the author deals with the five main literary forms: The Drama (Chapter V), Epic and Lyric Poetry (Chapter VI), Biography and the Novel including the *Campū* and short story (Chapter VII). The treatment of the ten main types of play (*rūpakas*) as described in the Nāṭyaśāstra and of about thirty other new types of play or theatrical performance, including musical plays as well as dances or ballets described by later writers, reveals the author's critical insight and keen desire to throw search light on obscure forms by undertaking a close and comparative study of their definitions and descriptions given in various works on dramaturgy.

In Chapter VI we find rather a brief discussion of the two literary forms (in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa) : Court-epic (*Sarga-bandha*) and incidentally, of the *Citra-Kāvya* running to the length and outward form of a court-epic, and the Lyric comprising *Śatakas*, the *Khaṇḍa* (short) *Kāvya*, the *anyāpadeśa*, Anthologies, and Apabhraṁśa lyric poems based on the *Kaḍavaka* (eight-verse song).

In Chapter VII we have a short discussion of the literaty forms : Biography (Ākhyāyikā) and the Novel (Kathā) including the *Campū* and about a dozen sub-varieties of *Kathā* such as *ākhyāna* the *upākhyāna*, the *parikathā*, the *Khaṇḍa-kathā*, the *Nidarśana*, the *matallikā*, the *maṇikulyā*, the *Pravahlikā* and so on. The treatment of these sub-varieties of *Kathā* based on the *Dhvanyaloka-Locana*, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is perhaps a new and quite welcome feature as these sub-varieties of *Kathā* are hardly discussed in some of the standard histories of Sanskrit Literature published before.

In Chapter VIII the author treats of the Audience and the Readers of *Kāvya* and its social functions as well as of the creative writers and the social milieu of the literature in the context of Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara, Daṇḍin and Puṣpadanta who have left us autobiographical fragments in their works.

With this chapter the treatment of Literary Criticism comes to an end. The author then adds Bibliography for volumes one to three. The works have been arranged in the order of the English alphabet, under the names of the authors where known. Translations of *Kāvyas* have been included along

with their texts. This Bibliography covers full forty-two pages. It is, no doubt, very useful. The author, however, includes here no other history of Indian Literature than that of M. Krishnamachariar. This Bibliography is followed by a very useful Index To Volume I, which extends over twenty-one pages.

Professor Warder gratefully acknowledges his great debt to all predecessors-editors of the original texts, translators and historians especially to Dr. M. Krishnamachariar whose History of Classical Sanskrit Literature inspired and led him to undertake the present work. He very frankly says : "In a sense our work is simply a commentary on his, using the rich materials he has assembled as a basis for an exercise in literary criticism on the originals." (Preface : pp. XI-XII).

The present volume is, indeed, a welcome addition to the existing literature on the Indian aesthetic and critical theories. Its style is lucid and presentation clear. It introduces a novice to the various aesthetic and critical theories of the Sanskrit Ālaṅkārikas in a simple and straight forward manner taking care to see that his interest is kept up to the last.

The forthcoming volumes alone, however, will enable us to judge how far the author has succeeded in his undertaking of a comprehensive and sympathetic study of Indian Literature from the standpoint of Indian Literary Criticism and to what extent it differs from most of the modern and widely accepted as standard works on Indian Literature which have misrepresented and misjudged Indian Literature from a narrowly European and therefore quite alien and unhelpful standpoint.

V. M. K.

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism*, 2nd ed., Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1974, pp. 324, Price Rs. 12/- $ 4 or Sh. 25.

This is a collection of 26 essays on various topics from Sanskrit Aesthetics, by Dr. Krishnamoorthy, wellknown to Sanskrit scholars for his merited work on *Dhvanyāloka*. Essay I is an *Introduction*, in which he has taken a stock of the different problems from Sanskrit literary criticism, which interested the ancient critics. He points out that according to their belief all the known values of life could be realized through poetry. He explains how the rules formed by them wrongly came to be used as 'ready-made yard-stick' in the decadent period. He expounds very clearly the opinion of the ancients that 'Alaṅkāra and Rasa are complementary, and not contradictory'. (p. 14) Essay II *Sanskrit Criticism and Alaṅkāra*. The passage from Sir Herbert Grierson's 'Rhetoric and English Composition', quoted by the Doctor in the f. n. (p. 29) speaks volumes for the conception of Alaṅkara according to the ancient critics also. Essay II — *Nature of Meaning in Poetry — An Indian Approach*. Going through the attempts in this regard by the ancient theorists

and glorifying the unique contribution of Ānandavardhana, the author concludes — "The rhetoricians understood by 'Artha' the meaning — complex intended by the poet, or in other words, his theme" (P. 40). In Essay IV *Bhaṭṭa Tauta's Defence of poetry*, Dr. Krishnamoorthy correctly lays his finger on the theory of 'Purification of mind' as the special contribution of Tauta. He has very ingeniously surmised that the addition of Śānta as the 9th Rasa may be due to 'a hot controversy between the champions of poetry and philosophy'. However I do not agree with him in what he says about the *Meghadūta* on p. 47. To me it is a lyric pure and simple, without any philosophical or ethical motive about it. In Essay V — *Tradition and Experiment in Sanskrit Poetry*, he has discussed how the epic-poetry and the later court-poetry evolved out of ' a fusion of courtly sophistication and saintly asceticism. He has drawn attention to the special contribution of the great poets like Vālmīki, Tagore and Aurobindo.

In Essay VI *The Key-terms of Sanskrit Literary Criticism Reconsidered* the scholar clearly explains "Sabda" as 'all elements of poetic art directed to please the ear' and 'Artha' as 'the poetic theme'. He makes it clear that 'Alaṅkara' includes both imagery and emotion. Essay VII *Rasa as a Canon of Literary Criticism*. After a detailed discussion of this topic in relation to the *Mahābhārata*, *Uttararāmacarita* ect. he rightly concludes that it cannot serve as a sole canon. In Essay VIII *The Riddle of Rasa in Sanskrit Poetics* Dr. Krishnamoorthy has very ably solved the riddle on pp 78-77. He refers to the difference of opinion about the figures Rasavat etc found between the ancients and Ānandavardhana as 'a quarrel over words.' He makes it perfectly clear that the ancients spoke of Rasa, mainly with reference to the Prabandhas, and in the rest of the cases they saw the figures like Rasavat. Essay IX *The Concept of Suggestion in Sanskrit Poetics*. The author has convincingly explained why the ancient critics analysed the beauty of poetry scientifically. Coming to Ānandavardhana, the scholar rightly points out that it was he, who, for the first time realized that the main purpose of literature was to evoke certain emotions, universally present in human beings through suggestion. Tracing the development of Dhvani further the Doctor says that 'the stream of Dhvani was made to run in a narrow channel from Mammaṭa's times." Essay X *The Concept of Rasābhāsa in Sanskrit Literay Theory* Dr. Krishnamoorthy points out that Bharata insisted on loftly emotions for the principal characters only and that the emotions of the lower characters were not bound by the rule. It is Ānandavardhana who brings in the concept of Ābhāsa in connection with Śṛṅgāra. It has been pointed out that the credit of a scientific treatment of Śṛṅgārābhāsa goes to Bhoja and the credit of extending the concept to other Rasas goes to Śāradātanaya. Explaining that the Rasābhāsas lie mid-way between the noble sentiments and their comic degradations, Dr. Krishnamoorthy admires them as 'rare glimpses into Indian Aesthatics and Literary criticism' (p. 136). Essay XI *A Novel view of Mahimabhaṭṭa on the place of Metre in Poetry*. The ancient critics dealt with a Doṣa

called *Bhinnavṛttatva* Mahimabhaṭṭa brings such defects under bahiraṅga — anaucitya' and gives his verdict—" It is the trained ear alone which can decide whether a given passage is clothed in proper metre or otherwise not the science of Metrics". (P. 140). Essay XII *The Doctrine of Doṣas in Sanskrit Poetics.* Dr Krishnamoorthy has given a justification why Bharata looks upon Doṣas as positive entities (P. 146); but I differ from him. The scholar has traced the development of this concept in the hands of the Sanskrit critics pointing out that Ānandavardhana related Doṣas to Rasa as focus and Mammaṭa finally developed the concept of Nitya and Anitya Doṣas. In Essay XIII *The Sanskrit Conception of a Poet* the author has aptly summed up the view of the ancients by quoting a few lines from the English Poet Horace (P. 177) remarking that these critics had missed the mark of emotional and imaginative aspects of poetry. While explaining Bhatta Tauta's definition of 'Pratibhā' he has correctly translated his concept of 'Darśana'. (p. 179). He draws our attention to the fact that Ānandavardhana has devoted one full chapter to the creative imagination, which is superior to the power of Brahmā according to Mammaṭa. Essay XIV — *Observations of Sanskrit Literary Critics on Poetic Imagination* — is a continuation of this topic. With a rare ability Dr. Krishnamoorthy has explained what exactly the creative imagination of a poet means and what function it performs (p. 189). He is voicing the feelings of all of us when he says in admonition of Kuntaka—"In Kuntaka the the old poet speaks again, as it were." Essay XV *The Office of the Sanskrit Poet in Theory and Practice* : According to the ancient critics Poetry paves the way for the spiritual bliss. The Doctor has rightly pointed that the high praise bestowed upon the poets by a poet like Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (pp 201-202) was well deserved by the early poets like Vālmīki and Kālidāsa; but the poets of the decadent period 'sang in a cage, and not on a branch.' Nīlakaṇṭha's criticism of decadent tests has been aptly translated (pp 206-207) Essay XVI *Indian Definitions of Poetry* is a topic which has been handled by numerous scholars, old and new. Dr. Krishnamoorthy points out that when Coleridge describes the essence of poetry as the excitement of emotions, one feels 'that this was anticipated by Bharata hundreds of years ago' (p 211) He also brings out the resemblance between Schopenhauer's 'style' and Vāman's 'Riti'. He correctly remarks that 'Sahṛdayahṛdayahlādi śabdārthamayatvameva Kāvyalakṣaṇam' is not the view of Ānandavardhana, as Dr. Nobel has understood it; but it is one of the views of his adversaries. Essay XVII *The Essence of Poetry.* The author has described the essence on p. 228 and then aptly summed it up as — "Such is the essence of Poetry, an amalgam of the imaginative, emotional, intellectual and artistic elements" Essay XVIII *Ruyyaka's views on the Nature of Poetic Content.* According to the scholar Ruyyaka's special contribution is that he was faithful to the spirit of Old and New schools in his treatment of figures. When Dr. Krishnamoorthy pays compliments to Ruyyaka for bringing the figures of speech 'under an intelligible scheme for the first time' he should not have forgotten to mention

Rudraṭa, who had made the first attempt in this direction. The Doctor has correctly stressed the originality of Ruyyaka in the treatment of the three Alaṅkāras viz. Svabhāvokti, Bhāvika and Rasavadādi; for it makes Ruyyaka think of 'the refined poetic sensitivity and emotions in infinite shades'.

Thus these 18 essays are directly connected with the problems of poetics and poetry. The essays that follow stand on a lightly different basis. It would have been more convenient to put them separately in Part II.

Essay XIX *The Golden Age of Sanskrit Drama.* After referring to the play-wrights of the Golden Age (Circe 300 to 656 A. D) as real poets and dramatists Dr. Krishnamoorthy aptly remarks about the period of decadence (after the 9th cent. A. D) as when 'imitation was taking place of invention and pedantry that of poetry'. (p. 243). Admitting that technically there is no real tragedy in Sanskrit he draws attention to the fact that the tragic element prevails in some of the best plays. In Essay XX *Modern Sanskrit Drama* the author has taken a survey of the modern Sanskrit plays from 1875 to 1956 A. D. and grouped them under eight different heads. Under (8) Translations he has referred to the Sanskrit translations of the plays of Shakespeare and of the German plays of Goethe and Lessing (through their English translations). The information would have been more exhaustive if he had referred to the Sanskrit translations of plays in Modern Indian language also. I hope in the 3rd Edition of this book he will include such translated plays e. g. Translations of Marathi plays like Saṅgītaśāradam (Tr. by B. K. Limaye), Saṁśayakallolam (tr. by R. R. Deshpande) Bhūmikanyā (Tr. by Kaka Kalelkar), Saṅgītasaubhadram (tr. by S. B. Velankar) etc. After 1964 a few original plays also have been composed e. g. Bhartṛhariīyam (V. D. Gangal) Kālidāsacaritam etc. and 4 One-Act plays, (S. B. Velankar) Anārkalī (Dr. V. Raghavan). The next edition should refer to such plays also.

Essay XXI. *A New play by Aśvaghoṣa*? This is just a short note based upon a reference in Akalaṅka's Vivaraṇa' on Vāḍirāja's 'Nyāyaviniścaya'. The author surmises that it may be a religious or morality play by Aśvaghoṣa. Essay XXIII *Indian Poetics and T. S. Eliot's Three Voices of Poetry.* Dr. Krishnamoorthy has clearly explained these three voices according to Eliot on p. 275, indicating that according to Eliot all the three voices are harmoniously heard in a poetic drama. He then points out that like 'the first voice' Rasadhvani of Ānandavardhana is the common condition of all literature. Further he compares the three voices of Eliot to the three varieties of Saṁlaṣyakramavyaṅgya. This approach is quite novel. Essay XXIV. *Some Thoughts on Sanskrit Literature.* The idea of 'Atiśaya' expressed by the ancient critics has seen correctly translated as 'the ideal transfiguration of values'. His description of Kāvyānanda is very vivid and lucid (p. 288). He traces the love of Anuprāsa and Śleṣa of the Sanskrit poets to 'the ear for music' which the Aryan language possessed. I feel the author has not done full justice to the western criticism of Sanskrit literature on pp. 281-282. I doubt

whether there was the idea of 'Mokṣa' in the undated Vedas. In Essay XXV. *The Contribution of Karnataka to Sanskrit Literature*. Dr. Krishnamoorthy has given a hurried survey of the contribution of philosophers and poets from Karnataka from the 6th Century to the 18th Century A. D. He remarks that these 'poets had a fascination for 'Campū' writing. He has duly adored the great Sāyāṇācārya and has not forgotten the poetesses like Gaṅgādevi and Tirumalambā also. Essay XXVI. *The Date of Ajitasena's Alaṅkāracintāmaṇi*. Ajitasena was placed in the 10th century A. D. by the modern scholars like Dr. De and Dr. Raghavan. Dr. Krishnamoorthy has proved that he cannot be earlier than the 14th Cent. A. D. He has summed up his conclusions on p. 319.

Thus every essay is full of important information couched in enticing language. Some of his short phrases are so eloquent e. g. He calls the court-poets as 'Practitioners in the trade of poetry' (p. 5) and derides the decadent poets as 'They handle their material as with a gloved hand.' (p. 203). The book is indispensable for every student interested in Sanskrit aesthetics; and hence for every Sanskrit library. It highly deserves the covetable honour of being awarded the Rani Sethu Parvati Prize. I hope the scholar will be required to published the third edition of the book soon. May I request him to add the following, for convenience of the post-graduate student?— (1) A list explaining the Abbreviation used and (2) A list explaining the Latin and French phrases used.

I also hope that the book will be translated into some of the Modern Indian Languages.

