



Maharashtra

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Maharashtra

Maharashtra is a region of intrinsic beauty; its landscape a mosaic of beaches, mountains, river valleys and plateaus. Over the centuries the geographical boundaries of Maharashtra have altered with the successive dynasties—each of which has left its distinctive imprint on the cultural values and traditions of the state.

This deluxe edition of Marg, produced in collaboration with the Government of Maharashtra, covers a broad spectrum of the unique features of the region; its heritage, its evolution and its people. Commencing with pre-history, the first section traces the cultural denouement of the state, to its present objectives and achievements in the diverse spheres of industry, education, social reform, science and technology.

Subsequent chapters highlight the signal contributions of each historical period to the arts—in sculpture, architecture, painting and literature—and include comprehensive documentation on the motivation and impact of Marathi drama and cinema in the overall Indian context. Also discussed are the many important Maharashtrian communities, with vivid portrayals of their places of pilgrimage, customs, crafts and other salient facets of their cultural ethos.

The text, supplemented by numerous illustrations, culminates in an exciting discussion on the Bombay metropolis—its past and its present.

In this volume, Marg invites its readership to a vibrant celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Maharashtra.

Front Cover:
Top left: Sacrifice in Pavankhind by Dhurandhar (detail)
Top right: Maheshamurti, Elephanta Cave; mid – 6th Century A.D.
Bottom: Marine Drive, Bombay

Back Cover
Top left: Shiva Temple; c 1060 A.D.; Ambernath (Dist. Thane)
Top right: Shivaji's Hon: Maratha (obverse and reverse) Gold; c. A.D. 1674; Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.
Centre: Folio from a *Rasamanjari* Series; Gouache on paper; A.D. 1650; Aurangabad; Private Collection
Bottom left: Turnkey project for Tanzania: Sugar factory machine
Bottom right: Commercial agricultural produce: grape cultivation

End paper:
To the Temple; c 1902 A.D.; Plaster of Paris; Raobahadur G. K. Mhatre; Collection: Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay.

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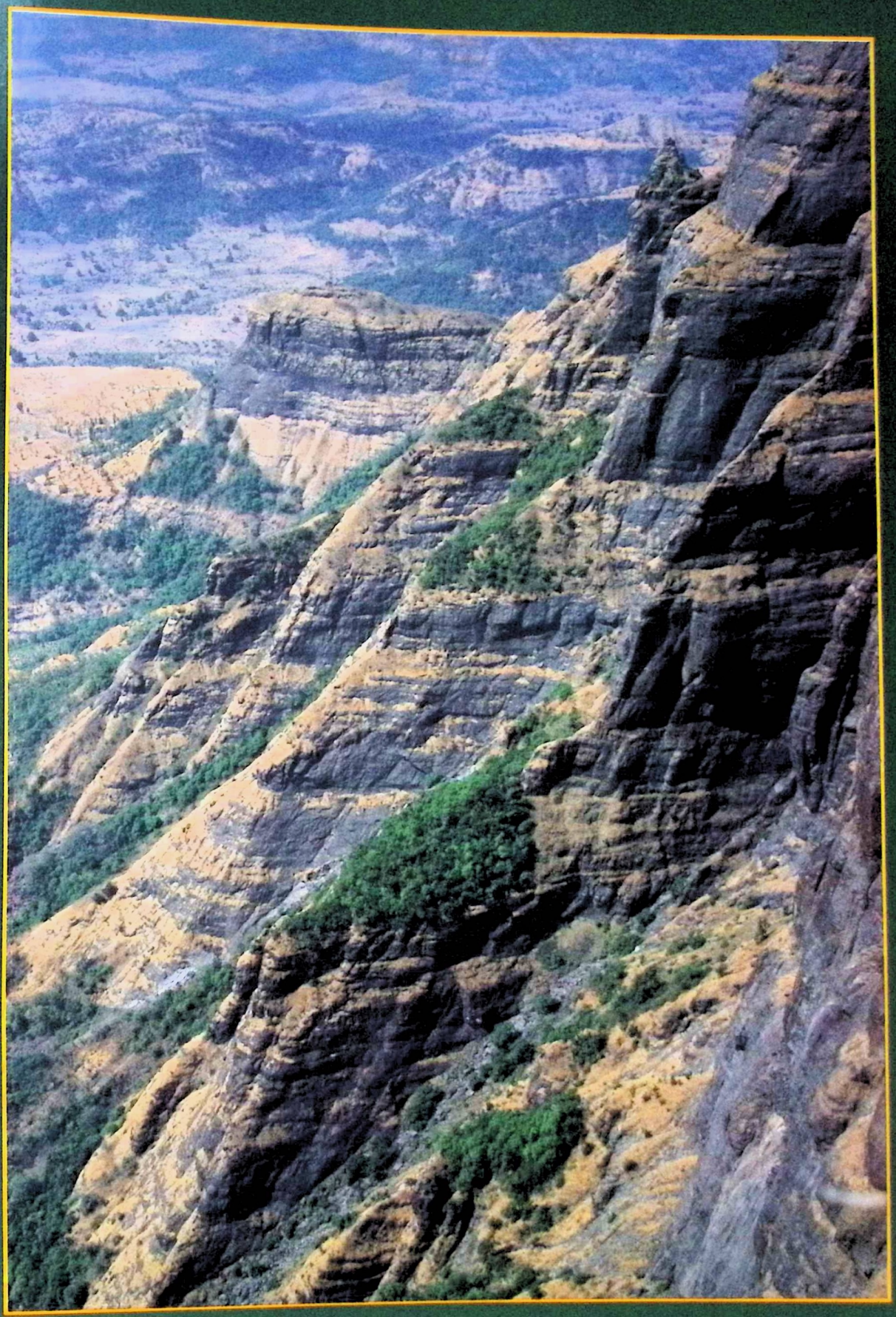
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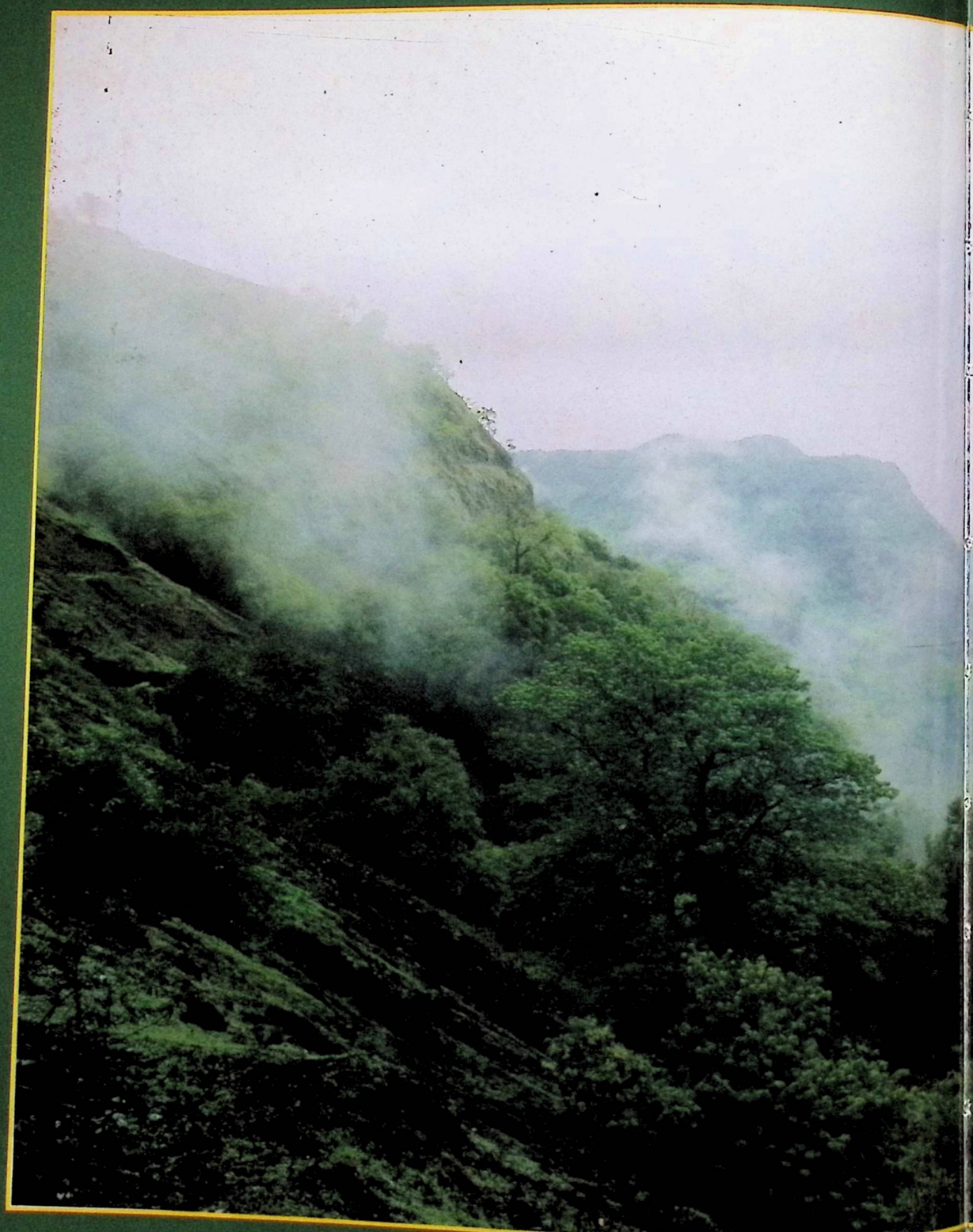
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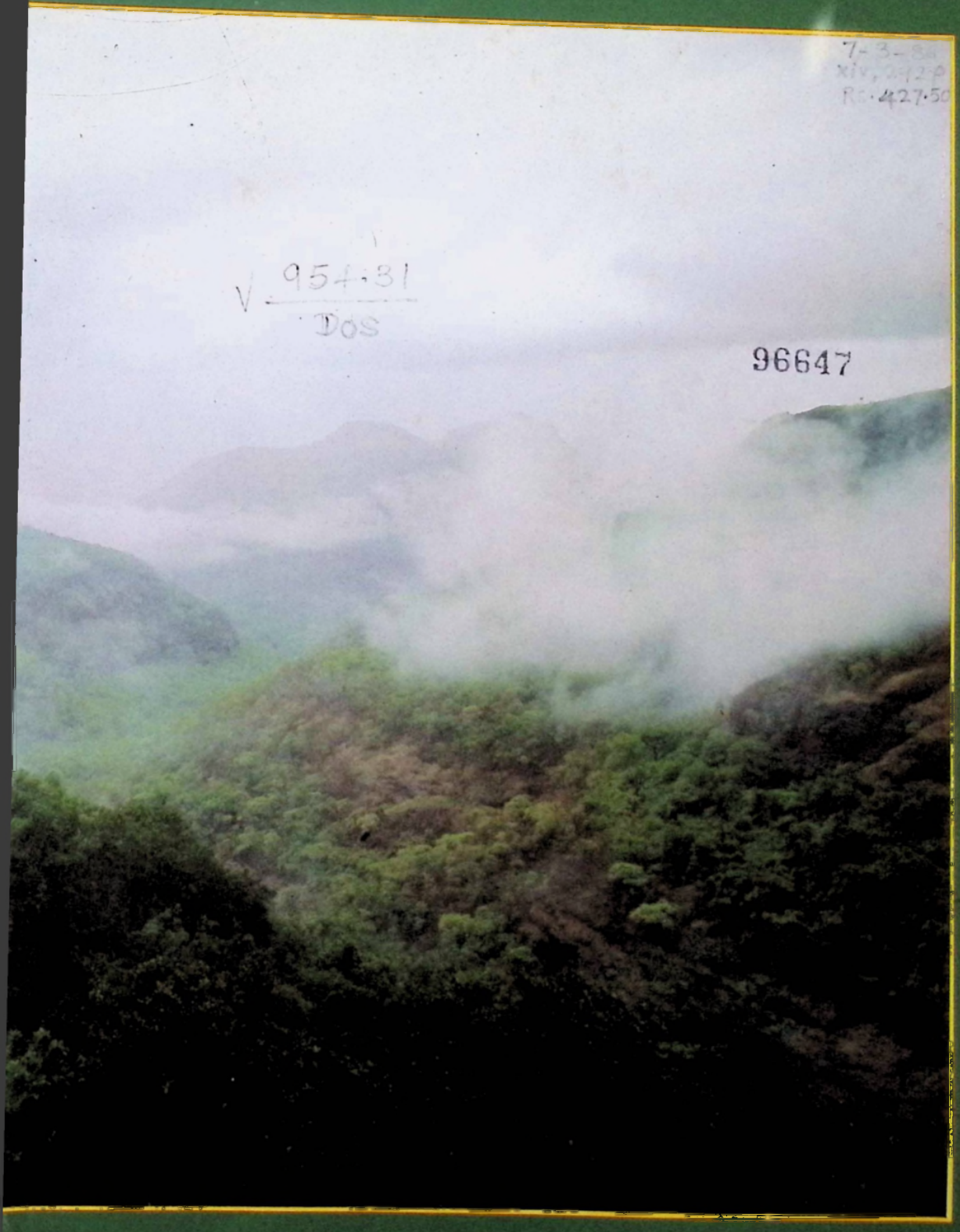
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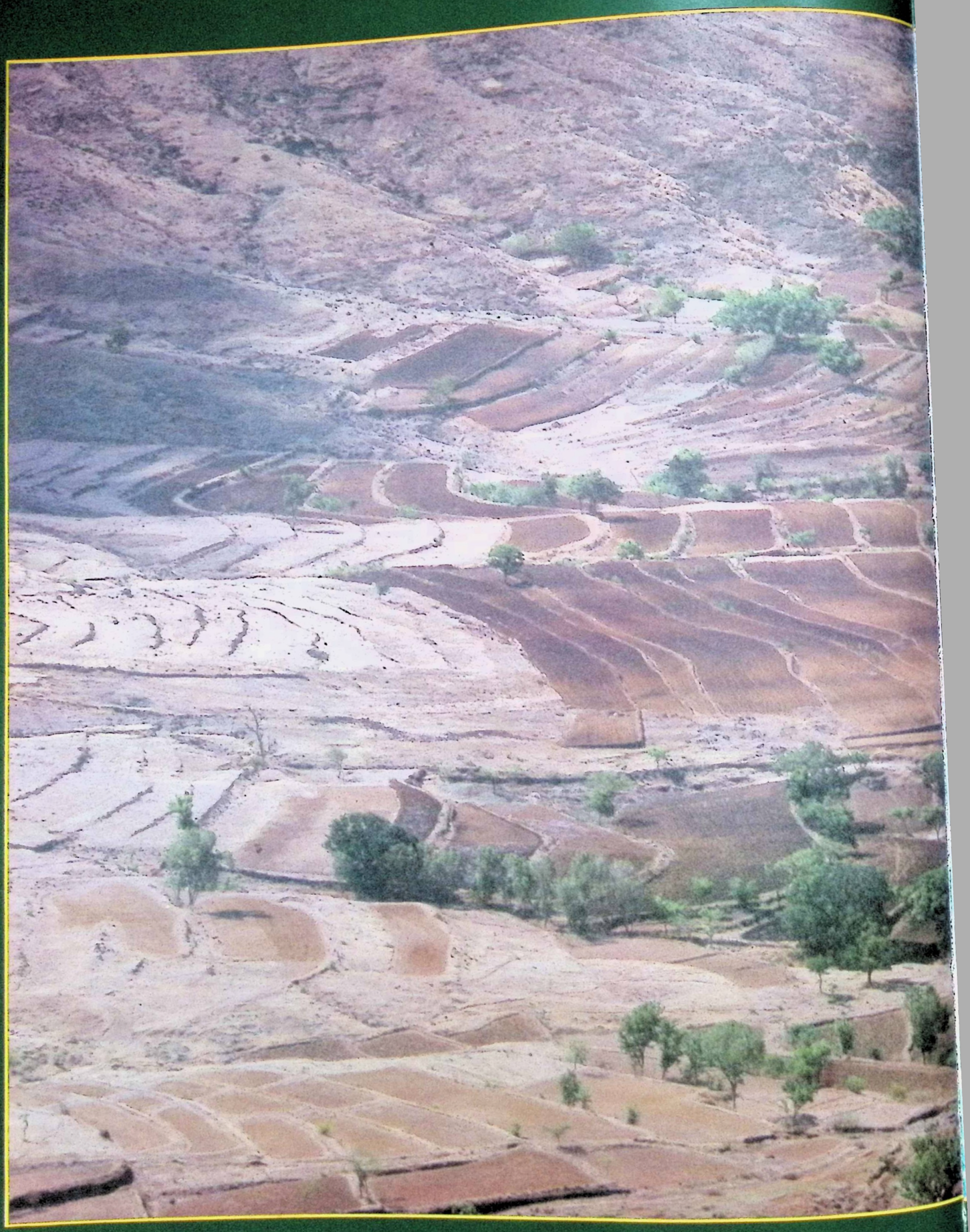
EDITOR:
DR. SARYU DOSHI

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The inspiration for this volume of Marg on Maharashtra came from Governor Idris Latif and Begum Bilkees Latif. It was their desire that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the state be commemorated in a lavishly illustrated volume, in English with a separate Marathi translation, highlighting the various aspects of Maharashtra and its contribution through the ages. Marg Publications accepted their invitation to compile such a volume even though the content included—in addition to art and sculpture—such aspects as economics, science and technology. For, this project provided us with a unique opportunity to work on a vast canvas and depict this state in all its variegated splendour.

The Editor and Publishers express their deep gratitude to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar (Director, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Maharashtra State) and Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar (Director, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay) for their erudite advice in the preparation and compilation of the volume. We are particularly grateful to Shrimati Sumatibai Dhanawate for her valuable suggestions and constant support in this endeavour.

We wish to acknowledge the unstinted help and cooperation extended to us by Shri B. G. Deshmukh (Chief Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra), Shri S. K. Sagane (Director General, Information & Public Relations, Government of Maharashtra), Shri R. S. Wabgaonkar (Deputy Director, Exhibitions, Government of Maharashtra) Shri S. S. Sohoni (Secretary to the Governor of Maharashtra) and Squadron Leader K. Mohanrao, retd. (Staff Officer to the Governor of Maharashtra) in preparing this volume.

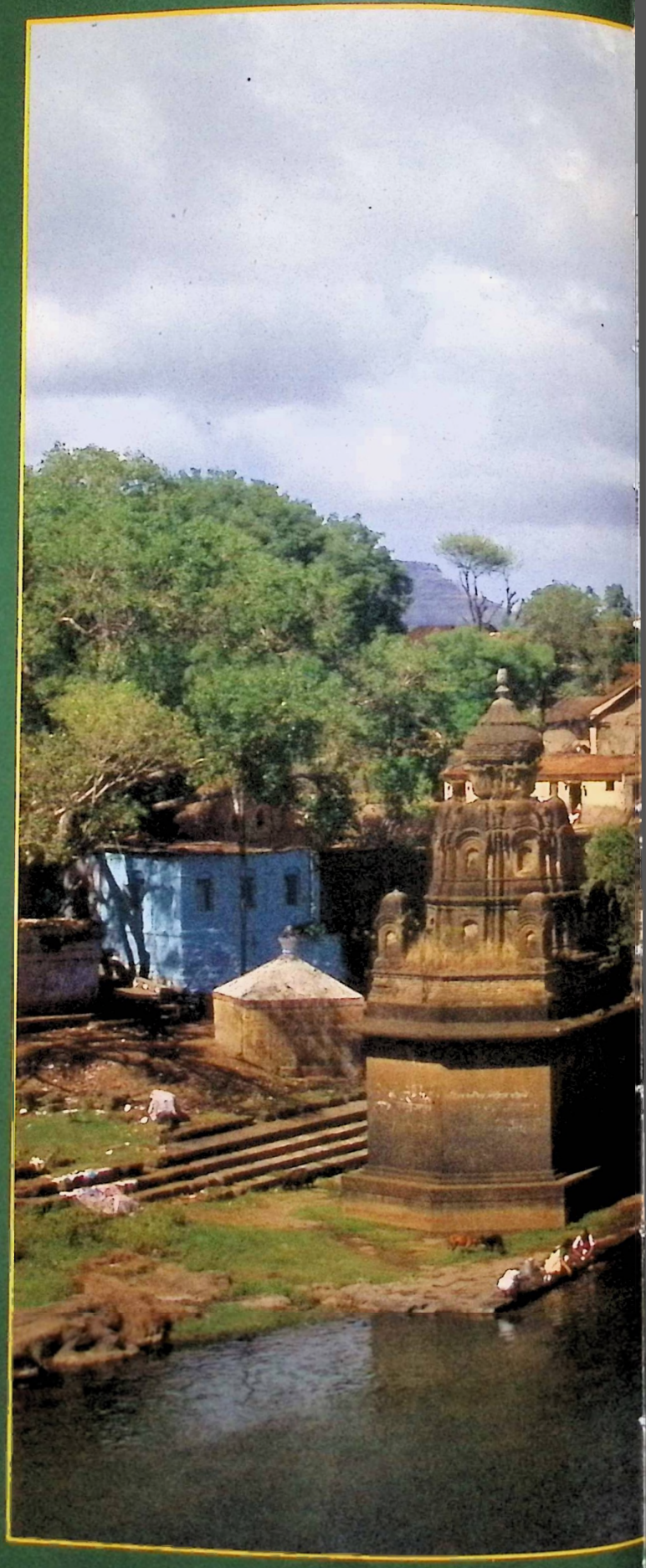
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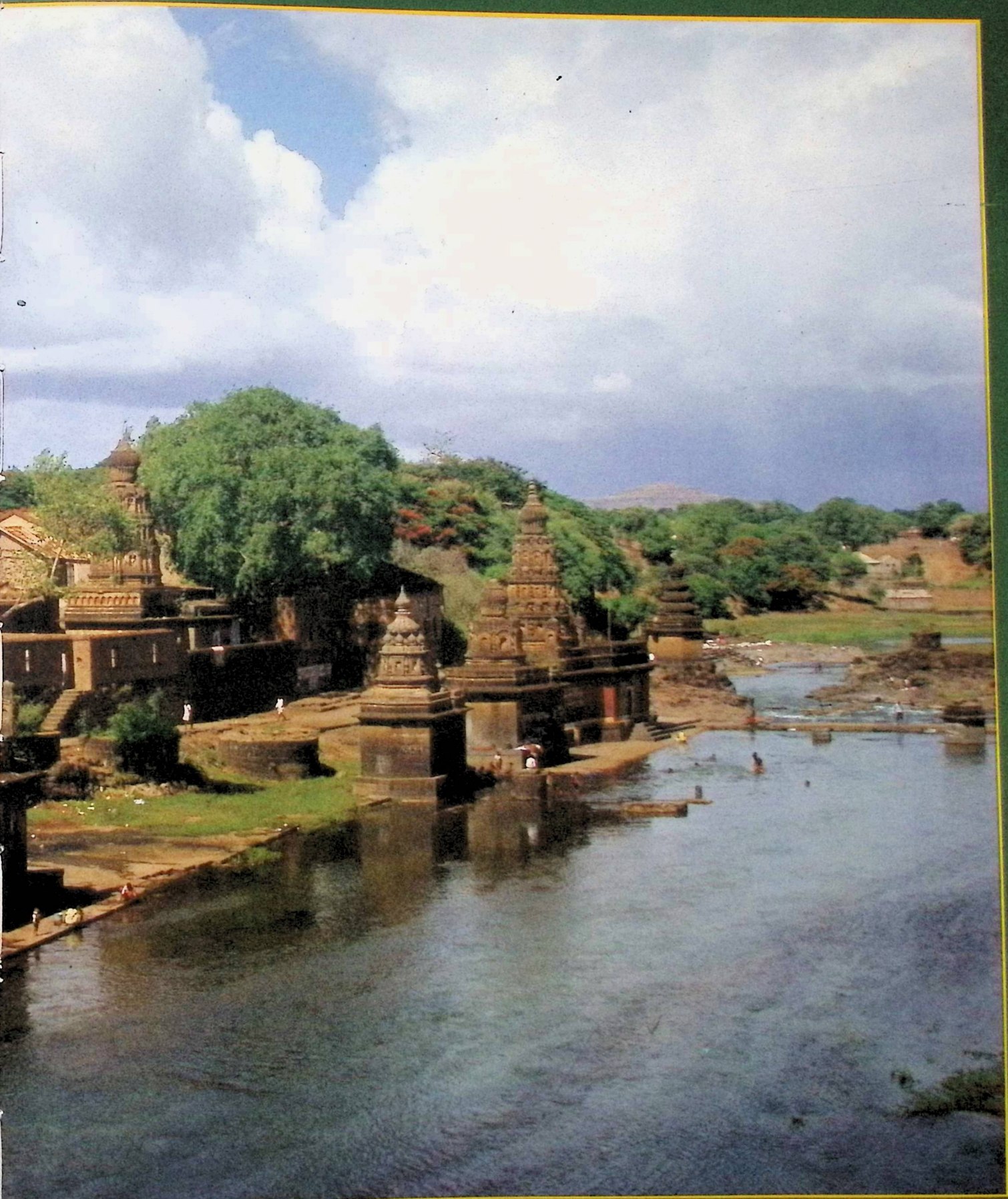
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The Editor also wishes to record her appreciation for the assistance rendered by her editorial staff: Radhika Sabavala, Sudha Seshadri, Behroze J. Bilimoria and Vivek Panchal. To Margaret Mascarenhas she is grateful for her assistance in editing the text and preparing the manuscript for printing.









PRIME MINISTER
INDIA

FOREWORD

Maharashtra has enriched and influenced the nation in numerous ways down the centuries; through the valour of its soldiers and emperors, through the spiritual attainments of its saints and sages, through the beauty of its sculptures, frescos, temples and palaces, and, no less, through the hardihood and industriousness of its farmers, workers and entrepreneurs. Maharashtra is equally known for the pioneering work of its great social reformers and educationists. Its contribution to the freedom movement is immeasurable.

Today's Maharashtra State is twenty-five years old. This is but a small segment in the majestic sweep of Maharashtra history. In these 25 years, the State has taken great strides in industry, agriculture and social welfare. Bombay retains its primacy as the commercial capital of India and a gateway to modernity. Other cities of the State have also left their imprint on the nation. Rural Maharashtra has a good record of self-reliance.

I am sure that this volume, which is being published to mark the silver jubilee of the formation of the State, will help the readers to know more of the good legacy of Maharashtra. My greetings to all Maharashtrians.

(Rajiv Gandhi)

New Delhi
March 27, 1985

During the last three years while my husband had been the Governor of Maharashtra we had come in close touch with people all over the state, both in the urban as well as the rural areas. We often discussed the need for a book about this multi-faceted state and its diverse people, their rich heritage, as well as the spectacular progress that the state has made in education, commerce, industry, the cooperative movement, science and technology. In addition is its deep involvement in our struggle for freedom.

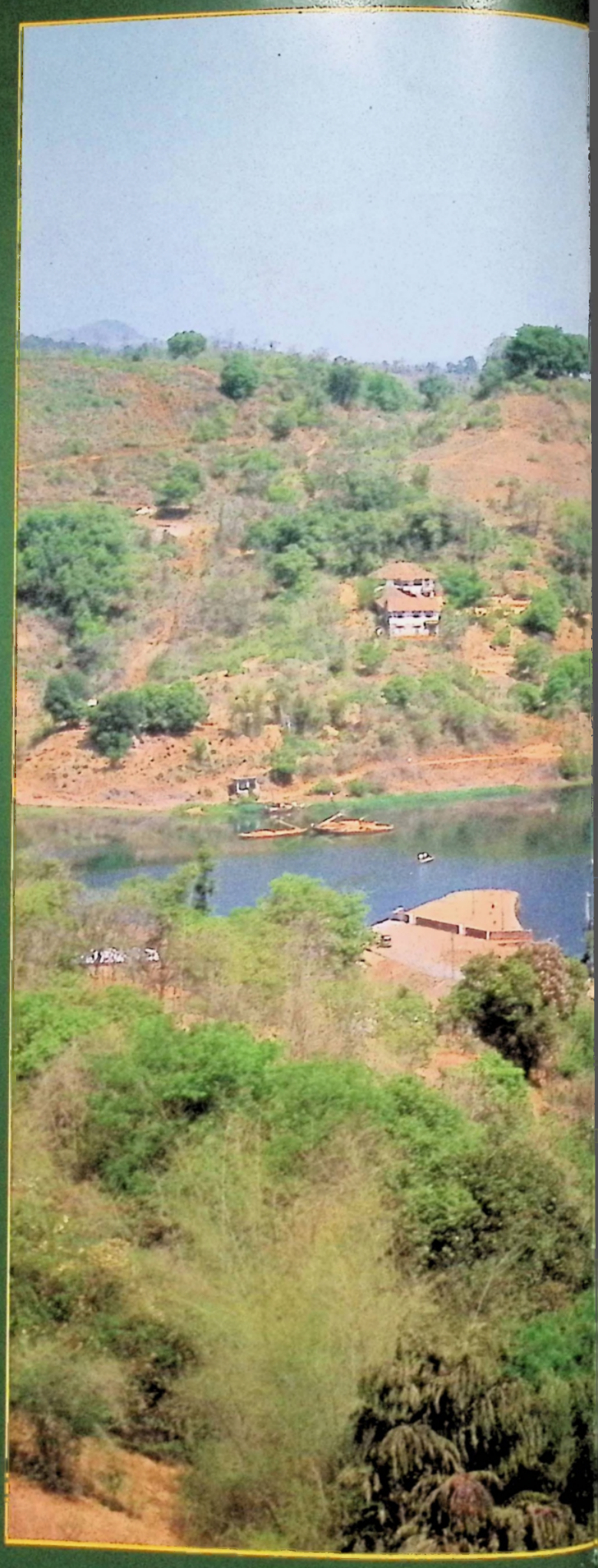
In December 1984 when my husband was requested to take charge of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Maharashtra beginning on May 1, 1985 we held discussions on the varied needs of the state as well as on the proposed celebrations, and a programme was drawn up accordingly. The publication of a comprehensive book in Marathi and English was decided upon, and became my responsibility. Marg publications with its vast expertise and its unfailing standard of excellence was entrusted with the task of publishing this book for the Maharashtra State Government. We discussed the format of the book with involved and well-informed citizens such as Professor A. R. Kulkarni; the Editor of Marg, Dr. Saryu Doshi; and those in charge of the Tata Press. Eminent and well-informed citizens have contributed material for the book. I thank each one of them, for this book had to be worthy of the importance of the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of this state, as is recorded in the chapters that follow.

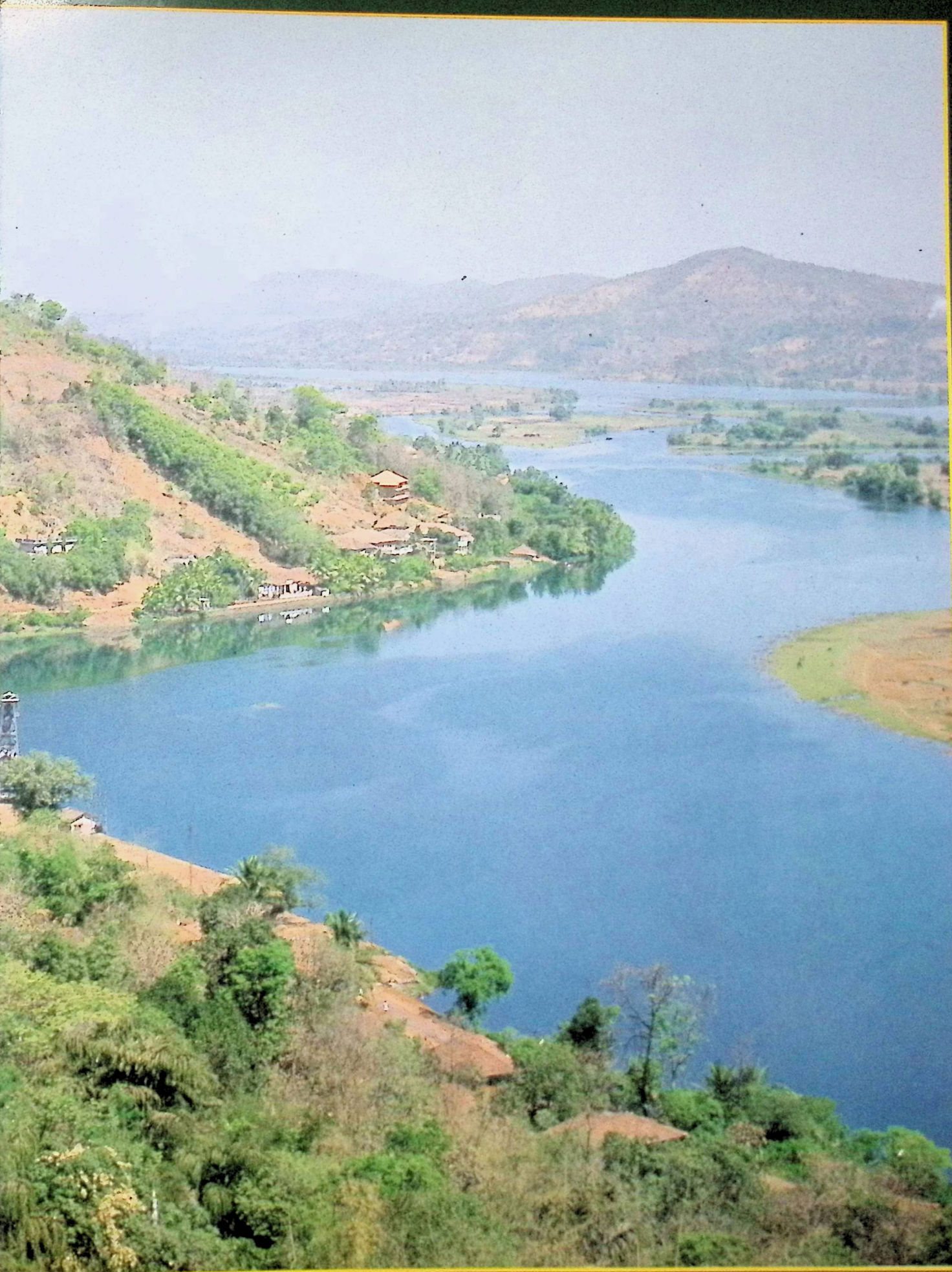
We are honoured and touched by the gesture of our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who has written the foreword. We are deeply grateful to him.

As in every state, there are challenges and problems as well as successes in this state of ours. My husband decided to give the celebrations another dimension by initiative programmes which would be meaningful for the rural areas where, as Mahatma Gandhi said, "The heart of India beats."

People belonging to different castes and creeds live together all over Maharashtra. Bombay, the capital, is the most cosmopolitan city in India. There is a need to know and understand the traditions, the heritage and the ethos of the people as it has developed through the ages. The Silver Jubilee celebrations and this book will have greater meaning if they serve to promote understanding and closeness that may inspire us to follow in the glorious traditions of tolerance and cooperation set by our earlier leaders. For us Maharashtra is region of warmth and light, and of wonderful people.

Bilkees Latif





K. Prabhakara Rao

GOVERNOR
OF
MAHARASHTRA

Raj Bhavan, Bombay

MESSAGE

Maharashtra has made a glorious contribution to national progress and prosperity over the last twenty-five years since the formation of the State on 1 May 1960. Maharashtra today is a pace-setter for other States in the country and the achievements in fields as diverse as those of industry, commerce, agriculture, irrigation, power, ecology and sports - to name a few - are noteworthy.

The people of the State are admired for their patriotism, industriousness, capability to bear hardships in times of difficulty, and their cultural and artistic traditions. The land and the people of Maharashtra present a fascinating study of the dynamics of a rapidly progressing modern State strengthening national unity and the process of development in the country.

This book is being brought out by the Government of Maharashtra, in the Silver Jubilee Year of the State, to provide glimpses into the life of the people in Maharashtra. On this auspicious occasion, I take great pleasure in conveying my best wishes to the proud and progressive people of Maharashtra for their continued success in the years to come.

K. Prabhakara Rao

(Kona Prabhakara Rao)

CHIEF MINISTER

MAHARASHTRA

Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032
Date:

As part of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the State, it was decided by the State Government to sponsor a prestigious, comprehensive publication on Maharashtra to be brought out by Marg Publications of Bombay, which would unfold in an impressive manner the glorious past of this ancient land now fashioned into one of the highly progressive States of the Indian Union and highlight its spectacular achievements during the past quarter of a century in various fields of human activity.

For about 2000 years, Maharashtra, with its distinctive qualities of heart and mind, swayed the course of Indian history playing an important role in shaping of the things to come. Its saint-poets, apostles of peace and universal brotherhood, carried the flag of the Bhagwat Dharma far and wide across the borders of this land, north and south and east and west. These men of God helped break barriers of caste, creed and religion. They were the champions of equality at the feet of God. No wonder, in this land endowed with such a rich heritage was born the Great Shivaji, the formidable Maratha king, a true visionary, who by his exemplary acts and deeds, upheld the noble principle of 'Sarvadharmasamabhav' and furthered it meticulously.