G. V. D.

NIRMALA BHARGAV. *Vaidik Sahitya Evam Sanskriti*, 2nd ed. Devnagar Prakashan. Jaypur-3. 1972 pp. 16 + 277 + 34, Price Rs. 30/-

This book, as is evident from the introductory words of the author, originally formed her thesis submitted to the Agra University for Ph.D. This is divided into nine chapters and is intended to bring out the contribution of the Bhṛgus to Vedic literature and Culture. Chapter I summarises the views of reputed Indologists like Weber, Max-Muller, Jacobi as well as B. G. Tilak, Avinashcandra Bose and others regarding the age of the Vedas. The author has determined this period to be 4500 B. C. on the authority of references to residences of Vedic sages especially to the travels of Bhṛgus (p. 26). This evidently comes closer to the view of the Late B. G. Tilak. Chapter II and III throw light on the families of contemporary of Bhṛgus as well as their places of residence. Chapter IV brings out the historical background of the travels of the Bhṛgus which is rightly followed by a detailed account of the members of the Bhṛgu family in Chapter V. Chapter VI speaking of the different stories and legends connected with the Bhṛgus and their cultural importance is extremely interesting and instructive. Critical appreciation and

evaluation of the hymns of the Bhṛgus constitutes Chapter VII, while Chapter VIII throws light on the literary achievements of the Bhṛgus in the Vedic as well as the classical period. The account of the contributions of the Bhṛgus such as Śukra, Jamadagni, Paraśurāma etc. to various branches of learning like Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Music, Astrology, Astronomy, occurring in the concluding chapter adequately brings out the importance of the Bhṛgus in giving a shape to Vedic Culture. Appendix I gives a list of the Vedic Sages based primarily on the Sarvānukramaṇī and Appendix II gives an exhaustive alphabetical list of the members of Bhṛgu family.

The author has taken great pains in collecting material for the thesis and has presented the same systematically. One cannot however, help speaking of some lacuna. For example, Chapter I speaking of the age of the Vedas should have made a reference to the views of modern Vedic Scholars such as Renou, Late H. D. Velankar and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. The view that the present *Manusmṛti* is really a composition of one of the Bhṛgus is also not properly documented. Nevertheless, the conclusion of the author that Vedic Culture, without a reference to the contribution of Bhṛgus, will present an incomplete and mutilated picture (p. 277) can hardly be doubted. Hence the author deserves compliments for presenting this book to the Lovers of Vedic Literature and Culture.

M. D. P.

MADHUSUDAN C. MODI, Ed. *Chakkammuvaeso* of Amarakirti (Gaekwad Oriental Series No. 155), Baroda, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1972. pp. 365, Rs. 35/-

This is an Apabhraṁśa poem in 14 saṁdhi-s by a Digambara Jain poet belonging to the 13th Cent. A. D. It deals with the six duties of a Jain householder. A greater part is devoted to the eightfold worship of a deity. As the mere description of ritual would tend to be dull, the author has introduced nine stories, each occupying one Saṁdhi.

The editor has made the book useful by adding an Introduction of over 70 pp., explanatory Notes and Word-index at the end. The Introduction contains discussion on the title of the work, description of the critical apparatus, phonological and grammatical notes, metres and form, author—his works and date, a summary of contents.

Together with the description of mss. used for this edition, the editor has given peculiarities of mss. and their orthography. It is observed therein that the sound system of the Devanagarī script is inadequate to express Apabhraṁśa innovations like short ĕ and ŏ, nasal tone etc. In the section on grammar, he also discusses where the short ĕ and ŏ occur. It is, however, disappointing to find that improvements in the script have not been introduced in the body of text as, e. g., is done in modern editions of Apabhraṁśa tests like Karakaṇḍacariu ed. Hiralal Jain, published by the Bharatiya Jnanapith,

Kashi. While giving the details of mss. materials, he mentions letter *cha* at several places. This letter is found in a majority of mss. but does not have the alphabetical value. It is technically called a *puṣpika* and forms a part of '*vṛttasamāptilipi*' i. e. the concluding portion of a mss. It is a closing unit regarded as the *antima maṅgala* and probably represents a *pūrṇa-kalaśa*. It may also be pointed out here that *o* being represented by Devanāgarī character *u* with a vertical stroke above it need not be taken as a peculiarity of the present mss. It is of a fairly common occurance.

The introduction contains sections on phonetic changes, inflexion of nouns etc., syntax, verbs, post-positions, usages etc. But no attempt is made to determine the exact dialect of Apabhraṁśa. The linguistic peculiarities are followed by a section on metres and form, where Saṁdhi-dhruvā, Ghattā, Kaḍavaka-dhruvā and the structure of Kaḍavaka are analysed. The metres occurring in the work are fully described, giving quotations from works on Prosody, which has rendered it very useful.

Section IX on the tradition of stories narrated in the work, is too brief. Although, the editor has remarked that it would be a subject of independent study, it is expected that statements like "*Cnakkanmuvaeso* is a work in the Digambara tradition, but the stories given are found in the Śvetāmbara tradition also in "Śrivijayacand-kevali-cariya" are supported by a few examples and a comparison of both the traditions. Tracing the narratives to their mythological traditions would have thrown light on the parallelisms and divergences between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara stories. It would have greatly enhanced the value of the work. Stylistic peculiarities would have formed one more useful section of the Introduction.

U. R. B.

HASMUKH DHIRAJLAL SANKALIA, *Purātattva Anē Rāmāyaṇa*, R-D, Parikh, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad 14, 1973, pp. (Royal) 11-81, with 2 maps and 8 art-paper photos 49 pictures, Rs. 14.

This monograph by Dr Sankalia, the Director Postgraduate and Research Institute, Deccan College, Poona, is a result of his study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* undertaken after the Oriental Insitute, Baroda, embarked on the project of its Critical Edition in 1954. Dr Sankalia had had the opportunity to deliver a lecture on the subject at the M. S. University, Baroda, speak on the subject as President of the Gujarat Historical Congress at Dwarka in 1971, and participate in a Seminar on Modernization of Archaeology and deliver the annual lecture under the UGC scheme at the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, in 1972. A labour of love spread over twelve years and strengthened by opportunities to express and exchange ideas has naturally led Dr Sankalia to form definite opinions on the subject. This elaborate essay, as well as the Dev Raj Channa Memorial Lectures (English) published now by People's Publishing House, New Delhi, December 1973, under the title "*Ramāyaṇa* : Myth or Reality?" evince methodical presentation of carefully collected research mate-

rial and literature and its candid but firm interpretation by an archaeologist of repute.

The Gujarati book under consideration, besides the usual prefaces by the publisher and the author, detailed contents, a select bibliography, contains also a series of pictures, drawings and maps to carry to the reader a visual impression of the material presented by printed word. Though there is no Index, the detailed contents and topic headings suffice to cover the range of the author's thought.

The introduction (pp. 3-23) deals with the aim, methodology, findings and their interpretation which the approach of archaeology involves. Dr Sankalia points out that the comparative and critical approach to the study of history and literature is a gift to us from the scholars of the West. The ancient Indian writers and philosophers were interested more in the principles at the back of things than in evaluating their historical reality and authenticity. Even in the West the critical approach was born only in the last century. But the advances in the method of excavation, in science and industry, succeeded in forging a fresh view to look at pre-history. We in India cannot now afford to ignore the results of the scientific and critical approach, even if it shatters, says the Doctor, some of our fond and traditional beliefs.

Dr Sankalia tells us that the beginnings of human life on the earth could go back to twenty million years; and the findings of stone, copper and iron implements and utensils would enable an archaelogist to plot the time-table of human settlement and culture (p. 5). Such a time-table reveals that the Iron Age began in India about a thousand years before Christ. The references, therefore, to the implements, idols, temples, trees and vegetation, animals and human beings, construction of houses etc. that we come across in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas will all have to be interpreted and accepted in the light of archaelogical discoveries. Archaeology can certainly use known history and geography, as well as the data yielded by coins, inscriptions and excavations. But such alone is the correct approach, according to the author, to real history rather than the literary statements which are usually coloured by poetic imagination.

The author illustrates the scientific approach by showing what archaeology has to say about the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, Matṛkā Devī (Gajagaurī), Dwārakā and the Purāṇic story of Tripura. According to this study the *Vāyupurāṇa* went through three stages of growth spread over the period from 500 B. C. to 500 A.D. (pp.7-8). The gods and the goddesses, the weapons wielded by them, which are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* similarly show a period of gradual growth from 500 B. C. to 700 A. D. The excavations at the site of Dwārakā have revealed six Dwārakās, the different layers of which are shown with a map (p. 15). The Tripura is identified with the present Tewar, eight miles to the west of Jabalpur. The city gets its name from the

fact that it was built on three hills. Archaeology reveals that this triple city came into existence first in about 600-700 B.C. and went through the influence of Bauddha religion (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) and then that of Śaiva religion (pp. 20-21). The study of the Purāṇas from archaeological point of view would thus enable us to date different stages of literary construction and growth and also to sift historical reality from the mass of imaginative and imaginary data with which the literary works are encumbered.

Using this methodology for the study of *Rāmāyaṇa* Dr Sankalia feels that mere comparison of several recensions and manuscripts used in the preparation of the Critical Edition is not enough to establish the real content of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. Archaeological evidence does not support many incidents and passages included in the Critical Edition (p. 28). A careful study of the cities and settlements, the use of material like earth, baked bricks or stone in their building, their dimensions, construction of quadrangles, stories and arched entrances, use of gold and jewels in decoration etc. would show that the poet's imagination played a greater part in these descriptions rather than his knowledge of reality; or else, these descriptive parts must belong to different periods of time and are a result of later additions.

Some important conclusions of Dr Sankalia may be stated as follows :—

(1) The original epic was founded on folk-songs and legends connected with Ayodhyā, Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā; these Vālmīki wove into a poem of 12000 verses; the poem was arranged into 6 Kāṇḍas or Sargas with some additional verses in different metres. To the original poem were then added descriptions of nature and miracles and the epic acquired three recensions. The next development came when the first Bālakāṇḍa and the last Uttarakāṇḍa were added, with a new table of contents. Further additions also occurred, but the traditional critics knew these interpolations. According to archaeology the original poem (*Ur Rāmāyaṇa*) came into existence in Eastern India at about 1500-1000 B. C., at the end of the stone-copper age or the beginning of the iron age. The poem must have gone through three, five or six stages of development, the final stage being probably the 4th or the 5th century A. D.

(2) References to dress, ornaments, especially the 'signet ring' which Hanūmat carries with him to identify himself before the captive Sītā, habits of food and drink, especially use of wine and liquor, are indicative of the first or second century A. D. or even a little later period. Contact with Romans and Greeks introduced liquor and the practice of inscribing a name on the ring in India. References to weapons and particularly *ayas* point to the same late period.

(3) A study of the gods and goddesses, cities and other geographical data found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* proves that Vālmīki's knowledge was confined only to Northern and Eastern India. In this context the disposal of the dead is an important factor. Archaeology reveals that from the time of the Indus civilization (2500 B. C.) to the beginning of the Christian era

the usual method was burial of the dead. Yet *Rāmāyaṇa* describes cremation, even in the case of Jaṭāyu, Vālin and Rāvaṇa who were supposed to be un-Aryans. This clearly shows, according to the Doctor, that Vālmīki had no knowledge of South India.

(4) This brings another important result. Laṅkā is to be identified with a place on the plateau of Amarakaṇṭaka, a portion of the Vindhya range, the east of middle India. The so-called sea which Hanūmat is supposed to have crossed, by swimming and not by leaping, was really a lake interspersed with rocks. This identification is proved by the mention of Sāla trees which Rāma pierced with a single arrow and of *kṣauma* whose strings (along with bark) were used to bind Hanūmat when he was captured in Laṅkā. The Sāla grows only in middle India and the *Kṣauma* bush is found only in Chhota Nagpur and Bengal. It follows that Godāvarī, Janasthāna, Daṇḍakāraṇya etc. must all be located in this region of Middle India.

(5) Rāvaṇa was the king of primitive tribes settled in the Middle India. The present tribal people known as Goṇḍ, Dhūr, Muṇḍā still look upon Rāvaṇa as their god and ancestor. Similarly, the Vānaras were forest-dwellers living in mountain caves. The poet's descriptions of the monkeys and Rākṣasas and their residences is not real.

Dr Sankalia's identifications of places and peoples in the *Rāmāyaṇa* follow the trend first set by Sardar Kibe, Paramaśiva Iyer and Hiralal. He attempts to strengthen their deductions by the additional evidence of city-constructions, mention of Sāla trees and ropes of Śaṇa use of signet-ring, the custom of burial as against cremation and so on. Considering the habitat of Śāla (*Shorea robusta*) and Śaṇa (explained as *hemp*), Dr Sankalia writes, "Thus Nasik in Maharashtra, Dang forests in South Gujarat and Bellary region in Andhra-Karnataka were automatically ruled out." So, "Laṅkā had to be somewhere in the Chota Nagpur plateau." Besides, "Laṅkā or Lakka is a Muṇḍarī word and so also Rāvaṇa." (*Ramāyaṇa : Myth or Reality*, p 50)

An archaeologist's findings and their interpretation can be called into question only by other experts in the field. Dr Sankalia is aware that new discoveries and new excavations can cancel previous deductions as they can lend additional support to them. But the particular subject of Dr. Sankalia's study does not come in the exclusive field of archaeology. An expert in epigraphy, numismatics and history have, each, to say something about it. MM. Dr Mirashi, for instance, disagrees completely with Dr Sankalia's conclusions (vide his Marathi article in NAVABHĀRATA year 27, issue No. 9, June 1974, pp. 29-42) and maintains that archaeology cannot offer any aid to the study of *Rāmāyaṇa* and its original version. Dr Mirashi thinks that if some trees or bushes are found in a particular place at present that does not prove that they did not exist in other places in ancient times. The argument derived from tribal people in Middle India is inconclusive, because the tendency among the people to trace their descent from ancient personages

is fairly common and wellknown. Even the use of Muṇḍā words will not help to deduce that *Rāmāyaṇa* is a myth : Dr Mirashi shows that the word Rāvaṇa can be satisfactorily derived from Pāṇini's rules of grammar. It may also be pointed out that the word *ayas* to which Dr Sankalia attaches much significance as an indication of iron age is used in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 116, 15 : *jaṅghām āyasīm*, which Aśvinā are supposed to have substituted for the broken leg of Viśpalā).

An historian of great repute and experience like G. H. Khare has consistently warned that a true picture of history can never be constructed unless all the means of evidence, including literary documents and literature are fully utilized. Names of places, rivers, mountains etc. are often duplicated India; even the undeniable evidence of an inscription or a copper plate discovered at a particular place does not always and necessarily mean, says G. H. Khare, that the place mentioned therein is to be identified with the place where the discovery is made or near about it. The question of identification of places etc. is thus tricky, and demands corroboration of all kinds of evidence, from which longstanding tradition and literature cannot be ruled out.

Being a student of literature I have no qualification or authority to pronounce any verdict on Dr Sankalia's conclusions. I am not afraid if they are startling; truth often is. But it is also true that truth cannot be reached through an exclusive, single line of inquiry. And I would venture to draw the attention of the learned doctor to the fact that, while archaeologists and historians may wrangle over literary data or folk-rooted traditions, literature is a special kind of creation. When a poet chooses to narrate a story, of his own making or pieced together from material derived from legend, folk-tale or partial history, he has to give his story (to use a Shakespearean phrase) 'a local habitation and a name'. This he does from his own knowledge of the times and of the people. And if he commits blunders of history and geography, he expects his readers to understand the dividing line between factual reality and poetic truth.

G. K. B.

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, Tr. *Dandaviveka* of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya English translation. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1973. pp. xvi, 300, Rs. 40/-.

English indeed is now the vernacular language of Sanskrit as rightly observed by Sardar Panikkar, the great orientalist. We learn, study and understand Sanskrit better through English. In India it is a language of communication of scholars in all fields!

Dr. B. Bhattacharya has done signal service to the ardent students of Indology in rendering the *Daṇḍaviveka* into English. His translation is verbatim and faithful. The reader seldom misses the gist and the spirit of the original ideas and their important as expressed in Sanskrit by Vardhamāna, the original author.

Dr. B. Bhattacharya deserves high compliments for this exemplary work. The original *Daṇḍaviveka* in Sanskrit was critically edited by the Translator's father M. M. Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha and published in Gaekwad Oriental Sanskrit Series in 1931. The humble son has well remitted his Pitṛṇa.

The *Daṇḍaviveka* is a treatise on Hindu criminal law and jurisprudence compiled by Vardhamāna in the second half of the 15th Century A. D.

According to the Hindu concept of law, the king was not the lawmaker. All law was contained in the various Smritis and the learned commentaries thereon.The king was to obey the law and dispense justice according to the Smṛti precepts. In actual practice the Chief Justice appointed by the king used to administer law of the Smṛtis with the help of expert assessors. Certain expiating penances are prescribed for the king and his judicial officers if they fail to do proper justice. The *Daṇḍaviveka* refers to Vaśiṣṭha saying

दण्डोत्सर्गे राजैकरात्रमुपवसेत् त्रिरात्रं पुरोहितः ।
कृच्छ्रमदण्डने पुरोहितस्त्रिरात्रं राजा च ।

which Dr. Bhattacharya renders "After withholding punishment (daṇḍotsarge) (from a guilty person), the king should fast for a day and a night taken together and the (advising) priest for three consecutive days and nights. But after punishing an unpunishable person (a-daṇḍane), the king should fast three days and nights and the priest should undrgo the Kṛcchra penance."

Hindu law givers extol force as the ultimate sanction of law and call it Daṇḍa and equate it with the personality of the king who is Dharma i. e. justice incarnate.

The *Daṇḍaviveka* quotes Bṛhaspati for four kinds of punishments.

वाग् धिक् धनं वधश्चैव चतुर्धा कथितो दमः ।
पुरुषं विभवं दोषं ज्ञात्वा तं परिकल्पयेत् ।।

"Punishment is said to be fourfold viz. admonition, reproof, fine and corporal punishment. It should be meted out in consideration of the offending person, his pecuniary condition and the specific offence (committed by hjm)."

It would be noticed that all the fundamental principles of dispensing justice even according to modern concepts are well set out in the original verse and its explicit rendering by Dr. Bhattacharya.

With our advanced ideas and present human approach to the social problems, we may not agree with, we may even disapprove the crude methods of punishing the culprits by mutilating the limbs in certain cases. Law makers of those times, perhaps all over the world, believed in such deterrent punishments.

But it is significant to note that in cases of thefts, a Brahmin offender is punished with fine equal to sixty-four times the value of the stolen article whereas the Śūdra was fined only eight times.

The *Daṇḍaviveka* quotes Manu :——

अष्टापाद्यन्तु शूद्रस्य स्तेये भवति किल्बिषम्।
षोडशैव तु वैश्यस्य द्वात्रिंशत् क्षत्रियस्य तु।।
ब्राह्मणस्य चतुःषष्टिः पूर्णं वाऽपि शतं भवेत्।
द्विगुणा वा चतुःषष्टिस्तद्दोषगुणवेदिनः।।

Dr. Bhattacharya translated the above quotes as under :—

The punishment for a Śūdra in a case of theft is eight times the value of the stolen article. It becomes increased sixteen times, thirty two times and sixty four times in cases of a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahman offenders respectively. The punishment may go up to one hundred times or twice sixty-four times (i. e. one hundred and twenty-eight times) in case of the theft having been committed by a Brahman who is (fully or partially) cognisant of the merit and defects of his actions."

Intention was the gist of the offence. Remission and commutation of sentences was a recognised principle of Hindu criminal law also. The above quotations with their English rendering are given by way of illustrations to show how an arduous and labourious task has been successfully and satisfactorily achieved by Dr. Bhattacharya the learned translator. It would have been better if an index and a glossary had been annexed to the book for facility of reference.

L. V. D.

H. S. URSEKAR, *Law and Social Welfare*, Lalvani Publishing House, 1973, pp. xviii, 296, Rs. 30/-.

Law and Social Reform today are burning problems in India. In the present nuclear age, society is fast changing. Old ideas and concepts are crumbling. In the atmosphere surcharged with fear and distrust, the concept of national sovereignty has to be reconciled with the idea and need of World Order. Thinking persons all over the world conclude and opine that Rule of Law is the best hope for man and would solve all human ills and problems both social and individual. In his book "Law and Social Reform", Mr. Ursekar, a scholar-judge, rightly observes that the Rule of Law, is best reflected and embodied in the Constitution of India.

In one of his essays on Constitutional Law, Mr. Ursekar remarks that spirit of compromise is the life-blood of our Constitution and rightly so. His article on Fundamental Rights is a specimen of his deep and comprehensive study of the subject and its development through the case-law. The Preamble of our Constitution and Part III thereof containing provisions of Fundamental Rights indeed are the bedrock and bulwark of our freedom and of our political and social stability and security.

In his essay of "Secularism and the Constitution" Mr. Ursekar touches a controversial subject. But in his analytical way he succinctly observes

that secularism does not mean anti-religious way of life, nor does it denote a state of atheism. It is, in other words, a guarantee for co-existence of different religions and faiths in the Indian context. Examining the same issue with reference to democracy, Mr. Ursekar says the democracy with social welfare as its objective, should indeed welcome secularism within its fold as an abiding principle to ensure the well being of the people belonging to different religions sects and faiths, against the background of ancient Indian history and varied culture.

Our Constitution, one may say, is the product of the collective wisdom of our leaders and thinkers who wrested freedom from British hands after a long and sustained struggle. It is our present day Smṛti to bring India in level with the modern concept of life and rule of law, without discarding our identity and the principle of toleration and justice.

Mr. Ursekar, after dealing with the fundamentals of our Constitution, proceeds to give his views on the position and function of law with particular reference to Criminal Law and its application. He upholds the age-old principle of presumption of innocence of the accused till he is proved guilty according to law. Law may contain moral values but it cannot be co-extensive with morals. Ideas of morality differ from country to country and change with the times. The Indian Penal Code, a law dealing with crimes and punishments drafted by the expert pen-man Lord Macaulay, a non-lawyer, is an example of clear thinking and proper perspective of principles and their practical application. Mr. Ursekar is of the view that death penalty should not be abolished. But the present trend in psychoanalysis is that the root cause of all crime is some mental malady or imbalance and that must be examined and considered before the highest penalty could be awarded under law.

The topic of criminal law and its application ends with an interesting and instructive chapter on "An Ancient Murder Trial." In it Mr. Ursekar examines the system of administration of justice obtained in India about 1500 years ago. For this he relies and dilates upon the famous Sanskrit drama *Mṛcchakaṭikā*.

Mr. Ursekar critically examines the whole episode and the case from an experienced Judge's point of view with particular references to the pertinent provisions of law as contained in the Smṛti of Manu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Katyayana, then in vogue as institutes of law. This article reveals Mr. Ursekar's scholarship and his intensive as well as extensive study and appreciation of vast Sanskrit lore and learning.

Mr. Ursekar then turns to examine the important role which Law plays in Social Reform. He defines law as a body of rules which regulates the relationship between the individual and the society and he says, in modern times emphasis is shifted to social good. In this connection, I may with profit quote Justice Douglas. In his Anatomy of Liberty, Justice Douglas says, all law is the product of the political process which produces a rule of conduct.

The influence of this political process, making the law, started mainly with British Rule in India and Mr. Ursekar in his short history of laws affecting Hindus since 1872, clearly brings out the percolating effect of law on the structure and fabric of the Hindu Society in its personal law based on caste-system and shows how the changes in law slowly paved the way for the present modern and liberal outlook amongst Hindus. It also illustrates the chain reaction of law's force in shaping and moulding the affairs of men including their habits, customs and manners.

With the explosion of atom bomb threatening wholesale destruction, World War II also exploded the individual-centred idea of isolated nationalism. World nations felt the necessity to come together and form a World Body, United Nation Organization UNO, and on the 10th December 1948, the Charter of Human rights was drawn up and declared. Rights to life, liberty and property are natural rights, whereas right to work and to equal pay for equal work are economic rights. Right to take part in Government and right to participate in cultural life of the community are political and social rights. The ethical content of Soviet Philosophy is "What is important to society becomes important to the individual" whereas in the free society emphasis is on the individual good.

Mr. Ursekar, I should at once say, is at his best in his chapter on Human Rights. In it he traces their source to the Renaissance and their development through Revolutions down to the Russian Revolution of 1917 and through the two World Wars and their present position as reflected in the UNO's Declaration aforesaid.

In the present world context, the idea of each for himself is given a complete go-by. Man has to be an integrated person in relation to his counter parts in the world, nay even in relation to all life and thing in the whole universe.

Dr. Einstin's Theory of Relativity has in its application in natural sciences released a tremendous nuclear power from a material atom. But man is a manifestation of the concentrated Divine Spark. He is not mere blood, bone and flesh. We might usefully extend the principle of relativity to human sciences and secure and release from human hearts and minds the direly needed energy for peace and harmony in the world. Peace is inherent in human hearts, so says Rajaji. India, with her high cultural and spiritual heritage has to play her significant and effective role in the world polity in this regard.

As otherwise we are feeding human minds with dangerous thoughts and exploding human energies in cold blooded wars, political out-bursts and social up-heavals.

As seen above, the idea of social welfare has now to be expanded and worked out on the wider plane of universal good. Mr. Ursekar tries to examine the question of implementation of Human Rights with special reference to India. In this connection he says India's Constitution is well conceived

and suited for the achievement of its objects of liberty, fraternity and equality. Mr. Ursekar developes the theme of social welfare by citing great authorities.

And for this purpose Indian law makers are keenly awake and active in broadening the frontiers of social legislation on topics of labour, land, social relations and personal laws. But a common civil code for all India is still a distant cry. Our law making process appears to be all a patch work.

When we set up an ideal on the basis of liberty, equality, fraternity and the dignity of the individual, the problem of law and justice assumes large importance and has to be squarely faced and solved.

We still draft and frame all our laws first in English on English models and then translate those ideas inadequately in our Indian languages. The deplorable result is that we judge everything against western standards and assign meanings to words in vogue in England and continue as before to despise and reject all that which does not come up to the mark. Our marriage laws would be an instance in point. They are copies of English laws. Fault theory of English law in divorce cases is giving place to break down theory in modern law. Hence even if we pass laws in amelioration of social evils and disparities, the discontent and unrest is ever growing. Our laws do not reflect our social ideas and conditions and they do not reach the masses.

Mr. Ursekar, a keen judge of men and matters, strangely misses this aspect of the problem and in dealing with the question of enforcement of social legislation, he again repeats, of course for emphasis, what he has stated about social justice earlier and tries to explain that the main difficulty in enforcement of social legislation is the hurdle of Fundamental Rights embodied in our Constitution (rather a strange argument) and the element of *mens rea* i. e. consciousness of guilt to be proved before an accused can be convicted of an offence under a social legislation.

Our Constitution is flexible and we have thought it wise to amend the Constitution 42 times so far and we have now an easy machinery for change under the amended Article 368 of the Constitution. We may as well amend the Constitution within its basic structure as laid down by the Supreme Court. Our parliamentarians however should be true to their salt and vigilantly see that our natural human rights at least are not eroded under the guise of amendment to the Constitution for political ends. We may amend and modify the criminal law and do away with the doctrine of *mens rea* for punishing social crimes. But the question remains. Is it sufficient? Would mere amendments and modifications of laws solve the real problem of social reform?

Mr. Ursekar appears to equate social reform with social welfare. In a sense he is right so far as Western countries go. But in India there is a big gulf between the two concepts. Mr. Ursekar suggests planned social legislation and ordered evolution. Here he is gloriously concise but not clear. Mere making laws is not going to bridge the gulf. In India we must seriously and in all earnestness rethink whether holographic application of western

ideas are really conductive to the well being of our masses and whether and how we should endeavour to bring about the reformation of the society in the light of new sciences and science-oriented religion.

We must imagine and realize that the human society for its well being and healthy life even in the present context requires four distinctive types of persons — (1) Thinkers (2) Administrators (3) Technicians and (4) Workers. Thinkers should think and plan. Administrators should execute and direct. Technicians should supply know how and carry out the plans and workers should exert and produce real planned wealth for the common enjoyment of all. Conscious and active efforts will have to be made to bring up and train best and efficient persons for the above requirements of the society. Best brains must be nurtured from all sections of the society irrespective of birth, caste, creed, religion or sex.

A word in fine. Our Indian scholars are internationally famous. But may I appeal to them to give up a little of their complex and try seriously to make original thinking in their own language and write and produce original books in large numbers in regional languages in order to train and educate the teeming masses and satisfy their hunger and thirst for true knowledge?

L. V. D.

ANTHONY FERGUSON, *Annual Review of English Books on Asia*, 1974 Published by Brigham Young University Press; Provo. Utah 1974. pp. 90, Price not known.

Popularly known as *AREA* in its short form, this bibliography is an annual cumulation of English books featured in Hsin Shu, a monthly bibliography newsletter produced at Brigham Young University. The 1974 volume covers books acquired by the Harold B. Lee Library at B. Y. U. during 1973.

AREA is divided into 3 sections — subjects, forms and authors. It is arranged alphabetically country-wise and within each country, alphabetically by subject. Most of the books acquired by the Harold B. Lee Library are recent publications, 1970 onward.

Each entry gives the following bibliographic information — author, title, publisher, place of publication, date of publication and price of the book in American dollars. Books are annotated and sometimes comments from dust jackets quoted.

China, India and Japan are fairly well covered. The bibliography though limited in scope, serves as a useful handbook at the Reference desk. It can also serve as a good check-list for any American Library, building up an Asian Section. For the Indian librarian, it throws light on the kinds of books a fair-sized American University library with an Asian section buys. It is a completely computerized bibliography, although we are not informed about the total number of titles covered.

S. K.

SALEEM PEERADINA, Ed., *Contemporary Indian Poetry in English :* an assessment and selection, Macmillan India, (sponsored by International Association For Cultural Freedom), 1972. pp. 130. Hd. Cover Price Rs. 16/-.

Indian writing in English is no longer a phenomenon. The Indo-Anglian writer has come to be accepted, the term 'Indo-Anglian literature' is no longer considered a pariah in the parlance of literary criticism. No anthology of Indo-Anglian prose has yet been published, though several of the prose writers have published individually here and abroad. For some reason, Indo-Anglian poetry has received more attention and publicity, which certainly is an encouragement to the large segment of Indian poets writing in English. Writer's Workshop, Calcutta, has done a lot in the way of publishing and publicising collections of poems of both major and minor Indo-Anglian poets. Their publications are a delight to the reader — neat, handsomely brought out, and reasonably priced.

This is the third anthology of Indian poetry in English to appear in recent years after P. Lal's monumental 'Modern Indian Poetry in English : An anthology and a Credo' published by Writer's Workshop in 1969 and V. K. Gokak's, ' The Golden Treasury of Indo-Anglian Poetry 1828-1965', published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, in 1970. While both Lal's and Gokak's anthologies are 'selective' and are edited to present and cover over a hundred Indo-Anglian poets, both major and minor, the present one attempts "to bring together the worthwhile poets under one cover," in the editor's own words. And indeed, the poets represented are quite well-known to the average reader of Indo-Anglian poetry; most of them have published at least one or two volumes of poetry, the only exceptions being Saleem Peeradina and Arun Kolatkar. The 'assessments' of these poets are again done by people who are important names in the academic field.