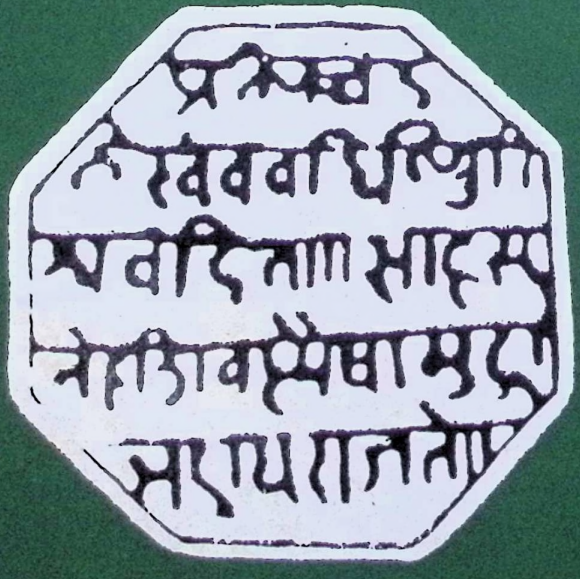
Maharashtra is a land of warriors - of brave men wielding sword with indomitable spirit on the battle-field as also of men fighting a relentless battle to bring about radical social and political reforms. It provided a galaxy of great political leaders and social reformers who dominated the national scene and left an indelible mark on the national history. It played a glorious part in the country's freedom struggle.

As in the past, in the independent India too, Maharashtra continued to play a positive and constructive role at the national level.

I hope that all these distinctive aspects of Maharashtra's personality will be aptly reflected in the pages of the Marg Publications book, which is being brought out to mark the Silver Jubilee of formation of the State.

Bombay
November 4,1985

(Shivajirao Patil Nilangekar)
Chief Minister



Shivaji's Seal

Past and Present

भूतकाळ आणि वर्तमान

राकट देशा, कणखर देशा, दगडांच्या देशा ।
नाजुक देशा कोमल देशा, फुलांच्याही देशा ।
अंजनकाचन करवंदीच्या काटेरी देशा ।
बकुलफुलांच्या प्राजक्तीच्या दर्‍याखोर्‍या देशा ।।
भावभक्तिच्या देशा आणिक बुद्धीच्या देशा ।
शाहिरांच्या देशा, कर्त्या मर्दांच्या देशा ।।
ध्येय जें तुझ्या अंतरीं
निशाणवती नाचतें करीं ।।
जोडीस इहपरलोकांसी व्यवहार परमार्थासी ।।
वैभवासि वैराग्यासी ।।

– राम गणेश गडकरी



Our Land

Binod Rao

For many years before it came to be fashioned into a State of the Indian Union in 1960, Maharashtra lived in the hearts and minds of millions of Marathi-speaking people scattered in different regions of India. Desh (according to a thirteenth century document) was one such region; from Phaltan down south to the Balghat range was another; the Godavari valley a third; from the Godavari valley to Makhar Ghat area, yet another; while the entire tract onward that was Varad (Vidarbha) was the last.

From this heartland of the western Deccan the distinctive Maharashtra *dharma*, blending the heritage of the northern Aryans and the southern Dravidians, has, for 2,000 years, swayed the course of Indian history. It threw up the great Shivaji; made the Marathas the most formidable military-political force in the mid-eighteenth century; and carried their arms right up to the banks of the Indus. It has given them an honoured place not only in geopolitics but in the life of India.

These regions, under different dynasties and with different backdrops, were nevertheless bound together by a common language and culture which ran like a thread through them all. The earliest dynasty on record, that of the Rashtrakutas of Maharashtra, was a part of Ashoka's empire, in the third century B.C. The Satavahanas ruled from Paithan in Marathwada for three centuries from the first century B.C. But the change of rulers did not break the cultural continuity of Maharashtra.

The settlers who came to the Maratha land from the big kingdoms of the north, named this land Maharashtra. They mingled with the Kolis and the Kathodis, the Bhils and the Gonds, and propagated the older folk strains in Maharashtra. The first step towards forming the Maratha community was taken by the Rattas. In the seventh century a few people from this community who excelled the rest came to be regarded as *maha* (great).

Over the centuries the Marathas have undergone many vicissitudes but, thanks to their essential identity, have always succeeded in regrouping themselves. Today, the old order is giving way to the new with the advent of high technology, and Maharashtra's capital has moved from Paithan in the east to Bombay in the uttermost west.

The state now consists of the palm-fringed coast of the Konkan, the rugged tract of Desh, the cotton-growing region of Vidarbha and the *jyotirlinga*-studded land of Marathwada. It is a culturally rich, visually variegated and economically promising scenario. The dearly cherished dream of the Marathi-speaking people is at last fulfilled in the formation of Maharashtra. The linguistic and communal integration in Maharashtra is so deep that it relates not merely to the state but to the entire country. The thesis that every Indian living in Maharashtra is a Maharashtrian, and every Maharashtrian is an Indian, establishes *ipso facto* an indissoluble golden bond between each state and the Indian Union, and between each state and all other units of the Union. When Maharashtra's first Chief Minister, Yashwantrao Chavan, spoke in 1962 of the Sahyadris rushing to the aid of the Himalayas, he was not doing so in vain. He was giving expression to Maharashtra's status as a factor in India's body politic. In earlier years, the change of dynasties and rulers did not impinge on the cultural continuity of the Marathas. Similarly, the quick turnover of political bosses in modern Maharashtra—ten Cabinets in the space of 25 years—happily, has not affected the standards of government administration or its effort on the public's behalf. This is due both to the good sense of the successive political leaders in the government and the high calibre of the permanent civil servants.

Jawaharlal Nehru drew on a Maharashtra cameo to picture India's personality. Pointing from Bombay's Gateway of India to the two sides of the bay—to the ancient temple of

Elephanta and the modern temple that houses the nation's atomic reactors at Trombay, he said they exemplified India's ageless quality along with its march with the times. The part of India that is Maharashtra reflects this attribute in abundant measure.

It abounds in shrines of all religions and its air resounds with echoes of hymns created by a luminous galaxy of saint-poets across four centuries. Here Dnyaneshwar and Namdeo, Ramdas and Tukaram, Mukundraj and Eknath preached the doctrine of *bhakti* and equality at the feet of the Lord. They sanctified Paithan and Alandi, Dehu and Pandharpur with their presence and their work. Presiding at Pandharpur is the god Pandurang Vithoba, the titular deity of Maharashtra, worshipped by more devotees than any other. In a world darkened by the shadows of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the *abhangs* and *ovis* of the saints must bring relief to troubled minds as balm does to a wounded limb.

Five of the twelve *jyotirlingas* in India are in Maharashtra: at Ghrushneshvara near Ellora; Aundhya Nagnath in Parbhani; Parli Vaijnath in Beed; Trimbakeshvara in Nasik; and Bhimashankar in the Pune District. A *jyotirlinga* is the site of Shiva's phallic symbol that has established itself unaccountably.

Maharashtra's secular sweep is seen in the fact that it serves as the site of the Sikhs' most sacred city in peninsular India. The city is Nanded, where the ashes of the tenth (and the last) Guru,Gobind Singh Maharaj lie buried at a spot where now stands the *gurudvara* of Huzur Saheb. Hindus too worship at the *gurudvara*.

Life in the villages revolves round *yatras* (pilgrimages), *jatras* (fairs) and festivals. Picturesque features embellish the festivals. A place called Battis Shirale in the Sangli District is the scene of one of these. For a week before *Nag Panchami* Day the inhabitants of Battis Shirale engage in rounding up serpents from the forests, bringing them home, depositing them in earthen pots and feeding them. On *Nag Panchami* Day the reptiles are taken out of the pots, worshipped and carried in procession in bullock carts and chariots. People even play with them as they believe the snakes will not bite on a day dedicated to them. On the following day the reptiles are released into their natural habitats.

Maharashtrians' distinctive style of celebration of the Ganapati festival mirrors their political sensibility. It was Lokmanya Tilak who gave a national and patriotic orientation to the festival by inventing the *sarvajanik* Ganapati to carry his freedom cry, "*Swaraj* is my birthright," to the masses. With the result that the yearly event serves as a sacred reminder of the nature of national independence.

Maharashtra is a place where the visual arts, the plastic arts and the performing arts flourish. Bombay offers the enthusiast a sampling of western culture in addition to its own variegated forms. The many museums and galleries of contemporary art, theatres and concert halls as well as the busy schedules of cultural events, testify not only to the activity of the artistes but to the involvement of the State Government and the merchant princes.

Marathi theatre presents new, challenging and rebellious themes. Marathi cinema reveals greater sensibility than most of the standard Hindi films and it is possible to detect in it a somewhat finer value judgement. The television medium complements that of stage and screen.

Against this backdrop it is easy to visualise Maharashtra as a magnet that has drawn exponents of music and dance forms from all over the country and afforded them scope for growth. Kathak and Kathakali, Kuchipudi and Bharata Natyam, Manipuri, Odissi and Mohini Attam—all these styles and schools have found unrivalled opportunities in Maharashtra's many concert halls for exposure to discerning audiences and generous patrons. So have the maestros of the various music *gharanas*. Lata Mangeshkar, whose celebrated voice is heard around the world in a record number of 25,000 songs over millions of discs—where could she be from but Maharashtra?

Meanwhile, folk forms are in the process of revival. Among them are the *powadas*, lilting ballads recounting "battles long ago;" the slapstick *tamasha*, of which the ornamental *lavani* dance done by women is a well-known motif; and different Koli (fisherfolk) dances. *Bharud* is a musical composition sung and danced by a group, a humorous mix of parody and analogy with an underlying spiritualism. The *bharud* "Scorpion Bite" composed by Eknath is sung with gusto to this day.

The plastic arts assume monumental form in Maharashtra's cave-temples, which account for eighty percent of all there are in India. The 34 caves at Ellora represent three religious groups—Buddhist, Jain and Hindu. The most fantastic of these shrines is the Kailasanatha. At Ajanta, where murals catch the eye, the original paint that was mixed and used here 1,500 years ago, can still be seen.

The Maharashtrian is heir at one and the same time to the martial traditions set by an imposing array of war leaders and to the gentle ways of the long line of saints who inhabited this part of the earth. So, while he will not bow to injustice and tyranny, he does not spoil for a fight; his own psyche and the ethos of his environment are against such a stance. The rivers of Maharashtra not only irrigate his lands and generate electric power, but are the sites of shrines and *ghats* where the

1 *Tutari* player heralding an auspicious event

2 Vidhan Bhavan, Bombay

3 High-rise buildings of Bombay

4 Anjuman Parsi fire temple

5 Hindu Shrine at Mahuli near Satara

6 Haji Ali Darga built in honour of Pir Mama Hajani, Bombay

7 Our Lady of Salvation Church at Dadar, Bombay

8 *Gurudvara* of Huzur Saheb, Nanded

9 A Jain *puja*

10 *Pola* festival, Dhairi, Pune

11 Hanging brass lamp portraying a female acrobat Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

12 *Gokulashtami* celebrations

13 Asia's largest optical telescope manufactured at Walchandnagar for the Indian Institute of Astrophysics, Bangalore

14 Heavy vehicle assembly line, Pune

15 *Lavni* performance, Pune

16 'Damayanti' by Raja Ravi Verma of Kerala who spent many years painting in Maharashtra

17 Ganapati celebrations in Bombay

18 Maharashtrian lady in traditional attire

19 Sunil Gavaskar, leading Indian Test cricketer

20 Lata Mangeshkar, world-renowned singer

21 *Kirtan*

22 Cooperative Milk Scheme: trucks transporting milk from rural to urban areas at the Worli Dairy, Bombay

23 Kalidas Memorial, Ramtek

24 Bapu Kutir, Wardha

25 *Khele,* folk performance, Ratnagiri

26 The Khadilkar Sisters, international women chess players

27 Michael Ferreira, ex-world billiards champion

28 Nandu Natekar, badminton champion

29 Vasant Kanetkar and Ranjeet Desai, leading *litterateurs*

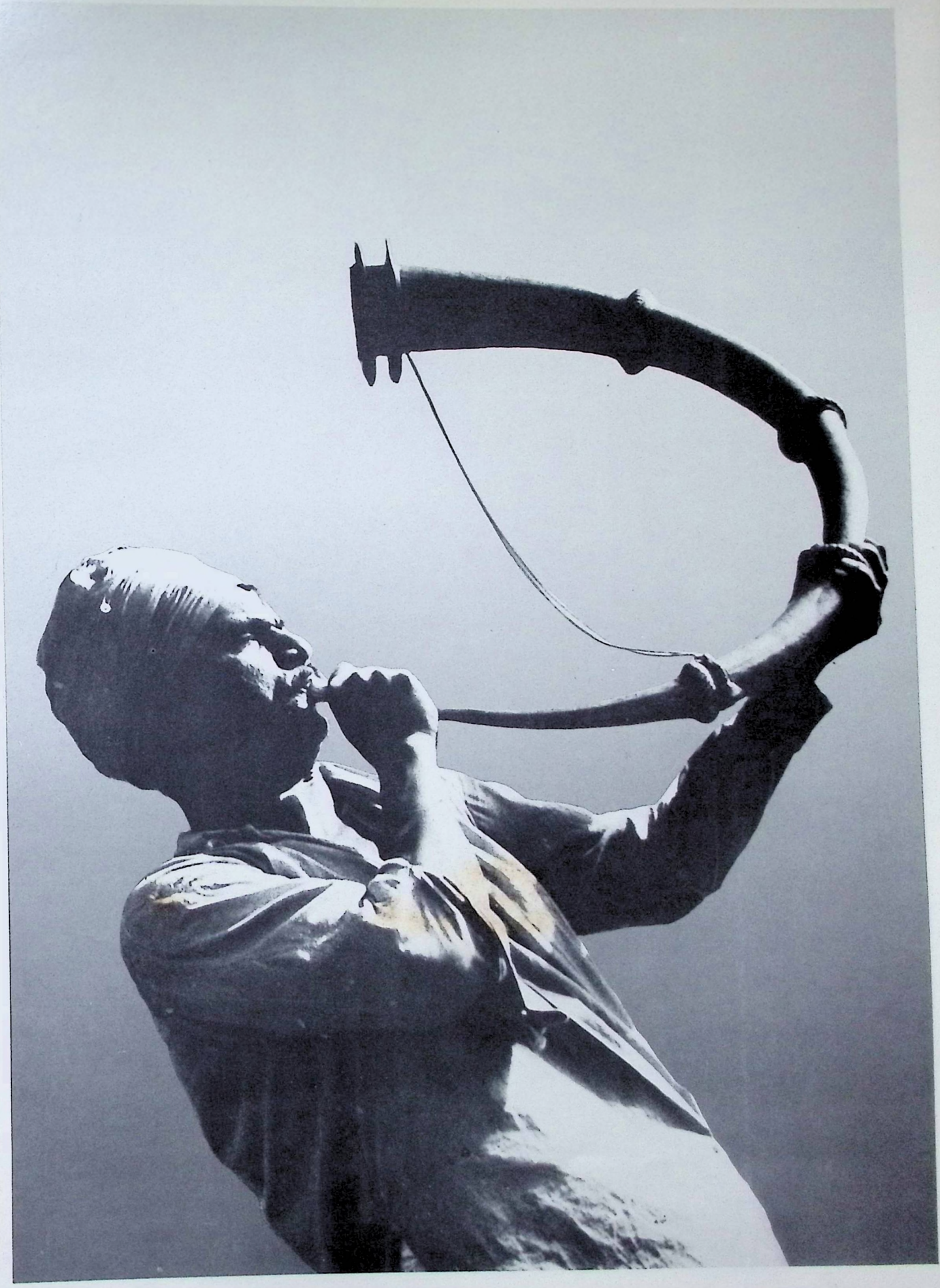
30 Bhanu Athaiya, the costume designer who won an Oscar for the film *Gandhi*

31 Acharya Atre with Vinoba Bhave, a national leader

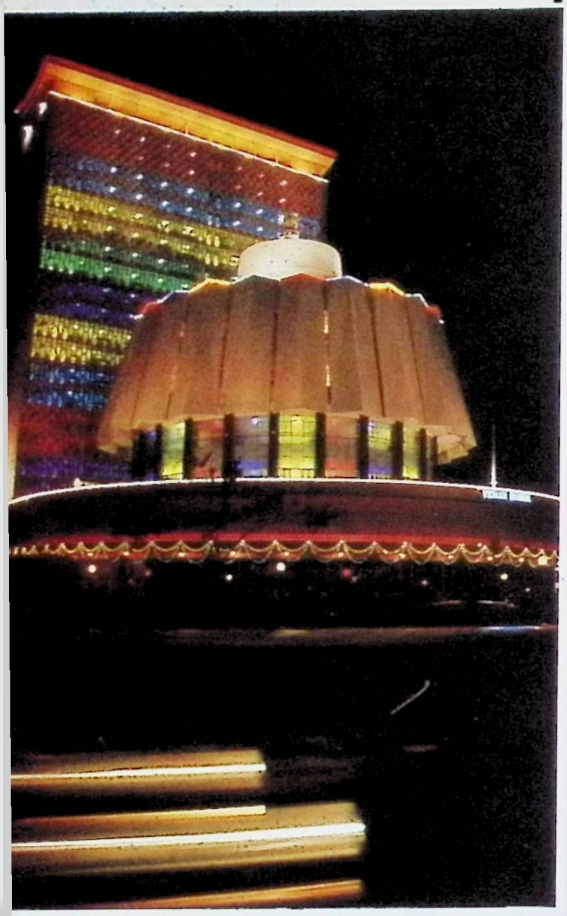
32 The Mangeshkars—a family of musical talent

33 Bhimsen Joshi, one of the foremost exponents of Indian classical music

34 Govind Nihalani directing a film; Bombay is the centre of the Hindi film industry

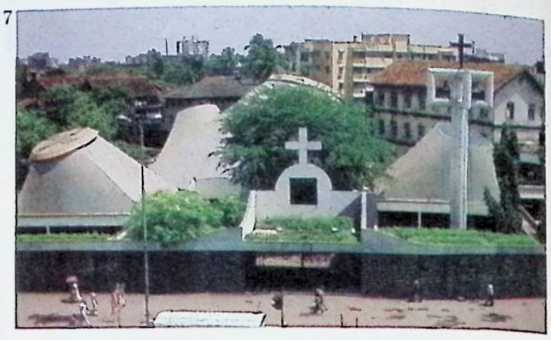


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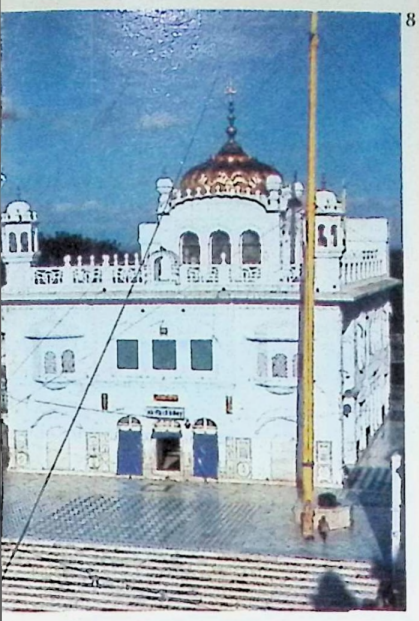












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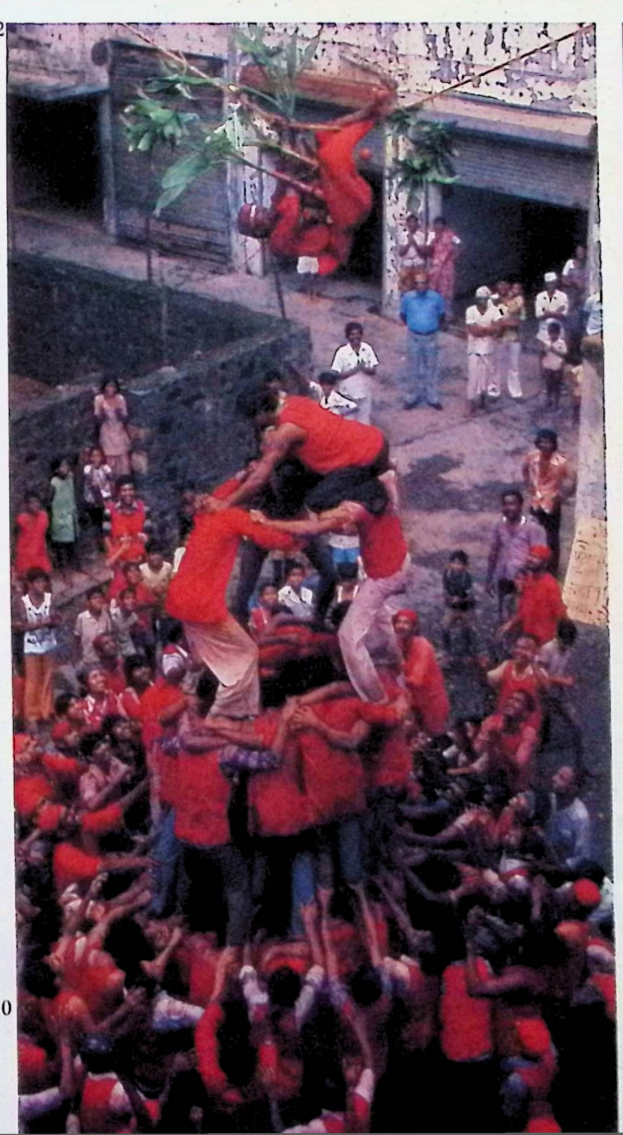
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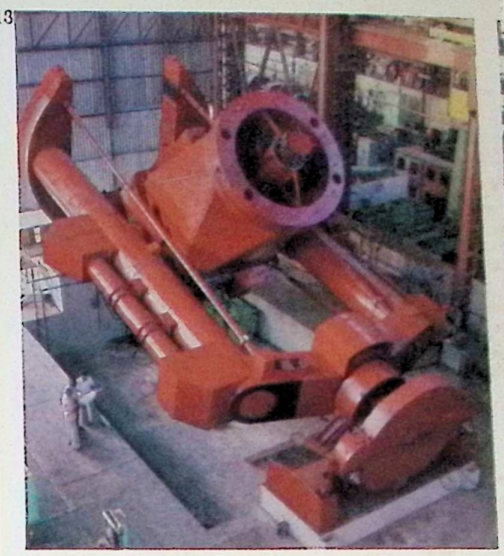
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Glimpses of Maharashtra



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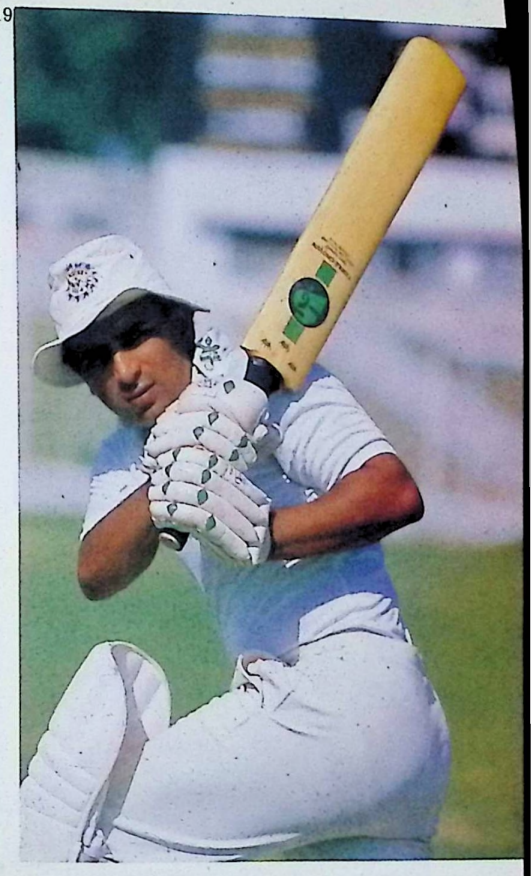
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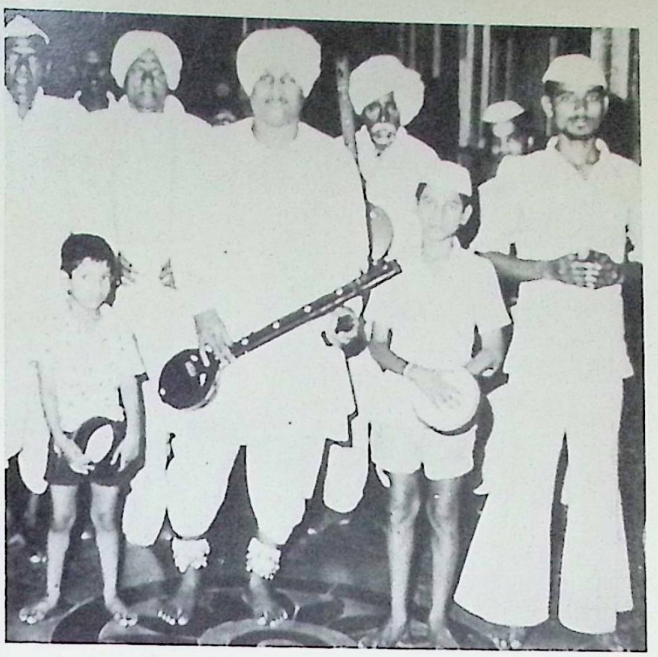


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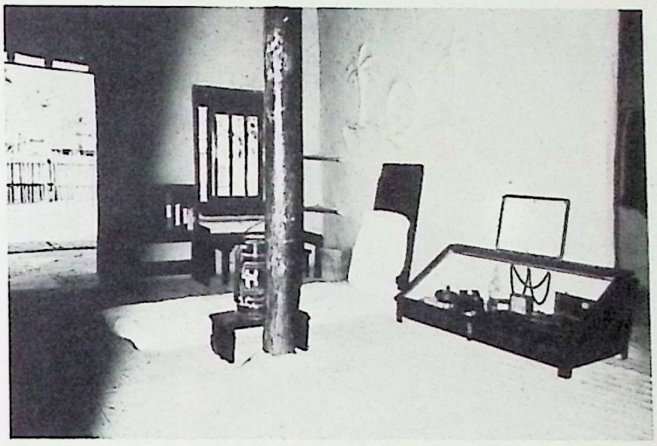
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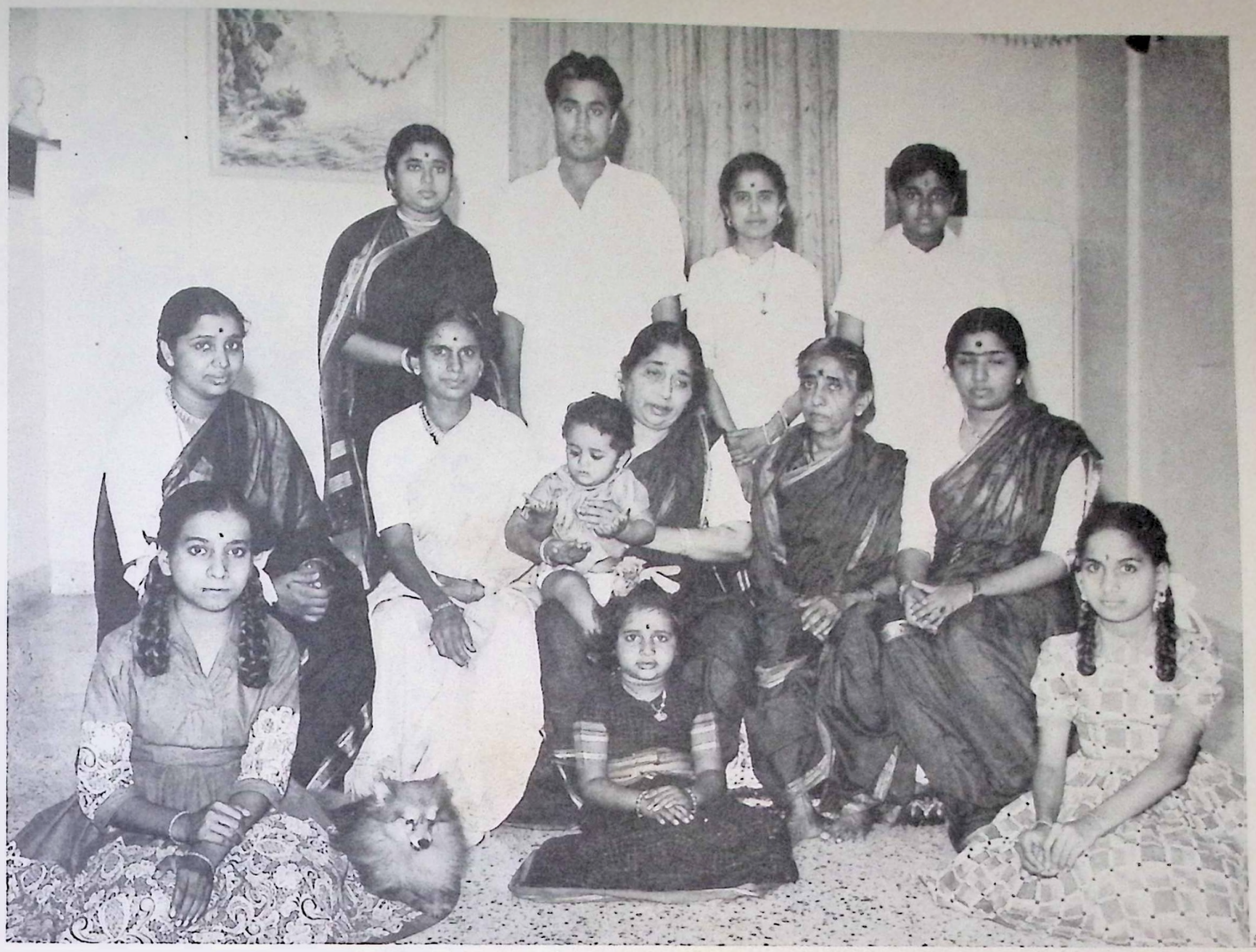
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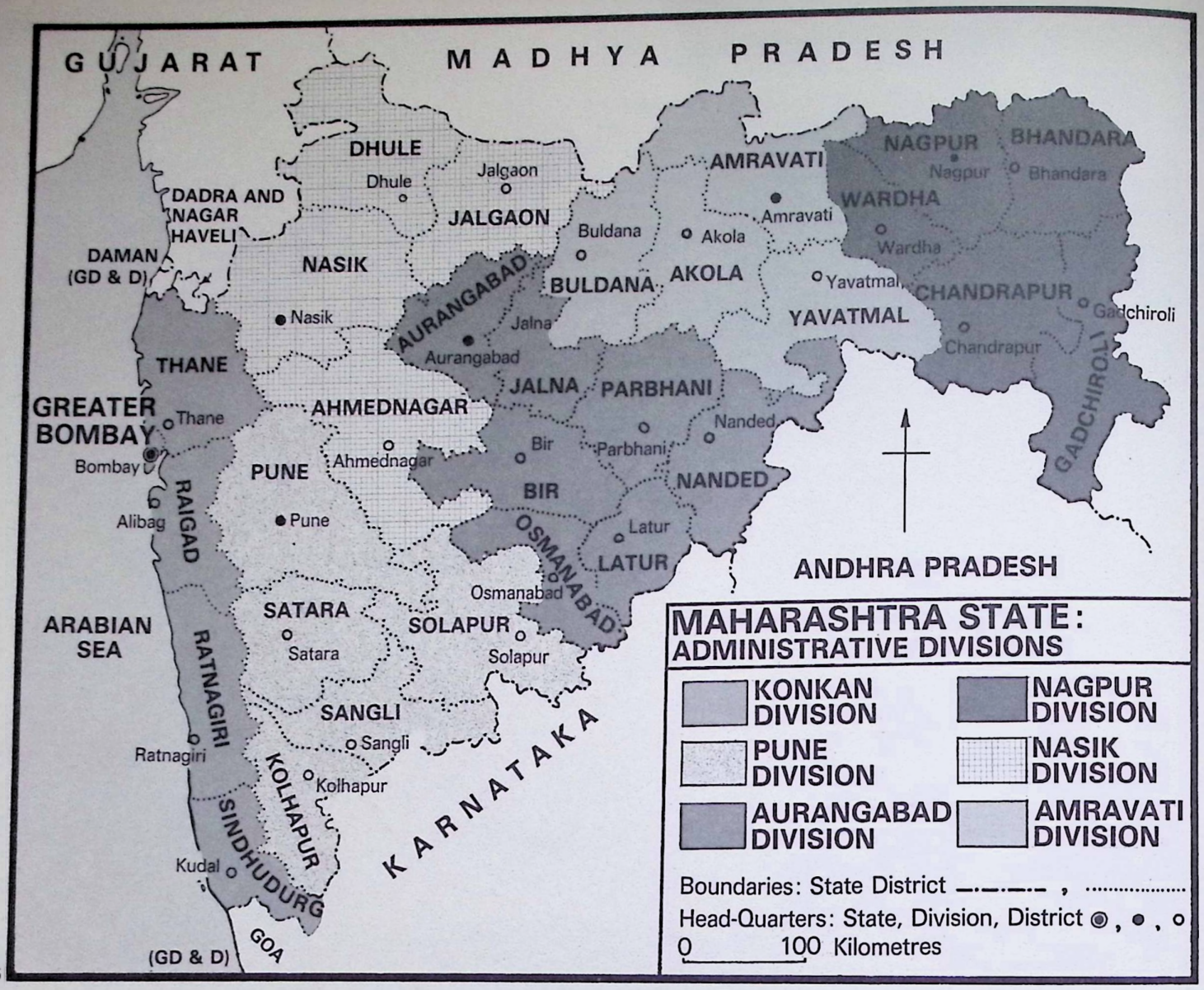
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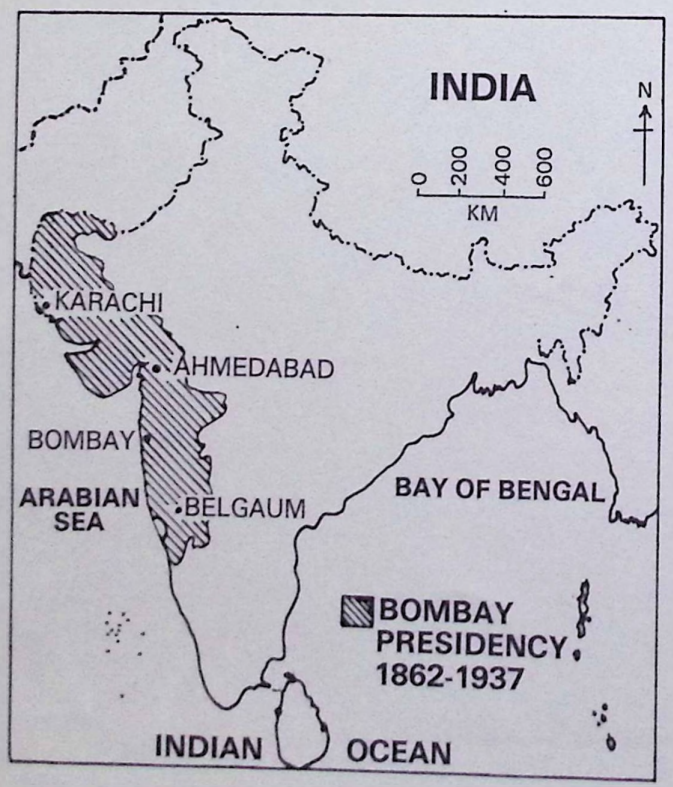
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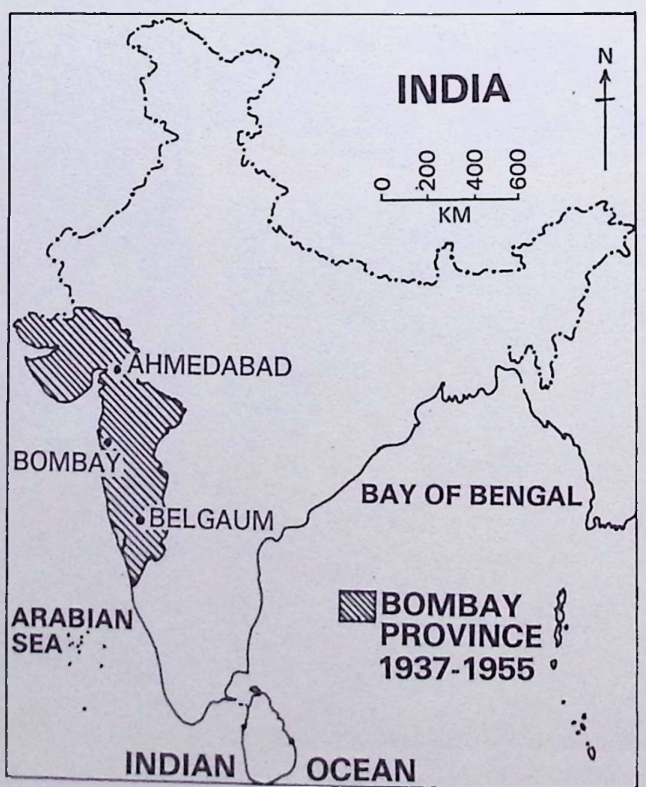
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GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
DHULE
Dhule
Jalgaon
JALGAON
AMRAVATI
Amravati
NAGPUR
Nagpur
BHANDARA
Bhandara
WARDHA
Wardha
DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI
DAMAN (GD & D)
NASIK
Nasik
Buldana
Akola
BULDANA
AKOLA
Yavatmal
YAVATMAL
CHANDRAPUR
Chandrapur
Gadchiroli
GADCHIROLI
AURANGABAD
Jalna
Aurangabad
JALNA
PARBHANI
Parbhani
Nanded
NANDED
THANE
Thane
GREATER BOMBAY
Bombay
AHMEDNAGAR
Ahmednagar
Bir
BIR
PUNE
Pune
Alibag
RAIGAD
OSMANABAD
Latur
LATUR
Osmanabad
ANDHRA PRADESH
ARABIAN SEA
SATARA
Satara
SOLAPUR
Solapur
RATNAGIRI
Ratnagiri
SANGLI
Sangli
KOLHAPUR
Kolhapur
SINDHUDURG
Kudal
KARNATAKA
GOA
(GD & D)
MAHARASHTRA STATE:
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
KONKAN DIVISION
NAGPUR DIVISION
PUNE DIVISION
NASIK DIVISION
AURANGABAD DIVISION
AMRAVATI DIVISION
Boundaries: State District
Head-Quarters: State, Division, District
0 100 Kilometres

35


INDIA
N
0 200 400 600
KM
KARACHI
AHMEDABAD
BOMBAY
ARABIAN SEA
BELGAUM
BAY OF BENGAL
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
1862-1937
INDIAN OCEAN

36


INDIA
N
0 200 400 600
KM
AHMEDABAD
BOMBAY
BELGAUM
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
BOMBAY PROVINCE
1937-1955
INDIAN OCEAN

37

35 Maharashtra State: Administrative Divisions

36-39 The changing boundaries of Maharashtra

Maharashtrian prays, meditates, bathes and purifies his soul. The territory extending from Nasik to Nanded, the basin of the Godavari, is Maharashtra's holy ground where most of its saint-poets lived, preached, won people's hearts and passed away. On the other hand, the Sahyadri and Satpuda Ranges provided sites for the formidable fortresses that Shivaji built and from which he defied, harried, fought and finally defeated his mighty adversaries. Pratapgad and Raigad, Sinhagad and Vishalgad, Panchala and Purandar will continue to evoke memories of a glorious past.

Thus, sanctified by the rivers and the saints, and emboldened and fortified by the forts, the people of Maharashtra have learnt to live peacefully when they can, and dangerously when they must. Not easy to persuade, not easy to lead, they only yield, observes the historian G. Yazdani, to one who is able to convince their reason as well as to captivate their hearts.

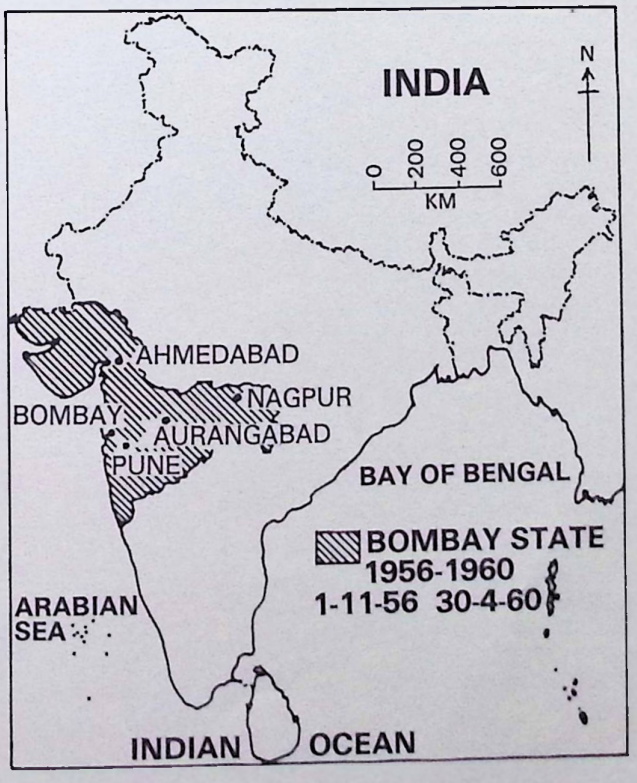
Between them, the farmer, the worker and the entrepreneur will largely determine Maharashtra's future. All of them share, in the light of their respective circumstances a willingness and capacity to move with the times.

The farmer, by nature and upbringing, is a pious and gentle creature ruled by a discipline that demands veneration for the saints and deep devotion to God, who turned his ploughshare into a sword and took to arms under *Chhatrapati* Shivaji as though he were born to it. In today's age of tractors, chemical fertilisers and machines he is equally at home, providing the bulk of Bombay's skilled labour and police force. Still, he is too devoted a son of Mother Earth to forget or neglect her, and once every year he must respond to the call of the ancestral home, "a long call and a clear call that cannot be denied."

The worker too, for his part, has shown an aptitude for needed skills, a readiness to put his shoulders to the wheel and to learn, and to accept innovation. For example, the uneducated have mastered the mysteries of the motor engine with ease and confidence. The engineering industry, founded in the southern Maratha country by the Kirloskars, made expert operatives out of unlettered men by training them in foundry work, moulding, casting and working lathes. These men, and others like them, would later start their own enterprises, many making diesel engines which have turned the Satara-Sangli-Kolhapur region into a beehive of engineering activity. Building on such experience in self-reliance the worker has hit a high pitch of mechanical efficiency and knowledge.

The entrepreneur in the part of India that is now the State of Maharashtra, walks in the footsteps of pioneers such as Jamshedji Tata, L. K. Kirloskar and Walchand Hirachand who gave the industrialisation process a flying start with their bold and venturesome spirit. Continuing in this vein, the entrepreneur has shown a lively awareness of technological, management and sociological developments and evolved a sensitive relationship with the government, labour and society.

Maharashtra's industrial pre-eminence stems from its contribution of a quarter of India's output. The breaking of new gound in the mobilisation of venture capital, the diversification of the lines of production, and the transfer of emphasis from consumer goods to capital and intermediate goods





has led to a significant development of technologically more sophisticated industries in the state. This is important because Maharashtra needs heavy industries that can process the abundant raw materials of different kinds.

Maharashtra's hopes and plans for its people are perhaps best epitomised in the Bombay-Thane-Pune region which is ablaze with productive activity powered by the electric energy generated at Koyna. Hundreds upon hundreds of industrial units between Bombay and Pune busily produce a vast variety of goods including chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronic and engineering products, defence and other materials. The lengthening lines of factories from the direction of both Bombay and Pune are soon to meet and will make these cities two ends of one and the same industrial complex.

The observer of the Maharashtra scene is struck by the direct and organic link that is evident between agriculture and industry. This has been forged by the agro-industrial pattern of economic development that has emerged from the modernisation of agriculture and the establishment of agro-industries in the rural areas. Sugarcane farming has promoted the manufacture of sugar. The 100-strong complex of sugar cooperatives are turning into important growth centres in rural areas. Other agro-based industries like spinning mills and dairies have also received encouragement.

With all its achievements in areas such as education, cooperative development, family welfare and small savings, there is no gainsaying that there are weak spots in Maharashtra that will need concentrated and sustained attention. Most villages suffer from acute water shortage. And despite the big names in irrigation—Jayakwadi, Ujjani, Purna, Bhandardara—the fact is that the irrigation potential is limited by the physical configuration of the state. The central region of the state receives little rainfall and is therefore prone to chronic drought. Conservation of moisture in the soil would appear to offer the only effective and lasting solution to the dry farming conditions prevailing in the tract.

Maharashtra has appointed separate development boards for the regions of Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of the state to ensure proper development. The increasing population of Bombay has been a cause of the metropolis' present ills. The failure to create civic services by way of sanitation, housing and transportation has been a contributory cause of it. But, an even greater problem is the migration from the rural to the urban areas. It can only be handled by a plan of brisk development in the agrarian regions.

Meanwhile, perhaps this is the time to pause and to ponder the existence of New Bombay, and the reason for which it was created. The city across the harbour waits to receive those for whom it was built as both home and working place. Now is the proper time to consider a well-regulated programme for a gradual and gentle transfer of people from the island to the mainland.

Not too far from Bombay City is the Karnala bird sanctuary, while within easy reach of Nagpur is the Tadoba game sanctuary. Sevagram, the village where Gandhiji once lived and meditated, and Ramtek where Kalidasa is said to have written *Meghaduta*, are also in the vicinity of Nagpur. Of the Peshwa palace at Shanivarwada little remains except the fortified walls, but laid out within them is a fine park. The fascinating Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum of arts and crafts is in Pune. Maharashtra is the home of the most celebrated textile—the Paithani gold-embroidered *sari*, with its wonderful designs and woven borders. The Aurangabad *himru* is another prize fabric. Maharashtra is also famous for its crafts—particularly the Kolhapuri *chappals*.

Maharashtra is the horticulturist's paradise. The Alphonso mango grown in Ratnagiri is a prized variety. The oranges of Nagpur, grapes of Nasik, bananas of Jalgaon and figs of Pune are famous.

The leaders of Maharashtra saw in the formation of the state a challenge presented by history to prove themselves. They knew that the state's future depended upon how its people responded to this challange. The most important test was the way the various linguistic, religious and regional groups would live and work together. Marathis, Gujaratis, South Indians, Punjabis, Sindhis, Parsis, Muslims and Christians—settlers from every part of the country—could they live together in amity in a fiercely competitive environment? Maharashtra has progressed and prospered. It played an important role in the freedom struggle. It was in Bombay that, a hundred years ago, the Congress came into being. Bombay and Pune were the scenes of many a vital phase of the civil disobedience movement conceived and led by Gandhiji. Also in Bombay Indian navy men by their defiant action broke the will of the occupying power. Finally, Bombay served as the centre of the Quit India Movement which presaged the end of British rule.

Maharashtra is rugged and dour but hospitable. It is as though the *panchamrut*—mix of milk, curd, honey, ghee and sugar—with which the Maharashtrian anoints the gods, he also applies to his fellow men, and they, like gods, are pleased.

In independent India, Maharashtra continues to be a powerful force in national development. It is appropriate to recount the story of its growth and achievement in this year of the silver jubilee of the state.



Panorama

B. Arunachalam

Maharashtra, the land of the Marathi speaking people, appears to be derived from Maharashtri, an old form of Prakrit. Some believe that the word indicates that it was the land of the Mahars and the Rattas, while others consider it to be a corruption of the term *Maha Kantara* (the Great Forest), a synonym for *Dandakaranya.*

Sections of Maharashtra, such as Vidarbha and Aparanta find mention in early Sanskrit scriptures as a segment of the Vedic *Dakshinapada.* The history of the region begins with the Satavahanas ruling from Pratisthana—modern Paithan—on the banks of the River Godavari in the early centuries of the Christian Era. They were followed by the Traikutakas, the Vakatakas of Bandak (Bhadravati), the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas, apart from the Shilaharas, the Bhojas and the Kadambas on the coast. While the Bahamani rule brought a degree of cohesion to the land and its culture, a homogeneous evolution of Maharashtra as an entity became a reality under the able leadership of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji. The Maratha territories expanded and contracted with the rise and fall of the Peshwas. Broadly, contemporary Maratha lands lie within a triangle bounded by Goa, Daman and Gondia.

The administrative evolution of the State of Maharashtra is the belated outcome of the linguistic re-organisation of the States of India, effected on May 1, 1960, as a sequel to the spontaneous agitation for a *Samyukta* Maharashtra. The state was formed by bringing together all contiguous Marathi speaking areas, which previously belonged to four different administrative hegemonies—the districts between Daman and Goa that formed part of the original British Bombay Province (and later part of the bilingual Bombay State); five districts in the north and west of the Nizam's dominion of Hyderabad; eight districts in the south of the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) and a sizeable number of petty native-ruled state enclaves lying enclosed within the above areas, which later merged with adjoining districts. At present, the state covers an area of about 3.08 *lakh* square km.

The Land

Located in the north centre of Peninsular India, with a command of the Arabian Sea through its port of Bombay, Maharashtra has a remarkable physical homogeneity, enforced by its underlying geology. The dominant physical trait of the state is its plateau character. The Maharashtra Desh is a plateau of plateaus, its western upturned rims rising to form the Sahyadri Range and its slopes gently descending towards the east and south-east. The major rivers and their master tributaries have carved the plateau into alternating broad-river valleys and intervening higher level interfluves, such as the Ahmednagar, Buldana, Yavatmal plateaus.

The Sahyadri Range is the physical backbone of Maharashtra. Rising on an average to an elevation of 1000 m., it falls in steep cliffs, to the Konkan on the west. Eastwards, the hill country falls in steps through a transitional area known as Mawal to the plateau level. The series of crowning plateaus on the crest forms a distinctive feature of the Sahyadri Range.

The Konkan, lying between the Arabian Sea and the Sahyadri Range is a narrow coastal low-land, barely 50 km. wide. Though mostly below 200 m., it is far from being a plain country. Highly dissected and broken, the Konkan alternates between narrow, steep-sided valleys and low laterite plateaus.

The Satpudas, hills along the northern border, and the Bhamragad-Chiroli-Gaikhuri Ranges on the eastern border form physical barriers preventing easy movement, but also serve as natural limits to the state.

Geology and Topography

Except around Bombay, and along the eastern limits, the State of Maharashtra presents a monotonously uniform, flat-topped skyline. This topography of the state is the outcome of its geological structure. The state area, barring the extreme eastern Vidarbha region, parts of Kolhapur and Sindhudurg, is practically co-terminous with the Deccan Traps. Roughly 60 to 90 million years ago, the outpouring of basic lava through fissures formed horizontally bedded basalts over large areas. Variations in their composition and structure have resulted in massive, well-jointed steel-grey cliff faces alternating with structural benches of vesicular amygdaloid lava and ash layers, all of which contribute to the pyramidal-shaped hills and crest-level plateaus or *mesas*. Earth sculpturing under the tropical climate completes the panorama—sharply defining the landform features in the semi-arid conditions, and rounding the hill-tops under wetter conditions. Fluvial action by the Krishna, Bhima, Godavari, Tapi-Purna and Wardha-Wainganga river systems has further aided in the compartmentalisation of the Desh into broad, open river valleys, alternating with plateau interfluves, that form the ribs of the Sahyadrian backbone. In sharp contrast, the hill torrents of the Konkan, barely a 100 km. long, tumble down as roaring streams which flow in deeply entrenched valleys to terminate in tidal estuaries.

The Climate

The state enjoys a tropical monsoon climate: the hot, scorching summer from March onwards yields to the rainy monsoon in early June. The rich green cover of the monsoon season persists during the mild winter that follows through an unpleasant October transition, but turns into a dusty, barren brown as the summer sets in again. The seasonal rains from the western sea-clouds are very heavy and the rainfall is over 400 cm., on the Sahyadrian crests. The Konkan on the windward side is also endowed with heavy rainfall, declining northwards. East of the Sahyadri, the rainfall diminishes to a meagre 70 cm. in the western plateau districts, with Solapur-Ahmednagar lying in the heart of the dry zone. The rains increase slightly, later in the season, eastwards in the Marathwada and Vidarbha regions.

The highly pulsatory character of the monsoon, with its short spells of rainy weather and long dry breaks, floods, as well as droughts add much to the discomfort of the rural economy.

The Resources

Forests comprising only 17% of the state area cover the eastern region and the Sahyadri Range, while open scrub jungle dots the plateaus. If Maharashtra represented the *Maha Kantara* in the historic past, today little of it is left; vast sections have been denuded and stripped of the vegetal cover.

The soils of Maharashtra are residual, derived from the underlying basalts. In the semi-dry plateau, the *regur* (black-cotton soil) is clayey, rich in iron, but poor in nitrogen and organic matter; it is moisture-retentive. Where redeposited along the river valleys, these *kali* soils are deeper and heavier, better suited for rabi crops. Farther away, with a better mixture of lime, the *morand* soils form the ideal kharif zone. The higher plateau areas have *pathar* soils which contain more gravel. In the rainy Konkan, and the Sahyadri Range, the same basalts give rise to the brick-red laterites productive under a forest-cover, but readily stripped into a sterile *varkas* when the vegetation is removed. By and large, soils of Maharashtra are shallow and somewhat poor.

Water is the most precious natural resource of the state, greatly in demand, and most unevenly distributed. A large number of villages lack drinking water, especially during the summer months, even in the wet Konkan. Barely 11% of the net sown area is irrigated. Perched water-tables in the basalt aquifers have contributed to increased well irrigation which accounts for approximately 55% of the irrigable water. The granitic-gneissic terrain in the eastern hilly area of Vidarbha accounts for all tank irrigation. Tube-wells in the Tapi-Purna alluvium and shallow wells in the coastal sands are the other main sources of water.

The mineral-bearing zones of Maharashtra lie beyond the area of the basalts in eastern Vidarbha, southern Kolhapur and the Sindhudurg areas. The Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Bhandara and Nagpur Districts form the main mineral belt, with coal and manganese as the major minerals and iron ore and limestone as potential wealth. The Ratnagiri coast contains sizeable deposits of ilmenite.

Maharashtra is one of the better developed states in terms of power generation and consumption. Thermal power accounts for 55%, hydel power for 35%, and nuclear power for about 6%.

Of the lesser resources, livestock is in a state of neglect, though dairy-farming in the co-operative sector, and poultry-farming in the suburban fringes offer wide scope. Maharashtra has a relatively better development of marine fisheries, in spite of a seasonal character, with Bombay as it main market. The off-shore continental shelves offer rich potentials for all-weather deep-sea trawling.

The Economy

Agriculture is the mainstay of Maharashtra's

1 Marine Drive, Bombay

2 Western Sahyadris (Matheran)

3 Panchwati, Nasik

4 Street vendor

5 Tribal dancers

6 Urban woman

7 Churchgate Station, Bombay

8 Tribal woman (Chanda)

9 Farmers in *jowar* field

10 *Channawalla* (gram vendor)

11 Paddy growers

12 Koli women drying fish

13 Dhangar shepherds

14 Marriage among the Warli tribals

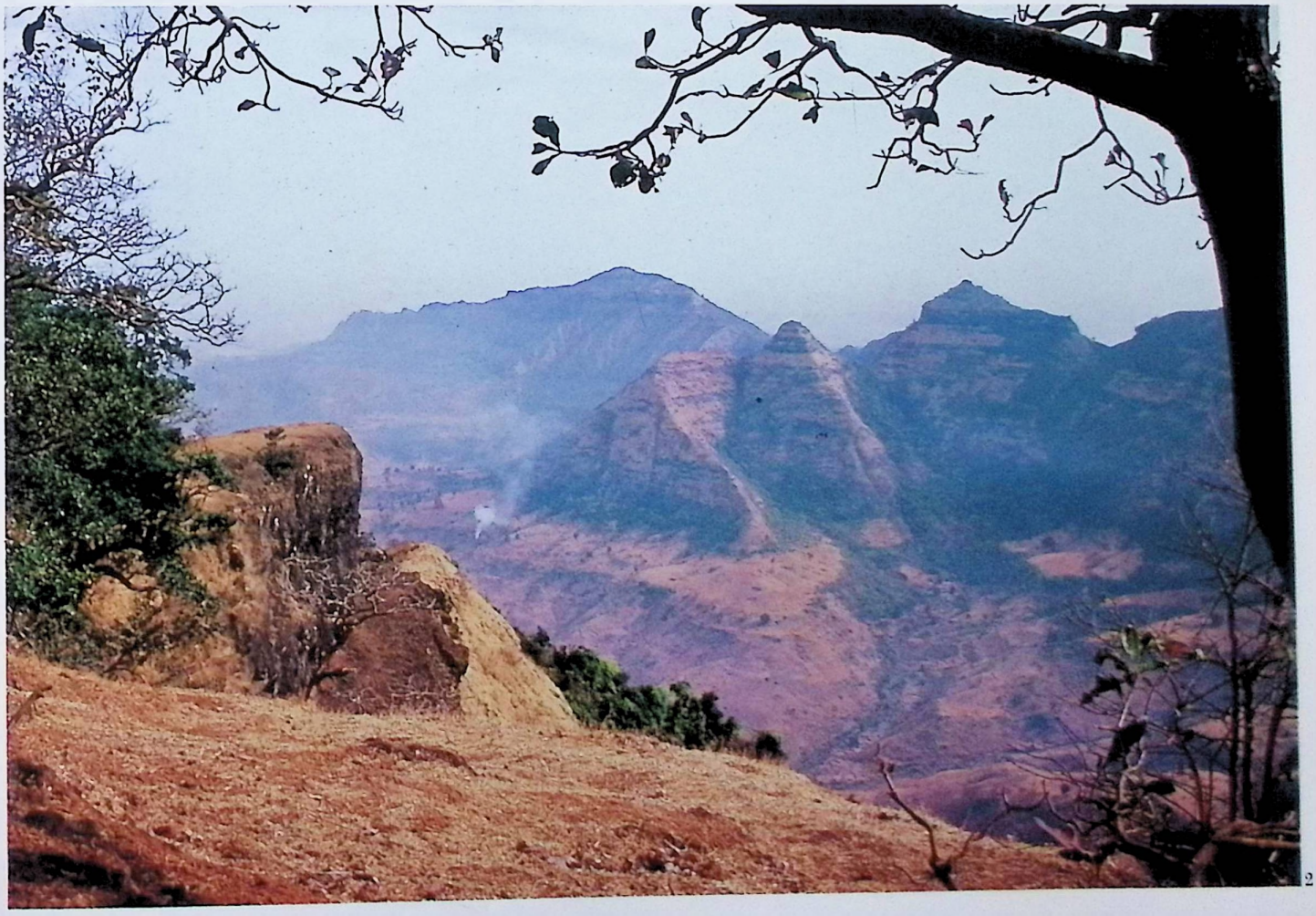
15 View of Ramtek, Nagpur

16 Paithan on the River Godavari

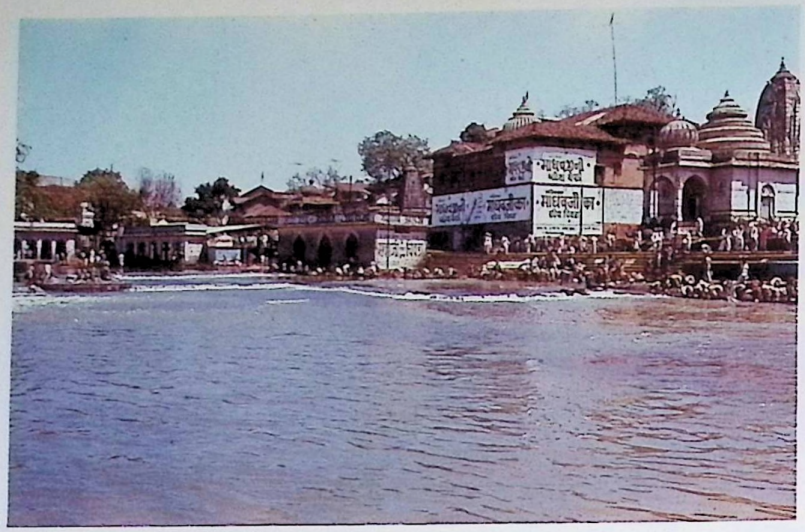
17-22 Maharashtra has witnessed rapid progress in various sectors like agriculture and industry. Technological advancement has resulted in greater efficiency and improving life-styles. Cow-dung (Fig. 17), previously used as fuel is now transformed into gas through the development of *gobar* gas plants (Fig. 18) which eliminate waste by producing gas as well as fertilisers. Formerly, irrigation of fields was carried out with the use of bullock muscle power (Fig. 19) which has now been made more efficient by the introduction of diesel water pumps (Fig. 20). Extensive advancement can also be observed both in the sphere of small-scale (Fig. 21) and large-scale (Fig. 22) industrial units



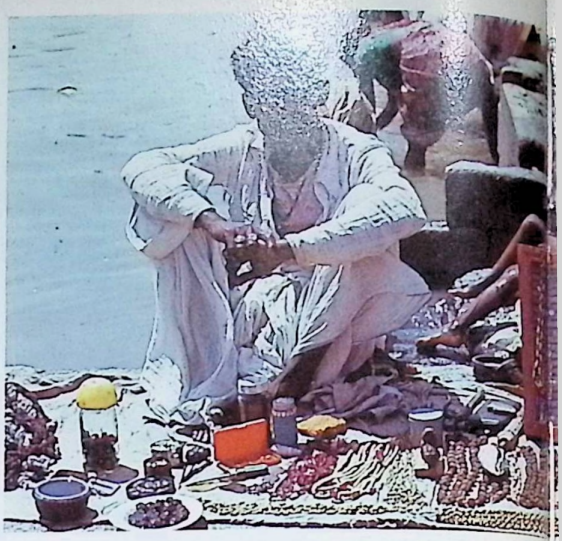
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saving habit...
DENA BANK
SHARP
VIDEOTV
चर्चगेट
CHURCHGATE STATION

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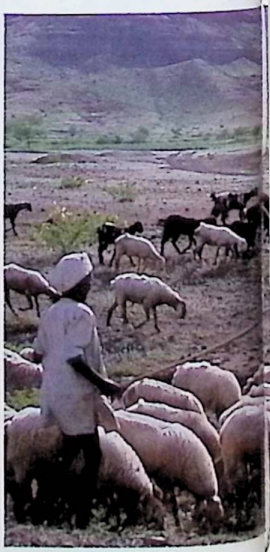
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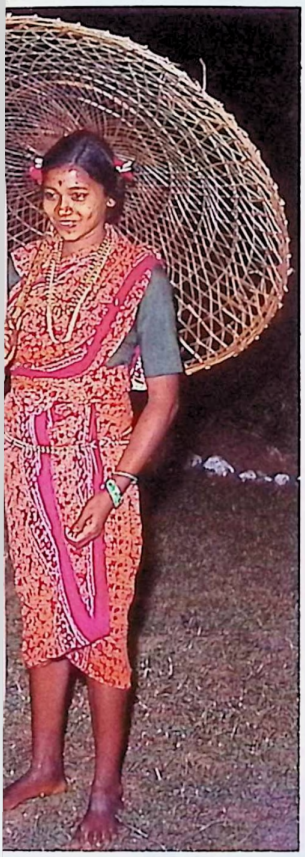
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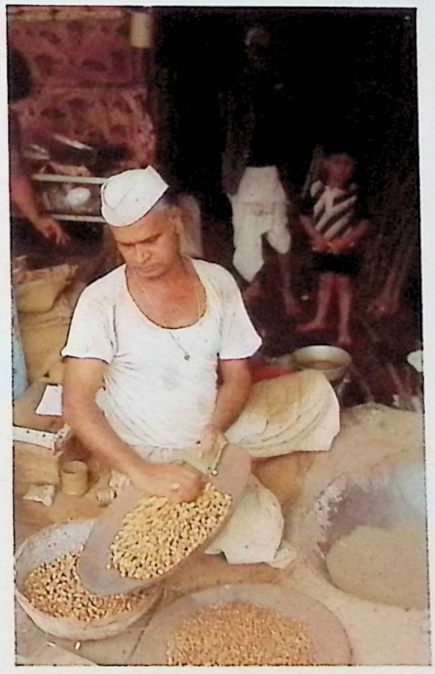
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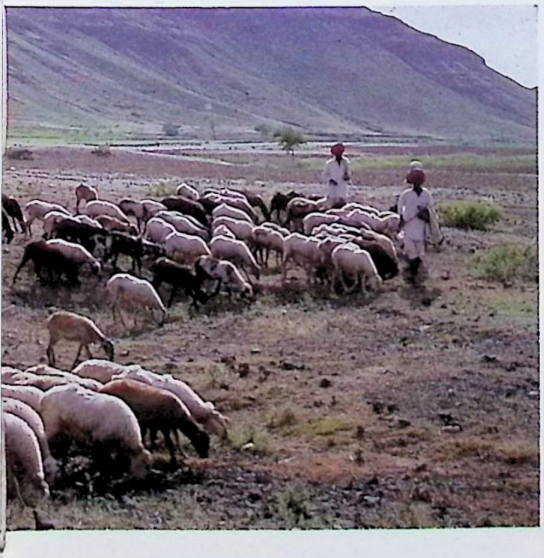
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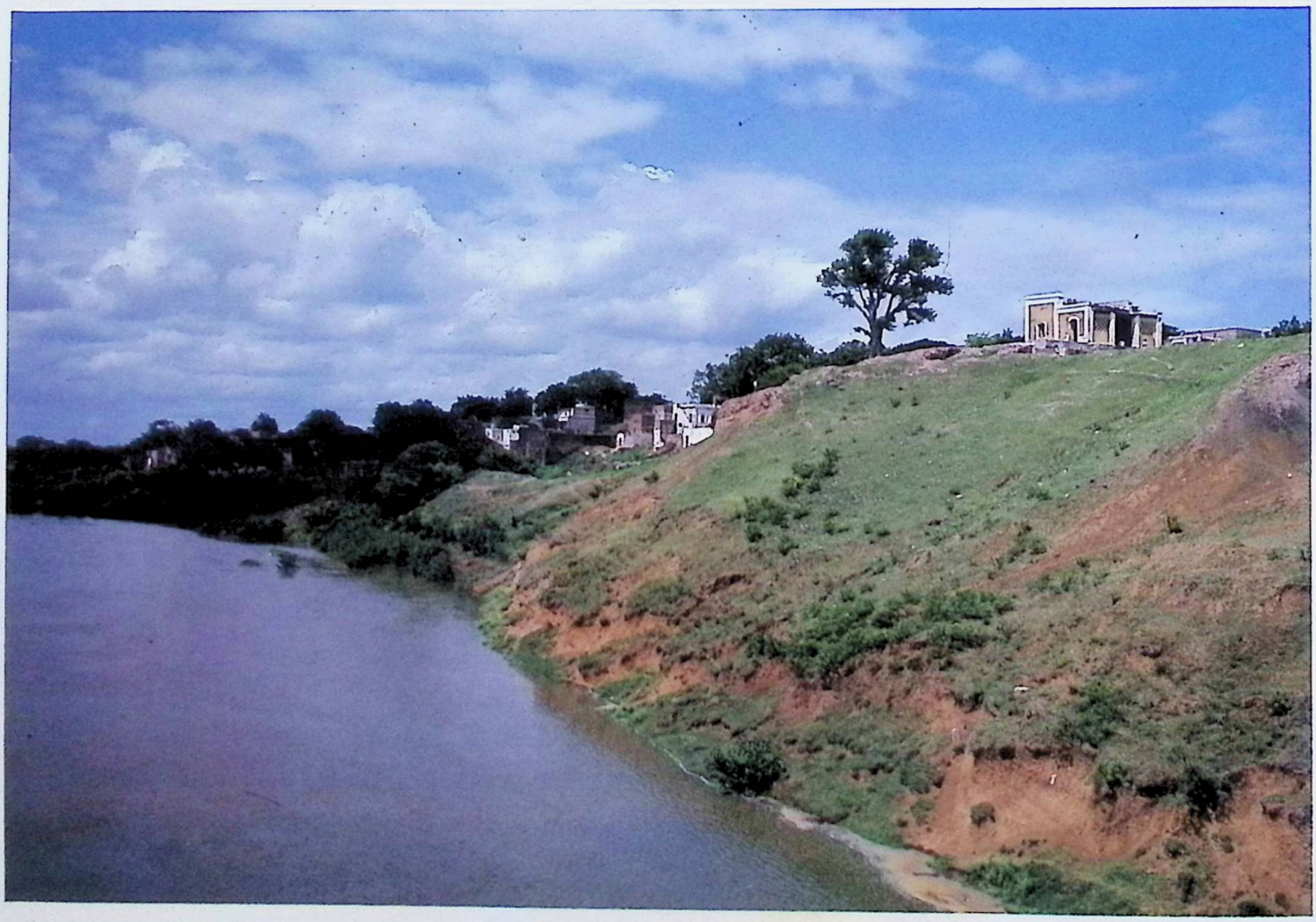
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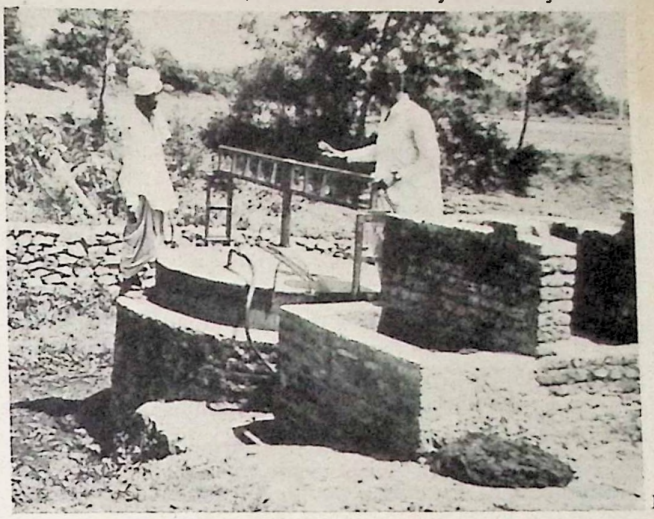
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economy despite the constant threat of uncertain rains on the shallow soils. Farming in the Desh has distinctive agricultural facets: dominance of rain-fed, dry farming; conservation and frugal use of the limited water-supply; inter-culture of cereals, pulses, oil-seeds and cotton; a low proportion of rice and wheat and a high percentage of cash crops. Irrigation, to an extent has countered the vagaries of the weather. The Konkan stands apart in its rice-based monoculture on the carefully terraced *khuryat* lands, only marginally diversified by coconut and areca palms in the *mala* lands, and horticulture, especially of mango, in the upper slopes. The tank-irrigated Wainganga valley is a secure double-cropped area, with 40% in the rabi.

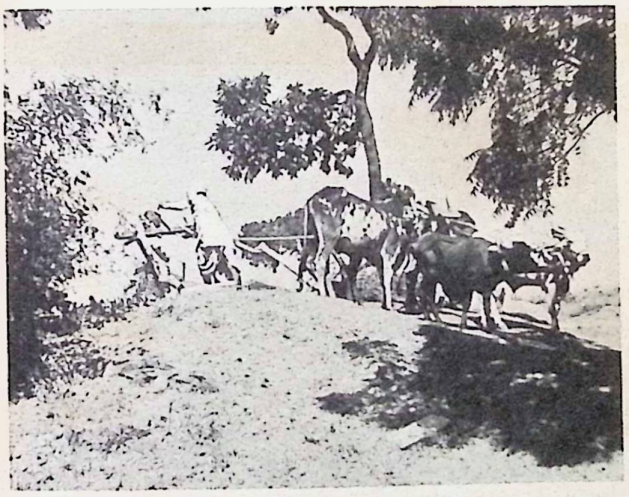
Barring cotton ginning, flour and *dal* (seed) milling and oil-crushing, rural Maharashtra is essentially non-industrial. The cooperatively organised sugar industry, the second largest producer in the nation, has brought a new-found prosperity to the rural interior of western Maharashtra. Otherwise, industrial activity is mainly



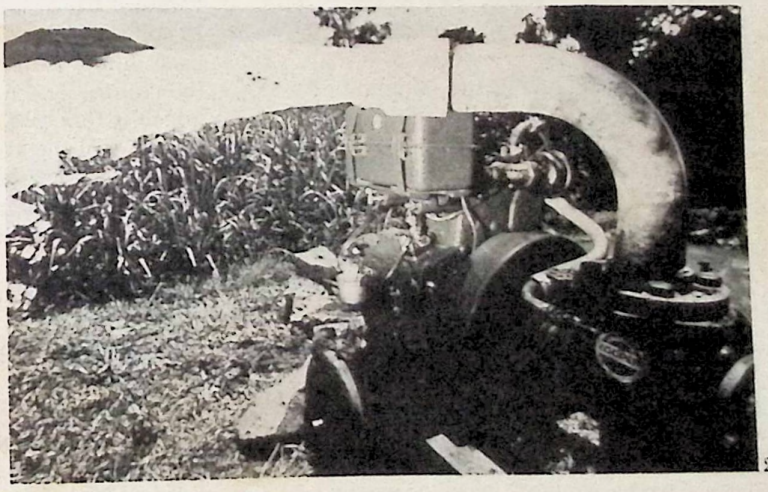
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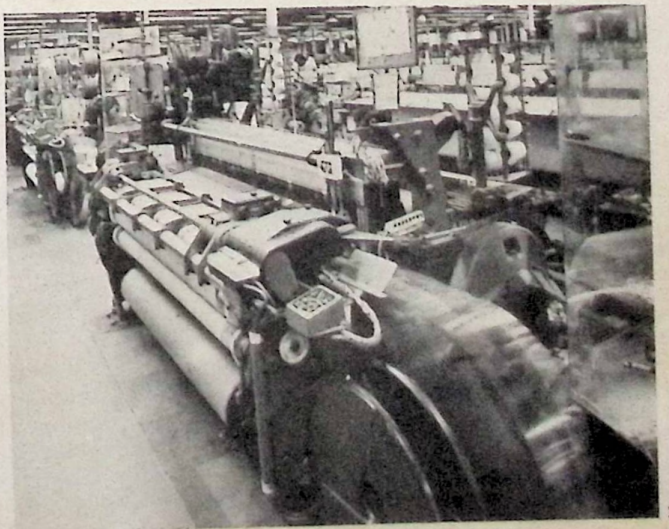
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urban, clustering around the larger centres, Greater Bombay alone accounting for nearly 40% in terms of volume output and value as well as work-force. Engineering products, chemicals, drugs, petro-chemicals and consumer goods dominate the industrial scene. Though the state as a whole, is industrially progressive, nearly half the districts are industrially backward.

Nevertheless, Maharashtra as a whole is an economically progressive and dynamic state. The per capita income at current prices (1980) is over Rs. 2000 against a national average of Rs. 1300.

The People

With a population of twenty-eight *lakhs* in 1981, Maharashtra is the third largest state in the country. The crude density of 204 per square km. is slightly below national average, but masks the intense population pressure on the productive land resources of the state. Urbanisation is 35%, the highest in the nation, but 40% of it is in Greater Bombay. With Bombay, Pune, Nagpur growing fast, middle-sized towns growing slower, and the smaller ones stagnant or even declining, the urban development in the state is disproportional.

Interestingly, farming accounts for only 43% of the state income, in contrast to industry which employs 16% of the work-force, but accounts for 38% of the income.

Slightly over 20% of the population belong to Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Eastern Vidharbha hills (Gonds), Melghat (Korkus), the Satpudas in Khandesh (Bhils), and northern Sahyadri (Warlis, Katkaris) are the main tribal areas. The population is predominantly Hindu, with sizeable minorities, mainly in urban clusters.

The undercurrents of regional consciousness and regionalism find expression in a variety of imbalances. Deep-rooted traditions running through the course of history serve to define the regional identity of the state. From early times, coastal Konkan, blocked by the sheer walls of the Sahyadri Range to its east, has had a seaward orientation, and commercial maritime trade relations; ports like Surparaka (Sopara), Kalyan, Thane, Chaul, Byzantium (Vijayadurg) and others have risen and fallen with the tide of times. Trade routes through narrow and difficult passes, like the Sopara-Kalyan-Junnar-Nasik-Paithan road linked the coast to the interior, while north Konkan was the gateway to Gujarat and northern India.