A brief introduction to the poet is followed by a critical assessment, and a selection of the poetry. The editor has selected the poetry, and the assessment is independently done by the critics. Here we have critic writing on poet, poet on poet, critic-poet on poet-critic — all 'established' poets and critics. Rajeev Taranath assesses Nissim Ezekiel. Much has already been written on Ezekiel. Rajeev Taranath and Meena Belliappa together did 'The Poetry of Nissim Ezekiel' in 1967, published by Writer's Workshop, Calcutta; and more recently, Chetan Karnani has written a book on Nissim Ezekiel, No. 9, in the 'Indian Writers Series' published by A. Heinemann, New Delhi, 1974. S. Nagarajan writes on A. K. Ramanujan, Elizabeth Reuben on P. Lal and K. D. Katrak, M. G. Krishnamurthy on Arun Kolatkar. Gauri Deshpande has a critical note on Parthasarathy, Nissim Ezekiel on K. N. Daruwalla. Only three women — poets — Kamala Das, Gauri Deshpande and Mamta Kalia (all grouped together) are represented in this anthology. They are briefly evaluated by Eunice De Souza, who also has a critical article

on P. Lal's and Gokak's Anthologies. Nita Pillai has the critical word on Adil Jussawalla, Gieve Patel and Arvind Mehrotra. The editor, has been spared of the assessment.

It would take us long time to examine critically every assessment and selection and then evaluate them both. The anthology brings together old, established poets as well as younger poets who are getting a lot of their poetry published now. It progresses gradually from the senior poets (Nissim Ezekiel is given the first place and A. K. Ramanujan the second) to recent arrivals on the scene. One can see the art, sophistication and the expert handling of form and imagery in a poet like Ezekiel or Parthasarathy. The general themes of love, frustration, the ironical tone that is an inescapable part of present-day Indian life, the theme of alienation and belonging, the social modes and urban, humdrum city life that both inspires and humiliates, are all in the poems that we read here. Of course, the intensely, personal and private expression does not escape even a shy poet like Parthasarathy. Experiments with form (from the traditional to the eccentric), imagery and style are represented.

Some of the poets are very much a product of the city of Bombay, and local, personal attachments to the city are inescapable, however revolting and dirty the city might be. We have a series of poems expressing these different shades of sentiment; for some, from the sense of belonging that the city gives, rises the sense of belonging to the country. We have a fine range of tonal qualities in poems like Ezekiel's 'Island', Arun Kolatkar's 'Irani Restaurant, Bombay', K. D. Katrak's 'Colaba Causeway' and 'Malabar Hill', Adil Jussawall's 'Sea Breeze, Bombay' and 'Approaching Santa Cruz', finally Saleem Peeradina's 'Bandra' all with a local colour, place and a name.

While Parthasarathy's 'Whoring after English Gods (Perspectives, ed. S. P. Bhagwat, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1970 pp. 43-60) expresses the struggle of the Indian writer writing in English, the theme of alienation of place, of finding roots in India after journeys abroad, and the final commitment to make peace with one's own land — these pre-occupations are voiced in Ezekiel and Parthasarathy, with a difference. Ezekiel comes right out and makes his commitments and compromises. Parthasarathy is more indirect and indulgent.

Nissim Ezekiel's 'Very Indian Poem in Indian English' humorously digs at an Indian's struggle with expression in English — "Everything is coming/Regeneration, Remuneration, Contraception." He does not spare Indian verse-writers either in ' The Company I keep' with "The only art we master / is the art of economising / in intelligence and skill, / with a rhyme or two to show / we can still do it...." One cannot help from commenting on 'Background, casually', which begins with total privacy of "I went to Roman catholic school,/ A mugging Jew among the wolves", to the compromise in the end of "I have made my commitments now." One of his well-known poems 'The Night of the Scorpion', is included in this anthology. The selection well represents various aspects of Ezekiel's verse writing.

R. Parthasarathy, with all his finesse, subtlety and delicate imagery is too soft to interest me. Nevertheless. I find an interesting comparison of childhood between his 'Lines for a Photograph' — "the spoonfuls of English / brew never quite slaked your thirst. / Hands on chin you grew up, / all agog, on the cook's succulent folklore" and Ezekiel's 'Background, Casually."

A sense of sad reminiscenes of faded historical glory and an expression of loss runs through his poems 'Under Another Sky', 'River Once' and 'Ghosts'. Perhaps the most beautiful poem represented in this selection is 'Saudade' for the sheer imagery of it — "Boats/kept watch over the lake;/it was a night of mountains. / The lake/ filled our eyes / with the small change / of rain / in Ambleside."

Poems from A. K. Ramanujan's new anthology 'Relations', published by O. U. P. appear here. There is an amount of detailed observation which gives rise to woven imagery. "Unread library books / usually mature in two weeks / and begin to lay a row / of little egges in the ledgers / for fines" (Small scale Reflections on a Great House) and the title poem of his new anthology 'Relations'. "The poem 'Breaded Fish' in spite of its far-fetched imagery, had an element of drama in it, when the poet, eating a breaded smelt, sees within his mind a dark half-naked / length of woman, dead / on the beach in a yard of cloth, / dry, rolled by the ebb, breaded / by the grained indifference of sand. I headed / for the shore my heart beating in my mouth." 'A Poem on Particulars' ends with the philosophical, "I have heard it said / among planters : / you can sometimes count / every orange / on a tree / but never / all the trees / in a single / orange." 'Conventions of Despair' is unusual both for its title and its imagery, ending with, "No, no, give me back my archaic despair; / It's not obsolete yet to live / in this many-lived lair / of fears, this flesh".

Only, the women-poets talk of love and frustration in this anthology. The force and intensity of 'The Old Playhouse' by Kamala Das leaves one breathless; one cannot help comparing her to Sylvia Plath. "Cowering / Beneath your monstrous ego I ate the magic loaf and / Became a dwarft. I lost my will and reason, to all your / Questions I mumbled incoherent replies." "All pervasive is the male scent of your breath," ".....my mind is an old / Playhouse with all its lights put out. The strong man's technique is / Always the same, he serves his love in lethal doses." Only three poems of Kamala Das are represented in this anthology; it is a shame we couldn't read more of her here. The same poem is now the title of her new anthology. 'The Old Playhouse and other poems' published by Orient Longman, 1973. A full length book has also appeared on Kamala Das, No. 17 in the 'Indian Writers Series', published A. Heinemann, Delhi. Gauri Deshpande, who frequently edits 'Poetry of the Month' in 'the Illustrated Weekly of India,' is represented by 'a feeble, woman-like' poem in 'The Female of the Species' to talk "of love and despair and ungrateful children". Mamta Kalia's 'Tribute

to Papa' is along weaker lines of 'Daddy' by Sylvia Plath, but rebellious in its own way. "These days I am seriously thinking of / Disowning you, Papa / you and your sacredness / What if I start calling you Mr. Kapur, Lower / Division clerk, Accounts Section?" The husband, children and father — the world in which a woman lives (or is supposed to live) is the only world represented here. Woe Women's Lib!

The one substantial and fairly recent discovery among Indo-Anglian poets is K. N. Daruwalla, perhaps the best represented in this Anthology. A fine assessment by Nissim Ezekiel follows a good selection of poems. — With a background like his, his poems express personal concern in social contexts—the social set up in India that mocks human values do not spare any category or class of people. "And hands don't flame when they accept the bribe / palm lines are impervious to change" (Graft); the imagery is vivid and very sensuous—" (ice that drips and sweats like flesh") and the social warning 'There's a dhobi in your compound / but take a tip, don't get your / bush shirts starched / they will hang limp all the same / and smell like an Insemination centre', to dramatic 'The Epileptic'. In Collage I and II, the Sarcastic expression of Indian awareness — "Since Oppenheimer quoted Bhagavad Gita/after the first A-bomb / since Allen Ginsberg and the psychedelics /wore dhotis.....I stand bowled by Indian culture / and Indian hemp" keep ringing in one's ears.

What sustains one's interest in Daruwalla's poetry is his fearlessness in expression from the private world of the Indian individual — "In India / the left hand is outcaste / because it cleans the arse". (Collage-I) — to the attitude of a whole nation and the utter meaninglesseness of an alien culture and literature to an Indian situation like we have in'Collage, I.' — "If we had plague / Camus-style/and doctors searched for the virus / there would be black market in rats." Again in 'Collage, II', he says, "Then why should I tread the Kafka beat / or the Waste Land / when Mother you are near at hand/ one vast, sprawling defeat?"

P. Lal, who has written much and anthologised a great deal is very poorly represented by just two short poems! I cannot help wondering why Pritish Nandy, who has also written, published and translated much, finds no place at all in this Anthology.

Arun Kolatkar, Arvind Mehrotra, K. D. Katrak, Gieve Patel and Saleem Peeradina. all get more space in this Anthology than does Adil Jussawala. who certainly is a more mature and sophisticated poet. I am glad that Adil Jussawala's superb poem 'The Waiters' finds a place here. His short poem 'A Bomb-site' ends with the cynical — philosophical note "Violence is a culture found on playgrounds. / Cities fall to let their children breathe."

Gieve Patel's 'The Ambiguous Fate of Gieve Patel he being neither Muslim nor Hindu in India' is short and forceful ending with 'I only burn my tail'. Arvind Mehrotra's 'Bharatmata — A prayer' is pompous and

bombastic, even though only sections of the original appear here. For all the praises that M. G. Krishnamurthy showers on Arun Kolatkar's 'The Boatride', his short 'Three cups of tea' is more likeable for its directness of statement. Katrak's 'Malabar Hill' and Peeradina's 'Bandra' are two interesting poems from their selections. Peeradina's 'Adaman' is interestingly sensational.

Eunice De Souza's critical article on the 'Two anthologies' compiled by P. Lal and V. K. Gokak, is witty, balanced, and very direct. It makes very enjoyable reading.

At this point, I cannot help wondering why Peeradina who boldly coined the terminology 'Inglish' writing' in his introduction, still chose the conventional 'Indian poetry in English' for the title of this Anthology after having declared that "The term Indo-Anglian is ugly and Indian Poetry in English too cumbersome." Other than this quarrel with Peeradina over 'A question of Syntax' (to borrow Parthasarathy's expression), the present 'Assessment and Selection' is very useful for the student of Indo-Anglian literature. The book has a short but useful 'Select Bibliography' of five books and five articles. Many of these short 'assessments' in this Anthology may some day turn into full length books. The writers of these 'assessments' have certainly put their heart into the writings of the individual poets.

The editor deserves congratulations for being the first to bring out a truly worthwhile selection and assessment of major avantgarde Indo-Anglian Poets. It is a pleasure to go through a finely printed book such as this one. It is of considerable value to the student of Indo-Anglian literature. I would strongly recommend it for every college, University and research library.

S. K.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, A bibliography—A project of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, (Gandhi Bibliograpy Series No. 1), Orient Longman, New Delhi 1974. pp. 379. Hard cover price Rs. 80/-. for V. 1

"In its widest meaning, bibliography includes all studies relating to the physical and intellectual aspects of books to the extent that these studies contribute to an understanding of the history of books, of the status of individual works, or of their relationships to other works." — Encyclopaedia Americana, V. 3 (1969 ed.) p. 721.

It is not in the widest meaning of the word 'bibliography' that we have to examine and understand this monumental reference work on Gandhi. The National Committee for Gandhi Centenary in India in 1970 initiated the project of compiling an exhaustive and authoritative bibliography of all writings on Gandhiji.

In 1967, Dharma Vir's *Gandhi Bibliography* was published by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Chandigarh. It is the first classified bibliography of books and pamphlets that have been published in English by and on Mahatma Gandhi. Of equal importance is Jagdish Saran Sharma's *Mahatma Gandhi* published in 1968 (2nd ed.) by S. Chand & Co., Delhi, a descriptive bibliography.

Work on the present bibliography was begun in 1968 at the National Library, Calcutta. The Indian Council of Social Science Research later took on the work and decided to published it as the first volume in its bibliography series on Gandhi. This volume restricts itself to pre-1972 publications in the English language; the future volumes will cover publications in each of the Indian languages and other foreign languages. The project expected to be completed by March 1975 is still in its infant stage, since only V. 1 has been published so far.

The bibliography contains a total number of 1095 entries, 800 of which are fully analyzed, 79 of the latter are theses. Entries are serially numbered and for each entry, full bibliographic information is provided — colon class number, author, title, additional information regarding collaborator, editor, etc., year of publication, collation, place of publication with publisher, contents, annotation, reviews, source documents and location symbol indicating the place of verification. Every title included was physically verified and there is an appendix which lists all titles which were identified but not physically verified. (295 entries).

When so much care to details was given, there was no reason why one small piece of valuable information could not have been included — an indication of whether a title is in print or not.

The value of a reference work is often judged by the number of indexes provided, and we are not lacking in this aspect of the Bibliography. There is a Subject Index, followed by an Author Index and a Series and Title Index. The Bibliography is as complete as it can be, including an Explanatory note and a key to library symbols.

The Bibliography is handsomely brought out and is a real mine of information. The value of this reference tool can be realised only if we stop and think of its potentialities. It can serve the casual information seeker as well as the serious student of Gandhiana. It includes information that no other bibliography on Gandhi has included so far, particularly in regard to listing the libraries that hold a particular title. For the librarian this information is significant for interlibrary loan purposes. The publication of this Bibliography can be truly considered a major event in the publishing of worthwhile Reference books in India. Any library which can afford it must buy it. It is a true delight and a welcome addition to the Reference Shelf of any library.

S. K.

NARIKO MAYEDA, W. NORMAN BROWN, *Tawi Tales : Folk Tales from Jammu* (American Oriental Series, Volume 57), America Oriental Society, Connecticut. 1974. pp. 609. 609, Price not given.

In 1923-24, Professor W. Norman Brown spent a year in the Prince of Wales College, Jammu. Part of his work was to supervise third year students in "essay writing", a weekly event which only yielded a "high percentage of boring results". Before he joined the College, Professor Brown had been working on Indian fiction, including folk tales. He knew that the folklore of the region in and around Jammu was untouched by academic research and scholarship.

Proceeding on a hunch, Professor Brown converted the routine weekly tutorial into something fruitful and far more interesting. Each week the students submitted folktales to him, naming the source each time. As an incentive to them, Professor Brown published some of these tales in *The Tawi*, the college monthly magazine. Later, he put the more interesting of them together in a collection, *Tawi Tales*.

The tales, however, remained a mere collection till Noriko Mayeda worked on them for her doctoral dissertation. As part of her field-work Ms. Mayeda visited India in 1962-63. She met the informants who had given Professor Brown the stories, had them retell the stories, and recorded the changes they made, if any, in this second narration. She also collected some more folk tales from the region.

Tawi Tales : Folk Tales from Jammu is a massive tome, comprising the findings of Professor Brown and Ms. Mayeda. The 37-page Introduction by Ms. Mayeda describes the methodology used, and the various features — geographical, linguistic, and cultural — of the region from which the tales come. She discusses the parallels and similarities between these and other Indian folk tales, and proceeds to study the tales in their context.

Ms. Mayeda's field-work showed that sixty-four out of Professor Brown's eighty tales survived the passage of forty years. She concludes that these sixty-four stories are "really rooted in the land of the Dogras and form a part of its local tradition", though they may have originated from a wider Indian mainstream.

The soundness of this method of regional study and identification needs to be stressed. Systematic research on Indian folklore *must* begin, primarily, at a regional level. Exhaustive regional compilations all one can lead to the kind of comparative study which will reveal the richness and diversity of the folk-tradition in India.

When W. J. Thoms, in 1846, described as "folklore" what were earlier called "popular antiquities", he emphasised an important aspect of the genre : its abiding continuity. Folklore is, in a major sense, the matrix of human

activity. From it evolve traditions which contribute to the making of a race and of a culture. In this century studies in folklore have increasingly concentrated on its *usefulness* for the study of other social sciences and on the potential ability of folklore to throw light on common cultural links and diverse manifestions of culture.

Folklore includes folksongs, myths, legends, superstitions. Many of these have, as Freud has shown (*Totem and Taboo*), a decisive influence on an ethos and a way of life. Ms. Mayeda observes that the "real life" of a tribe or society "is better reflected in folksongs than in folk tales." Even so, the tales in this volume have a certain native authenticity with which most Indian would easily identify.

The tales vary in length. The shorter ones often have a pungent edge to their humour :

"A villager was walking through a bazar, over his shoulder a pair of shoes wrapped in a blanket. A shopkeeper wished to make a fool of him.