In the Konkan, the village is a cluster of *wadis* or *padas*, differentiated by occupation, caste, and religion, each perched on mid-slopes of the valleys and made up of homesteads nestling within fruit gardens. Partial isolation and lack of internal mobility have been its weakness.

Blocked by the double physical barriers of the Vindhyas-Satpudas in the north, the hilly, forrested tribal zones of Bastar to the east, and the Sahyadri in the west and the Desh valleys opening out to the south-east were more open to the influences from the southern region. The Khandesh-Burhanpur gap has been the corridor through which cultural influences, as well as traders and soldiers have come from the north into Maharashtra.

The Desh is the zone of nucleated villages, sited on the water-points and characterised by stone walls, and flat roofs. Larger villages serve as local markets for farm produce.

The Sahyadri is the physical backbone and economic divider of the state. The romance of the hills has been heightened by the spur-end hill forts with natural bastions on most sides, that shot to fame during the heydays of the Maratha empire. The forest-margin settlements of the transitional Mawal to its immediate east were the source of the military strength of the Marathas. Life in Mawal villages is hard but robust.

The dry, central plateaus, chronically drought-prone and famine-stricken is the land of the *dhangars* and other livestock-rearing communities.

Cultural Unity

In spite of the regional variations that exist, life in rural Maharashtra is bound by the cultural and linguistic homogeneity which is reflected in the social structure and economy of the villages as well as commonly cherished values. The Hindu shrines, throughout Maharashtra, reveal a strong affinity to the river valleys and the overlooking hill-tops: Nasik, Narasinghwadi, Alandi, Pandharpur and Paithan are notable examples of the former; Jejuri and Ramtek of the latter. The Ashta Vinayaka, Jyotirlinga centres, as well as the Ambabai of Kolhapur, Vittala of Pandharpur, and the Bhavani of Tuljapur have wide hinterlands spreading all over Maharashtra, linking the people. The fairs and festivals associated with these as well as other religious shrines, act as centres of socio-economic circulation, stamping a unity on the diversities.

Maharashtra in India

As the third largest state in India, Maharashtra is one of the economically more progressive — competing for the first rank in many spheres. The successful breakthrough in cooperative farming achieved in Maharashtra is perhaps unique. In many facets of industry, the state is well ahead. It has always been in the forefront in the freedom struggle of the nation. The financial centre of India lies within Maharashtra; the heart-beat of Bombay finds its echoes all over the nation.

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Antiquity

M.K. Dhavalikar

It was once thought that prehistoric man did not exist in Maharashtra, but recent researches have clearly established the presence of man in this region in the stone age. Attempts have also been made to reconstruct the climatic sequence and correlate it with cultural phases. As a result we have now a fair idea of the life of prehistoric man in Maharashtra.

The Hunter-gatherers

Some two or three hundred millenia ago, in the Lower Palaeolithic period, early man wandered through Maharashtra as well as other parts of the country. Small groups of people, organised into bands of twenty or thirty, occupied valleys of the rivers Ghod, Bhima, Pravara, Godavari and Vainaganga. They led a nomadic existence, and subsisted on wild game, fruit and plants. They forged tools of stone, mostly of basaltic trap, which was abundant in the form of pebbles along the river banks. Their basic tool kit consisted of the handaxe, an all-purpose tool for cutting and digging; cleavers for scraping hides; and choppers. They may have used wooden sticks, sharpening their ends into points, for hunting. They hunted animals such as the wild elephant (*Elephas namadicus*) and the wild bull (*Bos namadicus*), fossil remains of which have been found at Nevasa (Ahmednagar District) and in large numbers at Dhanegaon on the Manjra, a tributary of the River Godavari in the Osmanabad District.

The climate then was more arid than it is today and the rivers were shallow; the River Pravara, near Nevasa, flowed at a 10 to 20m. level higher than at present. The river bed was comprised of pebbles. Later, some one hundred and fifty millenia ago, the beds of the rivers such as the Pravara, the Godavari, and the Krishna began to deepen because the climate had become humid and the rainfall had increased by approximately 30%.

Nearly one hundred millenia ago, during the Middle Palaeolithic period, people began to develop smaller tools, comprising a variety of scrapers and points. These were all made of fine-grained material such as chert and jasper, both of which are found throughout Maharashtra. Still smaller tools were used in the Upper Palaeolithic period 25,000 years ago. They consisted of blade and flake tools, mostly of silicon stone like chalcedony. An entire range of these tools has been discovered in the excavations at Patne near Chalisgaon (Jalgaon District). It was during this period that man discovered the technique of fishing. The climate was again becoming arid and the rivers shallow. In the Konkan region, the sea began to recede which resulted in the emergence of a large land mass. This perhaps is the scientific basis of the Puranic legend according to which Parshurama is supposed to have pushed back the sea along the western coast.

Once again, some 16,000 years ago, a wet phase set in and with it began the Mesolithic age. Because of the resultant heavy vegetation growth, the black soil, which is characteristic of Maharashtra, was formed. With abundant flora and fauna, subsistence became easier and, consequently, population increased considerably. This is evident from the presence of numerous Mesolithic sites, which are littered with blade tools of chalcedony made by the Mesolithic race. Mesolithic man hunted small game in which he was assisted by a domesticated dog. It is also likely that the harvesting of wild grains led to a seasonally settled life style.

The First Farmers

The tremendous increase in population during the Mesolithic period probably led to agricultural development. With more people subsisting on the resources available in a given area, it must have become necessary to increase food supply by artificial means and this could

be achieved only by farming. Man must have observed how seeds fallen on the ground sprouted in the next season: he only had to copy nature. The cultivation of cereals began in Maharashtra some four thousand years ago, if the evidence from the Tapi valley is any indication. By 1700 B.C. the early farming communities of Malwa migrated not only to Khandesh but also reached the Godavari and the Bhima valleys. A heavy concentration of early farming settlements occurred in the Tapi valley; it was less intense in the Pravara-Godavari valleys and quite sporadic in the Bhima valley. A vast majority of these were small self-sufficient villages with a population of about 100 to 200 people and in each area there was a large regional centre: Prakash in the Tapi valley (Dhulia District), Daimabad in the Godavari valley (Ahmednagar District) and Inamgaon in the Bhima valley (Pune District). Each of these appear to have supported a population of over 1000 people.

In the middle of the second millenium B.C. *c.* 1500 B.C., a new culture, named after Jorwe—the site in the Ahmednagar District where it was first found—flourished in Maharashtra. As in the preceding culture, it is characterised by a distinct type of painted pottery, a blade-flake industry of chalcedony as well as tools and ornaments of copper. However, on account of the scarcity of the metal, copper was used sparingly. These people had colonised almost the entire region of Maharashtra with the exception of the coastal strip of Konkan and certain parts of Vidarbha. Their mixed economy was based on agriculture, stock-raising, hunting and fishing. They cultivated a variety of crops which included cereals. They practised crop rotation because it gave them the facility of irrigation—clear evidence of which has been unearthed at Inamgaon near Pune.

The people of Jorwe lived in large rectangular houses with wattle-and-daub walls and thatched roofs. They stored grain in bins and pit silos, cooked food in two-armed *chulas* (hearths) inside the house and roasted animals in a large fire pit in the courtyard. They worshipped a mother goddess associated with fertility and another headless deity who was probably connected with the welfare of children. Gods too were worshipped. They believed in life after death, and therefore interred the dead inside the house under the floor. Children were buried in two urns that were joined mouth-to-mouth and set horizontally in the pit, whereas adults were placed in a supine position with the head towards the north. Before the ceremonious burial, the feet were chopped off, possibly because of the fear of the dead turning into ghosts.

Around 1200 B.C. the Chalcolithic people organised themselves into chiefdoms. The house of a ruling chief was discovered at Inamgaon. By the side of his house was the public granery where the grain collected by him as tax, was stored as provision for lean years. The chief was also required to organise labour for such public works as digging moats and erecting defence walls. The chief also supervised the building of embankments and canals for irrigation (as at Inamgaon) and for controlling the distribution of water to the fields.

These early farming communities flourished for a millenium but by *c.* 1000 B.C. we find that agricultural activity came to a grinding halt. The reason for this was a drastic change in the climate, which became more and more arid, and the sharp decrease in the rainfall led to large-scale desertion of Chalcolithic settlements in the Tapi and the Pravara-Godavari valleys; the people in the Bhima valley continued to survive but under very inhospitable conditions. Their poverty is reflected in their small round huts and coarse pottery. There was a marked decline in agricultural production and people had to rely more on hunting. As their plight worsened, people resorted to sheep and goat herding and consequently they began to lead a semi-nomadic existence. But by 700 B.C., they too had to desert their habitations.

Megalithic Horsemen

In Maharashtra, the Megalithic culture flourished from *c.* 1000 to 500 B.C. The Megalithic horsemen from the southern Deccan were partly responsible for driving away the poor Chalcolithic farmers. They could accomplish this expediently because of their superior weapons of iron and their fast moving steed—the horse. Although they flourished all over south India, in Maharashtra their settlements were mainly located in the Vidarbha region, particularly around Nagpur. They buried their dead ceremonially and erected huge stones in a circular fashion around the burial areas (hence Megalith). The corpse was decked with jewels and even his horse, fully ornamented, was buried with him. A number of iron tools and weapons were also deposited in the burial pit.

First Urbanisation

The Iron Age, *c.* 500 B.C. was the precursor of urbanisation. The iron plough made the cultivation of black cotton soil possible. The exploitation of iron, the increased agricultural production and the development of arts and crafts, led to the formation of an exchange network with neighbouring regions. Already, in the time of the Buddha, Sopara, near Bombay (ancient Shurparaka), was becoming an important port and a gateway settlement. Whether Sopara was the Ophir of the *Old*

1 Hanging lamp like a Scythian male-head
Terracotta; *c.* 1st-2nd century A.D.
Collection: B. R. Lamture, Ter

2 A wine or water jug of Roman workmanship
Bronze; *c.* 1st century A.D.
Origin Alexandria
Collection: Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur

3 Figurines
Terracotta; *c.* 1st-2nd century A.D.
Collection: B. R. Lamture, Ter

4 Chalcolithic painted pottery
c. 1400-1000 B.C.; Jorwe
Collection: Deccan College, Pune

5 Chalcolithic storage jars
Red ware; *c.* 1400-1000 B.C.; Inamgaon

6 Bangle, fish hook, pair of tongs, blades and poker
Copper; *c.* 1400-700 B.C.; Inamgaon
Collection: Deccan College, Pune

7 A child burial
c. 1200 B.C.; Inamgaon

8, 10 Female figurines
Unbaked clay; *c.* 1300 B.C.; Inamgaon
Collection: Deccan College, Pune

9 Horse Ornaments
Copper; *c.* 650 B.C.
Found in a Megalithic burial at Naikund
Collection: Deccan College, Pune

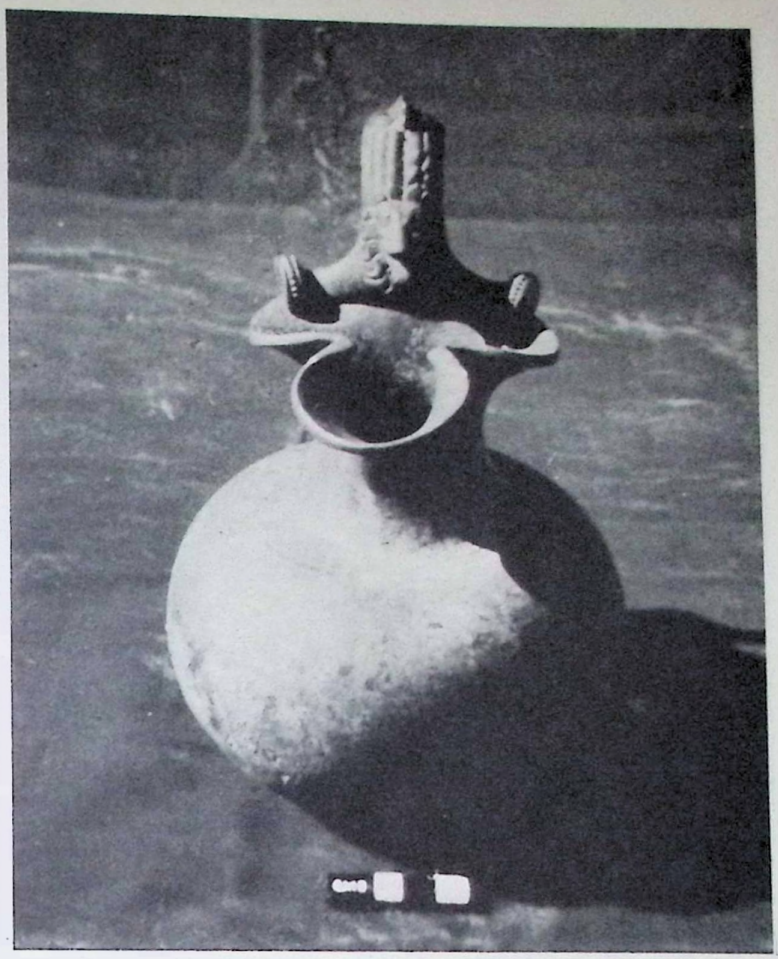
11 Ornaments
Copper; *c.* 1400-700 B.C.
Collection: Deccan College, Pune

12 Burial of ruling chief
c. 1100 B.C.; Inamgaon

13 Wall-painting depicting a secular scene
Vakataka period, 5th century; Ajanta Cave XVII



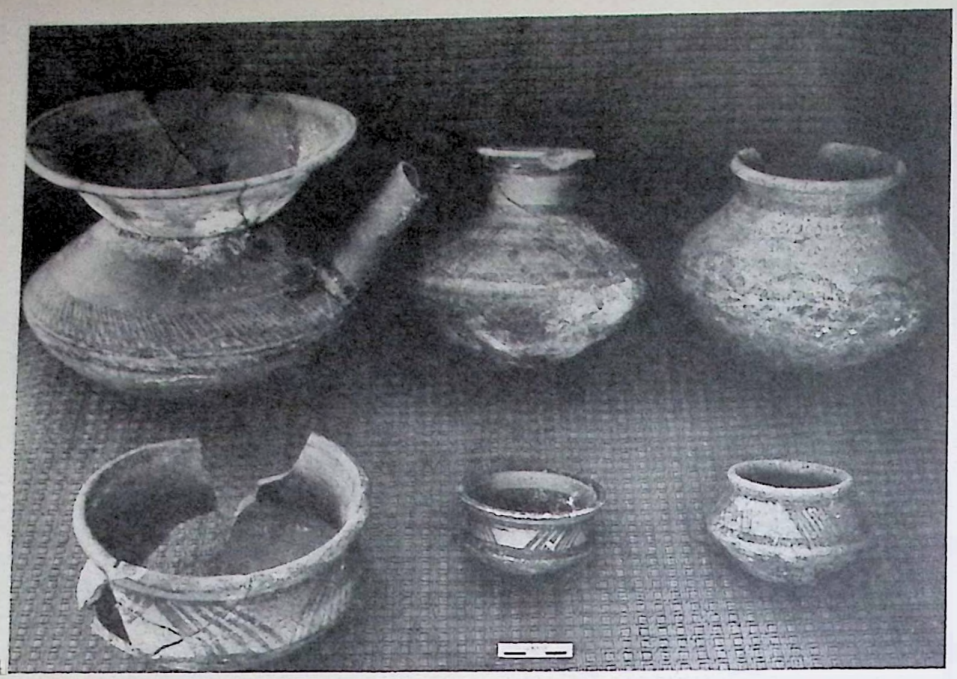
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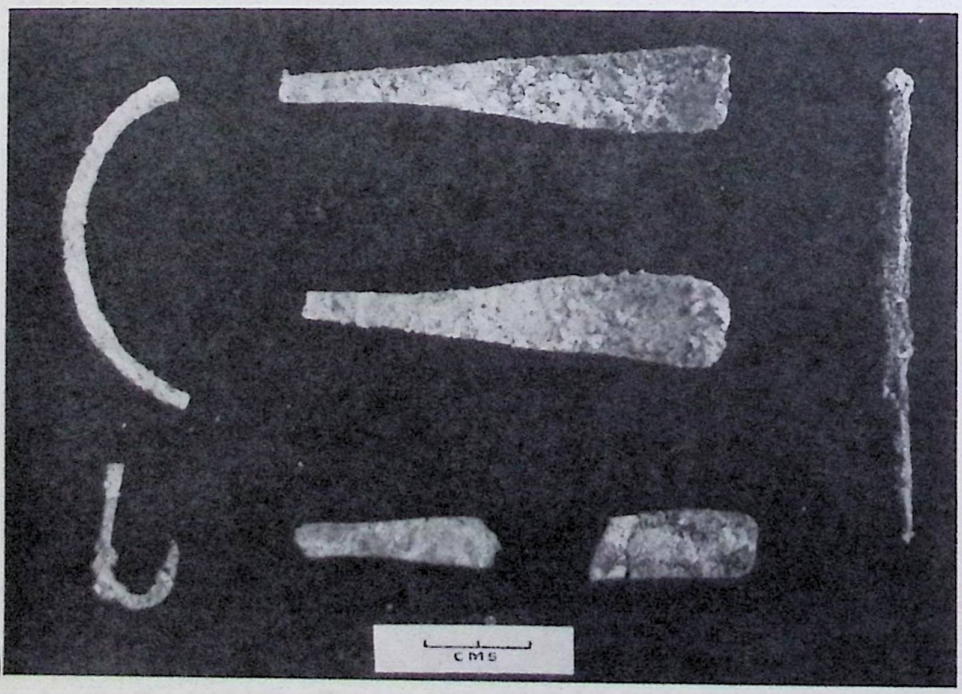
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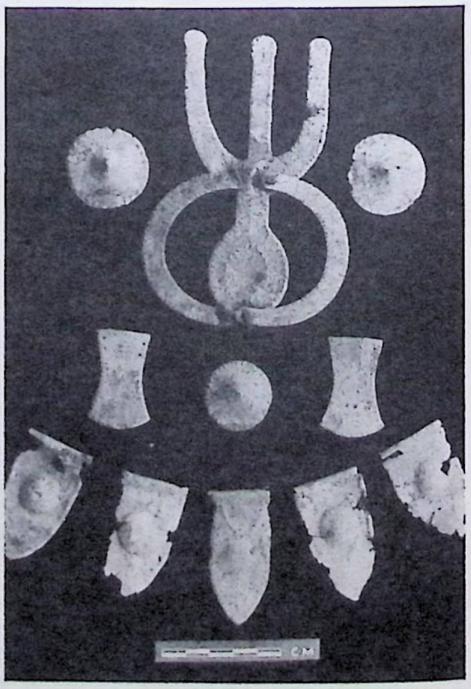
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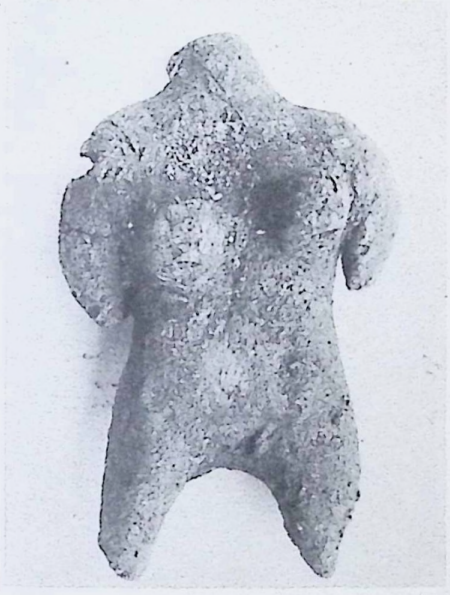


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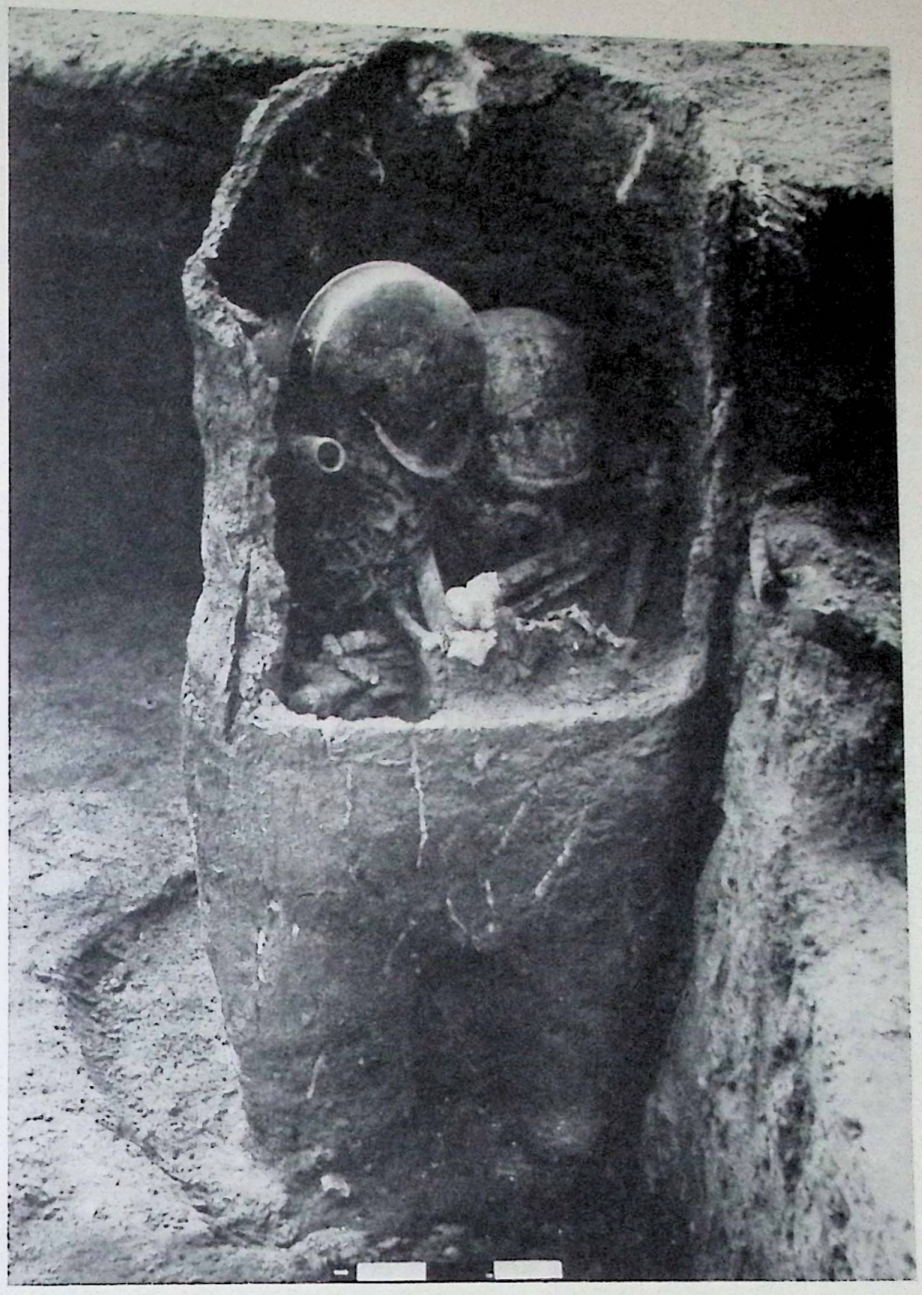


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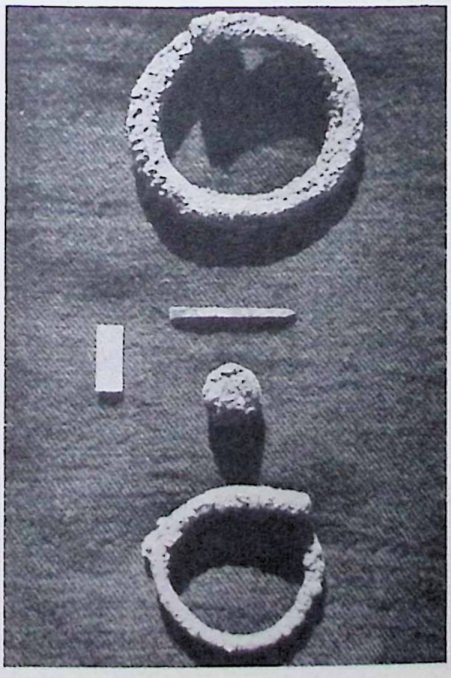




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14, 15 Mirror handle shaped like a female figure (front and back)
Ivory; *c.* 1st century B.C.—1st century A.D.; Ter
Collection: B. R. Lamture, Ter

16 Female figure of Indian workmanship (front and back)
Ivory; *c.* 1st century B.C.—1st century A.D.; Pompeii
Collection: National Museum, Naples

Testament or not, there is little doubt that it was as important for commerce as Bombay is today Perhaps this induced Ashoka to install his edicts there. One of the sixteen great republics (*Mahajanapadas*), Ashmaka (the region around the Ahmednagar and Aurangabad Districts), was prospering in Maharashtra and possibly, at the same time, Tagara (Ter in the Osmanabad District) was becoming a city state. With the inclusion of Maharashtra in the Mauryan empire, communication with north India increased. Two main trade routes connected Maharashtra with north India. One linked Sopara to Ujjain via Nasik, Pitalkhora, Ajanta and Maheshwar, whereas the other joined Paithan, the capital city, to Ujjain through Aurangabad, Bhokardhan, Ajanta, Ghatotkach and Maheshwar. Within Maharashtra, the location of early rock-cut caves, situated along ancient roads, give a fair idea of trade routes. Thus, the road from Paithan to Kolhapur can be traced through Nevasa, Junnar, Shelarwadi, Shirwal and Karad. Similarly, from Sopara the coastal route to Kolhapur ran through Kalyan, Mahad, Khed and Karad.

The Satavahanas

The Satavahanas—whose rule began sometime during the second-first centuries B.C.—were the most important dynasty in the centuries around the Christian Era. They were the creators of Maharashtra and have left a plethora of evidence—literary, epigraphic, artistic and archaeological—but everything about them is controversial. Their capital, as well as their early monuments and inscriptions, were located in the region between Pune, Nasik and Aurangabad in Maharashtra. The name of the founder of the dynasty—Raja Simuka—now survives only in the label inscription over his statue carved at Naneghat near Junnar. So also is the case of his son, Satakarni I, and his family. Simuka's younger brother, Krishna, carved a cave at Nasik. The Naneghat inscription of Naganika recounts the achievements of her husband, Satakarni I. His son, Satakarni II, ruled for 55 years and it was during his reign that the exquisite gateways (*toranas*) at Sanchi were carved. All these early kings ruled before the Christian Era, but little is known of the following century and we are on a surer chronological footing only with Gautamiputra Satakarni, the greatest monarch of the dynasty. He retrieved the glory of the ruling house by defeating in A.D. 124, Nahapana, the western Kshatrapa chief who was either a feudatory or a governor of Kanishka in western India. The Nasik record (cave 3) of Gautamiputra's mother which described him as the destroyer of the Shakas, the Parthians, the Yavanas (*Shaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisudana*) and as a great warrior whose horses drank the waters of the three oceans (*tri-samudra-toya-pita-vahana*) was no vain boast. He conquered almost the entire region south of the Vindhyas as is attested by the find of his coins in these areas. Hence, a poet writes: "The balance of the earth has been maintained by the Himalayas in the north and the Satavahana king in the south."

The Satavahana power was eclipsed with the defeat of Gautamiputra's successor, Vasishthiputra Pulumavi, by Kshatrapa Rudradaman around A.D. 150 and the capital was therefore shifted from Paithan to Dhanyakataka (Dharanikota near Guntur, Andhra Pradesh). In fact, after this, the Satavahana power was concentrated more in the southern Deccan and perhaps that is why the *Puranas* referred to these kings as the Andhras. There was a revival of the Satavahanas under Yajnasri (A.D. 160-184) but his successors proved weak and their rule came to an end by A.D. 230.

The Satavahana epoch marks tremendous development in every field of human endeavour. The entire region of Maharashtra was colonised and the climate was now conducive towards the cultivation of the black cotton soil. An increase in agricultural production gave rise to a class of prosperous householders (*gahapatis*) who made magnificent donations to rock-cut Buddhist sanctuaries. Merchants, traders and artisans were organised into guilds. Many new urban centres came into being, and Pliny tells us that there were thirty fortified towns in the Satavahana empire. Many trade centres flourished, the most important among which was Tagara (Ter in the Osmanabad District). Tagara has been described by classical writers as the largest trading emporium of Dakshina-patha—the region south of the Vindhyas. Along with inland trade, commerce with the outside world, more particularly with the Roman empire, was brisk. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* gives detailed lists of articles of export and import, of facilities at various ports and of currency. The exports included spices, ivory, muslin, herbs, perfumes, skins and wood in large quantities, whereas India imported Roman wine, musical instruments, glass, silver as well as singing boys and girls for the harem of the Satavahana court. The trade was in India's favour and every year Rome was compelled to pay in gold coins. Women strung these beautiful coins into necklaces and these still survive in the present day *putalyachi mal.*

The Yavana traders also came and settled in Maharashtra. In fact, they had reached here even earlier and hence Ashoka had to depute Yavana Dhamma-rakkhita to preach the gospel of the Buddha to them. Inscriptions in cave temples indicate that many Yavana traders lived in the city of Dhenukakata, which has so far remained unidentified, but

may possibly be Junnar. Because people saw these traders daily, they came to be represented in art.

Expanded trade, both inland and foreign, brought in unprecedented prosperity which, in turn, made possible the carving of hundreds of rock-cut caves such as those at Pitalkhora, Ajanta (the early series), Bhaja, Karla, Nasik, Junnar and others. Most of these are embellished with exquisite sculpture which display a remarkable freedom of movement. Classical motifs such as the sphinx and the triskelion at Junnar and Nasik were also introduced in the carvings. Often the caves were adorned with paintings but unfortunately, most of these perished at the hands of nature and man alike, save those in caves 9 and 10 at Ajanta. The surviving paintings reveal a close stylistic correspondence with the stone sculpture.

The Golden Age

With the downfall of the Satavahanas in A.D. 230, their empire disintegrated; feudatories such as the Chutus in the Kolhapur-Belgaum region, and governors such as Maharathi-Mamdavas in the coastal areas assumed independence. In central Maharashtra, the Abhiras held sway for approximately a century, but soon the mighty Vakatakas rose to power in A.D. 250. Founded by Vindhyashakti, this dynasty ruled over a small area in central India. It became so important in Indian history, that an eminent historian, K. P. Jayaswal, credited it with having established a pan-Indian empire. The Vakatakas were contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas of northern India and although Samudragupta conquered much of the country, he dared not enter the Vakataka territory which was ruled by the mighty Pravarasena I from A.D. 270 to 330. Samudragupta's successor, Chandragupta II, better known as Vikramaditya, entered into a matrimonial relationship with the Vakatakas. His daughter, Prabhavati Gupta was given in marriage to Rudrasena II of the Vakataka family which had its capital at Nandivardhana (Nagardhan, Nagpur District). Sadly, the princess was widowed very early, and had to act as regent from A.D. 405-420 since the prince was still a minor. She was greatly helped in this task by her father, Chandragupta II, who even deputed, according to some authorities, Kalidasa, India's greatest poet of antiquity, as a tutor for the prince. The poet himself was lovelorn and composed his famous poem, *Meghaduta,* during his stay in the Vakataka capital.

Prabhavati Gupta was, like her father, a great devotee of Vishnu. She probably built several temples, one of which was that of Pravarapura-Svamin, in the capital city. The remains of these temples were discovered at Paunar when Vinobaji's *ashram* was in the process of construction. The images found during the course of digging have now been set in cement mortar. The most remarkable among these is a panel identified by Professor Mirashi as depicting Rama, but seems, more plausibly, to portray Shiva killing the demon Andhaka. Much more interesting is the statue of the river goddess Ganga, with the label inscription: *Ganga-bhagavati.* Prabhavati Gupta also built some temples of Narasimha, the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu, on the Ramgiri (Ramtek) hill. These are among the early Brahmanical temples in the country and occupy a unique place in the evolution of temple architecture. They betoken the widespread Vishnu worship prevalent in Maharashtra between the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. But Shaivism was equally dominant in the early sixth century as is evident from the caves at Jogeshwari, Elephanta and Mandapeshwar which are all in the region of Bombay as also the Rameshwar cave (No. 21) at Ellora.

The Vakataka kingdom was partitioned after the death of Pravarasena I into two branches, one at Pravarapura (Paunar) and the other at Vatsagulma (modern Vashim, Akola District); both houses were later united under Harishena (A.D. 475-510), the last known monarch of the family. He was a great patron of the arts and letters and the entire later group of Ajanta caves were carved and adorned with paintings during his reign. There is no factual information on his successors but Professor Mirashi has pieced together a succinct account of them based on the historical data from the *Dashakumaracharitam.* But the early sixth century was a period of stress and strain, with feudatories asserting their independence. The Traikutakas took over western Maharashtra and introduced the worship of Lakulisha, an incarnation of Shiva.

Political peace, coupled with economic prosperity, ushered in the Golden Age under the Vakataka kings. People vied with each other in becoming the true *nagarakas* as described by the famous *litterateur* Vatsyayana. It is this rich life which has been depicted in the wall paintings of Ajanta in all its kaleidoscopic variety. A noteworthy change was visible in the life-styles of the people: they lived in well built mansions, donned a variety of clothes among which sewn garments were becoming popular, and wore exquisite jewellery. "Ajanta takes us," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "into a distant, dreamlike, yet a very real world." In short, it is the world of Kalidasa.

Major upheavals took place in northern India in the first half of the sixth century; the Hun invasion reduced the Gupta empire to shambles. The regional chiefs asserted their suzerainty. During this period the Deccan witnessed the rise of the Chalukyas of Badami (Bijapur District, Karnataka) and one of its powerful monarchs, Pulakesin II (A.D. 610-642), conquered the region which now constitutes the present-day state of Maharashtra.

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From Moholesh to Maharashtra

A.R. Kulkarni

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuan Tsang, visited Maharashtra during A.D. 640-641 and was very much impressed by the prosperity of the country, the efficiency of the administration and the character of the people. He calls this country *Mo-ho-lo-cha* (Moholesh), and perhaps he was the first person to discuss the land and people of Maharashtra. He says: "The soil is rich and fertile and it is regularly cultivated and very productive. Men are fond of learning and studying both heretical and orthodox books. The disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall in stature and of a stern and vindictive character. To their benefactors, they are grateful; to their enemies, relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance."

The antiquity of this region can be traced to the third century B.C. approximately because the Maharashtri language, a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit from which the term Maharashtra is derived, was then in vogue. The Marathi language which evolved from Maharashtri-Prakrit, has been the *lingua franca* of the people of this region from the tenth century onwards. And, in the course of time, the term Maharashtra was applied to a region which consisted of Aparanta, Vidarbha, Mulak, Ashmak and Kuntal. This region, known also as *Dandakaranya* was inhabited in ancient times by the tribal communities of Nags, Munds and Bhils. They were joined by the Aryas, the Shakas, and the Huns, who came from the north as well as foreigners, who came by the sea-route. The Dravidians, who hailed from the south, colonised this region and came to be known as Marathas.

Mauryas to Yadavas: *c.* 220 B.C. to A.D. 1310

The Mauryan empire expanded southwards and its dominions include the Konkan region of Maharashtra. The policies of the rulers led to flourishing trade and the development of Buddhist learning in that region. With the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, Maharashtra came under the rule of the Satavahanas.

The first well-known rulers of Maharashtra were the Satavahanas (*c.* 230 B.C. to A.D. 225), with Pratishthana (Paithan) as their capital. This dynasty, founded by Simmuk Satavahan, represents a significant phase in the political, cultural and social history of Maharashtra. The famous *Gatha-Saptashati,* a Maharashtri-Prakrit *kavya* (poem) was composed by Hala, the seventh ruler of this dynasty. The Shalivahana *Shaka* of the Hindus was inaugurated by the Satavahanas. The Satavahana empire crumbled because of internal feuds among its vassals.

The Vakatakas (A.D. 250 to 525) had brought the Vidarbha region under their rule and, during that period, Maharashtra witnessed an all-sided development in the fields of learning, arts and religion because of their munificent patronage. The famous Ajanta caves, Nos. 16, 17, and 19, belonged to the Vakataka period. Fresco painting reached its high-level mark during this period.

After the Vakatakas, there was a brief interlude when the Kalachuri dynasty ruled over parts of this region in the sixth century from their capital at Mahishmati.

The next important dynasty of Maharashtra was that of the Chalukyas, who had two spells of rule, the first from A.D. 550 to 760 and the second from A.D. 973 to 1180. Jai Sinha, the founder of this dynasty, made Badami (Bijapur District, Karnataka) his capital. Pulakesin II, the master of three Maharashtras and the greatest ruler of this dynasty, made Nasik his capital. The Chalukyas were devout Hindus who gave patronage to temple construction.

Dantidurga, the chief of the Rashtrakutas, defeated the Chalukyas by A.D. 753 and established his dynasty with Manyakheta (Karnataka) as his capital. The Rashtrakuta rule

came to an end in A.D. 973 when Tailap Chalukya of the Kalyani branch wrested power from them and restored the Chalukyan dynasty for the second time. The famous Kailash cave-temple (Aurangabad District at Ellora) was the contribution of the Rashtrakuta ruler, Krishna I, to Indian sculpture. The Chalukyas of Kalyani continued to rule parts of Maharashtra upto A.D. 1189 when the Yadavas of Deogiri took over from them, and their supremacy lasted till A.D. 1310. The Kadambas of Goa, the Shilaharas of both south and north Konkan as well as Kolhapur, served as the vassals of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, who were overcome by the Yadavas.