'Does your blanket contain *paraunthas* = (*parathas*, cakes)?' he asked.

The villager in reply took his shoes out of the blanket and threw them violently on the ground, saying, 'No matter in how secure a place we may conceal our *paraunthas*, these curs are sure to smell them out.' "

(*The Villager's Shoes*).

The broad features of the Tawi Tales are common to folk tales the world over. Only the barest machinery is used, and discrepancies abound, as in :

"Brahma was frightened by Nard Muni's rage, and tried to calm him, as did also his courtiers, and to do this he asked him politely, 'Please stay in my court *a couple of days*.'

A fortnight later Brahma asked Nard Muni to accompany him for a walk. . . ."

(*The Sadhu who could Overcome Fate*, italics mine) We begin at the beginning :

"There was once a man who was the richest in his locality. . . ."

Or,

"There was once a shoemaker who was very poor. . . ."

Commoners marry princesses, and lions suffer from broken hearts ! The didactic tone is almost always present. The world of magic and improbability is contemporaneous with our world and is matter-of-factly presented, somewhat diminishing its effect as a literary device.

A comprehensive bibliography is prefixed to the Introduction, and each tale is copiously annotated. But satisfaction with the meticulous thoroughness of the whole is a little reduced by the poor quality of the translation :

"Chand went with the marriage party and was married to the princess, Kamla, *with all the necessary ceremonies*...." (italics mine)

Or,

"On his way he came first to a mango tree filled with fruit, some fresh and some rotten *but no one had a desire to eat of the tree's fruit*". (italics mine) The impression is of a certain sloppiness which careful editing could have prevented, without sacrificing quaintness in the process.

V. N.

STEPHEN FUCHS : *The aboriginal tribes of India*, Macmillan India, New Delhi, 1973. pp. 307, Price Rs. 55/-.

The author of this book is a historical ethnologist who was trained in the University of Vienna and who has spent about thirty years studying the tribes and castes in India from the standpoint mainly of historical ethnology but also from that of physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics. He is, therefore, amply qualified to deal with the aboriginal tribes of India anthropologically.

It is true, as the author states in his preface, that no book has ventured on a complete survey and description of them. However, to venture on a complete survey, which the author attempts, is a gigantic task. How does he go about it and how successful has he been in his undertaking?

In his initial chapter Fuchs deals with the prehistoric races of India. As he rightly confesses, it is very difficult to classify the peoples and cultures of India chronologically because the evidence at our disposal is inadequate. Nevertheless he summarizes the evidence for our benefit clearly and briefly enough, taking us through the Early Stone Age, the Middle Stone Age, the Late Stone Age, the Indian Neolithic , the Indus Valley Civilisation, the Megalith-builders of South India and the coming of the Aryans. Having thus looked at the peoples and cultures of India from the prehistoric and protohistoric standpoints, he next goes on to consider the aboriginal tribes of India in the ethnographic present.

In trying to do so he was confronted by a classificatory difficulty. Should the aboriginal tribes of India be classified according to their cultural, racial or linguistic similarities and differences? Or should they be classified geographically? Fuchs prefer the second criterion of classification because, as he points out, a classification on a cultural, racial or occupational basis presents several insurmountable complexities. The complexities, of course, exist for all to see. But should one throw down the sponge of them? Or should one continue to grapple with the problem, presenting a new cultural-cum-racial classification, however defective, so that later, when more evidence is available, the task can be attempted a new on the foundations of these

fresh ventures plus the greater evidence that time unfolds'? Surely the right course is the more challenging one of grappling with the problem and presenting the results of one's endeavours in this connection. Such a course would have been more stimulating to anthropologists and others.

In any case Fuchs, adopting the geographical criterion, turns next to the tribes of northern India, the nomadic tribes in the plains of northern India, the tribes of central India, of eastern India and of south India. He concludes with a chapter on tribal welfare in India.

In several of his chapters Fuchs attempts a generalized treatment, instead of considering each tribe in turn. He justifies this course by pointing out that to deal with each tribe in turn would have been excessively repetitive. This is true; but would not a fuller treatment of representative tribes from each area, after, let us say, the manner of Daryll Forde or Murdock, have proved more instructive? A generalized treatment dealing with items such as general considerations, the economic situation, social structure, political organisation and religion and ethics results often in a mere inventory without an integral and particularistic picture which lends so much enchantment and so much empathic understanding to anthropological studies?

Nevertheless Fuchs handles his theme with judicious skill and presents a relatively more comprehensive and more up-to-date picture of it than all his predecessors. The book is certain to prove of great usefulness to students of anthropology in India at the B. A. level.

In his final chapter Fuchs offers sound anthropological counsel to workers in the tribal sphere. If this counsel is heeded, much benefit would accrue to the tribals with less wasteful expenditure of time and money.

J. V. F.

R. L. SHUKLA. *Britian, India and Turkish Empire*. People's Publishing House, 1973. pp. 262 Rs. 30/–.

British policy in the nineteenth century relating to the Middle East, was concerned mainly with keeping the line of communication free to India. The Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf had therefore to be watched and protected from undue interference. The period of 30 years is a small one, speaking historically; but it furnishes the historian with numerous interesting facts and opinions and gives him the opportunity of historical interpretation.

On the first occasion that Russia attacked Turkey, the British sided with Turkey, and the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (p. 6) turned Palmerstone against Russia. During the Crimean War a different set of circumstances arose; the French thought their participation would serve British interests, and some believed that Russia contemplated the invasion of India. The Indian Muslims had also become restless and proclamation, somewhat glorified and even mendacious, were issued for public consumption.

Later came the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-78, and the British came to the conclusion that the Russian nearness to Turkey might jeopardize their own Indian empire and the routes to it. The author quotes extensively from various reports and dispatches and then comes to the Treaty of San Stefan, 1878. By this treaty Bulgaria was to extend till the Coast of the Black Sea and the Straits of Bosphorus and Constantinople came dangerous near the Russian influence. As a result the British decided to increase their strength and to acquire Cyprus, as a base in the Mediterranean.

The author has a perceptive chapter on the Indian Muslim response to the Russo-Turkish War. The Indian Muslims held meetings everywhere to declare their support for the Sultan. In one such organization, Syed Ameer Ali was a signatory. The brother-in-law of the Sharif of Mecca came to Hyderabad and spent some time as the guest of the Salar Jung. But these emotional attempts came to nothing. It has often been pointed out that whenever an event occurs in the Muslim world, the fanatical elements put up some scheming individual to raise passions, but do nothing more to stabilize public opinion or improve the lot of the people. The author discusses the use made by the British of the institution of the Caliphate.

Dr. Shukla has collected a great deal of material on a comparatively short period from all the British and Indian archives and official sources. A learned book; in parts, it reads like a catalogue of opinion from official papers. This is probably inevitable in the case of such a study. The only sources lacking are the Turkish counterparts, as the author himself recognizes. When such a study is completed by the papers in the archives of Turkey, a more complete picture will be presente. In the meanwhile, we are grateful to Dr. Shukla for his great service in giving us a scholarly survey of the source material. There are five maps, an Index and a bibliography.

A. A. A. F.

M. S. JAIN. *The Emergence of a new Aristocracy in Nepal* (1837–58), Sri Ram Mehra & Co., Agra, 1972, pp. 220. Rs. 28·00.

Though the title of the book claims to show the rise of a new aristocracy in Nepal, what in fact it does is to show the rise of one man, Jang Bahadur, in Nepal politics. It is true that the Rana rule in Nepal came to be established after Jang Bahadur but the book does not explore the rise of the Ranas as a group. Even as an account of Jang Bahadur's usurpation of all political power in Nepal, the book is deficient in many respects. The reader fails to get, though chapter after chapter deals with him, an idea of the kind of man Jang Bahadur was. Nor does one understand fully the reasons for his fantastic success. There is no indication of the social forces he represented. Much of the book reads like a plot of one man against another, each acting in pursuit of his self-interest. An important historical event is treated casually : "..... Jang's trip to England marked the beginning of the tradition of subservience

on the part of the Rana, Prime Minister towards the British Crown although formally Nepal continued to be independent." (p. 110-11) Why should a mere visit result in such an important step? And, yet, just before this, the author gives "a brief resume of Jang's visit and his activities in England" in which nothing important seems to have happened. And he says as much in his conclusion : "His visit to England had failed in its main object...." (p. 207) Though a chapter is called 'Creation of a charisma', the actual account gives very little idea of Jang Bahadur's charismatic personality. There is no doubt that Jang must have been a very rich and complex character but this is an indirect conclusion, not a conclusion to which the reader is inevitably led. In some ways, Chapters VIII (Codification of Tradition) and IX (Social Reaction and Economic Backwardness) provide more interesting glimpses into Nepali social life of the period than all the rest of the book put together. The historical material seems to be well supported — often the footnotes in small type are longer than the text on the page. The author has obviously taken immense pains over the book and if one is not misled into expecting too much from the very promising title, it is moderately rewarding reading.

D. N.

P. M. JOSHI, *Student Revolts in India : Story of preindependence youth movement*, P. M. Joshi, Chittaranjan, Plot No. 92, T. P. S. III, Off. Tilak Road, Ghatkopar, Bombay-400077. pp. 103, Price Rs. 12/-

It is said of Mr. Dick, that amiable but addled friend of David Copperfield, that somehow King Charles' head always turned up in everything he wrote.

P. M. Joshi's King Charles' head appears to be a strong anti-British bias. A certain amount of bitterness can be expected from one who participated like Mr. Joshi in the Indian freedom struggle, but the author allows his feelings to intrude time and again into what otherwise would have been a well-documented historical narrative.

The period covered in this book is from 1900 to 1946. Mr. Joshi attributes all the woes of the country at that time to the British. The establishment of the Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta by the British in India are viewed by him as attempts to reduce Indians to eventual slavery. This is self contradictory. It was a thorough western education and a fluent command of English that helped Lokmanya Tilak, C. R. Das, Lala Lajpatrai and Aurobindo Ghose to spearhead the attack against British colonialism.

The first provincial associations of educated Indians were formed by students. In 1848 Dadabhai Naoroji and Mandalik founded the Students' Literary and Scientific Society which became the centre of academic, educational and cultural movements. Anand Mohan Ghosh on his return from England formed the Calcutta Students' Association in 1878. This Association was later to give birth to the Indian Association. These early associations were the building ground for the Indian National Congress.

The Partition of Bengal kindled student ire against the ruling British. In Bengal students boycotted their schools and colleges, organised processions and were lathi charged by the police. The Director of Public Instructions issued circulars to the school and college authorities asking for lists of students who participated in the demonstration and ordering their rustication. At Rangpur in Bengal all the students of a school were fined four annas for shouting Vande Mātaram. Failure to pay the fine was punished with rustication.

The famous trio Lal-Bal-Pal or Lala Lajpatrai, Bal Gandadhar Tilak and Bipinchandra Pal placed before Indians a fourfold programme of national reconstruction. Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj were the four points of this programme. Freedom became the new Mantra of the masses and Tilak told them that "the science of politics must become the Vedas of India." National educational institutions were started in Bengal, called Vinay Mandirs and many of the leaders of the freedom movement gave up their careers to teach in these Mandirs.

Joshi traces the impact of Gandhi on Indian politics from 1915 to 1930. In September 1920 the Congress Party launched the non-co-operation movement under Gandhi and exhorted students to boycott school and colleges run by the British. Students responded in thousands. National Universities were established by Indians. Subash Chandra Bose became the Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Bengal. National universities were formed in several states. Funds and members were required for the Congress Party. Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the nation for ten million members for the Congress and a fund of ten million rupees. Students went round collecting funds, enlisting members, holding meetings and demonstrations, preaching temperance, establishing arbitration boards, teaching spinning and weaving and encouraging the revival of home industries. Student cooperation was the sword which national leaders wielded with increasing success in their war for freedom from British rule.

The book has several appendices containing extracts from articles and speeches on the Indian student movement. There are seventeen pages of photographs of student leaders of great documentary value today. This is a valuable source book for student activities during the Indian freedom movement.

R J. D.

V. G. KHOBREKAR, Gen. Ed., S.R. TIKEKAR, Ed., *Making of a Princely Historian :* Letters of Sir J. N. Sarkar to Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau, Director of Archives & Archaeology, Bombay, 1975. pp. xxiii, 287, Price Rs. 6·75.

This collection of nearly 330 letters of the doyen of Indian historians, Sir Jadunath Sarkar to his research student, Dr. Raghubir Sinh, span a period of twenty-five years and reveals his scholarship, his historical methodology,

his likes and dislikes of persons, his knowledge of the archival resources of the country, his knowledge of the important sources of Indian history and his willingness to share his knowledge with his colleagues and juniors.

Dr. Raghubir Sinh was indeed fortunate to have Dr. Jadunath Sarkar as his guide, not only for the preparation of the thesis which he submitted to the Agra University for his D.Litt. degree but also later in his career in historical research. The letters reveal the interest the Guru took in the research of his student at various stages. In the very first letter in the collection, the Guru emphasizes the importance of "sustained labour" in real historical research and this is again emphasized when the Chela having completed his doctorate degree expresses his desire to continue historical researches. The importance of a knowledge of languages to be able to delve into the original sources is also emphasized. "I never use a translation when the original is available" says the Guru in another letter.

Dr. Raghubir Sinh received continuous guidance. He was advised what books and manuscripts to consult , where they were available, how to present his thesis, the errors he should avoid. Even his English was taken care of. In one of his letters the Kumar Sahib is told — Your typed copy was found to be very carelessly prepared for the press. There was no uniform system of spelling; citations of sources in the footnotes were sometimes underlined, sometimes not, the lines were so closedly typed that the corrections preparatory to composition made the copy hopelessly confused and at places illegible."

These letters should be read by research guides as well as research students who will definitely be profited by it.

The letters also reveal the personal interest the Guru took to help his Chela to build up a very good Library at Sitamau. He regularly advised him on the acquisition of rare books and manuscripts from English book-sellers and in one of the letters he advises him on the preservaion aspect — "Your library is growing apace and special precautions should be adopted for the preservation of the paper and binding from worms. Open shelves, with the air freely playing on them are best: naphthaline does little good; what is required is to have a careful servant to take the volumes out, dust them, air them, and then replace them on the shelves.

The Editor, Shri S. R. Tikekar has done a service to the students of history by having these letters printed. He has also provided a useful index to the letters.

B. A.

M. AROKIASWAMI, *The classical age of the Tamils*, University of Madras. 1967, pp. 119 + x, Price Rs. 6/-.

This book forms No. 24 of the Madras University Historical Series. The University has set a welcome tradition of publishing a series of books covering the results of researches done at its Department of Indian History. They are written with brevity, lucidity and in simple style understandable

even to a general reader. It is devoid of undue excursions into scholarly disputes on points of limited interest. It is hoped that the University would continue this tradition.

The University of Madras has earned recognition for sound historical research with legacy of work done by a galaxy of eminent historians of the University. The expertise developed in studying the early historical period of Indian history, particularly with reference to South India, has been remarkable. However, the University has yet to establish itself in the sphere of pre-historic archeological research on scientific lines.

The book under review has unfortunately turned out to be perhaps the last published work of Dr. Arokiaswami who passed away sometime later.

Dr. Arokiaswami was an acknowledged authority on the history of India. His doctorate thesis concerned with the early history of Vellar Basin (Pudukottai district of Tamil Nadu), wherein he discussed the origin of Irrukuvels of Kodumbalur (one of the royal families associated with the Chola Empire) and their contribution to the art and culture of Vellar Basin in particular and of southern India in general. He attempted to trace the origin of Irrukuvels to the Gangetic doab and their migration to south India. He also dealt with the part played by Irrukuvels in the administration of the Chola Empire. Another major work of Dr. Arokiaswami was the history of Kongu Country which covered Coimbatore — Salem areas of Tamil Nadu and also a part of Karnataka State.