The Yadavas extended their authority over a large territory, practised religious toleration, gave patronage to the Marathi language—which received the status of court-language—and produced the great saint-poet Dnyaneshvar—the pioneer of the *bhakti* cult in Maharashtra. In the ninth century, the Yadavas had their capital at Chandor (Nasik District), which was later on transferred to Deogiri by Bhillam *c.* A.D. 1187.

The Muslim Interlude

Ala-ud-din Khalji was the first Muslim Sultan of the north who penetrated into the Deccan in A.D. 1296, defeated the Yadavas and impoverished them by carrying away a huge booty. Malik Kafur, his lieutenant, completed the mission of Ala-ud-din and, by 1310, the Yadava rule came to an end.

Ala-ud-din Khalji's example was emulated by Muhammad Tughluq (1324-1350), who extended his authority upto Madurai in the south. However, his experiment of transferring his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad met with failure. The fall of the Tughluqs gave rise to a new Muslim power in the Deccan under the leadership of Sultan Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahamani in 1347, and the Bahamani dynasty lasted for nearly 150 years. Deogiri, or Daulatabad, was, for sometime, the capital of the Bahamanis. By the sixteenth century, the Bahamani kingdom was parcelled out into five independent kingdoms—Qutb Shah (Golkonda), Nizam Shah (Ahmednagar), Imad Shah (Varhad), Adil Shah (Bijapur) and Barid Shah (Bidar), which included parts of Maharashtra. In order to preserve their political authority, these Deccani Muslim rulers had to employ local Maratha people in the civil, military and diplomatic services of their states. The Mughals annexed all these provinces by the end of the seventeenth century.

The Marathas

The Marathas dominated the political scene of Maharashtra from the middle of the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century. Although for historical purposes the term 'Maratha' is used in a comprehensive sense which includes all Marathi speaking people, in actual fact the word signifies the distinct community which has dominated the political scene of Maharashtra since Medieval times.

Who were these Marathas? The origin of the Marathas, the Marathi-speaking community of Maharashtra, cannot be identified with certainty. Whether the term 'Maratha' is derived from Maharashtra or whether the land assumes the name from its dwellers, it is difficult to say. Although Risley's theory of the Scytho-Dravidian origin of the Marathas is now discarded, it cannot be denied that there exists a great admixture of aboriginal tribal elements in Marathas of all grades. Several Maratha clans are totemic: Khandoba (sword father) and Bhavani (mother goddess), the two chief deities of the Marathas, are aboriginal in character.

The references to Marathas and their country are found in the accounts of the Arab geographer, Al Biruni (1030 A.D.), Friar Jordanus (*c.* 1326) and Ibn Batuta (1340), the African traveller. The Marathas came into political prominence only in the seventeenth century under Shivaji. Historians such as Grant Duff attribute their rise to fortuitous circumstances—"like a conflagration in the forests of Sahyadri mountains"—while Justice Ranade ascribes it to the genuine efforts made by Maratha chiefs serving under the Deccani Sultans.

Several Maratha chiefs such as the Bhonsales, Jadhavs, Nimbalkars, Mores, Ghorpades, Manes, Ghatges, Dafleys, Sawants, Shirkes, Mahadiks, and the Mohites serving under the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and Adil Shah of Bijapur received excellent training in arms and administration. Maloji Bhonsale (*c.* 1552-1606), the *patil* (head man) joined Nizam Shah with a small band of cavalry. His son Shahaji (1599-1664) served under Nizam Shah, and Adil Shah and came to prominence as a leading Maratha.

Shivaji: the Maker of the Maratha Nation

Shahaji's son, Shivaji, born at the Shivaneri fort on 19-2-1630 (old date 6-4-1627) was the creator of the Maratha nation. Shahaji bequeathed his *jagir* (fiefdom) of Pune and Supa, which was practically independent, to his son, Shivaji (1630-1680) who founded the Maharashtra *Raj*. He united the Maratha chiefs from Maval, Konkan and the Desh regions for a higher purpose—the promotion of *Maharashtra Dharma,* and carved out a small kingdom by defeating the alien powers. He stabilised the state with effective civil and military administration. He adopted a policy of religious toleration to accommodate all religions and sects in his state. He was the first Maratha *Chhatrapati* (ruler) to start the *Raj Shaka* (royal era) and issue the gold coin, *shivarai hon,* on the occasion of his coronation (1674). His premature death at the age of 50, (April 5, 1680) created a vacuum in the Maratha country for some

1 Shri Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj late 17th century, Deccani Kalam
Collection: The British Museum, London



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time. His place in Indian history has been summarised by a great Bengali historian in the following words:
"Shivaji was not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India. States fall, empires break up, dynasties become extinct, but the memory of a true 'hero as King' like Shivaji remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race. The Pillar of people's hope. The Centre of a World's desire to animate the heart, to kindle the imagination and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavour."

Shivaji's son Sambhaji (1657-1689), during his short reign of nine years, in addition to domestic feuds, was confronted with the Siddis, the Portuguese and the Mughals. His cold-blooded murder (1689) by the Mughals inspired a wave of patriotism in the Maratha region, and the Marathas, under the leadership of his brother, Rajaram (1670-1700), waged a War of Independence against the Imperial army of Aurangzeb who, until his death (1707), struggled in vain to eradicate Maratha power. Tarabai, Rajaram's widow, declared her son, Shivaji II (1700), as *Chhatrapati.* But when Sambhaji's son, Shahu, was released (1707) from Mughal captivity and gained support from the Maratha elite, a civil war ensued in Maharashtra, and Tarabai set up a separate *gadi* (throne) at Panhala (Kolhapur). A palace revolution (1714), removed Shivaji II and Tarabai declared Sambhaji (1698-1760), second son of Rajaram, the *Chhatrapati* of Kolhapur, which the Shahu finally recognised by the Treaty of Warna (1731).

The Peshwas

Under Shahu, the Bhat family of Shivardhan (Raigad) came to prominence and the Chitpavan Brahman Balaji Vishwanath Bhat (1713-1720), who had helped Shahu to strengthen his position, became his Peshwa (prime minister) and brought the *sanads* (deeds) of *Swaraj, Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Mughals. His son, Peshwa Bajirao I (1720-1740), attempted to break the narrow limits of Maharashtra by adopting a forward policy and by building Maratha power on the ruins of the Mughal empire. He installed the Maratha *sardars* in the north, who later developed the Maratha confederacy. Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand came under Maratha control and a new band of Maratha *sardars* such as Shinde, Holkar,

2 Peshwa Darbar at Purandar 1790
Collection: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

3 'The Mahratta Peshwa, and his Ministers at Poonah' Drawn from an original sketch belonging to Sir Charles Malet, Bart.
Collection: Jimmy Ollia, Bombay

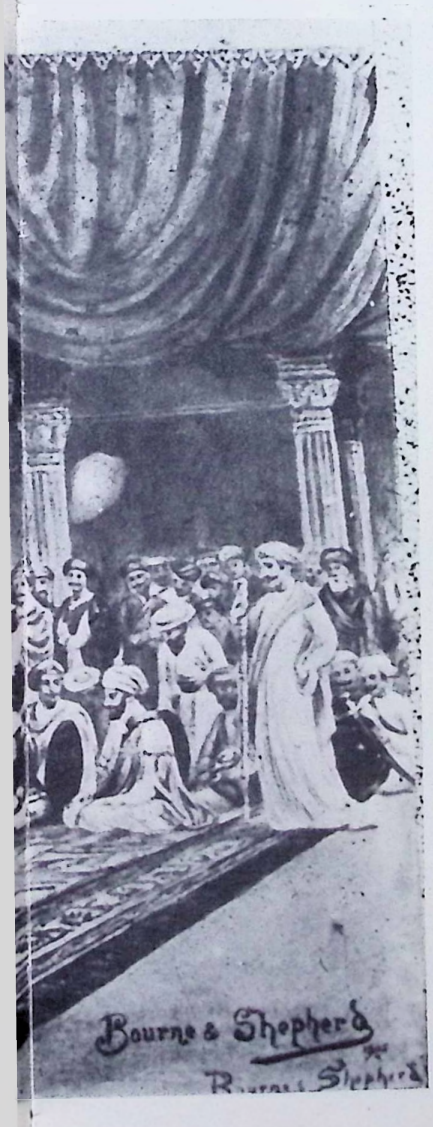


Gaikwad and Pawar came to prominence.

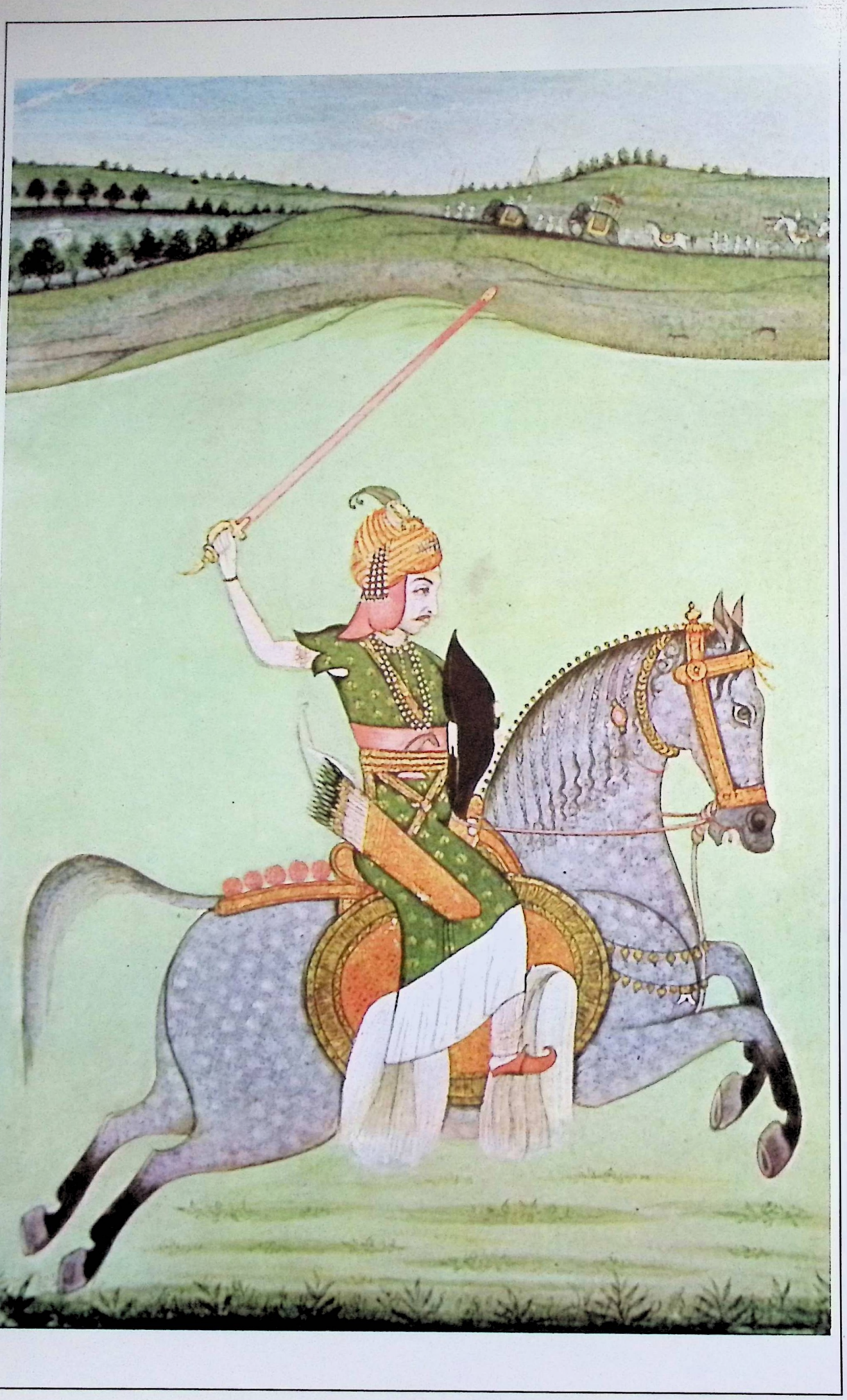
Historians regard Bajirao I as the founder of Greater Maharashtra because it was under his reign that Maharashtra became the centre of Indian politics. During his short career, he established Marathi supremacy in the Deccan and political hegemony in the north. His son, Balaji (1740-1761) succeeded him and expanded the Maratha borders to Attock (Punjab). Shahu died in 1749 and his adopted son, Ramraja, being incompetent, remained a titular *Chhatrapati.* The Peshwas thus became the *de facto* rulers of Maharashtra, and Pune became the centre of Maratha politics. The tragic disaster of the Marathas at Panipat (1761) at the hands of the Afghan ruler, Abdali, temporarily weakened their power but did not destroy it. Madhavrao I (1761-1772), a noble Peshwa, restored the Maratha prestige by defeating the enemies and introducing efficient administration. His premature death was a great destabiliser of Maratha power. Grant Duff says, "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince."

The domestic feuds that ensued led to the murder of the next Peshwa leader, Narayanrao (1773), whose posthumous child, Madhavrao II (1773-1795) managed the affairs of state with the help of the Barbhai council of which Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Shinde were prominent members. Power was thus shifted from the Peshwas to the *Karbharis* (managers). The English neighbours of the Marathas gradually began to intrude into Maratha territory. They were humbled in 1781, but the last Peshwa, Bajirao II (1795-1818) succumbed, and surrendered the Maratha power to them in 1818. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the liquidator of Maratha power, then created a Maratha State at Satara by installing Pratap Singh (1793-1847), a descendant of Shahu, on the throne as *Raja* to win the sympathies of the Marathas. He was deposed in 1839, and his brother Shahaji became *Raja.* The state lapsed to the English in 1849. Thus the hegemony of the Marathas—who had dominated the political scene of Indian history for over two centuries—came to an end.

The contribution of the Marathas to Indian history can be summed up in the words of Jadunath Sarkar, who says, "The Marathas have an historic advantage of unique importance in India today. Their ancestors had faced death in a hundred battle fields, had led armies and debated







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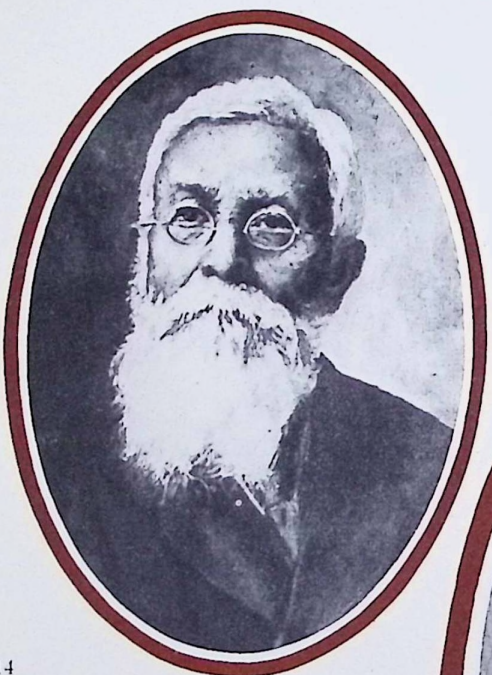
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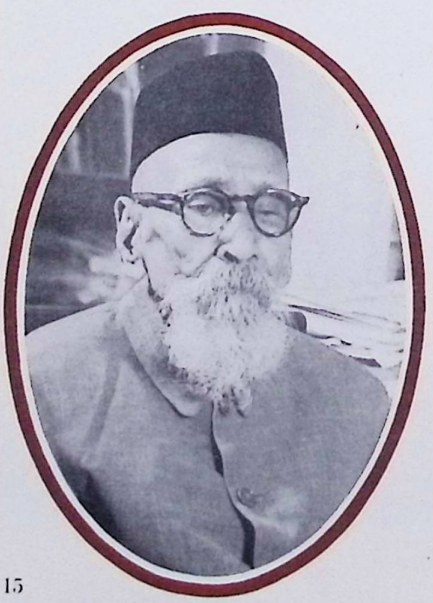
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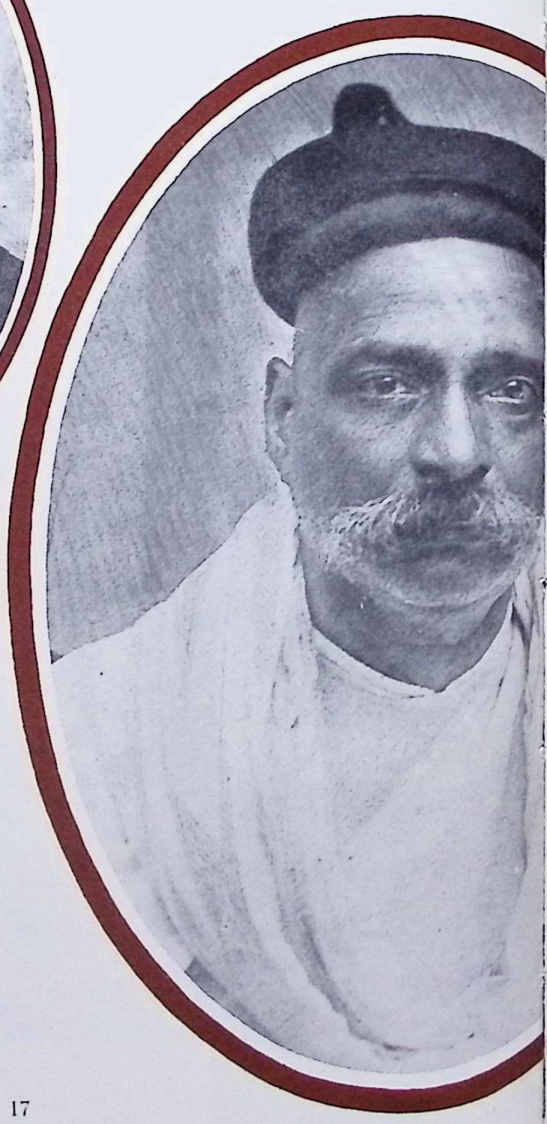
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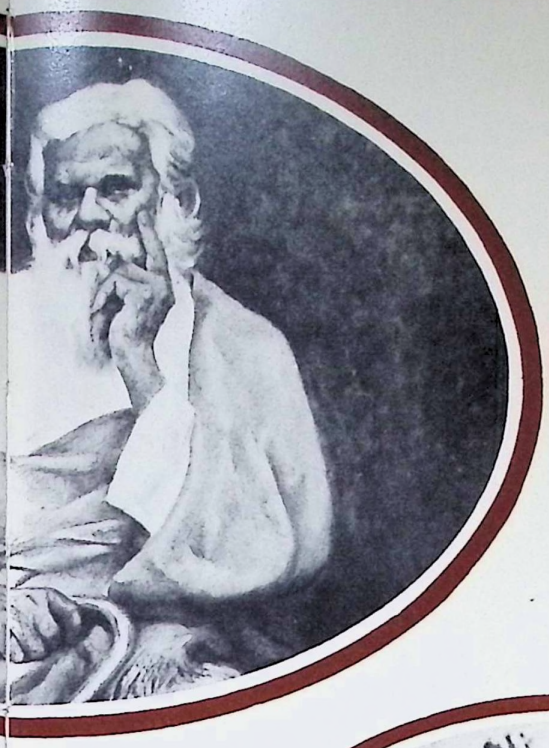
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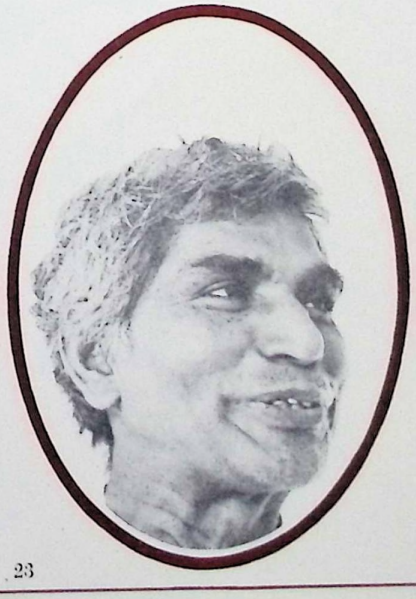
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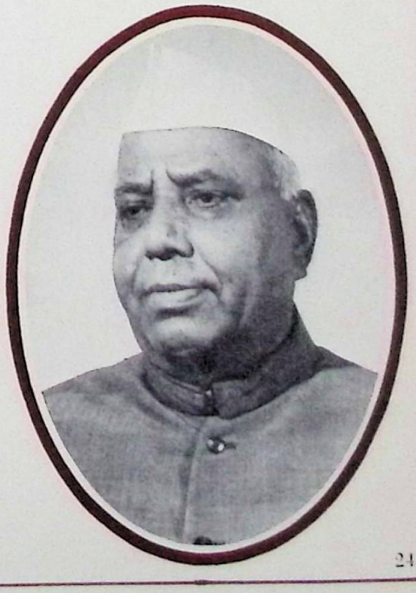


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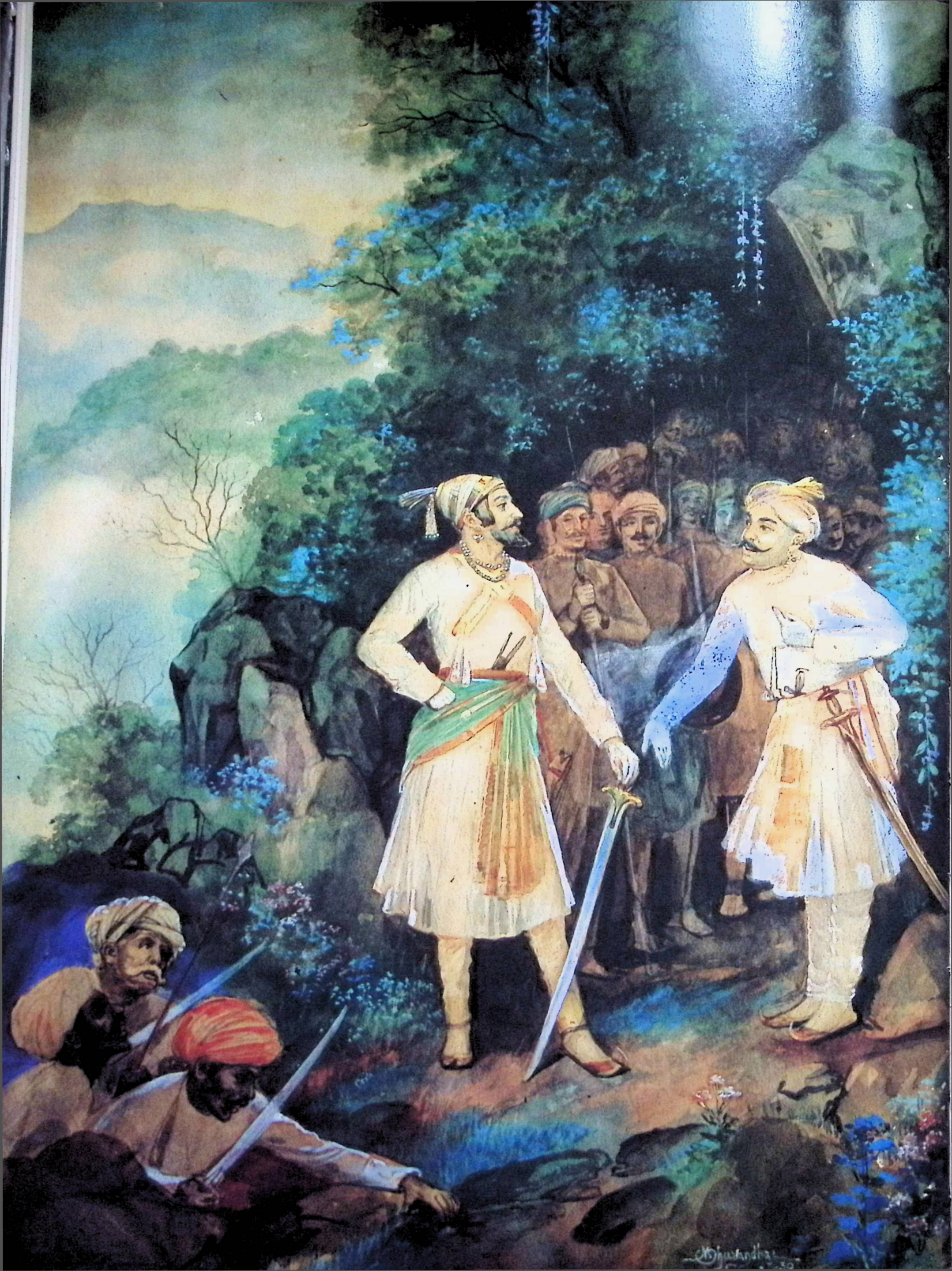


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4 Peshwa Bajirao
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

5 Equestrian Portrait of Shahu
18th century
Collection: Marathwada University Museum, Aurangabad

6 Bajirao Raghunath, alias Bajirao II
early 19th century
Collection: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

7 Raghunathrao Peshwa
late 18th century
Collection: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

8 Shri Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata

9 Shri Jehangir Ratanji Dadabhoy Tata

10 Shri Laxmanrao Kirloskar

11 Seth Shri Mafatlal Gagalbhai

12 Shri Walchand Hirachand

13 Shri Jotirao Govindrao Phule

14 Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji

15 Shri Dhondo Keshav Karve

16 Shri Vithal Ramaji Shinde

17 Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak

18 Shri Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

19 Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

20 Pandita Ramabai

21 Sir Pherozshah Mehta

22 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

23 Baba Amte

24 Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan

25 Sacrifice in Pavankhind by Dhurandhar

in the chamber of diplomacy; had managed the finances of kingdoms and grappled with the problems of empire; they had helped to make Indian history in the immediate and not forgotten past. The memory of these things is a priceless asset to their race."

The British

In the seventeenth century the East India Company of the British struggled to secure commercial monopoly on the west coast and regarded the growing power of Shivaji as a potential danger to them. Shivaji shrewdly guessed the British intentions of territorial acquisition under the guise of trade and commerce. But the Peshwas did not anticipate the opportunist British mentality; Peshwa Nanasaheb invited them to crush the Angres of Kolaba in 1754. The Marathas thus dug their own grave. In the Madras Military consultations of April 17, 1770 it was recorded that, "It has always been allowed and that too with reason, that nothing can reduce the Maratha power but dissensions among themselves, and it is fortunate for the other powers in Hindustan that the Maratha chiefs were always ready to take every advantage of each other."

The most successful British statesman in routing out Maratha power was Mountstuart Elphinstone who occupied the office of Resident (Pune) in 1811. He slowly worked for the fall of the Marathas and when the third and final war broke out with them in 1817, Bajirao II finally submitted to the British on June 3, 1818, and the glory of the Maratha power vanished. Elphinstone then became the Commissioner of the territories conquered from the Peshwas in 1819, and later the Governor of Bombay. He laid the foundation of British administration in Maharashtra without introducing much innovation, completed the work of settlement, initiated an educational policy, founded the Sanskrit College (which later became the Deccan College) out of the Dakshina Funds of the Peshwas.

Resistance to British Rule

The Marathas were never reconciled to the British *Raj,* and occasionally challenged the British officers. In 1826, the Ramoshis of the Pune District under the leadership of Umaji Naik, revolted against the British who subsequently compromised with them. The Ramoshis were absolved of their crimes, absorbed in government service and also granted lands in *inam.* They revolted again and Umaji Naik was captured.
Raghu Bhangra of Nasik, Ramji of Nagar and his associate, Govindrao Khare, the *killedar* of Ratangad also resisted British rule. The Kolis of the Pune and the Nagar Districts also organised themselves against the British. It is really surprising that these unlettered, unequipped residents of the hills had the courage to challenge the British much before the intellectuals could start the freedom movement.

In the revolt of 1857, Maharashtra was not an active participant, though leaders such as Tatya Tope and Maharani Laxmibai of Jhansi were Maharashtrians.

In 1857 the peasants of some parts of the Pune, Satara and Nagar Districts revolted against the oppressive policies supported by the British. This event is known as the Deccan Riots. Vasudev Balwant Phadke launched his violent campaign against the British rule in 1879, aiming at establishing an Indian Republic by driving them out. However, his armed resistance failed and he was arrested and deported to Aden where he passed away in 1883. The resentment against the British rule continued unabated and the Chaphekar brothers murdered Mr. Rand and Lt. Ayerst on Jubilee Night on June 22, 1897 at Pune. In his book, *India of Yester Years,* published in 1899, G. W. Stevens explains the Maratha resistance to British rule: "Other provinces of India were ceded to us or conquered from alien lords, the Marathas lost all in War, ... The Marathas have never forgotten how high they were less than a hundred years ago, and who it was that brought them low. They lost more than others, and they feel the loss more. For others we were a change of masters; them we brought down from masters to slaves.... His empire, his nationality, his religion, his honour, his beautiful language — we have taken away his all."

Social Reform Movement

The social reform movement of nineteenth century Maharashtra was the result of the impact of Western education on the elite of Bombay and Pune. The reformists tried to examine critically their social system, religious beliefs and gave priority to social reform as against political freedom.

In their efforts of reform they had to confront with stiff opposition from the conservatives. Foremost among them were Balshastri Jambhekar (1812-1846), who condemned the evil customs of *sati* and female infanticide; Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892) who, through his *shatpatre* (a bunch letters numbering 100) attacked orthodox Brahmans opposing social and religious reforms; Jotirao Govindrao Phule (1827-1890) who revolted against the unjust caste system, and upheld the cause of untouchables and education of women of lower castes. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925) and Justice Ranade (1842-1901) were the pioneers of Prarthana Samaj, an organisation for general, social and religious reform. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895), gave priority to social reform. Dhondo Keshav Karve (1858-1962) devoted his entire life to the cause of women's education. Behramji

Malbari (1853-1912), a Parsi of Bombay, started Seva Sadan for the care of women of all castes. Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) founded the Sharada Sadan in 1890 to help high class widows. Vithal Ramaji Shinde (1873-1944), a product of the Oxford University, fought for the eradication of untouchability through his Depressed Classes Mission. *Chhatrapati* Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1874-1922) also plunged into this movement and defied the caste system, championed the cause of the untouchables and promoted education in his state. Bhaurao Paigonda Patil (1887-1959), the architect of the Rayat Shikshna Sanstha, followed in the footprints of Phule, Shinde and Shahu Maharaj. Maharashtra will always remain proud of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1926), the chief architect of the Indian Constitution and the creator of a social and political awareness among the scheduled castes of India.

Lately, the social reform measures undertaken have brought about a renaissance and social-awakening in Maharashtra. The efforts of D. K. Karve to improve women's education, of Bhaurao Patil, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh who champion the down-trodden people, as well as those of Tarabai Modak in Vidarbha and Anutai Wagh in the Adivasi areas, have set an example for other states. The services rendered to victims of leprosy by Dr. Shivaji Patwardhan and Baba Amte have perhaps no parallel. Vijay Merchant continues to fight relentlessly for the amelioration of facilities for the physically handicapped. Vinoba Bhave, the spiritual heir of Gandhiji, sacrificed his life for *sarvodaya*. Thus, the works of the saint-poets, the social reformers and the social constructive workers have made Maharashtra a progressive state.

Maharashtra's Role in the Freedom Movement

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Maharashtra (Bombay) in 1885. Justice Ranade provided a theoretical base for the national movement by advocating liberalism and starting several institutions for moulding public opinion on social, economic and political problems.

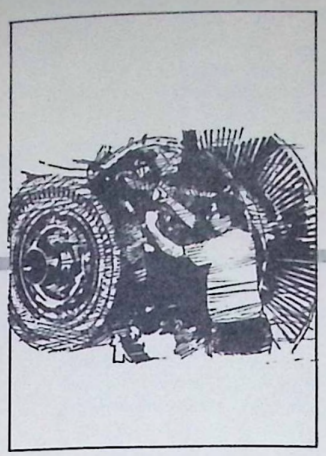
Dadabhoy Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wachha, the Parsis of Bombay, were leaders of the Indian National Congress. The two outstanding national leaders of Maharashtra between 1890-1920 were Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). Tilak drew the masses into national politics through his festivals of Shivaji and Ganesh. He condemned the moderates' policy of 'mendicancy' and declared that *Swaraj* was his birthright. He was called the "father of political unrest in India." Gokhale, the true disciple of Justice Ranade, and essentially a leader of the elite, adopted the policy of conciliation and compromise. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the founder of the Abhinav Bharat Society, a terrorist organisation, became the idol of the youth. Mahatma Gandhi, who regarded Gokhale as his *guru*, and considered Maharashtra as the bee-hive of constructive workers, received support from Maharashtra in his several movements and programmes. It was during this period that the non-Brahman element, under the leadership of Keshavrao Jedhe, was brought within the fold of the Congress, mainly through the persuasive efforts of Kakasaheb Gadgil. The ultimatum to the British to "Quit India" was given in Bombay, and finally culminated in the transfer of power and the independence of India in 1947. Raosaheb and Achyutrao Patwardhan, Nanasaheb Gore, S. M. Joshi, Yeshwantrao Chavan, Vasantdada Patil and several others played a prominent role in this last struggle. B. G. Kher, was the first Chief Minister of the tri-lingual Bombay Presidency. He was succeeded by Morarji Desai.

Samyukta Maharashtra

The Indian National Congress was pledged to linguistic states, but the States Re-organisation Committee recommended a bi-lingual state for Maharashtra-Gujarat, with Bombay as its capital. Its inauguration on November 1, 1956 caused a great political stir and, under the leadership of Keshavrao Jedhe, an all-party meeting was held in Pune and Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti was founded on February 6, 1956. In the second general election the Samiti defeated the stalwarts of Congress by securing 101 seats out of 133, including 12 from Bombay. The Congress could form a government only with the support of Gujarat, Marathwada and Vidarbha. Yeshwantrao Chavan became the first Chief Minister of the bi-lingual Bombay State. S. M. Joshi, S. A. Dange, N. G. Gore and P. K. Atre fought relentlessly for Samyukta Maharashtra even at the cost of sacrificing the lives of several people and finally succeeded in convincing Congress leaders that Maharashtra should form a separate state. The resignation of C. D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister of the Nehru Cabinet, had its salutary effect, and on May 1, 1960, the state of Maharashtra, which included western Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Marathwada was born with the blessings of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Thus, in 1960 the historical process of formation of this Marathi State from *Mo-ho-lo-cha* to Maharashtra was completed. The new Maharashtra conforms to the image recorded by Hiuan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, more than thirteen hundred years ago.

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Economy and Industry

Gangadhar Gadgil

The State of Maharashtra was established in 1960. Its western boundaries hug the Arabian Sea and it extends to the East into Peninsular India beyond the Sahyadri Range. The Vidarbha region lies in Central India and borders Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. Bombay, the capital of Maharashtra, has long been India's window to the western world. It has played a leading role in the development of modern industry, commerce and education. Maharashtra was thus industrially advanced when it was established as a separate state and it continues to play a prominent role in the economic development of India.

Population

The state of Maharashtra covers 308,000 sq. km. — roughly ten percent of India's total area — and around 9 percent of the country's population lives there.

To bring down the rate of growth of population through family planning programmes has been one of the major objectives of state policy over the last 25 years. Although this objective has been vigorously pursued, particularly during the last 15 years, it does not seem to have achieved significant success. Between 1961 and 1971, the population of Maharashtra grew at an accelerated decadal rate of 27.45 percent. This was higher than the all-India decadal rate of growth of 24.80 percent. However, zealous efforts on the part of the State Government between 1971 and 1981, have reduced the decadal growth rate to 24.54 percent — marginally lower than the decadal rate of 24.69 percent for the whole of India. The results would have been even more favourable but for several factors. Because of the improvement in living standards, famine relief measures and health care, the death rate sharply declined between 1961 and 1981. Also, better economic opportunities have attracted migrants from other states, thereby adding to Maharashtra's population by as much as 31.43 *lakhs* between 1971 and 1981. Although the impact of these factors has proved detrimental in so far as a reduction in the growth rate of the population is concerned, they are indicative of better performance by the state in the spheres of economy and social welfare.

Literacy

Maharashtra has traditionally looked upon education as a key to social and economic progress and the State Government spends a substantial quota of its budget on increasing the literacy rate. The enrolment of students has registered an increase at the primary as well as the secondary levels. The percentage of literate population in Maharashtra is 47.18 — far higher than the all-India literacy rate of 36.23 percent.

Urbanisation

The population in the urban areas of the state rose from approximately 24 percent in 1961 to 31.2 percent in 1971 and to 35.03 percent in 1981. As against this average, the percentage of urban population for the country as a whole was only 23.70 in 1981.

Urbanisation implies the growth of commerce and industry, education and applied skills. It creates the necessary motivation and facilities for rapid economic growth. Maharashtra can look upon this development with satisfaction and pride. Unfortunately, urbanisation also creates serious shortages of both housing and civic amenities. If not properly controlled this can lead to the disintegration of family and social life, the alienation of individuals, the growth of crime and disease. These problems are very much in evidence in the urban areas of Maharashtra and government efforts to regulate them have yet to achieve success.

Industry

Maharashtra, which now produces approximately 24 percent of the gross industrial output of the country was already, in 1960, a leader in industrial development. The gross value of output, however, can be a deceptive indicator of the industrial development of a country, and ought to be considered in terms of the value added. Fortunately, Maharashtra's industrial development, measured in these terms, is high; it contributes nearly a quarter of the total value added by industry in India.

Maharashtra can also claim the distinction of maintaining high levels of productivity. The output per rupee of productive capital in the state stood at Rs. 2.03 as against Rs. 1.38 for the whole of India. Even though the state employed roughly one sixth of the productive capital, it produced one fourth of the country's industrial output.

Productivity per employee in the state was as high as Rs. 94,000 as against Rs. 68,000 for the entire country. Similarly, the value added per employee stood at Rs. 21,000 as compared to Rs. 14,000 for India as a whole.