As a painstaking researcher with considerable experience in sifting historical material, he had developed sound expertise in studying literary and traditional sources apart from archaeological data. His numerous research papers in learned journals, particularly in the *Journal of Indian History*, show many problems of our history in depth. The book under review is a free rendering of the results of his deep researches into the history of the early centuries of the Christian era of Tamil country, mainly based on the Sangam literature. The subject-matter is fundamental to a knowledge of early south Indian history.

In seven chapters, Dr. Arokiaswami has discussed the era of the Sangam, the historical importance of the Sangam poems, the political order, administrative mechanism, the economic condition, society and religion and the cultural background. He examines all the important theories and opinions propounded by scholars on the subject and weaves his own interpretations with convincing evidences. By and large, his views appear to be tenable.

Gleaning through the maze of the Sangam literature are the pictures of the then prevalent economy, society and religion. Most of the social and religious beliefs and practices of Tamil Nadu in particular and of the major part of southern India in general, as are found at present, could be traced back to the Sangam period. However, the conspicuous practice of betel-chewing which is so characteristic of south Indians, as of the people of other parts of India, has not been traced in the Sangam literature. Perhaps that was a habit acquired later on.

On the economic scene, the most notable fact was that of the Indo-Roman trade of that time. Roman coins, attesting trade, were found not only in the coastal areas of south India but even in interior parts like Madura, Karūr, Pērūr, Coimbatore, Pollāchi, Kāngayam, Dhārapurām, Kaṇiyāmpundi in Coimbatore district and Kalyamuthur near Palni. Excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry on the Eastern coast of India (*Ancient India*, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 2, July 1946) firmly testify to the Indo-Roman trade and settlement there.

Corroborative evidences on the Indo-Roman trade are available from the Greek sources, that of Pliny (50 A. D.) and the *Periplus of the Brythrean Sea* (mid-first century A. D.). The lighthouses for shipping were in existence and the important ports were Musiri (Kodungallur — in Kerala), Puhar (Kaveripumpattinam) where the Archaeological Survey of India had unearthed structures identifiable with shipping wharves, and Korkai. The items of exports from south India included tiger, leopard, monkeys, peacocks, parrots, ivory, pearl, aromatics, spices like pepper, cardamon, cloves, nut-megs, coco-nut, plaintain, gingelly oil, jaggery, ebony, rose and teakwood, sandalwood, cotton cloth, diamonds, beryl and steel. Imports from Rome included coral, wine, lead and tin. There was most favourable balance of trade resulting in the drain of Roman gold into India. Numerous scholars had worked on this subject and Sir Mortimer Wheeler has summarised the available evidences in his fascinating book *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London 1954).

Precisely from the beginning of the Christian era or a little earlier, right up to the 8th century A. D. ancient Indian seafaring had been most widespread reaching as far as Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, Indo-China in the East and to Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Egypt in the West. With improved technique of building seaworthy large ships, such a feat was feasible. No doubt shipwrights and seafarers of south India had their own share in these splendid achievements.

A few printing errors noticed in the book can be corrected in its next edition.

K. V. H.

M. A. DHAKY, H. P. SASTRI, *The Riddle of the temple of Somnātha*, Bharata Manisha, Varasani, 1974, pp. 1-49, 32 Halftones and 4 line drawings, Price Rs. 60/-.

Laymen as well as scholars in India have heard of and know something about the famous Somnātha temple on the sea at Prabhas or Somnatha Patan in Saurashtra. The temple was sacked and destroyed by Mahmud Ghazni in the 11th century. Then rebuilt twice and but again desecrated by Muslim invaders. This destruction was not complete. Its magnificent starshaped *maṇḍapa* and the shrine chamber, both without their roofs (ceilings and the *śikhara*) survived until 1950-51, when Somnatha Trust under the direction of Dr. K. M. Munshi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel decided to pull it down

and build a new temple in its place. Fortunately before the final demolition Munshi had asked the scholar, Shri B. K. Thapar to undertake an excavation and find out if there were remains of earlier temples underneath the foundation of the 12th century temple. For Munshi believed that the earliest foundation of the Somnātha temple, albeit on a very moderate scale, would go back to the 2nd-3rd century A. D.

As expected, Thapar did find earlier remains. It was indeed a very satisfactory result, because as he records it was for the first time that problems of historical nature were to be solved by archaeological methods.

Though the plinths etc. of earlier structures (temples) were carefully and scientifically laid bare, the problem — the riddle — as the present authors prefer to say, still remained as to what period or periods the structures go back, and who were their likely builders. Naturally the answer has to come from scholars who are familiar with the various styles of ancient architecture and sculpture. And these the authors, particularly Dhaky, knows from A to Z whereas Shastriji knows his Prabhas and Somanātha inside out. Thus both the scholars can be trusted to do full justice to the subject. What they have to say can be easily followed if we put down in parallel columns the evidence from the excavation and its interpretation by the excavator (Thapar), Munshi, and Dhaky and Shastri, instead of recapitulating the involved discusions,

The authors have tabulated the three views on pp. 25-27, but here the excavation data has been shown along with Munshi's interpretation. For a real, critical appraisal, this should be separated, as shown here. The authors should also have reproduced the section as drawn by Thapar and Joglekar from Munshi, *Somanātha the Shrine Eternal*, 1951, or in Book University 1952, facing p. 96. The reproduction of the photo, showing the foundation of the temple facing p. 130 would have been instructive. The authors could have cited in support of their view that the earliest temple with a *śikhara* could not have been earlier than 700-800 A. D. from our excavations at Dwarka (Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate, *Excavations at Dwārka*, Pl. IV), where an *āmalaka* was found at the depth of about 18 feet in layer four from above. And below these were found the amphora piece, and Red Polished Ware.

In short, Dhaky and Shastri have convincingly shown what the temples earlier than the one exising in 1950, and going back to 1169 A. D. could have been. Of course, one cannot be sure of the exact time when the temples of Phase I and II were built, as the authors would agrue. In the list of illustrations the correct title of Pl. 13 would be "The feet of Parvati" and not legs.

A similar prospect as the one attempted here awaits them in the old city of Prabhas Patan, where in a brief visit, some years ago, I saw temples, old, renovated and enlarged, which if scientifically examined would add considerably to our knowledge of the temple architecture of Gujarat (Saurashtra).

H. D. S.

TABLE

Excavation	Munshi's Interpretation	Thapar's Interpretation	Author's Interpretation
1	2	3	4
Temple I			
Evidence : Red Polished Ware in the lowermost strata of the temple foundation; a *śikhara*- piece : a *yonipatta* piece.	Founded in the early centuries of Christian Era,—before Lakuliśa,—on the basis of the *Śivapurāṇa* tradition.	—	The first temple of Somanātha was, as suggested by Rasesh Jamindar on the authority of Vāyavīya saṁhitā, possibly founded by Soma Śarman in the later part of the first century and named after him rather than 'Soma' (i.e. Moon-God) as later legends say. Structural a evidence unavailable. R. P. W.'s evidence vague and inconclusive: *śikhara* piece running counter to rather than, supporting an early date.

Temple II Evidence : A calcaerous stone showing Brahmi characters found in Kumārapāla's masonry : a *kanjur* stone sub-structure under the Garbhagṛha, a retaining wall and the compound flooring of the same stone, and many carved stones in the foundation filling.	Built by or in the time of Maitraka Dhārāsena IV of Valabhi (440-644), or during the 5th or the 6th century and subsequently destroyed by Arabs from Sind in about the middle of the 8th century.	*Pre-Phase I Structure* Some early structure "in the neighbourhood," probably a Sun temple.	Indeed the tangible evidence for the first structural building it was surely of Somanātha, since Ghumali copper-plate of A. D. 831 refers to Someśvara. Nature of building unknown since almost totally removed in subsequent reconstruction. The sculptured pieces in the foundation filling belong to the subsequent rather than this phase as proved by stratigraphical position. The date of construction could be the 7th century. No direct or indirect evidence concerning destruction by Arabs.
Temple III Evidence : Actual structure a stone temple with ambulatory, a hall and a porch found upto the base level. A water-hole corresponding to this structure was also encountered	**Temple III** Refounded by Pratihara Nāgabhaṭṭa II (808-831) after the destruction of the previous building by Arabs.	**Phase I Temple** On the basis of the erosion of the water outlet, the date of construction could be 800 A. D.	**Temple III** The style of the building is neither of the 8th nor of the 9th but of the 3rd quarter of the 10th century: Mahā-Gurjara : probably built between 960-973 by Caulukya Mūlarāja.

Excavation	Munshi's Interpretation	Thapar's Interpretation	Author's Interpretation
1	2	3	4
Temple IV	**Temple IV** Refounded by Caulukya Bhimadeva and Paramāra Bhoja or Malva, on the same plan as the preceding temple with one change that the hall had a central octagonal arrangement of pillars.	**Phase II Temple** Built by Bhīmadeva on the lines of Phase I temple after latter's destruction by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1025.	**Temple IV** Built by Bhīmadeva with support from Bhoja and also from Trailocanapāla of Lāṭa as shown by A. V. Pandya, possibly between 1026-1030, on the lines of the previous structure, now in the Maru-Gurjara style. The 'type' of temple was 'Ratnakūṭa' of the Maru-Gurjara vāstuśāstras as suggested by A. K. Majumdar. Addition of mahāpīṭha to the stairway profile of the Mukhamaṇḍapa in Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's time, probably around 1130.
Temple V	**Temple V** Previous structure replaced by Kumārapāla in 1169. The new building was Kailasa-Meru Prāsāda.	**Phase III Temple** Same views as Munshi's and previous writers	**Temple V** Same views as Munshi's, Thapar's and previous writers.

SUMATI MULAY, *Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of the Deccan* (Based entirely on the inscriptions of the Deccan from 1st—13th century A. D.) Deccan College, Poona, 1972., pp. viii, 355, illus., Price Rs. 40/- £ 3, $ 7.

Historical geography is a system based on a modern scientific outlook. To reconstruct geography of ancient India, scholars since Cunningham have focussed their attention on the geographical investigations of the Purāṇas, Epics, Buddhist and Jaina works. But so far no systematic work was done on the geographical data of inscriptions of any particular region. The study of inscriptions of different dynasties offers a fuller picture of the chronological administrative set-up of any region and such type of work was first undertaken by Prof. H. D. Sankalia in his book entitled *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat.* He studied the inscriptions of Gujarat on following lines :

1. The village donated,
2. The large unit of which it forms a part,
3. Its boundaries,
4. The place or part from where the grant is made, its boundaries which help us to reconstruct ancient boundaries of a particular unit.

A broad perspective of political geography of any region can be taken with the help of above clues. On the same lines under the guidance of Prof. H. D. Sankalia, study of the Deccan including parts of Maharashtra, North Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and South India was undertaken, but so far the work on the Deccan has been published.

This work represents the author's thesis for which the University of Poona has awarded her Ph. D. degree in 1954. The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the political history of the Deccan. The rapid survey shows that in the past, the Deccan was never ruled by one dynasty. It was divided between the simultaneous rule of two or more dynasties. The second chapter describes the political and administrative organization of the Deccan from the 1st century A. D. to 13th century A. D.

The whole chronological development of historicity shows that there was a political tie between Maharashtra and Karnataka even in ancient times. The Tungabhadra in the south, the Tapti in the north and the Wainganga in the east were the cultural boundaries of Maharashtra, and thus though linguistically different, Maharashtra was politically bounded with Karnataka for centuries together. The result of this close association is reflected in the culture of these two regions. This cultural complex is notably felt in administration also. The administrative unit with numerical appellation and the nomenclature 'Khampana' were introduced in the administrative machinery of Maharashtra.

The third chapter narrates the cultural geography. The analysis and classification of the place names from inscriptions give us some idea about

the political, social, economic conditions as well as the physical, botanical and zoological surroundings prevailing in ancient times.

The fourth chapter has stressed the cultural significance of personal names. Mrs. Mulay, with the help of inscriptional personal names has exhaustively shown the changes in social customs and the influence of different sectarian cults in ancient India and with the help of the names of Brahmin donees she has skilfully discussed the problem of the migration of Brahmin families in different parts of the Deccan.

The last chapter encompassed various problems like the Aryanization of the Deccan, non-Aryan elements, the problem of the court-language, the reciprocal cultural exchange between Maharashtra and Karnataka, etc. Mrs. Mulay's work has established a close link between the ancient and present geography of the Deccan. It is a welcome addition to the collection of ancient Indian research scholars.

S G.

B. N. MUKHERJEE, Nanā on Lion—*a study in Kushana numismatic art*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969. pp. xvi, 159, 15 plates. Price Rs. 35/-.

The book deals with the Kushāṇa coin motif — the figure of a female seated on a lion-identified as Nanā. In five chapter and six appendices the author Dr. B. N. Mukherjee discusses various aspects of this coin device appearing on the reverse of an unusual gold coin of Kanishka III. The iconographic discussion in particular, including comparision with West Asiatic goddesses, is properly done. The other topics discussed in the monograph covers a wide ranging field which is useful for the study of Kushāṇa art and culture in general. Though this topic has been discussed by earlier writers in their articles in numismatic journals, it is for the first time such a detailed study is brought out in a monograph.

There are some misprints, but these do not detract from the value of the publication. On the whole the book is in most respects well produced and illustrated, though a few of the illustrations are not very clear. Catalogue of the objects illustrated, the footnotes, bibliography and index enhances the merit of the book.

Dr. Mukherjee deserves our thanks for this useful numismatic study.

B. V. S.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1969, pp. xxiv, 556, illus. xx. Price Rs. 50/-.

Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri has delved deep in a difficult subject. He has done a wonderful job, though labourious, in collecting together Cultural History of an important period. It gives deep insight into the political, social and economic structure of the Indian Society during the closing part of Gupta

period. Although the work is a Thesis for Ph. D. so well deserved by Dr. Shastri, the volume is a valuable addition to the shelf of books on Indology. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira is an encyclopaedia of knowledge covering a variety of topics on the backdrop of Jyotiṣa Śāstra. The treatment of this difficult subject has been done very methodically, scientifically and neatly, making the work very useful and handy.

There was a long felt need by the students of Ancient Indian History for a book of this type. The works of Varāhamihira are like an ocean full of valuable information on the social, economic and political structure of India in Ancient times. It also shows to what height the science of Astrology had reached and to what extent it affected the social life.

The volume is readable even by those who are not expert in Jyotiṣa and Gaṇita. The Saṁhitā is a unique work in itself. Besides, Astrology, it also gives glimpses of the Geographical and Agricultural knowledge the ancient society possessed. It would be worthwhile, if the author undertakes the second part by similar exercise in showing 'India of Varāhamira' by collating informative data available in the other words of Varāhmihira such as the *Bṛhat-Jātaka*, *Vivāhapaṭala*, the *Pañca Siddhāntikā* and the Three Yātrās. Utpala, the erudite scholar and commentor of Varāhamihira has in his commentnaries given all the background and information of the time when Varāhamihira wrote his works.

This book is a result of deep study, hard labour, and systematic arrangement of the subject matter. The book will, indeed, help students of research and Ancient Indian History, through this well-written compendium. The various chapters, the treatment of the subject and printing is very satisfactory. Dr. Shastri has indeed done a good service by adding this work. I am sure, it will be well appreciated in all quarters.

V. R. P.

RAMCHANDRA JAIN, Ed., *Mc Crindle's ancient Indiu as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi, Price Rs. 50/-.

This is a new edition of Mc Crindle's well-known book, which for nearly a hundred years since it was published in 1877 has served as a valuable source-book to students of Ancient Indian History.

About the end of the fourth century B. C., Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus Nikator—successor to the Asiatic dominions of Alexander the Great—as his ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya at Pataliputra, now Patna. He wrote a book on India. This work, called the *Indika*, is lost, but extracts from it quoted or condensed in the writings of various ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, have remained. These detached fragments were collected and arranged by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn, and the work thus

reconstructed was published in 1846. To McCrindle belongs the credit of bringing out an annotated English translation of Dr. Schwanbeck's work, to which he annexed a translation of the first part of the *Indika* of Arrian because it gives in a connected form a general description of India based chiefly on the work of Megasthenes.

In the present edition, Ramchandra Jain, Director Institute of Bharata-logical Research, Sriganganagar, has not only affixed to the reprint of Mc Crindle's book notes and appendices, a bibliography and a general index but also prefaced it with what is described as a conculturuum. Therein, as the blurb tells us, he "has studied Megasthenes and Arrian in the light of the pre-Megasthenes history of Bharata since the pre-Aryan age, and his conculturuum", it adds, "makes the work most significant than all the earlier editions."

Ramchandra Jain's conculturuum can hardly claim to be a significant contribution to a fresh study of Megasthenes and Arrian. It adds little to what was previously known. Most of his conclusions are not new; the rest are contentious, if not untenable. He accepts far too readily legends and traditions recorded in Indian literature as sober history, and for these he thinks there is confirmation to be found in the *Indika* of Megasthenes. This makes neither for judicial scrutiny of evidence nor for soundness of judgement. Nor is his style concise or lucid. There are passages in the conculturuum which are obscure. His writing is further marred by spelling mistakes, grammatical errors and use of coined words like "mytholised", "tribalised", "ganaised", "legendarians", "Greekization", etc.

The classical writers on India, though in their own works they quoted freely from the *Indika* of Megasthenes, nevertheless distrusted his veracity. Defending him against the charge of mendacity, Rhys Davids, in the *Cambridge History of India*, writes : " A number of quotations contain statements that, as they stand, are absurd — stories of gold-digging ants, men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without mouths, and so on. Strabo therefore calls Megasthenes mendacious....It is more probable that in these fairy tales of his Megasthenes, like Herodotus before him, had accepted in good faith stories which were current in the India of his day or had merely misunder-stood some Indian expression. R. C. Majumdar, however, is unconvinced. "It is to be seriously considered", he remarks, "how far we can place reliance on the statements of such an uncritical man even if they were based on his personal experiences." Ramchandra Jain, on the other hand, observes : "What he (Megasthenes) saw personally of races and castes of Bharata, of its flura (*sic*) and fauna, of its towns and cities, of the manners and customs of its people within the territories he frequented and whatever else he personally saw and learnt, is of irrefutable veravity. Secondly, the matters that did not come under his direct personal observation, he got from the Brahmanas whose authority he uncritically accepted.. .We have to allow for the Brah-

manical prejudices on matters not pertaining to themselves but pertaining to their adversaries. Thirdly, naturally, like a foreign observer, he looked at Bharatiya matters from the greek (*sic*) viewpoint."

The adversaries of the Brahmans that Ramchandra Jain had in view were the Jains or, as he calls them, the Shramanas — an ordinary name among the Buddhists for their monks. "The Brahmanas and Shramanas," states Ramchandra Jain, "are as antagonistic today as they were in the time of Patanjali". It is not then surprising that he has not a good word to say for the Brahmans. For every statement in the *Indika* that he disapproves of, or holds to be incorrect, he blames the Brahmans — the supposed informants of Megasthenes. "The Brahmanic Puranas", he declares, "are the monumental records of glaring falsehoods". This kind of sectarian bias marks the conculturuum throughout.

We may now briefly notice a few of Ramchandra Jain's conclusions. He avers that Chandragupta Maurya was a Jain by religion — a view adopted by Vincent Smith many years ago. "As he belonged to the Shramanic way, the chroniclers of the Brahmanic way", he alleged, "gave him a degraded descent." Whether so old and general a tradition concerning Chandragupta's origin is to be ascribed to sectarian jealousies or not, the fact remains that the Buddhist and Jain sources, unlike the Puranas, assign to him an honourable paternity.

"Shramanism," Ramchandra Jain affirms, "was the way of life of the original people of Bharata before its Brahmaryan conquest. Brahmanism later introduced a parallel and contrary way of life in the body politic of Bharata." How he arrives at that conclusion is not explained, though it agrees pretty well with what the Jains believe. For the Jains claim that their religion is the most ancient of all Indian religions, long anterior to Aryan Hinduism, and that Mahavira was only the last of a long series of teachers known as *Tirthankaars*, to whom the sect owes its origin and development. Some of their scholars even claim that Jainism existed at Mohenjodaro.

Speaking of the ancient history of India, Megasthenes says : "Its people never sent an expedition abroad, nor was their country ever invaded and conquered except by Herakles and Dionysos in old times and by Macedonians in our own." History does not record any Greek invasion of India before that of Alexander. It seems probable, however, that the Macedonians when they came into India considered the gods of the country to be the same as their own : Krishna they identified with Herakles and Śiva with Dionysos, Ramchandra Jain agrees that Herakles is Krishna but contests the view that Dionysos represents Śiva. He identifies Dionysos with Indra, who, he says, "led the first foreign military invasion against Bharata . "The Dionysos and Herakles legends", according to him, "have preserved within themselves the traits (*sic*) of the Brahmaryan conquest of Bharata." "The Indian Dionysos", he goes on to say, "is neither a Theban nor an Egyptian. He is the

brother of the Greek Dionysos both of whom separated in their original home, one advancing to Greece via eastern Europe for his military conquests and the other to Bharata via south Russia and Iran. The Brahmanas communicated to Megasthenes the legends of Indra and his military conquest of Bharata, whom Megasthenes transferred as Dionysos to the Greeks." Whatever it be that Ramchandra Jain wants to convey, he unfortunately fails to make it clear.

Pataliputra, according to Megasthenes, was founded by Herakles, i. e. Krishna. In fact, this ancient capital of Magadha was founded by king Ajātaśatru who came to the throne about 500 B. C. "It is strange", remarks Ramchandra Jain, "that the Brahmanas forgot so soon the reality of the founding of Pataliputra or it vilely suited them to obliterate the truth and fabricate the falsehood for their own selfish ends."

Megasthenes states that the Indian sages were of two kinds, Brahmans and Shramanas, and he particularly mentions two ascetics names Kalanos and Dandamis "Kalanos", he tells us, "was ruled by his passions and became a slave to the table of Alexander. He is on this account condemned by his countrymen, but Mandanis (otherwise called Dandamis) is applauded because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go". Ramchandra Jain is at pains to make out that Kalanos must definitely be a Brahman sage and Dandamis a Jain ascetic, probably a Digambara saint. On second thoughts, however, he adds : "May be Dandamis was a Brahmana before his acceptance of Jain asceticism."

Curiously enough, Ramchandra Jain does not agree that Toprobane island mentioned by Megasthenes was Ceylon, as all other scholars do. He asserts that it was an island in the Indus Delta. In support of this absurd statement he writes : "The people who inhabited the island did not draw proper attention of the scholars. Palaiagonoi have been identified with Parajanas, men following the beyond matters or spiritual doctrines. The sacred doctrines of the Buddha had not gone till that age to Ceylon or Sindh but the Jaina sacred doctrines were widely known in Sauvira, the southern Sind before or since the age of Mahavira. This region might have a large island in the ancient past which, later on, might have been reduced in size by riverine and the oceanic waters. Taprobane island was somewhere near the Patala island in the lower Sindh region." Alexander, before his retreat from India, explored the Indus Delta, but his historians make no mention of any such island in that region. Nor did ancient Sauvira, as has been shown by me elsewhere, include lower Sindh or the Indus Delta : it comprised, as Alberuni tells us, Multan and the district to the north of it.

Chānakya, also known, as Kauṭilya, the reputed author of the *Arthaśāstra*, according to the accounts given in the Puranas, was the friend, counsellor and prime-minister of Chandragupta Maurya. As Megasthenes makes no reference whatsoever to him, Ramchandra Jain concludes that he must have,

if at all, played a very minor role in the affairs of state. In Appendix 6 he sets forth his views regarding the identity of Chānakya and the authorship of the *Arthaśāstra*.

The price of Rs. 50 for this book is rather high, considering that the greater part of it is a photostat reproduction of McCrindle's text and no royalty is payable either to McCrindle's heirs or to the original publishers.

B. D. M.

GADADHARA CAKRAVARTI. *Vidhiswarupa vichar*, ed. by PANDIT YADAVENDRANATH ROY with commentary Vidhibodhini. The Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Calcutta, 1973. pp. xv, 59, Price Rs. 10/-.

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācarya Cakravarti is known to be one of the most erudite and prolific writers of Navya-nyāya in Bengal of the 17th century. In fact the glorious period of logical speculation in India reached its culmination in subtlety that started with the emergence of this new school of logic in the 14th century. This period comes to an end with the writings of this great academic figure of Bengal. Apart from his commentaries on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, an epoch-making work, on *Naññvāda*, *Nyāya Kusumāñjali*, *Āloka* and the like his short manuals on Viṣayata and Vidhi are evidently illuminating. The present volume presents his manual on Vidhi, a doctrine of Mīmāṃsa occupying a place of unique importance in the system. This manual discusses all the implications of Vidhi in the context of injunctive sentences, lucidly brings out the difference between *vidhi* and *parisaṅkhya* and rightly concludes this small but weighty work with a brief discussion of *adhikāra-vidhi* and *prayoga-vidhi*. The subtlety of the logical discussion is admirably seen in Gadādhara's detailed analysis of the definition of *vidhi* including his challange of the Prabhākara-mata of Mīmāṃsa and conclusion in the words *tanmataṃ vicārāsahameva* (p. 8). The commentary Vidhibodhinī of Pandit Yadavendranath Roy is indeed very illuminating and the readers will certainly feel indebted to him for throwing a flood of light on abstruse Mīmāṃsa discussions. The carefulness in presnting Mantra vidhivākyādi Mañjuṣā is well worth appreciating. The introduction of Dr. Gopika Mohan Bhattacharya is extremely interesting and instructive.

Unfortunately this book is disfigured by numerous printing mistakes that are not covered even by the Errata added at the end. Thus –स्टसाधनता for –ष्टसाधना (p.5) –मिष्ठसाध्यत्व for –मिष्टसाध्यत्व (p. 10) in the original work as well as तात्पर्य्यम् for तात्पर्यम् प्रवृत्यापतेः for प्रवृत्त्यापत्तेः (p. 5) in the commentary etc. can hardly go unnoticed. It is only hoped that all these will be removed at the time of reprinting this edition.

Neverthless the Editor as well as the Publisher deserve compliments from lovers of Sanskrit for bringing out this useful manual and it is hope that other manuals of Gadādhara will also the brought out in near future.

M. D. P.

MUHAMMAD AZHAR ANSARI, *Social life of the Mughal Emperors* 1526-1707, Shanti Prakashan, Allahabad, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 230. Rs. 50/-.

The history of the Mughal Empire has always been a fascinating subject of study for scholars both in India and outside. The abundance of contemporary sources available to the scholars, has made it easy for a deeper and sustained study of the subject in all its aspects. We have a number of biographies of the Mughal Emperor. Leaving aside the celebrated autobiography of Babur, and the diaries of Jahangir, the lives of the Emperors Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb have been studied and published by scholars like Smith, Srivastava, Beniprasad, Kanungo, Saxena, and Sarkar. The later Mughals have also been studied by scholars like Irvine, Sarkar, Gupta and others.

Among the scholars who wrote on the administration of the Mughals are Sarkar, Ihne Hasan, Parmatma Saran and others.

Specific aspects of Mughal rule in India have not escaped the attention of scholars. Sharma, Satischnadra, Athar Ali, Iqbdar Alamkhan are some of the scholars who have contributed to our knowledge of the Mughals. The Mansabdari system, the Agrarian system, Economic conditions under the Mughals, a knowledge of these aspects we owe to Moreland, Aziz, Irfan Habib and others. In fact interest in Mughal History seems to be a continuous one. It is as it should be, for many of our present institutions and traditions owe not a little to the legacy left by the Mughals.

And now to add to the growing literature on the Mughals, is the delightful book under review 'Social Life of the Mughal Emperors by Dr. Ansari.' Practically every aspect of the Social Life of the Great Mughals has been studied and brought out. A glance at the contents would show how thoroughly the author has studied his subject. Dress of the Mughal Emperors, the Imperial Kitchen, the Abdarkhanah and Mewakhanah, Palaces and their illumination, Imperial Gardens, the residence of the Mughals, court, court ceremonies, the Qurkhanah (Manufacture and storage of weapons) the Farrashkhanah, (Transport of Imperial equipment), stables, Royal Hunt, the Camp of the Mughals, Amusements and games, charities and patronage to art and literature.

For his work the author has drawn on most of the available contemporary sources. Nor has he failed to point out how in their dresses, food habits, fineries, and amusements, the great Mughals increasingly took to Indian ways of life with the result that in large parts of the country, social customs were profoundly affected. The Mughal type of Gardens, the Mughalai Dishes, the Mughal schools of painting, are to name but a few are our heritages which have come down from the Mughals.

Babur, delighted in gardens, Akbar in town building, Jahangir in painting, and Shahjahan in architecture. But all the great Mughals were patrons of art and literature. Even Aurangzeb, austere and simple in his habits as

he was, seems to have a particular liking for gardens of fruits and flowers. Going through the court bulletins of Aurangzeb, the Akhbarati Durbari Mualla, the reviewer came across some striking passages illustrating the love of Auranzeb for fruit and flower gardens. In the midst of the grim campaign against the Marathas, Aurangzeb, from his camp at Galgali near Bijapur, remembered the mangoes of Erandol in Khandesh, which had been named Badshah Pasaud by Shahjahan. He gave special instructions to see that the trees did not suffer from neglect. Aurangzeb also ordered the laying out of a garden at Aurangabad. He was delighted when Mihdikhan, the Commandant of the fort of Sholapur presented him with six plants of the Mogra flower. Three of these were planted under his instructions in his Tashibkhana, Prayer room. When Bahadurkhan Khanjahan presented grape saplings from Aurangabad, the emperor ordered that they should be planted in the garden at Bijapur.

Such instances can be multiplied. The age of the great Mughals saw great advances in all fields touching the life of the Indian community. The contribution of the Emperors to this process was outstanding.

The author is to be congratulated on this instructive and entertaining work.

S. M. R. P.

IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN, *The political biography of a Mughal Noble*, Munimkhan Khan-i-Khanan 1497-1575. Department of History Aligarh Muslim University, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, pp. xx. 188. Price Rs. 40/-.

Mr. Iqtidar Alam Khan is wellknown to the students and scholars interested in the evolution of Mughal Polity. His monograph, Murza Kamran, a biographical study, published in 1963, attracted wide attention. Since then, he has published a number of research papers relating to the evolution of the Mughal Empire in India. His present biography of a leading Mughal Nobleman, Munim-Khan, Khan-i-Khanan carries forward the fascinating and gripping narrative of the successive stages through which the Timurid State passed since its establishment in India in 1526 A. D. until the supreme genius of Akbar transformed it into the mighty Mughal Empire.

And yet how little known are the desperate struggles which the Timurids had to wage, not only against the Afghans but more poignantly against their own nobility before they could embark on their career of expansion and consolidation in India. The structure of the Timurid State as it existed during the times of Babur and Humayun, was transformed beyond recognition under Akbar. Akbar could achieve his goal not only by curling and eliminating the old nobility but giving up by the traditions of the Mongol Polity which had emphasised the dominant role of the nobility in the State. This could not be achieved without a prolonged struggle.