The number of registered factories — large, medium and small — has increased sharply from 8,233 in 1961 to 17,981 in 1983. Of these, 82 percent were small businesses employing a capital of Rs. 10 *lakhs* or less. Those with a capital of Rs. 1 *crore* or more, constituted only 6 percent of the total number of factories. Simultaneously, this small number of large factories contributed as much as 65 percent of the total output and employed 83 percent of the productive capital.

One of the reasons for the continued pre-eminence of Maharashtra in the sphere of industrial development has been the increasing diversification of industry. In 1961 the cotton textile industry was a major source of activity and employed nearly 50 percent of the industrial labour force in the state. By 1982 this number declined to 18.2 percent. This was not so much the consequence of a fall in employment in that cotton industry, but the sharp rise in employment in newly developed industries. These include chemicals and chemical products, pharmaceuticals, machinery (both electrical and non-electrical), transport vehicles and equipment, household appliances, rubber, petroleum products and sugar. The newest entrant in the field is the electronics industry. In general, the shift from production of consumer goods to the production of capital and intermediate goods shows the rapid development of technologically more sophisticated industries. This orientation towards what are described as 'sunrise' industries indicates the progressive attitudes and policies of both the industrialists and the State Government.

Part of the credit for the upsurge in industrial growth goes to the city of Bombay which has acted as a powerful magnet to industrialists. The city provides a developed infrastructure, a rich mix of commercial, financial and technical services, a large supply of skilled manpower, a large market and, above all, a highly favourable commercial and entrepreneurial ethos. Essentially a modern city, Bombay welcomes innovation and enterprise, and is imbued with a commercial and competitive spirit.

Role of the State Government

The Government of Maharashtra has developed the necessary infrastructure; created agencies to provide facilities, guidance and assistance; offered incentives and generally followed policies favourable to industrial growth. The incentives consist of funding, provision of land and sheds on favourable terms as well as tax concessions. The most energetic, efficient and innovative agency promoting industrial growth is SICOM (State Industrial and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd.). Its strategy of selecting a series of favourably located centres and promoting their intensive growth has proved highly successful. The agency has now formulated schemes for attracting investment from Indians residing in foreign countries. The MIDC (Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation) develops and makes available sites for new industrial units. The MSFC (Maharashtra State Financial Corporation) provides finance, while the MSSIDC (Maharashtra Small Scale Industrial Development Corporation Ltd.) provides various inputs for small units. The efforts of these agencies, working as a team, have met with fairly good results.

The Government has also granted generous assistance for the development of agro-based industries such as sugar, spinning mills and dairies. The remarkable expansion of the sugar industry in Maharashtra after 1960 is as much due to the assistance and encouragement offered by the State Government as to the initiative and enterprise of Maharashtrian farmers.

One of the inherent weaknesses in the industrial structure is the high degree of concentration of industries in the Bombay-Thane-Pune region. Efforts have been made to evolve other industrial centres such as Nasik, Ahmednagar, Kolhapur, Sangli, Aurangabad, Akola, Amaravati and Nagpur; they have met with moderate success. This can be seen from the fact that the per capita value added in the Bombay-Thane-Pune sector was Rs. 1,634 as against a meagre Rs. 156 for the rest of the state. The picture is now slowly changing: the share of the three main districts in industrial employment has decreased from 78 percent in 1973-74 to 63 percent in 1981-82. But more effective measures in this direction are necessary.

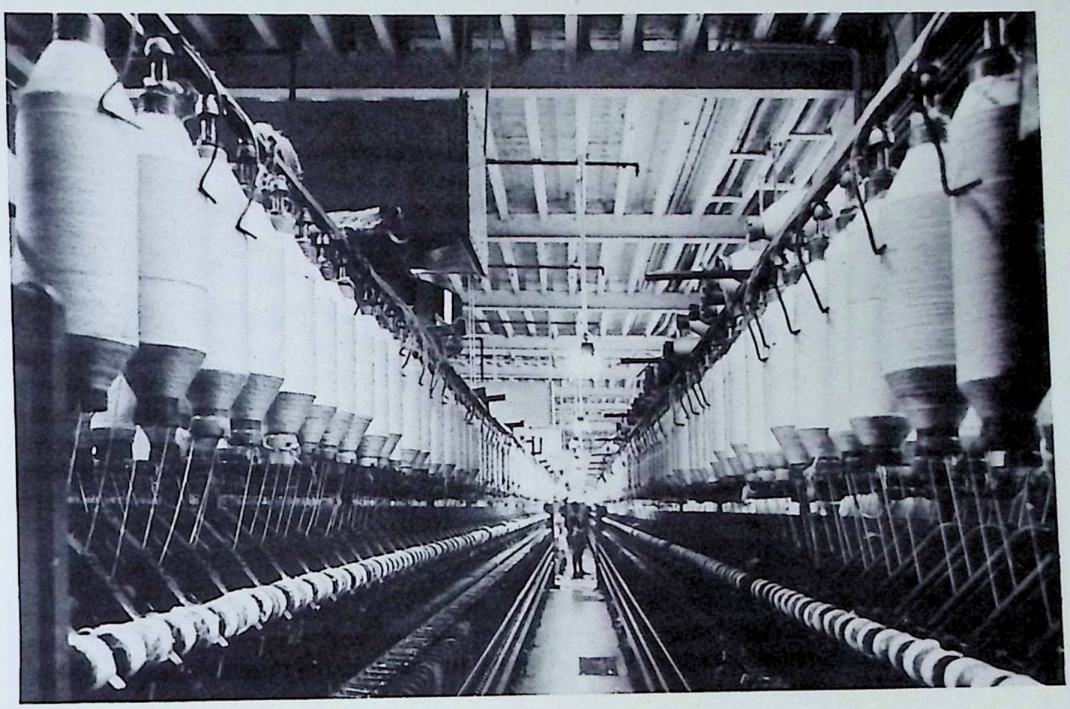
Another cause for concern is that Maharashtra is not able to match the pace of development apparent in other states such as the Punjab and Gujarat. This is because Bombay and its environs are now saturated with industries and other more distant centres are not as attractive

1 Textile industry: spinning process
2 Automated Press Line: for high quality sheet metal components
3 Cotton industry: packing
4 Sugar production: transportation of sugarcane to the mill
5 Automobile manufacture: assembly line
6 Cottage industry: weaving
7 Industrial machinery: gears for sugar mill
8 Commercial agricultural produce: grape cultivation
9 Commercial agricultural produce: orange market
10 Turnkey project for Tanzania: sugar factory machine

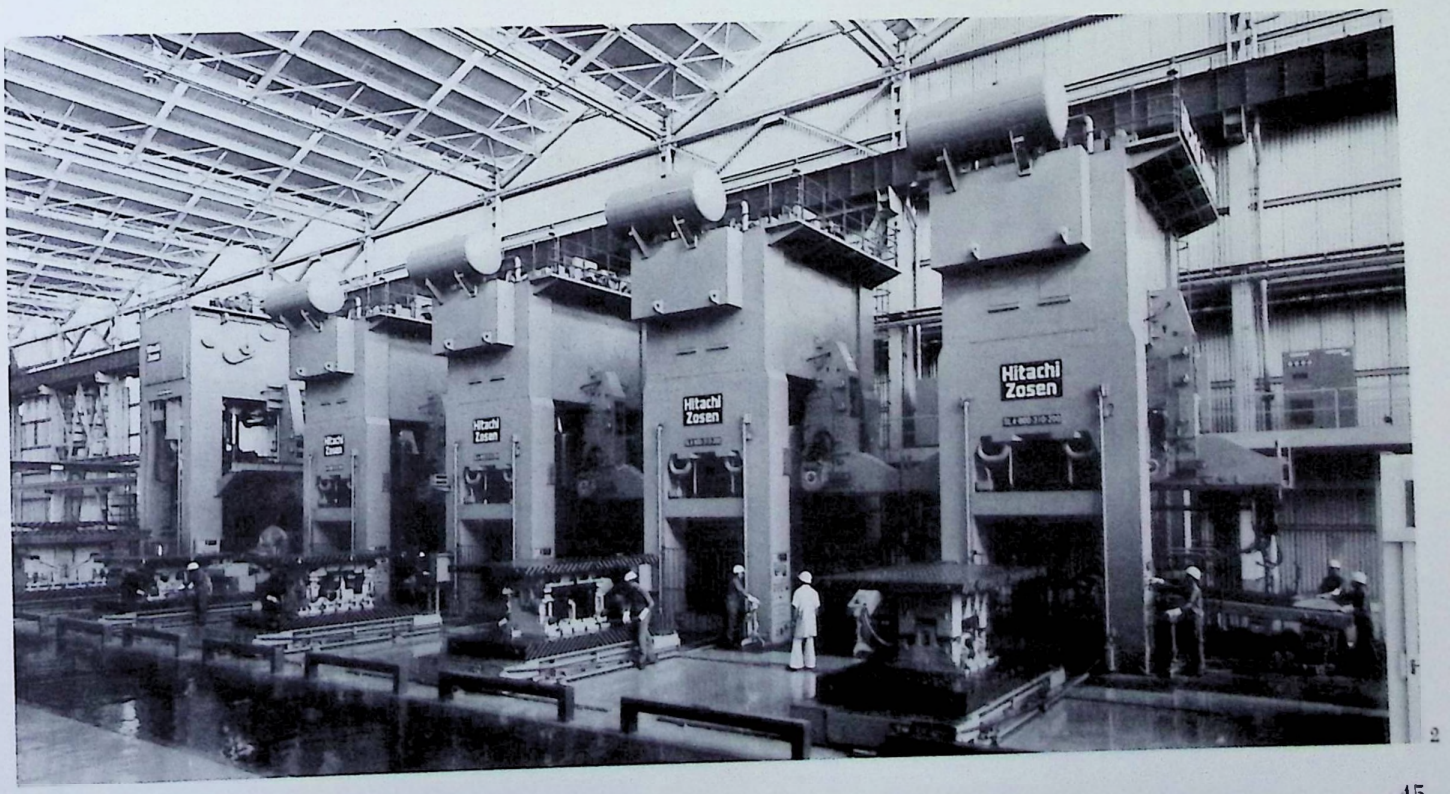
as the Bombay region. The Bombay region itself has become a very high cost region due to exhorbitant prices of land, high wages and high taxes. Added to these factors is the trade-union movement which deters entrepreneurs from investing in the state. The number of man-days lost due to industrial disputes rose from 575,600 in 1961 to 28,054,000 in 1983.

Agriculture

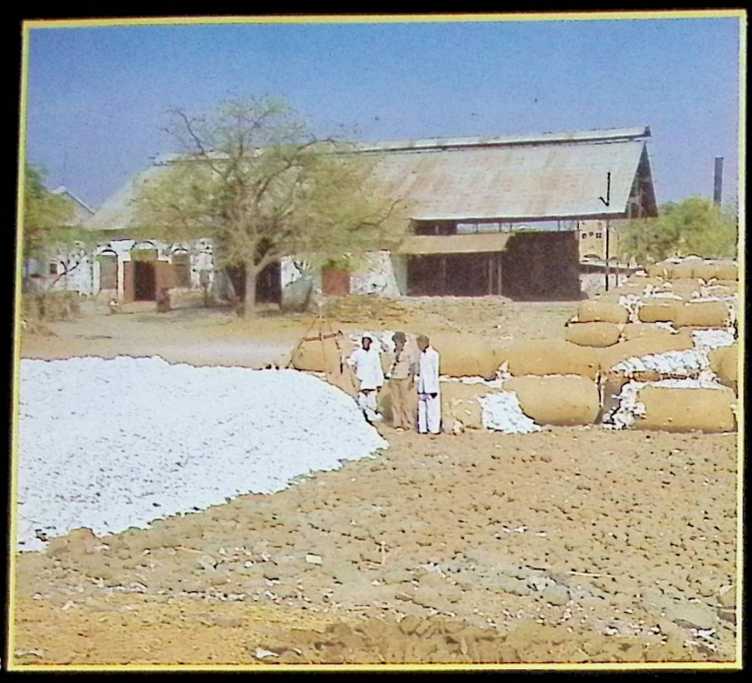
Maharashtra's performance in agriculture is not as spectacular as its achievements in industry. This is partly attributed to natural factors. Some of the areas in the state have relatively poor soil. Moreover, only around 9 percent of the available land has adequate and dependable rainfall. Around 46 percent of the land has inadequate but fairly dependable rainfall. And over 31 percent of the land is prone to drought due to poor and uncertain rainfall. The possibilities of overcoming water deficiency through irrigation is also quite limited. Not even a quarter of the cultivated area is currently being irrigated. The irrigation potential of the state is 7.3 million hectares but the potential realised by 1982-83 was only 3.3 million hectares. Andhra Pradesh, a comparable state, has a potential of 9.2 million hectares of which as much as 5.3 million hectares have been irrigated. Plans are being implemented to increase



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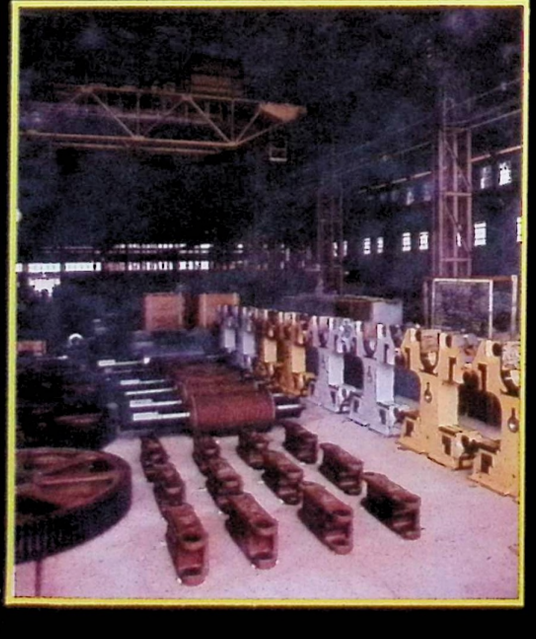
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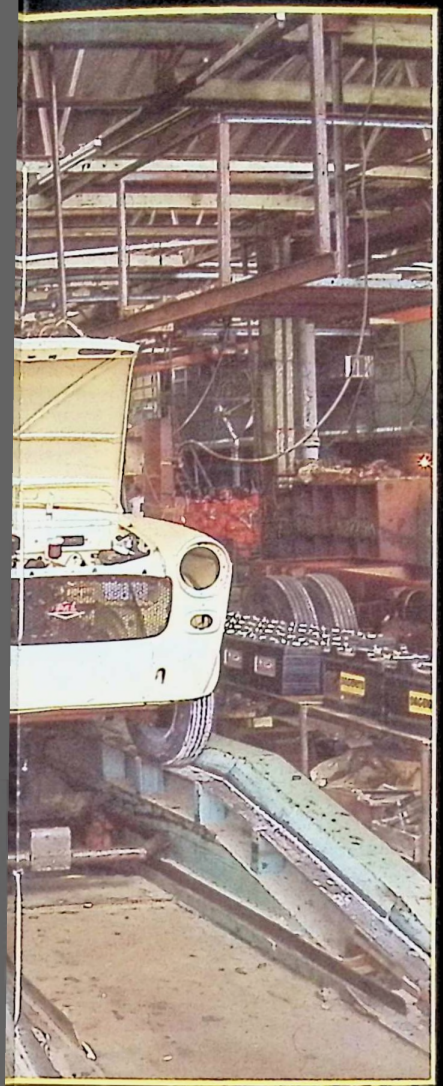
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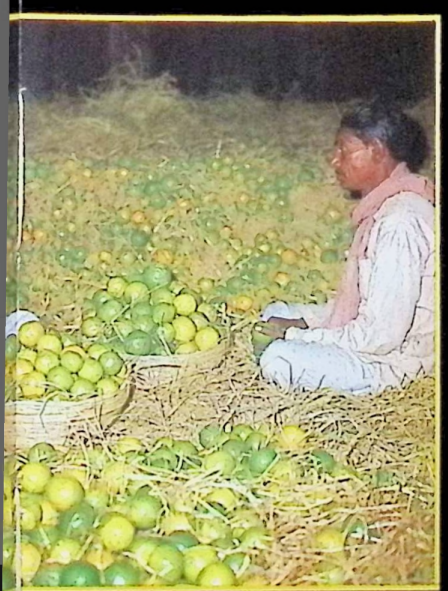


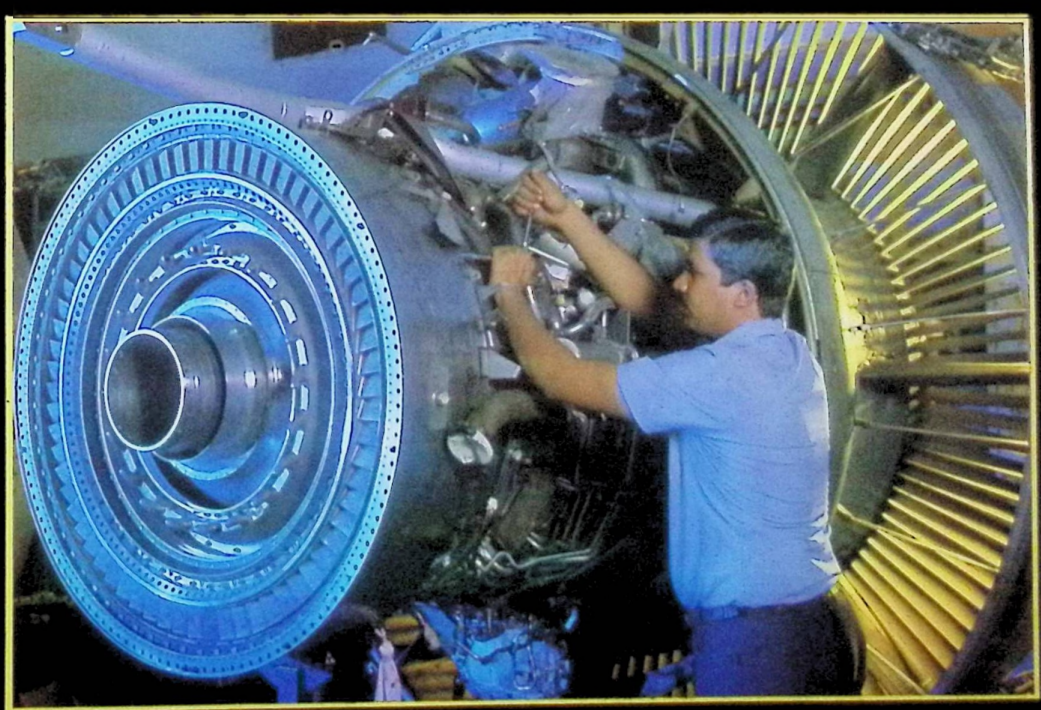
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the area under irrigation and these have been aided by the settlement of the Krishna-Godavari water dispute.

A large part of the land under irrigation is under the cultivation of sugarcane. This area increased from 156,000 hectares in 1960-61 to 390,000 hectares in 1982-83. The per-hectare yield of sugarcane, at 95,322 kgs. is also one of the highest in the country and is only slightly exceeded by that of the state of Tamil Nadu. This cane is utilised by a number of sugar factories owned mostly by farming cooperatives. Maharashtra has, as a consequence, become a principal producer of sugar in India and the cooperative sugar factories have made a significant contribution to the social and economic transformation of Maharashtra.

Because sugarcane requires a large quantity of water over an extended period of time, it absorbs an excessive proportion of the water available through irrigation. As a result, little water is spared for other crops. This, coupled with poor rainfall, has reduced agricultural productivity. Maharashtra accounts for 11 percent of the area under grain cultivation and 33 percent of the area under cotton cultivation in the country. But its share in grain and cotton production is only 7 percent and 21 percent respectively. The average annual per-hectare production of grain in Maharashtra between 1980-83 was only 706 kgs. while Andhra Pradesh accounted for 1,217 kgs. and Haryana for 2,545 kgs. The average production of cotton per-hectare in Maharashtra during the same period was a mere 92 kgs. as against 198 kgs. in Gujarat and 255 kgs. in Andhra Pradesh. The per-hectare consumption of fertilisers in Maharashtra was also low (21.2 kgs.) as against 45.9 kgs. in Andhra Pradesh and 117.9 kgs. in Punjab.

Maharashtra has also a severe shortage of water in several thousand villages. It is, therefore, urgently necessary to improve the management of available water resources and add to them by more irrigation as well as other imaginative devices for conservation and proper utilisation. The state has made considerable progress in the production of milk and dairy products. Horticulture also flourishes in many regions of the state.

Power

The infrastructure of a state, consisting of transport and communication, power supply, as well as commercial and financial institutions, plays a critical role in economic development. Maharashtra has more or less an adequate supply of power and is not subject to the severe power shortages which are chronic in many other states. The installed capacity has been substantially increased from 759 MW in 1960-61 to 4,686 MW in 1982-83. The supply is efficient as well as regular in the Bombay region, while voltage fluctuations and stoppages are fairly common in other parts of the state. The continued and substantial efforts to add to power-generating capacity will, hopefully, tackle the shortage in the state effectively.

Transport

Although some parts of Maharashtra enjoy relatively good railway service, many areas such as the Konkan, Marathwada and Vidarbha have yet to be provided with an adequate system of railway lines. The state has, on an average, 58 km. of roads for every 100 sq. km. of area. This is much less than Tamil Nadu and Punjab which can claim an average 95 km. and 91 km. respectively. Efforts are being made in Maharashtra for reaching targets set for road construction in the revised 1961-81 plan. Considering the development of the state and the number of motor vehicles in use (1,328 per *lakh* of population), it is imperative to accelerate the pace of road construction and also to improve the existing roads. The Maharashtra State Road Transport Corporation provides adequate facilities for passenger transport.

Banks and Cooperatives

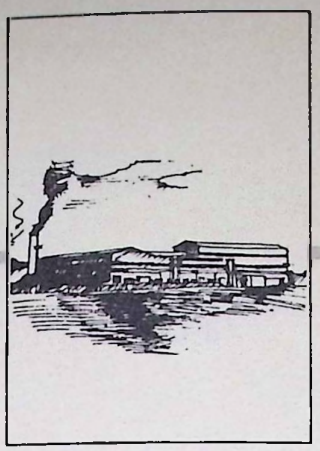
The state has fairly well-developed banking facilities with 6.4 bank offices per one *lakh* population. A network of cooperative societies engaged in production, marketing, supply of inputs and provision of credit serve the various sectors of trade and industry. The number of societies was 67,458 in 1982-83 with a paid capital of Rs. 800 *crores* and working capital of Rs. 7,000 *crores.*

The Future

The state has thus made all-round progress since its inception. It continues to play a leading role in the industrial field. It produces nearly a quarter of the total industrial output of the country and is establishing more advanced and sophisticated industries. Bombay continues to be the financial and commercial capital of India and is breaking new ground in the mobilisation of venture capital. In agriculture the state has become a major producer of sugarcane, and vigorous efforts are being made to improve the output of other crops. It has made substantial progress in the area of dairy farming and horticulture. The state has an extensive cooperative movement and apart from assisting agriculture it runs agro-based industries such as the sugar industry. Happily the state does not suffer from power shortage which seems to have become a major constraint on development in some other states.

Maharashtra is thus poised to march ahead in the decades to come.

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Cooperative Movement

M.V. Namjoshi

Maharashtra is perhaps the most advanced among the Indian states in the sphere of cooperative development. Cooperative efforts in Maharashtra alone represent one-sixth of the working capital of the Indian Cooperative Movement. In terms of working capital, deposits, owned funds, share capital, membership and number of societies, Maharashtra occupies the highest position. Since the formation of the unilingual State of Maharashtra in 1960, the cooperative movement has grown and diversified. In 1984, Maharashtra had over 71,000 cooperative societies in a variety of agricultural enterprises, including marketing, sugar factories, rice mills, agricultural processing units and spinning mills. Service cooperatives in consumer and housing sectors were also established. But the development of cooperative sugar factories is undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of the movement in the state.

More important than the dimensions of the movement in Maharashtra is its quality; it is characterised by a high degree of autonomy. The Maharashtra State Cooperative Bank is a powerful institution which has actively promoted and encouraged the development of the processing industry. Between 1982-83 it advanced Rs. 267 *crores* out of a total budget of Rs. 612 *crores* to sugar factories, Rs. 182 *crores* to district banks and Rs. 88 *crores* to marketing societies. The bank's Industries Commission has played an important role in this context. The bank has also contributed towards the development of the weaker sections of industry. D. R. Gadgil, writing in the 1980s on prospective developments in cooperative finance, remarked, "The crop loan system could meet, more or less fully, the needs of the more substantial cultivators in most areas where important commercial crops were grown. The smaller cultivator and cultivators who grow less costly crops because of soil or climatic conditions did not equally benefit from the crop loan system." The bank has done its best to widen the concept of agricultural financing to include the weaker sections of society and a number of diversified cooperatives. However, certain important limitations have to be examined in this connection. The village level primary societies include a large number of non-viable societies and societies running at a loss. Overdues remain an important problem. A fully integrated approach to combining development banking and routine banking has yet to be evolved.

In recent years cooperative banking has lost ground as compared with commercial banking. It has not succeeded in further reinforcing the cooperative movement, in developing village level and district level planning or in eliminating the remaining defects of the movement. Even in the attempt to effectively combine short-term banking with land development banking, much remains to be done.

Cooperative improvement of irrigation facilities has made considerable progress in Maharashtra. The number of cooperative lift-irrigation societies increased from 119 in 1961 to 1,599 in 1984. Of these, 460 societies registered profit in 1984 while 560 suffered a loss. There is, thus, considerable scope for amelioration in the management of these societies. The development of local irrigation through cooperatives is a field in which immensely productive measures are possible.

The consumer cooperative societies in the state present a mixed picture. However, in Bombay, the Bombay Kamgar Cooperative Consumer Society is an illustration of outstanding achievement.

Not only does Maharashtra have a well-developed cooperative movement with local foundations but it can also claim a number of important central cooperative institutions which are located in the state. In Pune, for example, we have the National Heavy Engineering

Cooperative, which provides one more dimension to the already important cooperative sugar industry in the state.

Cooperative education has also been well developed in Maharashtra. The State Cooperative Union has played an active role in this area. The Vaikunth Mehta National Institute of Cooperative Management, which is the apex institution for cooperative-management education in the country is located at Pune. Looking at the matter of education from a broad perspective, one can also record that the cooperatives have contributed to the teaching of engineering, medicine, commerce and the arts in the state.

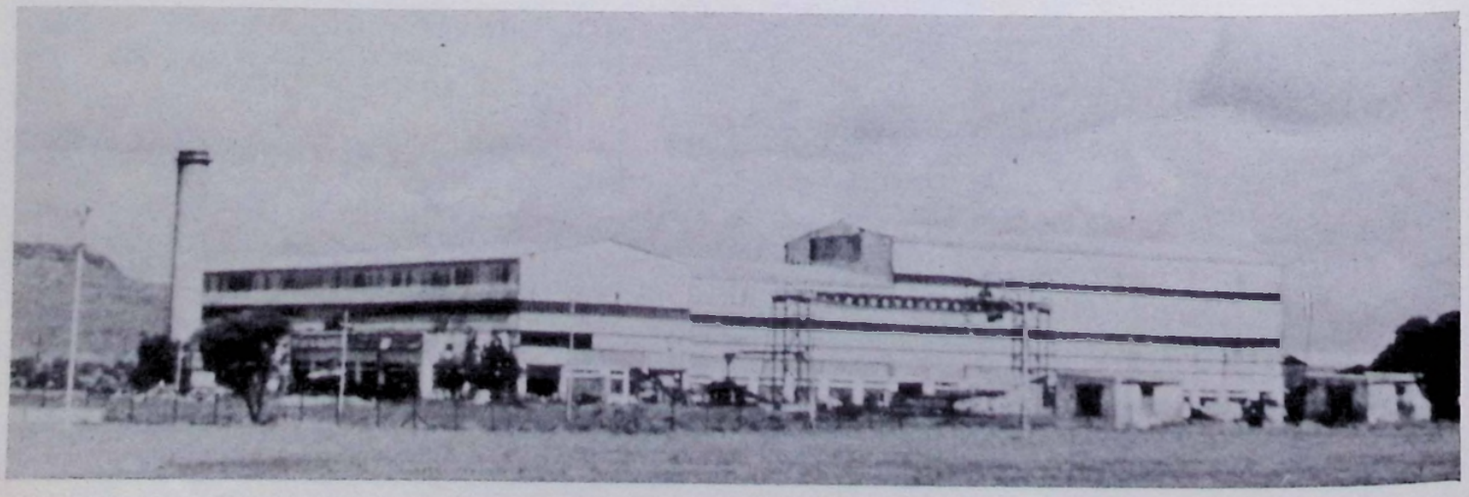
Cooperative development has made an important contribution to the political culture of the state. In the first place, it has helped to bring about economic reform in various business fields. It has facilitated entrepreneurship for individuals from backward areas and rural backgrounds as well as for people of all castes, classes and communities who lacked business experience. It has strengthened the rural as against the urban areas (though it has not been equally successful in developing regions other than western Maharashtra). Moreover, the cooperative movement has fostered a democratic atmosphere in the state. The building up of planning from below is becoming more of a reality in the cooperatively developed districts. While the village primary cooperatives are not important sources of power and patronage, the *taluka* level processing units, such as sugar factories, have a considerable impact, both on political development and patronage, in their respective areas. We find that, from time to time, the various cooperative sugar factories are associated with different political parties, as well as with non-party political groups like the Shetkari Sanghatana.

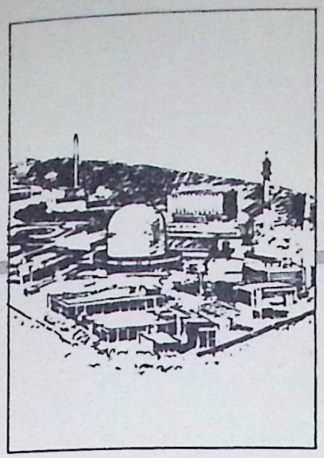
The Pravaranagar cooperative established in 1949, triggered a series of further developments. During the past 25 years, the number of cooperative sugar factories in Maharashtra alone has escalated up from 14 to 75—more than a five-fold increase—and 15 new sugar cooperatives are in the process of being set up. The acreage under sugarcane cultivation has augmented five times due to the concerted efforts of the state's sugar cooperatives; the state leads the nation in the recovery of sugar from cane, total sugar production, cane yield per hectare, expenses on welfare schemes for the member-farmers, contribution to national savings schemes and donations to worthy causes. A majority of sugar factories have assumed the initiative in promoting lift-irrigation schemes and constructing percolation tanks, *bandharas* and small bunds. Moreover, they have undertaken schemes for the development of subsidiary industries as well as institutes for technical training. This network has touched almost every aspect of economy. Most importantly, it has become a promoter of growth in rural areas.

Gainful seasonal employment for the rural masses is a natural corollary of the expansion of sugar cooperatives. On an average, 5,000 persons per factory obtain temporary employment during the cane crushing season and one thousand persons per factory are employed on a permanent basis. Several factories contribute towards the alleviation of the drinking water problem in those villages which fall under their respective areas of operation. Apart from the medical facilities attached to the factories, polytechnics, health camps and primary health centres have become accessible to the general public. Such socio-development activities include expansion of educational facilities. In recent years new school, polytechnics and engineering colleges have been opened as a result of these initiatives. The sugar co-operatives have become powerful instruments of economic progress and welfare administration in the state.

Cooperation is a state subject. The influence of the central government is felt through the cooperative banking system and through organisations such as the National Cooperative Development Corporation, which has financed a number of cooperatives in Maharashtra. The state government has done its best to promote this important autonomous movement. It is expected that further achievements in evolving effective credit arrangements and drawing more resources into use will be possible in the future.

1 Sugar factory, Wai





Science and Technology

R.V.Sovani

Over the last twenty-five years Maharashtra has shown tremendous potential for progress. Its dynamic attitudes have contributed to the evolution of India as a whole. Advances in research and technology have been promoted by the Central Government of India as well as on the State Government level. In addition to activities propagated by government agencies, there are a number of private industries and business houses that have contributed to the overall progress of the state in varied fields. In the sphere of science and technology, institutions such as the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (T.I.F.R.), Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (B.A.R.C.), Cancer Research Institute (C.R.I.), as well as industrial houses such as the Walchand Group have achieved notable scientific progress.

During the freedom struggle, the *swadeshi* movement and the revival of village industries provided a base for indigenous technological and scientific development. Western countries were already highly advanced in the areas of technology and science. India too recognised their importance and gave them priority. The policies of Jawaharlal Nehru especially encouraged scientific progress in the interest of economic growth. Consequently, the Government of India set up a chain of national laboratories for applied and fundamental research. This was followed by the establishment of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.), Indian Council for Agricultural Research (I.C.A.R.) and Indian Council for Medical Research (I.C.M.R.). Later, departments of Electronics and Space were added. India adopted the resolution of the Science Policy in 1958. The objectives of this policy were as follows:

1 to foster, promote and sustain, by appropriate means the cultivation of science and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational;
2 to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of high quality and to recognise their work as an important component of the strength of the nation;
3 to encourage and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel on a scale adequate to fulfill the country's needs in regard to science and education, agriculture, industry and defence.

The implementation of this policy resulted in the establishment of the Department of Science and Technology in 1971. It is due to this department that the activities in the development of science and technology, in different states of India, were given an impetus and were well coordinated.

The State of Maharashtra was quick enough to recognise the necessity of this development and accordingly set up a high-level coordinating committee of scientific and technological research on February 8th, 1972. The Chief Minister was the Chairman of this committee with the Education Minister as Vice-Chairman. On the recommendation of this high-level organisation, a science and technology cell was formed in the Department of Education in June, 1974.

In order to make the institutional arrangements more effective for the planning and implementation of science and technology programmes in the state, a Maharashtra Council for Science and Technology (M.A.C.O.S.T.) was constituted. As an apex body it did not undertake any research on its own initiative. It remains a coordinating body. Its function is to distribute the projects to component laboratories or research institutes for development and to provide them with assistance. This system of distribution makes MACOST a catalytic trigger of activity. The body subsidises those institutions that undertake its projects. In 1976-77 it dispensed 22 projects to different institutions and spent Rs. 1.4 *lakhs* in grants.

The progress of science and technology in Maharashtra is really based on the work done by this body.

96647

Technological Development

Maharashtra fortunately possesses a very long coastline and therefore the state has a large salt-panning industry. The viscose bitterns left in the pans after the crystalisation of salt is a rich source for various chemicals. A project to recover magnesium salts was given to the Central Salt and Marine Research Institute (C.S.M.R.I.), Bhavanagar. The institute was given a grant of Rs. 50,000. and has successfully developed the technology for the manufacture of refractory grade magnesia. One tonne of magnesia thus prepared has been supplied to the Tata Iron & Steel Company, Jamshedpur. This material is required for modern methods of producing steel which involve the burning of liquid oxygen. This necessitates the use of superior grade refractory material because of high temperatures. Magnesia, produced in India for the first time, has now been offered for commercial utilisation.

Isolation of Active Ingredients from Vinca

Vinca rosea, also known in India as *sadaphuli,* is a medicinal plant which has achieved prominence because it contains certain ingredients that combat cancer. This plant contains 70 alkaloids. Out of these, two, vinblastine and vincristine, are useful against cancer. A firm in the U.S.A. imported shiploads of this plant to extract these alkaloids and supply them to various world markets. MACOST entrusted the isolation project to the National Chemical Laboratory (N.C.L.) and other research and development laboratories. NCL has now developed a commercially feasible process for the isolation of vinblastine sulphate of B.P. standard. Both vinblastine and vincristine, now commercially produced, are available in the market.

Semacarpus Drug

A black seed, locally called *bibba,* is *Semacarpus anacardium,* known for its toxic contents. An extract from these seeds has shown encouraging results in the treatment of certain types of

1 National Institute of Virology, Pune
The Institute research programmes include epidemeology, natural history and the control of viral diseases

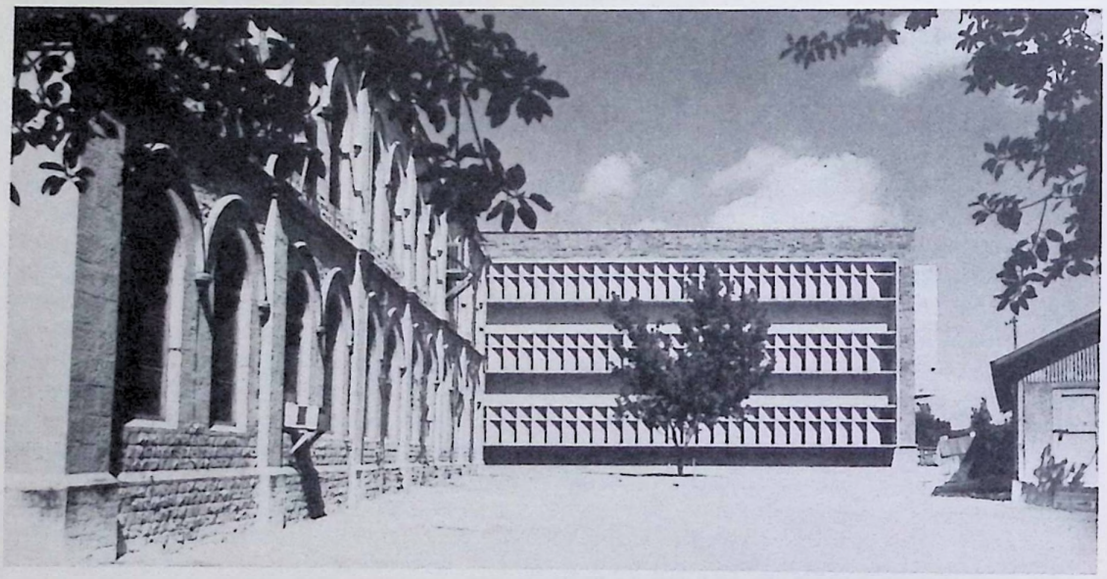
2 College of Agriculture, Pune

3 Experimentation on maize College of Agriculture, Pune

4 Nehru Planetarium, Bombay

5 Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay
National centre of the Government of India for Nuclear Science and Mathematics

6 Aerial View of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Trombay



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cancer. MACOST started work on this scheme by involving the Tata Memorial Hospital (Cancer Research Institute), the Institute of Science, the Haffkine Institute and NCL. The objective of this project was to undertake a systematic scientific enquiry regarding the efficiency of extracts of *Semacarpus anacardium*. Several extracts of the nut obtained by various methods were screened for anti-cancer properties. The first phase of this investigation concerned the location of anti-cancer activity and has been successfully completed. In the second phase, toxicity and pharmacology of active ingredients will be determined. Later, clinical trials will be undertaken.

Conservation of Water

A project aiming at the conservation of water was entrusted to the Director of Irrigation and Development, Pune. In 1957 NCL evolved a method to minimise losses by controlling the evaporation of water in the lakes and reservoirs. Work on the project was carried out on four separate tanks in Maharashtra in different agro-climatic zones. The technique consisted of continuously spreading a mono-molecular layer of alkoxy ethanol over the surface of the water, so as to prevent evaporation. The spray of this chemical, minimised evaporation and, as a result, a sizeable quantity of water became available to cultivators to grow summer crops on 24 hectares of land. They grew vegetables worth Rs. 1.50 *lakhs* as a result of this successful experiment.

The average cost of saving one million cubic feet (about 33,000 cubic meters) of water during dry weather is around Rs. 8,500. The water saved can irrigate 4.65 hectares of land. Such success was encouraging and the method will now be applied on a larger scale.

Soil

Another important project which will have a far-reaching effect on the quality of soils in the state is the systematic study of their different types. Due to deforestation and constant erosion by rain, various soils have become deficient in micro-nutrients such as copper, boron, zinc, manganese, iron and molybdenum. This deficiency affects the productivity of the soil, but a remedial project has been undertaken and almost completed with the help of agricultural universities in the state. Soil samples from a number of districts in the state were analysed in order to: delineate areas of deficiency of micro-nutrients, collect data or micro-nutrient contents of soils from various parts of the state, develop analytical techniques and render advice to farmers for remedial measures. Projects of this type are most useful and will prove extremely beneficial to farmers.

Seaweeds

Seaweeds are a rich source for chemicals such as iodine. The coast of Maharashtra which extends over 750 km., is rich in marine resources. It has been surveyed with regard to the availability of economically important seaweeds. The result of the survey shows that the Malwan region offers optimal opportunity for growing seaweed. Species such as *Hypnea, Sargassaum* and *Gracillaria* are now being cultivated. These weeds are utilised for the preparation of alginic acid, agar agar, and alginates. This project was carried out by the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa.

Dioscorea

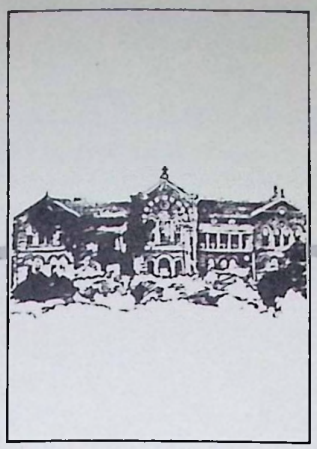
There are certain medicinal plants which are becoming extinct in the Himalayan region on account of deforestation and soil erosion. One such plant is *Dioscorea floribunda* which provides diosgenin—a starting material for synthesis of cortico-steroids and hormonal preparations. This plant has now been successfully grown at Nasik. Starting with five kilograms of planting material, twelve to fifteen tonnes of seed material are now being harvested. The multiplication rate and content of diosgenin in the plant is satisfactory. Originally 10,000 at three locations were planted. Now the plantation has been extended to 200 acres. The Forest Department of the state is collaborating in this project.

Marine Resources

MACOST has been busy with a number of other projects in increasing the marine resources. For example, it has encouraged the cultivation of edible oysters at Ratnagiri, and the breeding of major carps and their endocrine implications.

Energy

A project worth mentioning in the sphere of Energy is its production by prolysis of Bombay Municipal Waste. The problem of the disposal of Bombay's solid waste is becoming increasingly acute. The city's daily garbage is estimated to be between 3,000 to 3,500 tonnes. Most of the garbage is utilised for land filling. About 300 tonnes per day is being converted to compost at Deonar. Now the solid waste is being used for conversion into synthesis gas. The project is progressing well and one day Bombay's garbage will be used to produce the energy which it requires.



Education

Madhuri Shah

Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur sought to spread education in order to establish social equality. He opened a whole campaign for public education in the princely state of Kolhapur based on the feeling that minds refined by the spread of education would overcome caste-based discrimination. He offered posts to young people from the untouchable communities and also reserved seats for those coming from the weaker sections of society. He offered financial support to institutions engaged in educational work. To provide for the residence of students who had to travel far from home for education, as the idea of education began to take hold in the rural areas, he established many hotels for various communities. He helped to provide educational facilities not only in Kolhapur but also in cities such as Nasik, Ahmednagar and Pune and opened hostels for students' residence.

Many who were inspired by *Chhatrapati* Shahu's ideas of social equality devoted themselves later to social and educational work. Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil was one of them.

In 1919 Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil started the *Ryot Shikshan Samstha* (People's Education Institution) with the objective of helping the comprehensive progress of the masses by means of education. The work of the institution began with the establishment of a hostel at Kale near Karad. In 1924 the *Ryot Shiksan Samstha* opened its second hostel, the Chhatrapati Shahu Boarding at Satara, open to all castes and religions, including the untouchables. Mahatma Gandhi visited it in 1927. A hostel for girl students was opened at Satara in 1942.

The *Ryot Shikshan Samstha* is a distinguished institution of Maharashtra. It started 578 primary schools in the state, which were handed over to the District Board when primary education was made compulsory. So far the *Samstha* has opened 313 secondary schools and 21 colleges in the rural areas of Maharashtra. The *Samstha* runs seventeen educational institutions for women in the state, including secondary schools. In 1974-75 the Karmaveer Vidya Prabhodhini was established. This academy began special efforts to bring about the intellectual development of rural pupils, with particular attention to competitive examinations. The educational work of the *Samstha* proceeds in fourteen districts in all, thirteen in Maharashtra and one in Karnataka. In all, the *Samstha* runs seven teacher-training schools, of which one is for women. Twelve special centres have been opened to impart technical education and agricultural science.

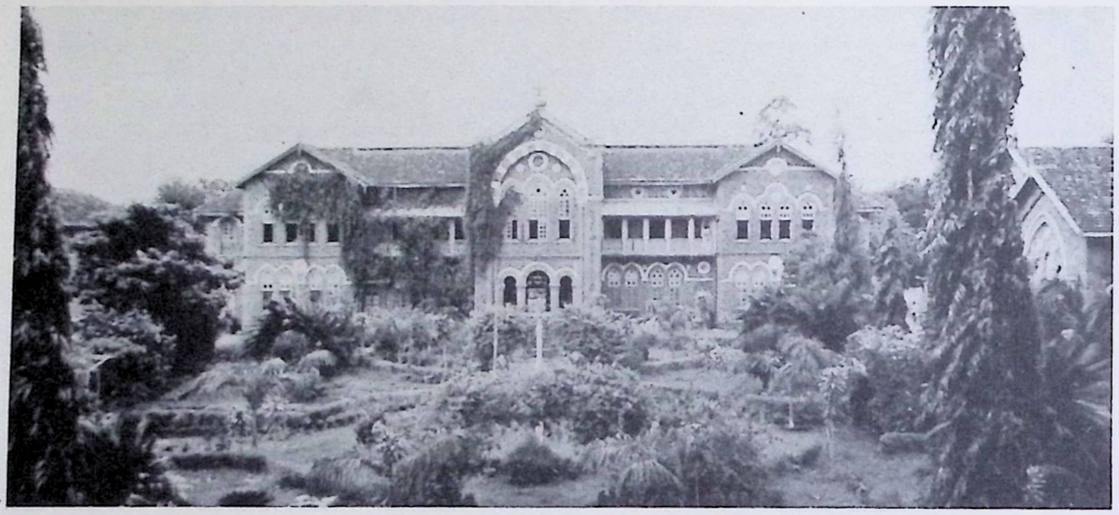
The progress of literacy during the post-Independence period upto 1961 in most of the villages in Maharashtra has been far from uniform. While some villages had over a 45% literacy rate, others had only 10%. In Maharashtra the literacy percentage for women, in most cases, was half of that of men and, in the smaller non-nuclear villages, this disparity was even greater. The nuclear villages have larger populations as well as better educational facilities. Consequently, the proportion of literates is much higher than that of the peripheral villages in most areas of Maharashtra. The efforts of private organisations in western Maharashtra, together with literacy campaigns conducted by voluntary organisations and local bodies, have achieved promising results.

After Mahatma Gandhi placed his educational reform scheme before the nation, experimentation in basic education began in Maharashtra. But financial, marketing and administrative problems limited its progress between 1942 and 1946. Moreover, in the sphere of primary education, gap between ordinary primary schools and the basic schools had begun to narrow because of a reduction in subsidies and other funding.

During the post-Independence period, the upgradation of a statutory board to conduct the secondary school examinations in western Maharashtra liberated secondary education



1 Kanheri caves
2nd century B.C.
Inscriptional evidence indicates that this may have been a Buddhist educational institution



2 Ferguson College, Pune
Celebrates its centenary in 1985

from the control of the university. The scales of pay for secondary teachers were revised along with the rules governing the grants for private institutions. On the whole, secondary education underwent considerable expansion at this time.

The University of Bombay, established in 1857, was the only institution of its kind in western Maharashtra until 1949, when the University of Poona opened. The SNDT (Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey) Women's University, started by Dr. D. K. Karve in 1916, was given recognition in 1941. The Bombay University was originally started merely as an examining body. The Poona University, on the other hand, was affiliated with colleges throughout the state and established as a teaching institution. The Nagpur and Marathwada Universities were also founded. The following statistics as of March 31, 1960, show the rapid progress made in higher education:

	No. of Institutions	No. of Students		
		Men	Women	Total
	1	2	3	4
Universities	5	—	—	—
University Departments	25	2,170	374	2,544
Research Institutions	16	269	75	344
Arts and Science	64	55,661	17,424	73,085
Agriculture	4	1,465	6	1,471
Architecture	1	528	21	549
Applied Art	1	384	124	508
Commerce	10	8,624	430	9,054
Engineering	5	3,978	11	3,989
Law	8	4,441	242	4,683

Technical and professional education in specialised institutions was also developed between 1947 and 1960. The scheme for vocationalisation at the secondary and post-secondary level was also presented during this period.

Between 1960 and 1985, education in Maharashtra has taken a quantum leap. In 1961, the most important aspect of educational policy was the provision for universal, compulsory and free primary education which involved a large number of programmes for the comparatively less developed areas of Vidarbha and Marathwada. Based on an educational survey, schools were established in all school-less villages and several programmes were implemented in phases. These were directed towards increased enrolment of girls, expansion, improvement of training institutions of primary teachers, free supply of books and writing material and provision of mid-day meals. Secondly, the state made education free at all stages for those whose parents' annual income was less than Rs. 1,200 per annum. This state policy ensured that poverty would not be a bar to education. The third major step consisted of promoting technical education because it was believed that the future prosperity of the state depended mainly on industrialisation and on the availability of technical personnel. From a total outlay of Rs. 390 *crores* in the Third Five-Year Plan, the state allotted a sum of Rs. 32 *crores* to education.

During the different five-year plans, a comparison between the various sectors in the educational system shows patterns of unequal growth; yet, it is gratifying to note that education has made rapid quantitative progress from the pre-school level to the university level.

Maharashtra is divided into six administrative divisions and seven educational regions. There are 30 districts and 296 Panchayat Samitis. The population in *lakhs* estimated in 1983-84 is as under:

	Total	Men	Women
Maharashtra State	662.03	341.52	320.51
Urban	231.91	125.24	106.67
Rural	430.12	216.28	213.84
Scheduled Castes (including Neo-Buddhists)	90.17	46.52	43.65
Scheduled Tribes	60.91	31.42	29.49

From about 33,000 in 1960, the number of primary schools rose, in 1985, to 52,700. The enrolment in these schools rose from 39.3 *lakhs* to 90.3 *lakhs* with a corresponding increase in the number of teachers. Better training facilities for primary teachers have been provided and efforts are continually made to raise the quality of compulsory primary education. In fact, the enrolment at the primary level classes I-V, is about 110% in general, for the eligible age group and approximately 87% among the scheduled tribes. In classes VI-VIII, the enrolment is 57%, bringing the total enrolment for classes I-VIII to 116 *lakhs* and 90.5% of the age group. Enrolment has fallen for the upper classes IX and X which, in 1983-84 was estimated at 45% for boys and 23% for girls, giving an average of 34.6%.

A primary school now exists in every village with a minimum population of 500 people. The curriculum at the primary stage has been enlarged to include socially useful productive work and, by and large, Maharashtra State has tackled the problem of compulsory primary education satisfactorily. Efforts are being made to give those students entering the school system for the first time certain incentives to enable them to cope with the academic work. Nevertheless, a large number of children drop out of school at the primary and secondary levels.

Owing to the shortage of accommodation, classes in several primary and secondary schools are held in shifts. Although accommodation for secondary schools in the rural areas has improved steadily over the years, the buildings are not well maintained and the schools still lack the adequate library books, science laboratory equipment and furniture required to create an environment conducive to quality teaching.

One of the problems of primary education which the state is trying to tackle is the large number of single-teacher schools. In 1983-84, 16,720 out of 52,600 were single-teacher primary schools. The government has phased the appointment of a second teacher to these schools in an effort to improve the quality of primary education.

During the period under review, the Maharashtra Text-Books Bureau and its research division were established. The state's nationalised text-books for primary and secondary schools were prepared under its supervision. This has led to the improvement in the quality of text books and to a reduction in the cost to the parents.

The introduction of the 10+2+3 pattern of education has necessitated a separate Board of Higher Secondary Education for the XI and XII standards. Though the Board conducts the examinations, in the urban areas, we find that classes for the XI and XII standards are held in the colleges instead of the schools, as has been the intention of the government and as practised in Gujarat and other states.

Meanwhile, the number of teacher-training institutions at the degree level has gone up to 54 between 1983-84 and have an enrolment of 9,000 students—which is adequate to

meet requirements of the secondary level. At the undergraduate level, institutions for teacher-training number 148 with an enrolment of 16,000 students.

Specialised training institutions for teachers of physical education, handicrafts and drawing have been established in the state as well. And, during the last 25 years, a large number of technical institutes for post-secondary education have been started and the courses offered are much in demand. Polytechnics provide courses in pharmacy, engineering and technology and accept students who have completed coursework from the X or XII standards. The subjects offered at the polytechnics and technical institutes are highly practical. But a need exists for greater flexibility in the approach to technical and professional education that would allow students who have completed a diploma course the opportunity, after a few years' experience, to apply for admission to a degree course. Such initiative would provide the students with the chance for upward mobility and reduce the strain on higher education at the collegiate and university levels. It would also enhance the employability and the skills of the middle-level technical personnel who are so essential for meeting the development needs of the country.

The enrolment for collegiate and university coursework expanded steadily from about 14% per annum in the decade 1960 to 1970, but stabilised to between 4% and 5% in the 1980s. The government has promoted the establishment of upper-level institutions in the backward areas. The number of Arts, Science and Commerce colleges rose from 380 to 463 between 1973 and 1984 while enrolment almost doubled during the same period. The enrolment of girls in these colleges increased from 88,000 to 194,000 during the past decade. This shows that the percentage enrolment of girls has surpassed that of boys—a trend which occurs at all levels of education but more so in higher education.

Several innovations, such as the school-college complex; the in-service training programmes for teachers of English, Science and Mathematics; and the preparation of teacher's handbooks have been implemented.

The Directorate of Technical Education of the State has prepared an elaborate scheme for vocational training. The National Review Committee and the Working Group on Vocationalisation, appointed by the Government of India, had made certain specific recommendations about the introduction of vocational courses at the +2 stage. The Government of Maharashtra assessed these suggestions in the context of existing limitations such as: (1) vocational surveys which determine the exact nature and level of skills in demand in a given limited block area are not yet available; (2) the shortage of man-power has not been specifically identified; (3) the total debar of entry to a university, by adoption of a terminal course, may prejudice students—at least at the initial stage of pilot experiment and (4) that white-collar jobs and university education continue to have a premium in society. Subsequently, the Maharashtra State Government chose to adopt an alternate line of action for the introduction of vocational courses; instead of introducing vocational courses of a terminal nature, it was decided to implement vocational courses of a bifocal nature. The latter would allow students to either seek immediate employment by completing a bridge course of short duration, or to continue in the higher education stream which would permit them to join a degree course. The Board of Higher Secondary Examination (Pune) adopted the following scheme: out of 6 academic subjects, the students could choose one language and 3 optional academic subjects and, in lieu of the second language and one optional academic subject, the students would be allowed to opt for a vocational course requiring 2 papers—each representing 100 marks. This evidently enabled students to cover the core subjects, to meet university requirements and, at the same time, to undergo instruction in specific vocational skills. These departures from the National Committee Policy were adopted by the State Government with the sole objective of avoiding the impression that vocational courses are inferior to university courses. Gradually, it will be possible to start technical vocational courses, when their utility is realised by society.

Universities, in addition to teaching and research, have offered extension courses over the last 10 years—but most effectively from 1981 onwards. Departments of Continuing and Extension Education have been set up in most of these institutions and provision of facilities for updating the knowledge and skills of the public is accelerating. To raise the quality and standard of higher education, special programmes such as the College Improvement Programme in Science and the Humanities, as well as special support to departments in different subjects, have been subsidised by the University Grants Commission. Courses in computer science, instrumentation and inter-disciplinary subjects have been initiated in view of the present and future plans for national development. In short, effort is being made to coordinate and reduce discrepancies between education and progress. A lot has been achieved, but much remains to be done. It is our fervent hope that Maharashtra State, through informal channels such as the Open University Programmes established in the SNDT Women's University as well as distance learning programmes of the Bombay University and other institutions, will be able to meet the rising aspirations of the younger generation.

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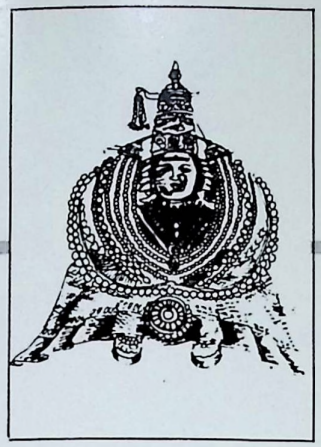
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The Cultural Milieu

सांस्कृतिक आसमंत

प्रेमकराची जडण घडण कडकडित म्हणायला ।।
देहतटाचा मुजरा माझा तुकशिरसाला ।।
भीमथडीतुनि चहुमुलखावर फिरले वारकरी ।।
भीमथडीतुनि चहुमुलखातुनि जमले वारकरी ।।
अखंडीच्या ज्ञानोबांची भिंत घेत घेवा ।।
पुंडलिकाचे नांव चालवी दगडी नाव
घोलघुमट घुमवीत सारखा नवलाची भक्त ।
जेजूरीवर चढी पायरी उभी नऊलख
घ्येय जे तुझ्या अंतरी... ।।

-राम गणेश गडकरी



Cults and Religions

Meena Talim

Five major religious sects—off-shoots of either Vaishnavism or Shaivism—played a conspicuous role in shaping the culture of Maharashtra. These sects, popularly known as *Panch-Sampradaya,* have grown freely and developed their own identity. Also unusual is the fact that unlike those in other provinces, no rift or hostile feelings exist between these two branches.

Vaishnavite Sects

Mahanubhava Sampradaya

Amongst the five *sampradayas,* Mahanubhava belongs to the Vishnu cult. The Mahanubhava sect (thirteenth century A.D.) became one of the popular religious sects of Maharashtra during the rule of the Yadava kings. Chakradhar Swami, the founder of this sect, was born in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He was considered an incarnation of Krishna, and one of the *Panchakrishnas* (five incarnations of Krishna). Though it is a non-Vedic religious sect, it respects Vedism in many ways. Mahanubhavis believe in *chaturvarna* (the four-fold caste division theory) as far as social customs are concerned. In principle they proclaim equality of caste, creed and sex. They are devotees of Krishna and believe in the five incarnations of Krishna. They are ardent followers of *bhakti marg;* for the fulfillment of which they undertake four observances: (1) *sharanagati,* (2) *prasadaseva,* (3) *murtidhyana* or *murtijnana* and (4) *namasmarana.*

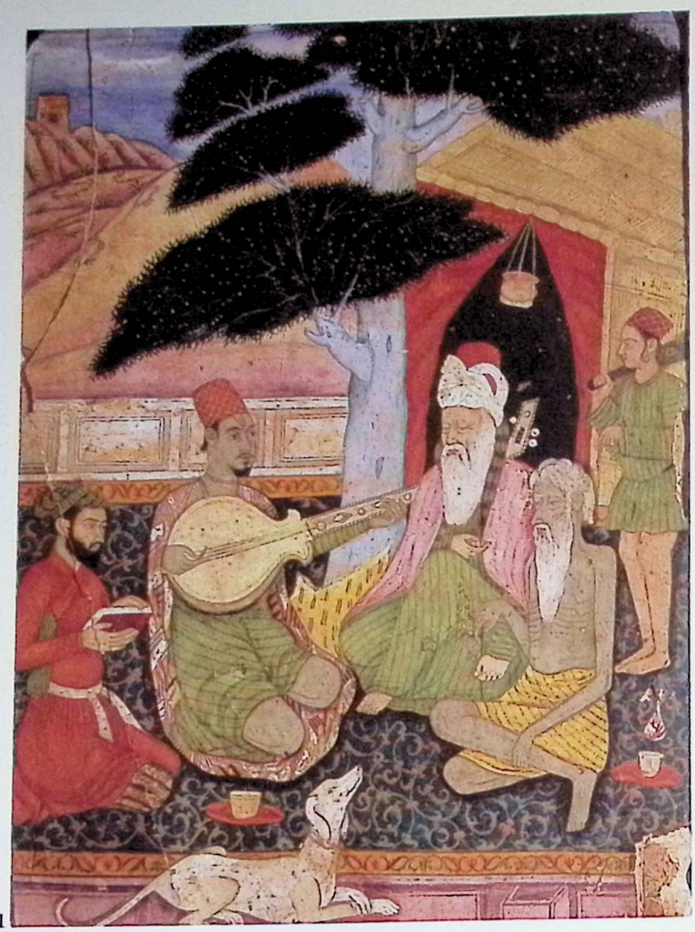
The sect reveals a noticeable influence of Buddhism and Jainism. It encourages *yati-dharma* (mendicancy) as well as *grahstha-dharma.* Women are allowed to live as *sanyasinis* (nuns) in the *mathas* (monasteries). However, widows are not allowed to enter mendicancy. The Mahanubhavis believe in non-violence; they adhere to a vegetarian diet and lead a chaste life, begging alms and wandering from place to place. They have originated a secret script (*sanketika lipi*) in nine varieties. They have enriched Marathi literature and Indian philosophy by writing *Sutrapathas, Satigranthas, Akhyanakas, Kavyas, Sadhanagranthas, Tikagranthas* and *Bhashyagranthas.*

In the sixteenth century, the Mahanubhava philosophy was propagated in Punjab by Krishnaraja, a merchant from Punjab, who later became known as Krishnamuni. In Punjab, this sect is known as Jayakrishna-Pantha. The *Sutrapatha* is recited in Marathi regularly by the Hindi and Punjabi disciples of this sect. In the seventeenth century, Aurangzeb exempted the Mahanubhavis from paying *zijiya*-tax (tax due by non-Muslims), as he felt they were Hindu *fakirs.* For the last seven and a half centuries, this sect has survived in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and the Punjab. The temples of Mahanubhavi Krishna are situated at Bombay, Delhi and Amritsar.

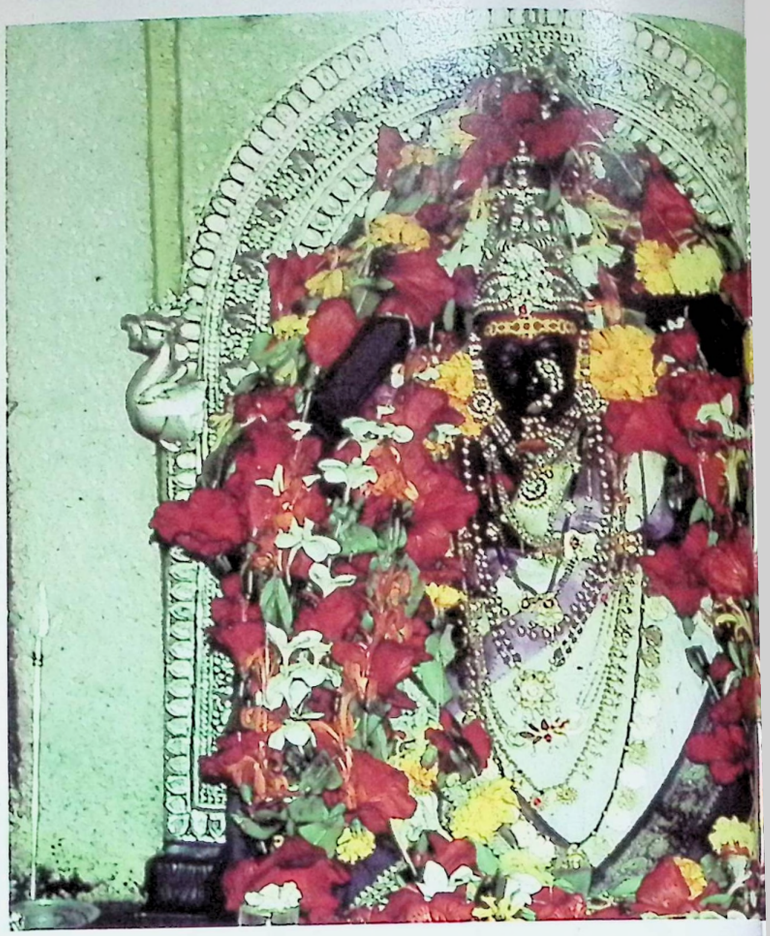
Varkari Sampradaya

The Varkari sect worships Vishnu in the form of Vitthal and follows the *bhakti* cult. It is said that around the eleventh century, Hoysala rulers of Karnataka introduced this cult to Maharashtra and it was firmly established in the region by the saints Jnaneshvara and Namadeva in the twelfth century A.D. It is the most prominent sect of Maharashtra. Even today thousands of Maharashtrians accompany the holy palanquins of saints and walk the distance from their hometown to Pandharpur.

The worship of Vitthal was practised by the people before the birth of Saint Namadeva and Saint Jnaneshvara. Epigraphic evidence of the temple dates back to the sixth century A.D. The saints, Namadeva and Jnaneshvara infused a new spirit into this sect and made it extremely popular in Maharashtra. They gave a new approach to this cult by introducing *jnana-yoga, bhakti-yoga, advaita* forms of devotion, and the concept of the oneness of God.



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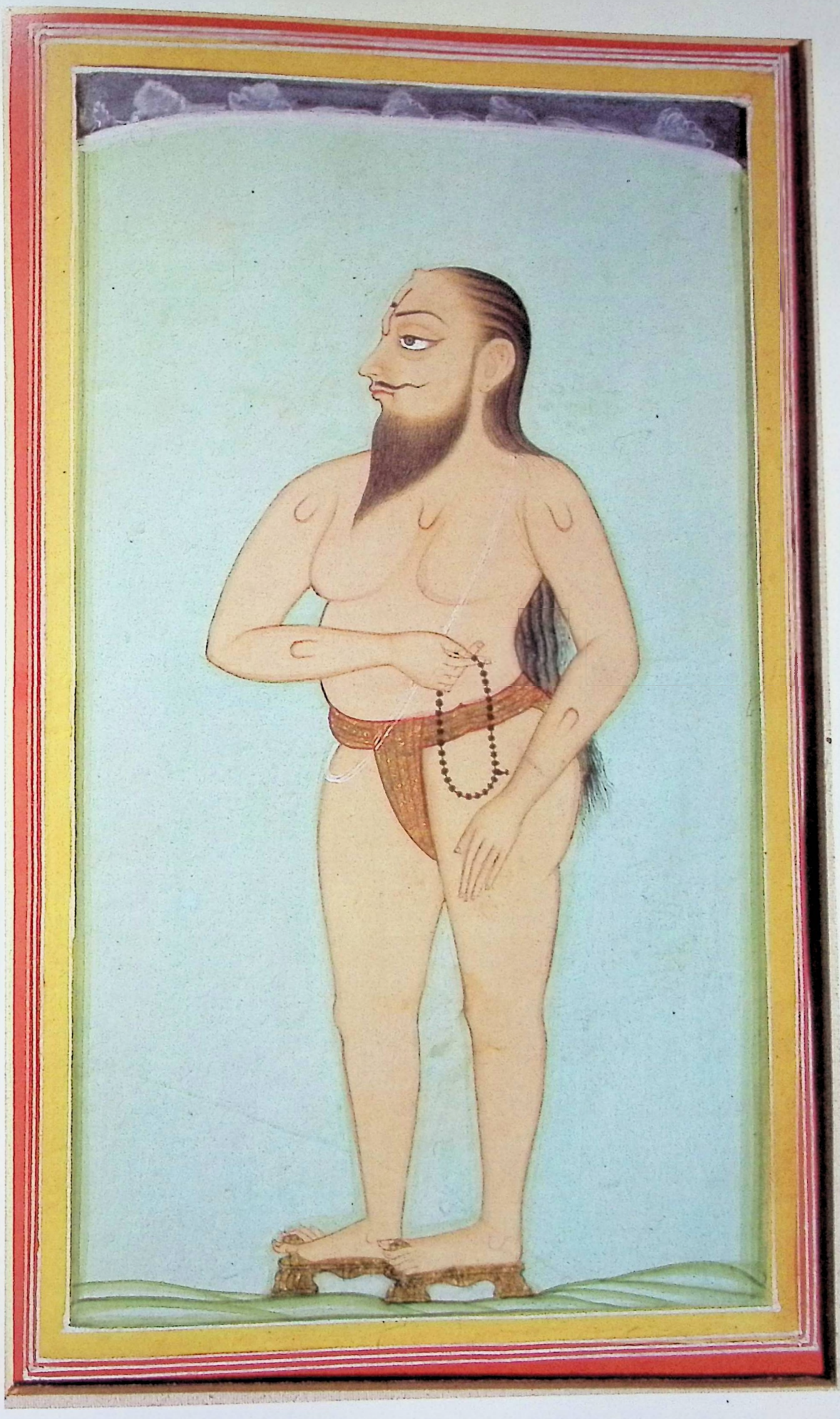




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The Varkari sect believes in the equality of caste, creed and sex. Its adherents have discarded totally the sacrificial rites and rituals, the *chaturvarana* theory and the discrimination against women and depressed classes. Women and devotees of lower castes are allowed to compose songs in praise of Lord Vitthal and sing openly in public. This was at one time a unique feature in their society. The Varkaris encouraged congregational prayers, *bhajans* (devotional songs) and *kirtans* (religious sermons). Similarly, gatherings of disciples—including both men and women, rich and poor, intellectuals and illiterates—were often held. Owing to all such innovations made by this cult the whole of Maharashtra was animated by a new feeling of devotion for God and love for humanity. This attitude helped to strengthen and unify the people of this land.

The banner of this cult was shouldered by saintly disciples who came from the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy such as Chokhamela (*mahar*) Savatamali (*gardener*) Tukaram (*vaishya*) as well as Eknath(*brahman*). In this sect there is neither a *guru* nor a *matha;* the devotee is free to uplift himself towards *vaikuntha,* the final goal. In this sect devotees can exercise a choice in employing any one of the three *yogas—bhakti-yoga, jnana-yoga* or *karma-yoga*—to move towards their spiritual goal. Their observances consist of following a vegetarian diet, abstaining from intoxicating drinks and leading a chaste life. They also fast on *ekadashi* (the eleventh day of the lunar cycle), putting a *chandan tika* (sandalwood spot) on the forehead, wearing a *tulsi-mala* (necklace of beads made from basil stalks) and going on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Such simple observances enable even the poor and illiterate devotee to fix himself in this fold. This *sampradaya* has enriched Marathi literature, especially in the spheres of philosophy and poetry.

Samarth Sampradaya

This cult was established by Ramadas who was born in a Brahman family (1608) at Marathwada. He was a devotee of Rama but gave special importance to Maruti (Hanumana). This sect fundamentally believes in the *varnashrama* theory, Vedic philosophy and *moksha* (liberation). Ramadas, however, gave a new outlook to the religion as he was politically and socially aware of the injustices which were then being inflicted on the people.

He established many *mathas* and temples of Maruti all over Maharashtra. In order to establish strength and unity among the people, he propagated Maruti worship. He encouraged gymnastic schools, martial arts and worldly renunciation among young men. Batches of young volunteers lived in *mathas* as *sanyasis* (monks) and fought against social and political injustices, as and when necessary. Ramadas was the religious *guru* of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji and often advised him on various matters. The *mathas* of the Samarth sect served as shelters for many Maratha warriors at the time of adversity.

Ramadas, a great philosopher and scholar, taught the *Niraguna* and the *Nirakara* form of worship of Vishnu. *Paduka* worship (worship of footprints) prevailed among his devotees. He and his disciples contributed significantly to Marathi literature: his *Dasabodha* and *Manache Shloka* are recited even today by a majority of Maharashtrians. The *Samarth Sampradaya* occupies a unique place in the observance of *bhagwat-dharma* (devotional cult of Vishnu) for stressing unity among the populace, raising political consciousness and emphasizing the importance of physical as well as spiritual beauty.

Datta Sampradaya

This sect combines Vishnu and Shiva worship. The deity, Dattatreya, is considered to be an incarnation of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The *Puranas* and *Upanishads* furnish information about the birth of Dattatreya, his philosophy, disciples and work. There, literary references show that this deity was of Shakta origin, enjoying all five of the *makaras* (tantric ritual of the five material aspects beginning with the letter *M*). In the twelfth century A.D., Dattatreya in image form was portrayed with one face and two hands, but by the fifteenth century A.D. the deity had acquired three faces and six hands.

In Maharashtra this deity had followers from other sects which included Mahanubhavis, Varkaris and the Nath-panthis. Narasimha Saraswati, born in Akola *c.* A.D. 1300, imbued this cult with a new vitality and made it strong in this land. This spiritual leader renounced worldly pleasures and wandered from place to place, propagating the faith. Fortunately he had many disciples such as Janardana Swami, Dasopant, Muktesvara, Manik Prabhu and Shridhar Swami who kept the torch burning after him in Maharashtra.

The disciples of the god, Dattatreya, worship him in the form of *guru* and hence he is often called Gurudeva Datta or Shri Guru Datta. This sect believes in *varnashrama-dharma* but encourages *sanyasa* to a certain extent. It has firm faith in *guru-bhakti, sadhanas, sidhantas* and worship of *padukas.* The devotees made pilgrimages to Mahura, Oudumbara, Narsoba Wadi and Gangapura (Karnataka). The Saibaba of Shirdi is considered by many to be an incarnation of Dattatreya. This sect has attracted not only Hindu *sanyasis* but also Muslim *fakirs.*

Shaiva and Shakta Sects

Nath Sampradaya

This is a very ancient and popular sect of Maharashtra. It is generally accepted that Harinath of Maharashtra established this cult in Vidarbha and Marathwada and the teachings of Matsysendranath, a spiritual propagator of the Nath sect from Bengal were spread in the rest of the Maharashtra. The former propagated *vedanta-sidhanta.* Later, Matsysendranath stressed the importance of *yoga-tantra.*

1 Sufi [illegible]
24.4 x 18.4 cm with mou[illegible]
Deccani, Golkonda School
c. A.D. 1600-1680
Collection: Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad

2 Illustrated panel depicting Saint Nivriti from a dispersed manuscript
Maratha School
Early 19th century A.D.
Private Collection

3 Shivbhavani, Pratapgad

4 Varkari procession

5 Swami Ramdas
Maratha School, probably Poona
19th century A.D.
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

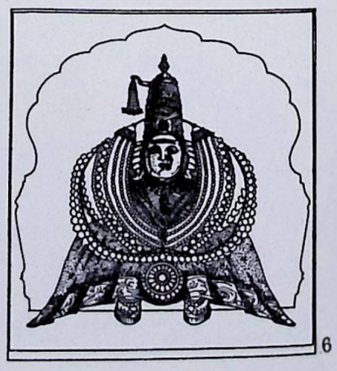
6 Shri Bhavani, Tuljapur

7 Chakradhar Swami
Mahanubhav Temple, Pune

8 Buddhist Stupa (interior)

9 Image of Dattatreya, Bombay

10 Ekvira Temple, Karle



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Adinath, the founder of the Nath sect, had a long line of disciples known as *nava-naths* and *siddhas*. This cult influenced Maharashtra considerably between the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Gahini Nath was a *guru* of Nivrutinath, the elder brother of Jnaneshvara. Both brothers have influenced Mahanubhava and Varkari sects. The Nath sect was able to transfer some of its principles to the Varkari sect, through Nivrutinath and Jnaneshvara. Therefore, along with Vitthal *bhakti* we often notice, Dvaita Advaitism, *yoga* and Tantrism being assimilated in the Varkari sect.