If the Mughals were to obtain a foothold in India in the teeth of opposition from the Afghans, it was extremely necessary that they should close their ranks and rally round Babur, and, later, Humayun. While obedience to Babur was the result of a feeling of personal loyalty to him, this feeling was to a large measure absent in the relations of the nobility towards Humayun. The weaknesses of Humayun, the insistence of the nobility on maintaining and even widening its privileges, resulted in the eclipse of the Mughals during the reign of Humayun. The civil war between Humayun and Kamran can only be understood in the context of the nobility ranging itself on one side or the other, the ultimate aim being the maintenance of its privileges and restrictions on the powers of the king, so desperately needed, if only for the survival of the Timurid State.

It was only after his return from Persia, that Humayun came to adopt a stern attitude towards his fickle-minded nobles. He did not hesitate to execute the officers who had lightly changed sides. The list of men executed for disloyalty reveals the stern steps which Humayun had to take. Murza Yadgar Nasir, Shah Rustam Lang, Haji MuhammadKhan Koki, Shah Muhammad, Sultan Quli Alka, Tarsun, Hafiz Maqsud, Maulana Baqi Irthu, Maulana Radam Arab, and Khwajah Rasim, were among those condemned to death. Humayun's brother Kamran was captured and blinded. The way was now clear for Himayun's advance into India in November 1554, Munim-Khan was left in charge of Kabul.

Although Humayun succeeded in wresting Punjab, Delhi and the surrounding region, the Mughal position in India, at the time of his death in January 1556 was not very secure. Akbar, then hardly thirteen years old succeeded his father. It was fortunate that the new prime minister and regent was the celebrated BairamKhan.

While the Mughals were struggling to assert themselves against the Afghans in India, Munim-Khan had to defend Kabul against Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan. His defence of Kabul was a brilliant achievement. The crushing defeat of the Mughals in India, at Tughluqabad on 9th October 1556 at the hands of the Afghans led by Henu rendered the position of the Mughals desperate. The execution of TardiBeg, accused of the Tughluqabad disaster strengthened the hands of BairamKhan in his preparations for a counter offensive against the Afghans.

It was well for the Mughals that they won at Panipat on 7th November 1556. If they had lost it the Timurids would have been scattered in Punjab and Afghanstan. The Safar is in Persia, the Afghans in Afghanstan, and the Uzheks in Trans Oxiana would have effectively prevented the descendents of Babur from asserting themselves. The Mughal victory at Panipat not only set the Timurid State on its brilliant career, but also saved it from virtual extinction.

Following BairamKhan's dismissal, MunimKhan was appointed Wakil corresponding to that of a Prime Minister, and given the title of Khan-i-Khanan.

But Akbar had already decided not to repeat the experiences he had undergone when under the tutelage of BairamKhan. Beneath the endearing charming faced of courtesy to his minister Akbar was aiming at restricting the powers of his minister and curling the nobility. The rise of the Khurasani officials dedicated to the implementation of Akbar's policies was bound to make the position of MunimKhan weak. The murder of Atka-Khan on 15th May 1562, and the execution of AdhamKhan could not but affect the position of MunimKhan. His failure against the Afghans at Jalalabad also weakened his position.

It was at this time (1564) that the old nobility led by the Uzhek clan started the struggle for the preservation of its privileged position. The Uzheks in the east and Malwa, the Mirzas in the Doab, and the Atkas in the Punjab had to be put down if Akbar's aim of expanding and consolidating the Mughal State was to be achieved. It was in this context that the services of MunimKhan were noteworthy. If this negotiations with the Uzheks failed, it was not for lack of sincerity and efforts on his part. Following the down fall of the Uzheks, MunimKhan was appointed by Akbar to administer the sensitive province of Jaunpur in June 1567.

MunimKhan proved a successful administrator of Jaunpur. He not only held the province against the Afghan rulers of Bengal and Bihar, but also heal them back more than once. The Afghans were kept busy through negotiations and mutual bickerings.

At last in 1573, when he had reduced Guzarat, Akbar turned his attention to Bengal. It was in this campaign that MunimKhan played a notable part. The defeat and dispersal of the Afghans in Bengal and the consolidation of Mughal rule in that province may be attributed to MunimKhan's abilities both as a General and a diplomat. It was at the end of this campaign that MunimKhan, now more than seventy-five years in age fell ill and died on 23rd October 1575.

Biographies of a number of noblemen of the Mughal Empire have been written by scholars. Mirjumla, the first Nizam, Burhanulmulk, Safdar Jung Ahwardikhan, Najilikhan, Adinabeg, Mansingh, Sawai Jaisingh, are some of the nobles whose biographies have appeared during the recent decades. MunimKhan's defence of Kabul, and his success against the Afghans of Bengal are some of his creditable military exploits. But his failure at Jalalabad, and the costly victory against the Afghans and that too won with great difficulty show that he was no military genius. His strength lay in his role as negotiator and in this too he seems to have the support of Akbar.

This biography is to be welcomed because through the life of this nobleman, Dr. Iqtidar Alam Khan, has successfully placed before us the evolution of the early Timurid State with all the imprint of Mongol Polity into the Mughal Empire as built up by Akbar. One has only to go through the pages of this scholarly work to realise the industry and research which the author has brought to bear on the subject.

S. M. R. P.

PARSHOTAM MEHRA, *The McMahon Line and after*. The Macmillan Company of India, 1974, pp. xiii, 497, Price Rs. 75/-.

It is a matter of regret that even in the year of grace 1976 so little attention is paid by the government and the people in our country to China. There was a time when we bent backwards to please; more recently our comments are apt to irritate; it is either euphoria or indifference nearing disgust. Of studied opinion, there is very little both in official quarters and among the educated public. So when the Chinese attacked in October, 1962 there was a series of shock waves throughout the length and breadth of India. It was "the great betrayal" and Jawaharlal Nehru's dreams of Sino-Indian friendship as a stabilising force in world affairs lay shattered and he died a few, months later — a broken-hearted man.

Since then, some literature has been produced to remove some of ignorance. Generals and journalists have made their contribution. None, however, touches the detailed and authentic study by Parshotam Mehra of the factors that culminated in the traumatic experiences of October, 1962. He has carefully sifted the vast volume of archives material and presented the backdrop, working step by step to the climax.

India, perhaps, the world, became conscious of our north-east frontier only recently. History books always referred to the mountain passes in the Himalayas in the north-west through which several adventurers and empire-builders came to India in the distant past. Later the seas became routes of trade followed by conquests by the Europeans. The north-eastern was the "neglected" or "forgotten" frontier. Even the imperious Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General at the turn of the century, did not favour a "north-east frontier province, policy or charge." And yet, it was during his regime that efforts were earnestly made to establish trade relations with Tibet. Ironical as it may appear, his policy was directed to lessening Russian influence in Tibet and recognising China's role there. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 bound both the parties "not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary" of the Chinese government with some minor exceptions. Tibet's status as an independent unit was thus ignored even when the central authority in China was weak. A strong government kept a comparatively tight leash on Lhasa.

The British government's interest was naturally aroused when India and later Burma became British colonies. China occupation of Tibet became a matter of concern and the two governments while continuing their dialogue hardly found any basis of agreement. The British suggested the watershed principle to delimit the frontiers with Tibet; the Chinese steadfastly refused to accept the principle.

The October Revolution made no difference to the Chinese claim on Tibet; and the infant Republic could take heart from the fact that the Tibetan

monks were divided among themselves. The British recognised the situation when Harding, the Governor-General expressed his desire "to see the internal autonomy of Tibet under Chinese suzerainty maintained without Chinese interference so long as treaty obligations are duly performed and cordial relations preserved between Tibet and India." This desire remained unfulfilled because China wanted to incorporate Tibet as "an integral part" of the country; and Britain's position was some what quizzical.

The British sought answers to two questions : what were to be the physical boundaries of Tibet and what was to be the degree of control China was to exercise over its former dependency?

The answers were not easily forthcoming but the Chinese made it very clear that they wanted Tibet to be "a province". The British Government began to take an active interest and in a memorandum of August 1912 laid down in clear terms their idea of Chinese-Tibetan relations. It conceded China's suzerain rights in Tibet but not full administrative control. A tripartite conference was mooted in India. After much procastination it was held in October, 1913 at Simla, the British representative being Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, a man experienced in boundary demarcation and with much knowledge of the frontier. His expertise could make little head way against the stone-walling tactics of the Chinese. However,

> "By 27 April, with the map signed and the Convention initialled, a great deal of the work of the Conference seemed to be over. The weary months in Simla and the interminable formal/informal discussions in Delhi appeared to have borne fruit at long last and a compromise of sorts, acceptable to all, worked out. As a matter of fact, a great deal more had been achieved than was apparent for, apart from the Inner/Outer Tibet Zones, a settlement of the India-Tibet boundary, part of McMahon's Red Line on the map, had also been effected".

The settlement of a boundary between India and Tibet was "in the interests of continued friendship" between the two. The concessions the British plenipotentiary made were considerable. But more concessions were in the offing when the Chinese delegate insisted on them and McMahon had to confess that

> when the Chinese plenipotentiary initialled the convention on 27th April, there can be no doubt that he did so with a feeling of great relief. He admitted that he had obtained more favourable terms than could reasonably have been expected in view of the actual position in Tibet and the complete collapse of Chinese power and prestige in the country. His Government, however....(had) their traditional dislike of finality and concluded agreements.

McMahon's optimism was short lived; the Chinese Foreign Office publicly repudiated its plenipotentiary's initials on the agreement because he had

received no instructions. And yet, China wanted the negotiations to continue. After protracted negotiations lasting till April 1914 some sort of understanding was arrived at, quite a substantial part being favourable to China. Much to the consternation of Tibet, Britain accepted Chinese suzerainty over its neighbour and a "delicately weighed" balance between the three parties was reached. Even thereafter the Chinese plenipotentiary was reluctant to initial the draft. It was only when the British and Tibetan representatives threatened "to eliminate the clause recognising the suzerainty of China, as also the privileges accruing to it therefrom" that he allowed himself to be persuaded to initial the draft but

> on the clear understanding that to initial and to sign.....were two separate actions. He also said that he must wait for express instructions from his Government before the formal signature of the convention....

We have been much exercised over China's repudiation of its acceptance. But the author is at pains to point out that the Chinese government at no stage accepted the Simla agreement; it disavowed its delegate's action no sooner it learnt about it. McMahon's explanation of this behaviour was "the 'proverbial disinclination' of the Chinese to meet final issues".

At the second Simla Convention in July only the British and Tibetan delegates initialled and signed respectively and sealed the agreement. China was absent. In 1919, however, it first tried to revive the Simla proposals with some amendment but later backed out.

The entire region continued in a state of flux during the twenties and thirties. Tibet was in turmoil and later Japan created a number of crises in China. This was a new factor and the position of the British came to be both quizzical and critical. The Chinese government refused to recognise the role of Britain in Tibet or to recognise the British as intermediaries on behalf of Tibet. This alerted the Government of India to urge the British Government to publish the 1914 Convention and the exchange of notes leading to it. It feared that otherwise the Chinese would find support for their argument that "no ratified agreement between India and Tibet" was in existence. With the Government of India Act, 1935 on the anvil, and the impending separation of Burma urgency was lent to the proper delineation of the frontier. While hall remained unconvinced but New Delhi categorically affirmed in February 1936 that it was

> now clear that the whole of the hill country upto the 1914 McMahon Line is within the frontier of India.

This assertion was a little too late because New Delhi soon became aware of the fact that the Tibetan government collected revenue and exercised jurisdication Several risks were involved in this, the major risk being that this

> might enable China, or other Power in a position in future to assert authority over Tibet to claim prescriptive mights over a part of the territory recognised as within India under the 1914 Convention.

History soon justified this apprehension. Within a year of its success, the communist Government of China in a note to India claimed that

> Tibet is an integral part of the Chinese territory and the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people, and defend the frontiers of China.

It further asserted its sovereignty, as distinct and apart from suzerainty, over Tibet. Whatever be the nature, composition and ideology of the rulers of China, on one issue there never was any dispute — Tibet was a part of China. If the Indian Government and Jawaharlal Nehru allowed themselves to be drawn into the web so dexterously woven by the Chinese Government and Chou-en-Lai, the blame cannot be laid at China's door. In their naivete and reliance on Nehru's charisma and reputation, they believed they could carry reason and conviction to the other side. But the Chinese then as now, were tough negotiators. This self-delusion was so shaken in October 1962 that for over thirteen years, the two big neighbours were hardly on speaking terms. The recent decision to re-establish diplomatic relations is correct and wisely it has not raised very high hopes; one fact however, remains. The McMahon Line is erased.

Dr. Mehra's study could not have been deeper and more authentic. It is based totally on primary sources. His documentation is as perfect as can be. After much painstaking research in the National Archives at Delhi and the India Office Library in London he has sifted the evidence with deligence. The volume under review is essentially for the scholar and historian. The lay reader will certainly find it heavy and he will not be able to see the wood because of the trees.

A. J. D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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2. Golden Republicanism by C. A. Stern, the author, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 1970, pp. 118, $ 1·50.

3. History of Aurangzib by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. V, Bombay, Orient Longman Ltd., 1974, pp xii. 390, Rs. 15/-

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6. Protectionist Republicanism by C. A. Stern, the author, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 1971, pp. 138, $ 1·50.

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9. Studies in Indian History by Dr. Chidambara Kulkarni, Bombay, Sri Dvaipayana Trust, 1974, pp. 149, Rs. 40/-.

10. Tutiyn-E-Hinad by N. S. Gorekar, Bombay, Writer's Emporium, 1974, pp. 244.

THE LATE NAWAB ALI YAVAR JUNG

(Birth Date : 16th February 1905 — Death : 11th December 1976)

The following Resolution was passed at a Special Meeting of the Managing Committee held on 27th December 1976 :—

" This meeting places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, ex-Governor of Maharashtra and Chief Patron of the Society.

The Nawabsahib was born on February 16, 1905. Educated at Hyderabad and Oxford, he taught modern history and political science at Osmania University and subsequently held several important posts in the late Hyderabad State. He was Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University in 1945-46 and 1948-52 and Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University from 1965 to 1968. During 1966-1968 he was a member of the University Grants Commission.

The late Nawab Ali Yavar Jung was also a distinguished administrator and diplomat. He led several Indian delegations to the United Nations and was India's Ambassador to several countries, including the United States. His stewardship of the Maharashtra State at a critical period in the nation's history won the plaudits of all sections of the public. The Nawabsahib was thus a man of great versatility, combining in himself the noblest qualities of a scholar, historian, educationist, administrator and diplomat.

The Nawabsahib took great interest in the welfare of the Asiatic Society and the Library, and his help and guidance were always available to the Society. In his sad demise India has lost a profound scholar, a distinguished administrator and a man of great culture and catholicity, and the Society has lost an eminent Patron, a valued friend and a wise guide.

This meeting places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable patronage and guidance extended by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung to the Society, and requests the President to convey its heartfelt sympathies and sincere condolences to his distinguished wife, Begum Zehra Ali Yavar Jung and to the members of his family in their sad bereavement. "

THE LATE PROF. G. D. PARIKH

(b. 7th November 1915 – d. 7th December 1976)

The following Resolution was passed at a Special Meeting of the Managing Committee held on 27th December 1976 :—

" This meeting places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Prof. G. D. Parikh on 7th December 1976.

Prof. Parikh was a noted educationist, academician and administrator, and made a mark in the intellectual life of the country. He was a well-known thinker and writer, and also an effective speaker.

His association with the Asiatic Society of Bombay was long and intimate. He was a life-member of the Asiatic Society from 1941. He was a member of the Managing Committee for a long time and a Vice-President for several years, during which he took keen interest in the working of the Society. In his tragic demise at the early age of 60 years the Asiatic Society of Bombay has lost an eminent member and a valued friend and guide.

This meeting places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Prof. Parikh to the Society and requests the Hon. Secretary to convey its heartfelt sympathies and sincere condolences to his wife Dr. (Mrs.) Indumati Parikh in her sad bereavement."

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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-400 023.

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. Foot-notes, 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.

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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.

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