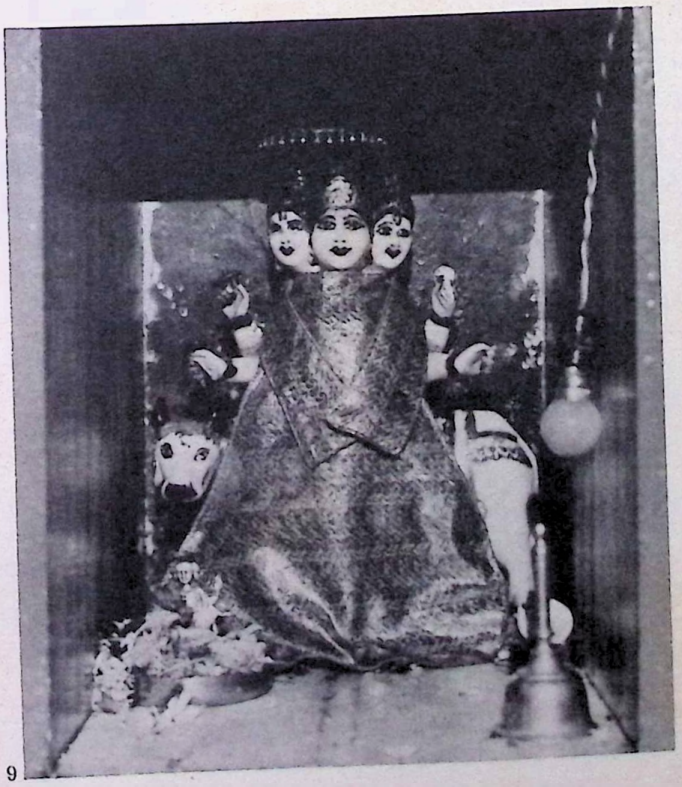
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Nath disciples followed *yoga-vidya* and were experts in *hatha-yoga*. It is said that *hatha-yoga* enabled them to walk on fire, walk in space and hold control over their respiratory organs—all of which enabled them to increase their life-span. An extreme and intense form of *guru-bhakti* is also evident in this sect and is preached to the followers through the story of a student of Gorakshanath who gave his eye to an old woman to obtain a *wada* (pan-cake) from her and fulfilled the desire of his *guru*. The sect believes that, through *yoga*, one can achieve *siddhis* (miraculous powers). However, the exhibition of these *siddhis* is never encouraged. Tantrism has a special significance in the Nath philosophy. *Tantra-sadhana* was carefully observed through *sahajayana* and *vajrayana* which are reminiscent aspects of Mahayana Buddhism. To the Naths, Shiva and Shakti are one and the same but at times could be separated. This was a new principle of *Shiva-Shakti* Advaitism, propagated by Gorakshanath. Women received a respectable position in this sect. Vimaladevi, a tantric disciple of Gorakshanath, founded a separate sub-cult known as Aai Nath. In Maharashtra, the Nath sect is most popular in the Bida, Alandi, Ahmednagar and Satpuda regions.

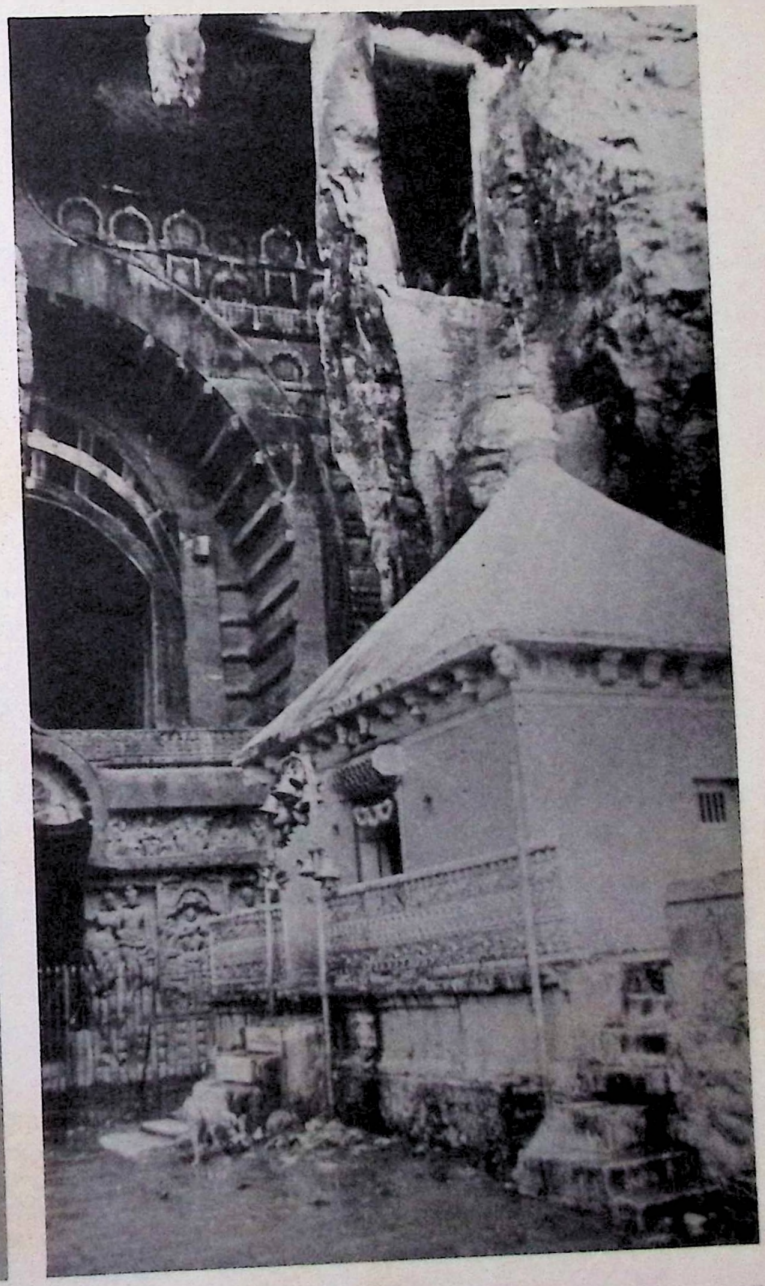
Amongst the Shaivite groups in Maharashtra, many worship in places such as Khandoba of Jejuri, Tryambakeshwar of Nasik and Ashta-Vinayaka (Ganesh of eight places).



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Other Shaivite Sects

Shakta Pitha

The history of the Shakta cult is rather vague in Maharashtra. However, various forms of Parvati are worshipped here. There are altogether three and a half *pithas* of Shakta *devatas* in Maharashtra; Mahalakshmi, Bhavani, Renuka and Saptashringi. In fact, every Maharashtrian family worships a special *kuladevi* (family goddess) along with a *kuladevat* (family deity).

Mother-Goddesses

Mahalakshmi is popularly known as Amba. Her temple at Kolhapur records the oldest epigraphical note which refers to Rashtrakutas of the ninth century A.D. This temple also reveals *shri-yantra* which obviously speaks of the *shakti* cult. This deity became more famous during the Maratha period. She is still worshipped and prayed to by thousands of devotees belonging to the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya classes.

Bhavani of Tuljapur is an equally popular deity who rose to prominence in the Maratha period. She was the family goddess of the Bhonsale rulers. *Chhatrapati* Shivaji always looked upon her as a source of inspiration. Ramadas Swami was also an ardent devotee of this deity. Until recently the slaughter of animals and the drinking of liquor in the name of the goddess were common practices, thereby indicating her connection with the *shakti* cult. These practices are now discouraged.

Renuka is worshipped here in the form of Ekvira, Yamai and Yallamma. Ekvira is shown in *bas-relief* on the hills and in the premises of Karle caves at Lonavala. The word Ekvira is derived from the term *eka-vihara* (meaning a Buddhist monastery). Phonetical laws sanction this change. Surprisingly, this deity is a family goddess of only Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra communities of Maharashtra, but never a family deity of Brahmans. Does this observation take us back to the Buddhist period when Buddhism was extremely popular in this land and when these three classes were the strongholds of Buddhist society? Every year thousands and thousands of devotees gather at Karle in the month of *Chaitra* on the full moon day and offer sacrifices of hens or goats.

Yamai is worshipped at Satara, Solapur, Pune and Ahmednagar. Her temple is at Oundh, situated on the hill. Some scholars feel that she is a form of the Goddess Durga. Yallamma is worshipped mostly by people of Karnataka.

According to Puranic legend, when Shiva was carrying the dead body of his wife, Sati, to Himalaya, parts of her body fell to earth and landed in several different places which became sacred. Because a minor portion of the body is believed to have fallen at Saptashringi, this place is considered as an *ardha-pitha.* The temple of the goddess is at Vani on the Saptashringa hills, Nasik. She is the family goddess of many Maharashtrian families who hail from Nasik, Dhule and Jalgaon.

Sufism

Besides Hindu religious sects, non-Hindu sects have also made a certain impact on Maharashtrian communities. The oldest amongst such non-Hindu practices was Sufism—a devotional sect of the Islamic religion. This sect was introduced in Maharashtra in the ninth century A.D. by Nuruddin of Egypt. After the fall of the Yadava dynasty in A.D. 1300, the disciples of Muntajaboddin propagated this religion in Paithan, Vijapur, Gangapur, Pune and Pena. In the same century the disciples of Sufism came across the disciples of the Nath and Mahanubhava sects with whom they have exchanged philosophical thoughts. Baba Ratan Haji of Kabul, met Gorakshanath and wrote the treatise, *Kafir-Bodh.* Many Muslims embraced the Nath sect and carried it far to Khorasan in Afghanistan. The *mathas* of the Mahanubhavi sects were also established in Kabul and Kandahara. Besides this sect, the Arab merchants who came to the Konkan in the eighth century A.D. also helped to spread Islam in Maharashtra.

Buddhism (Neo-Buddhism)

The wave of Buddhism has swept over Maharashtra since Dr. Ambedkar made mass conversions of the *harijans* (untouchables) of Maharashtra on the *vijaya-dashami* day of 1956. He, along with a large number of his followers, changed their religion from Hinduism to Buddhism at Nagpur. Depressed classes of Maharashtra, mostly from Vidharbha, Marathwada and the Konkan, have embraced Buddhism.

Literary and archaeological evidence proves that Buddhism was a very popular religion until the seventh century A.D. in Maharashtra. Percy Brown has pointed out that more than half of the Buddhist rock-cut architecture is found in Maharashtra, which indicates the popularity of this religion. It is obvious that such constructions were not excavated for the purpose of aesthetics or for the interest of an individual.

The *mahar* community of the depressed classes joined this movement whole-heartedly. Today people of this community have regained confidence in themselves and raised their social status. Many of them are seeking higher education and are in government employ. They differ in many ways with other Buddhist devotees of the world, mainly because they are Indian. They are followers of Hinayana Buddhism.

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Places of Pilgrimage

Gopal K. Kanhere

The tradition of temple complexes, built on sites of religious or locational significance, are an important feature of Maharashtra's architectural heritage.

One of the earliest dynasties with which we come into contact when treating the religious architectural remains of Maharashtra, is that of the Rashtrakutas who cut the cave-temple complex at Ellora *c.* the seventh or eighth century A.D. This was a prominent Shaivite festival spot. During the period of Maratha ascendency, the nobility and royalty continued to support the construction of religious monuments at pilgrimage places. Maratha traditions are reflected in their architecture.

While the northern temple complexes such as Khajuraho, Bhubaneshwar, Konarak are impressive because of their architectural monumentality, those of Maharashtra are celebrated for their tradition of *bhakti* and the festivals associated with it. These shrines display a healthy mixture of different styles and simple local design. The simplicity was a product of the lack of political stability and the cult of "satisfaction with little" – the main theme of the Varkari tradition.

The kingdom of the great Maratha leader, Shivaji, and his successors saw long and continuous wars with the Mughals and later invaders. On account of these unsettled times, many of the religious structures in Maharashtra have a fort-like appearance. Jejuri, Shikhar Singnapur, or Parvati at Pune are but a few examples of such constructions. Behind this impenetrable rough stone exterior, one encounters simple and yet charming Maratha architectural elements. Typical Maratha architecture is synthesised from the northern Rajput or Indo-Aryan, Yadava and indigenous influences.

Temple building and renovating activity which was temporarily suspended during times of war was re-initiated later in the Peshwa period. The craftsmen from the north, east and south evolved a style to suit local rituals and customs. The geographical location of the temples resulted in certain regional variations such as the Nagpur style developed by the Nagpur Bhonsales.

The Maratha Temple Complex

The Maratha temple complexes can claim a local origin and most of them reveal important and common elements. Among its more striking features are: the entrance gates, the steps, the lamp towers, the structure of the shrine and the bathing *ghats.*

Steps and Memorial Gates

Temples situated on spurs of mountains and hill-tops such as the Khandoba at Jejuri have numerous gates and *deepmalas* (lamp towers) as well as a flight of steps to provide easy access to the temple. The paths are generally ornamental and well-illuminated. The *bhakti* cult attaches greater significance to the construction of the steps of a temple than to the main structure itself. These steps are regarded as more *punyadaye* (begetters of blessings) for the donor than even the construction of the temple *shikhara* (tower).

The *nagarkhanas* (drum-chambers), *deepmalas* and steps lead to an outer wall, creating a visual sequence along the approach to the main complex. The outer wall is characteristic of the temple complex and serves to protect the temple idols, jewellery and valuables within. The interior walls usually enclosed rest rooms for visiting pilgrims.

The *sabhamandapa* (congregation hall), the *antarala* (ante-chamber) which precedes the main shrine, and the *gabhara* (sanctum sanctorium) constitute the three main elements of the temple.

Elaborate carved wooden pillars, brass-plated stone pillars, or simple carved stone pillars

are used in the *mandapa* (main hall). The cyprus wooden pillars were introduced from Gujarat and Rajput in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

The *Yatra* or Pilgrimage

The spirit of jubilation and merry-making is encountered in the *bhakti* tradition of the *yatras* (pilgrimages) and festivals which are associated with almost all the important temple complexes in Maharashtra. The pilgrimage is performed for the fulfillment of vows or for obtaining blessings from the presiding deity. The days of pilgrimage are fixed for the respective deities and rituals are executed in a predetermined order. Pilgrimages to Pandharpur are undertaken in the month of *Ashadha,* (June-July), *Kartik* and *Magha (*October-December) whereas those to Jejuri occur in the month of *Chaitra* (March) or on *Pausha* (January) on full-moon day. The pilgrims gather in numbers ranging from a few thousand to a few *lakhs* and visit the place for several days. A *jatra* (fair) provides an opportunity to do some shopping and constitutes part of the celebrations. Pilgrims make it a point to purchase something from the fair as a memento. Sweetmeats, flowers, wooden toys, brass artifacts, objects for decoration of the home, bull trappings, vermilion and many other items are sold in numerous tent shops at the fair.

The Ambabai of Kolhapur

The Kolhapur Ambabai or Mahalakshmi is a family deity of numerous Maharashtrians. This ancient deity is referred to by numerous Jain texts and Hindu *Puranas,* as well as in many copper-plate inscriptions, papers and letters written over a number of centuries. Generally, the temple is credited to the Rashtrakutas or the earlier Shilahara rulers of Kolhapur around the eighth century A.D.

The temple was destroyed during Islamic rule and the image had to be hidden by the priests. The image was later re-installed in the temple which was rebuilt by Sambhaji Maharaj between A.D. 1715 and 1722. This may account for the varied style of construction of the ornamental and well-carved lower structure, and the relatively plain superstructure.

Devi Mahalakshmi is known by some as Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu and hence there is a *garuda* (eagle; vehicle of Vishnu) in the front of the shrine. However, the presence of the lion as a *vahana* (vehicle) behind the image and *linga* (phallic symbol) on the head makes her Parvati according to some experts.

The Shrine

The temple is oriented towards the west, and the western gate is the *mahadwar* (main entrance) to the enclosed temple complex. A traditional Maratha wooden pavilion with a wooden ceiling is visible upon entry from the main gate. The temple has been expanded over the past ten centuries but contains four main discernible parts: the eastern part, consisting of the *gabhara* and *rangamandapa* (audience hall) which are the earliest parts of the temple and which contain the chief deity; the north wing, where Mahakali is located; the south wing, where Mahasaraswati is located; and the *mandapa* (hall) that joins the three shrines, known as *mahanatamandapa* (joining hall), and which serves as the main dancing area.

According to Hindu tradition, once the temple is dedicated to a deity, the divine character infuses the atmosphere of the temple structure. Hence, devout Hindus never demolish a temple but continue to add to and improve the original structure. The three *shikharas* of the main shrine create an imposing effect. And, on the *Chaitra-Purnima* day, all *shikharas* in the temple complex are illuminated by oil lamps.

The offset walls are adorned with carved instrumentalists, dancers, lady musicians, celestial beings and other auspicious motifs as well as warriors and guardians. Another distinctive feature of the wooden *mandapa* are the *ispindar* arches typical of Maratha architecture. The earlier construction is in stone masonry without the use of mortar. The old plan is stellar in shape and the orientation is such that rays from the setting sun touch the face of the goddess on *Magha Sudha Panchami* (the fifth day of the month of *Magha*).

There are many temples of lesser gods such as Sheshashahi, Dattatreya, Vishnu, Ganpati as well as a number of tanks known as Manakarnika *kund* and Kashi *kund.*

Vows and Festivals

The *navas* (the invocation of blessings and fulfillment of vows) form an important ritual related to Mahalakshmi. Historical records claim that Balaji Bajirao Peshwa's wife, Gopikabai, offered gold bangles weighing about a quarter kilo to this goddess.

On the full-moon day of *Chaitra* (March-April), a brass image of the goddess is carried in procession through the town in a triumphal car. Throughout the year *jogwa* (ritual begging) occurs every Tuesday. Tuesdays and Fridays are considered minor festival days in Kolhapur. The *palkhi* (palanquin) of Ambabai is moved through the temple complex and is preceded by attendants, soldiers, trumpeteers and palanquin bearers. During the days of the Maharaja, elephants, horses and footmen, accompanied by singers and dancers, perform before the goddess.

Among the festivals, that of *Navratra* (nine-night) is the most important. *Kalashas* (metal or earthen pots of a particular shape), flowers and sprouted grains are a few of the auspicious offerings associated with Lakshmi worship.

The Mahalakshmi *vrat* (religious ritual penance) is performed in the month of *Ashwin*

1 Khandoba Temple, Jejuri

2 Ambabai Temple, Kolhapur

3 Parshurama Kshetra, Konkan

4 Ramtek Temple Complex, Nagpur

5 Changdeo Mandir, Changdeo

(October-November). In this festival women dance in front of the goddess holding copper, brass or earthen water pots.

In a mystic trance induced by the continuous blowing of the pots in a typical rhythm, some women assume the role of the Goddess Ambabai and foretell events. The Kolhapur Ambabai provides an excellent prototype of a temple complex and its festival celebrations.

Jejuri Khandoba

One temple complex which is particularly important in terms of Maharashtra's architectural evolution is the Jejuri Khandoba Temple, built on a hill, approximately thirty miles from Pune. The temple was originally constructed in 1608. The *sabhamandapa* and other parts of the structure were completed in 1637 by one Ragho Mambaji, a Maratha chieftain. The peripheral rooms, and several other additions were executed by Holkar. The pillars were added in 1742 and Holkar completed the battlements and the tank in the year 1770. This complex is an example of organic architecture.

Khandoba is a synthesis of Shiva-Bhairava and the Surya, and therefore the fasting for Khandoba is done on Sunday—the day of the Sun God. The main temple is situated on the Karhe Pathara—a mountain about three hundred meters above the present temple complex. The masses always visit and worship Khandoba in the lower temple.

Over the centuries the shepherd community, who consider Khandoba, among others, as their family deity have added gateways, improved the stairway, constructed lamp pillars, cloisters and *nagarkhanas* to fulfill their sacred vows. They all fit into the pattern of the informal organic architectural style that characterises the Maratha period. The temple has gradually developed around the hill site. Even the flight of steps seems to hug the contours and add infinite charm to the surroundings. When one notices the varieties of *deepmalas* in stone, or the remaining stucco paintings and ornamentation on the walls, one realises the grandeur that must have been Jejuri.

The Temple Complex

The *shikhara* of the Jejuri temple is a classic example of the destruction of an architectural heritage through lack of appreciation for architecture. The *shikhara* was purely in the Maratha style, with the lotus-shaped *kalasha* (pinnacle), surrounded by smaller niches in stucco which were ornamented with images of gods. It originally had minarets and *chattris* (domical structures supported by columns) around the corners; what remains of the surrounding cloisters have pointed stone arches with grills or windows.

The temple has an old Portuguese bell, and a huge brass-plated tortoise – carved in stone and seven meters in diameter – which is used for the ritual of distributing turmeric and dry coconut while chanting "*Chang bhale Khandoba cha Yelkot.*" This is a specific form of invocation to Khandoba.

Nana Phadnvis, the regent of the Peshwas in Pune, offered one *lakh* of silver rupees for fulfillment of a vow. Specially minted on commission for this purpose, some of these coins were converted into ceremonial silver images and the rest were employed towards the making of an ornamental *mahirap* (background) by local craftsmen. There are three sets of images at Jejuri which exhibit the fine craftsmanship of jewellers, coppersmiths and other artisans.

The *Yatras* and *Jatras*

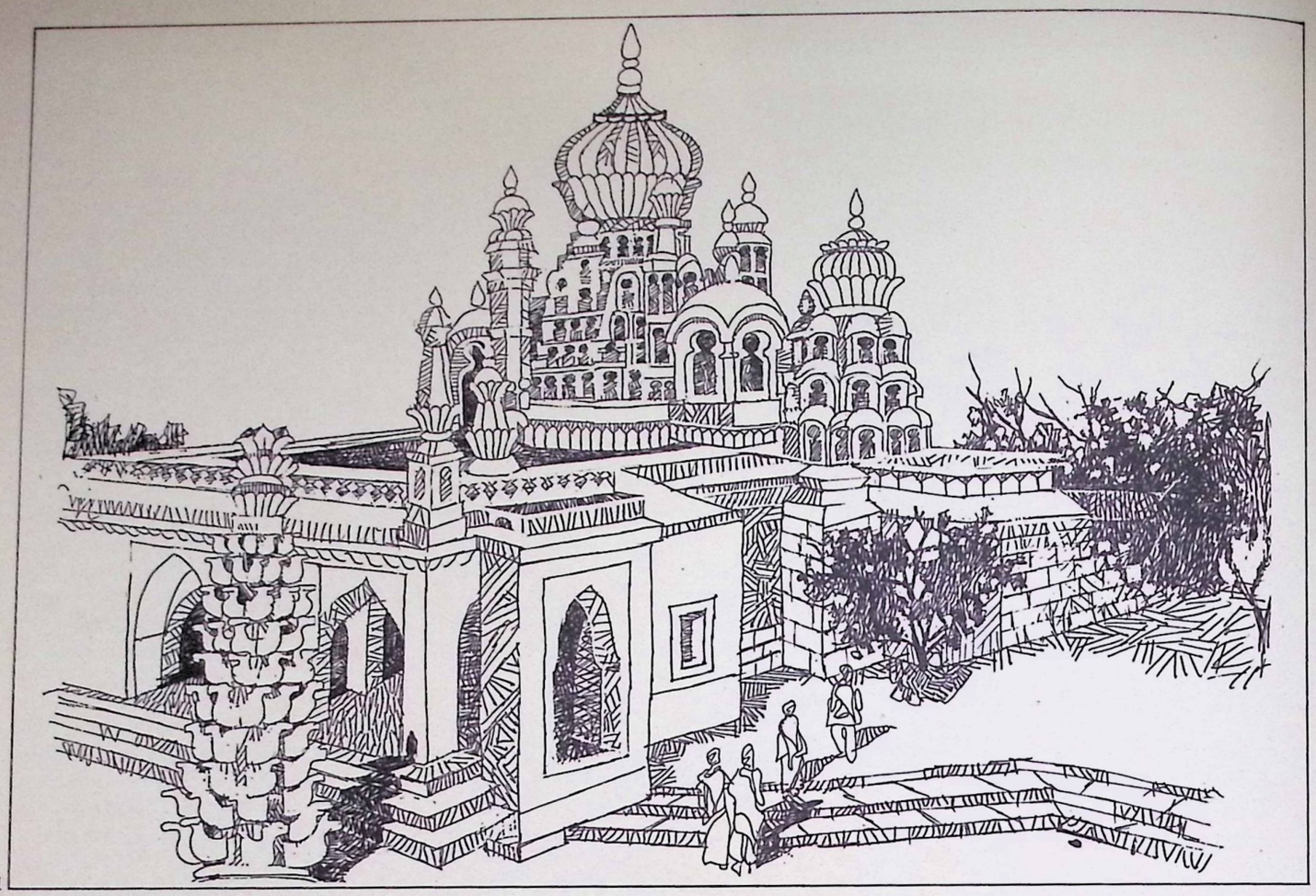
The *Yatras* (pilgrimages) and *jatras* (fairs) are fixed for five days in the months of *Chaitra, Pausha* and *Magha* (January, February, April) and also on any moonless day falling on a Sunday. There are many elaborate customs associated with these events. *Bagad,* which involves hanging a man from a pole by means of hooks inserted in the skin on his back, is one of the rituals undergone in the fulfillment of vows. The *kathyas* (ceremonial tall bamboos wrapped with red turbans) are carried by members of the Holkar, Holam and Khaire families in the festivals on full-moon days. *Langar,* the breaking of a steel chain, is another way of completing a vow. Other devotees perform *hal* (to walk on fire) or *kavad,* the carrying of water from the river for the deities' bath. Performances of dancers and musicians are also arranged during the festivals. The pilgrims converge at Jejuri by various means of transport, remain for a few days, complete their shopping at the fair, witness the fulfillment of vows, and return feeling elevated by the experience.

Parshurama Kshetra

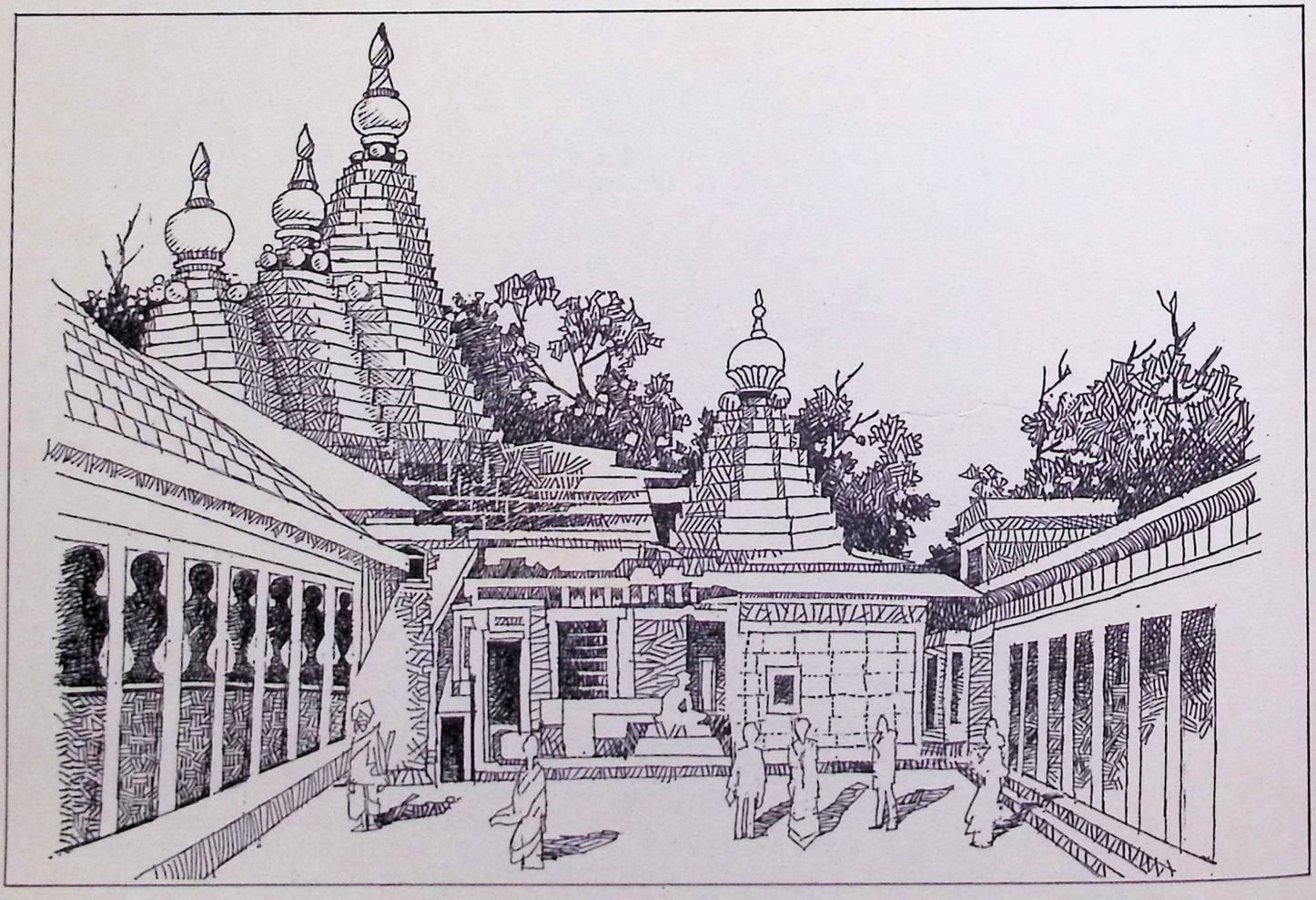
The Parshurama, situated on the western coast of the Konkan is one of the most well-known temple complexes of Maharashtra. Parshurama, also known as Bhargavara, is also an important deity of the Konkanastha Brahmans. Parshurama is considered the sixth incarnation of Vishnu who is credited to have defeated the Kshatriya warriors twenty-one times and then gifted the earth to the sage, Kashyap.

Parshurama, unlike the other incarnations of Vishnu, is considered immortal. Parshurama named the mountain Mahaindra and decided to live there permanently. An incarnation of Lord Parshurama is believed to reside on this mountain near Chiplun.

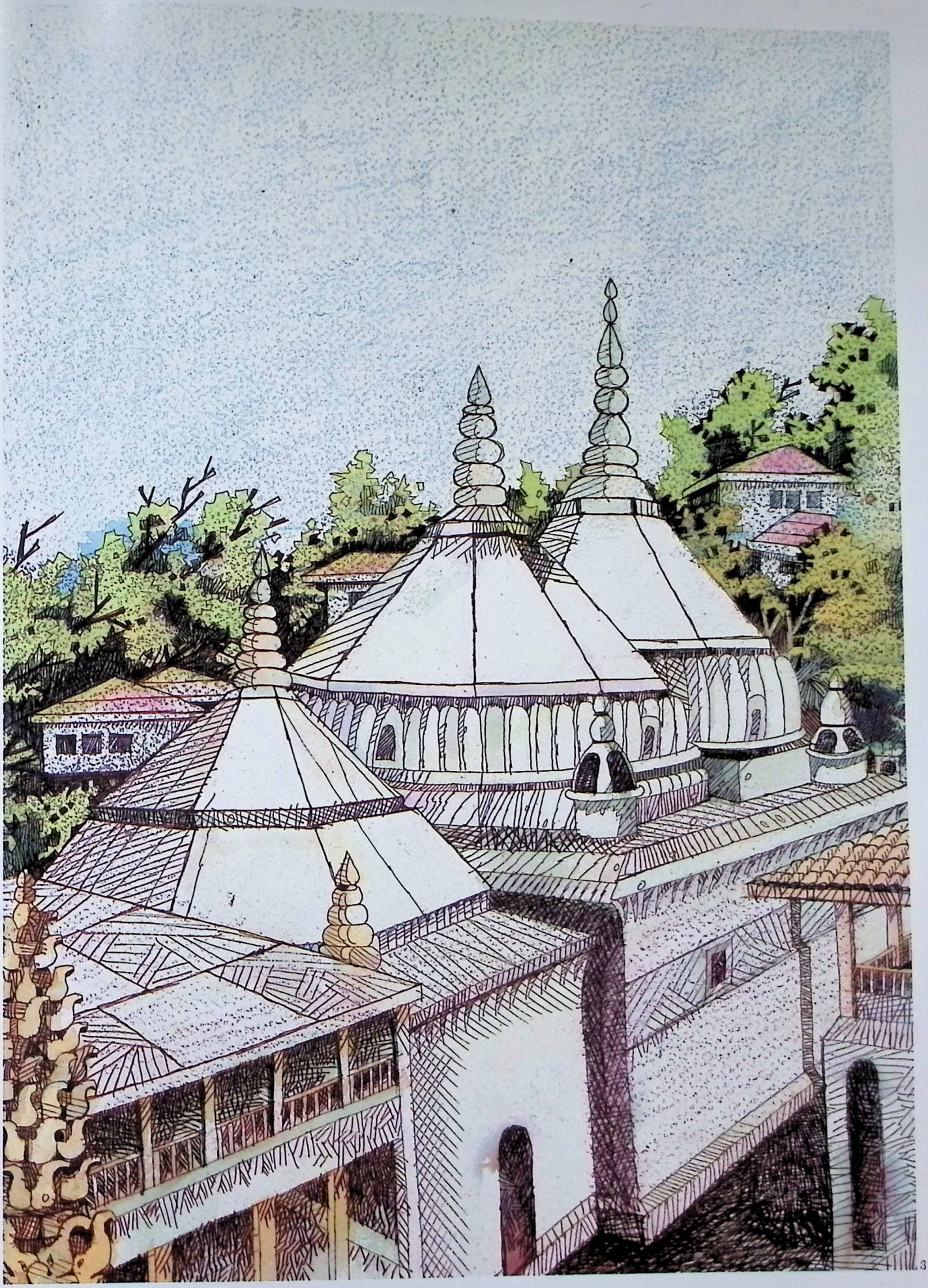
This history of this temple and its pilgrimages and vows shows religious harmony and integration. Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur, though a Muslim, funded the construction of two domes on the temple and awarded it land grants which continue to this day.

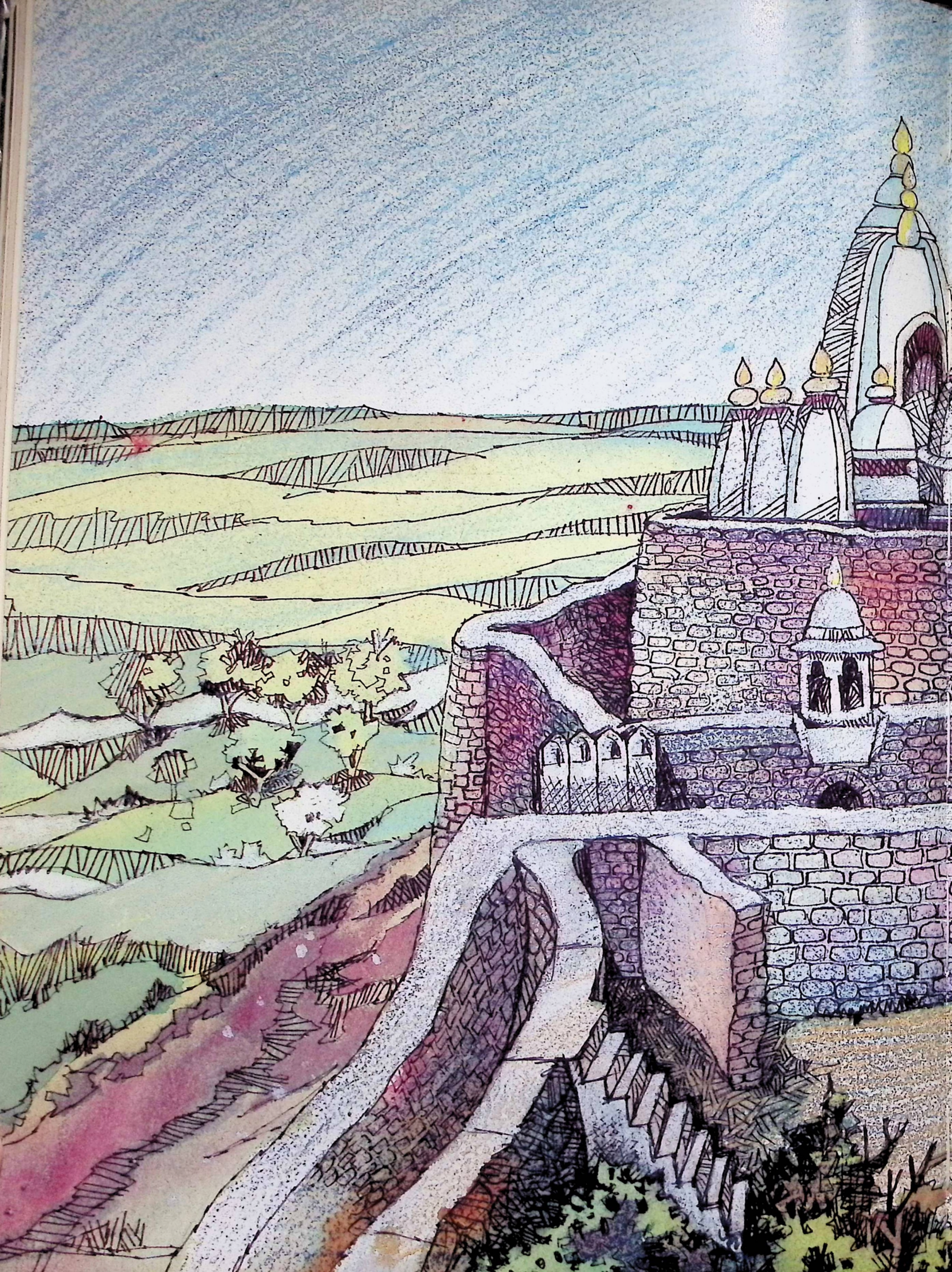


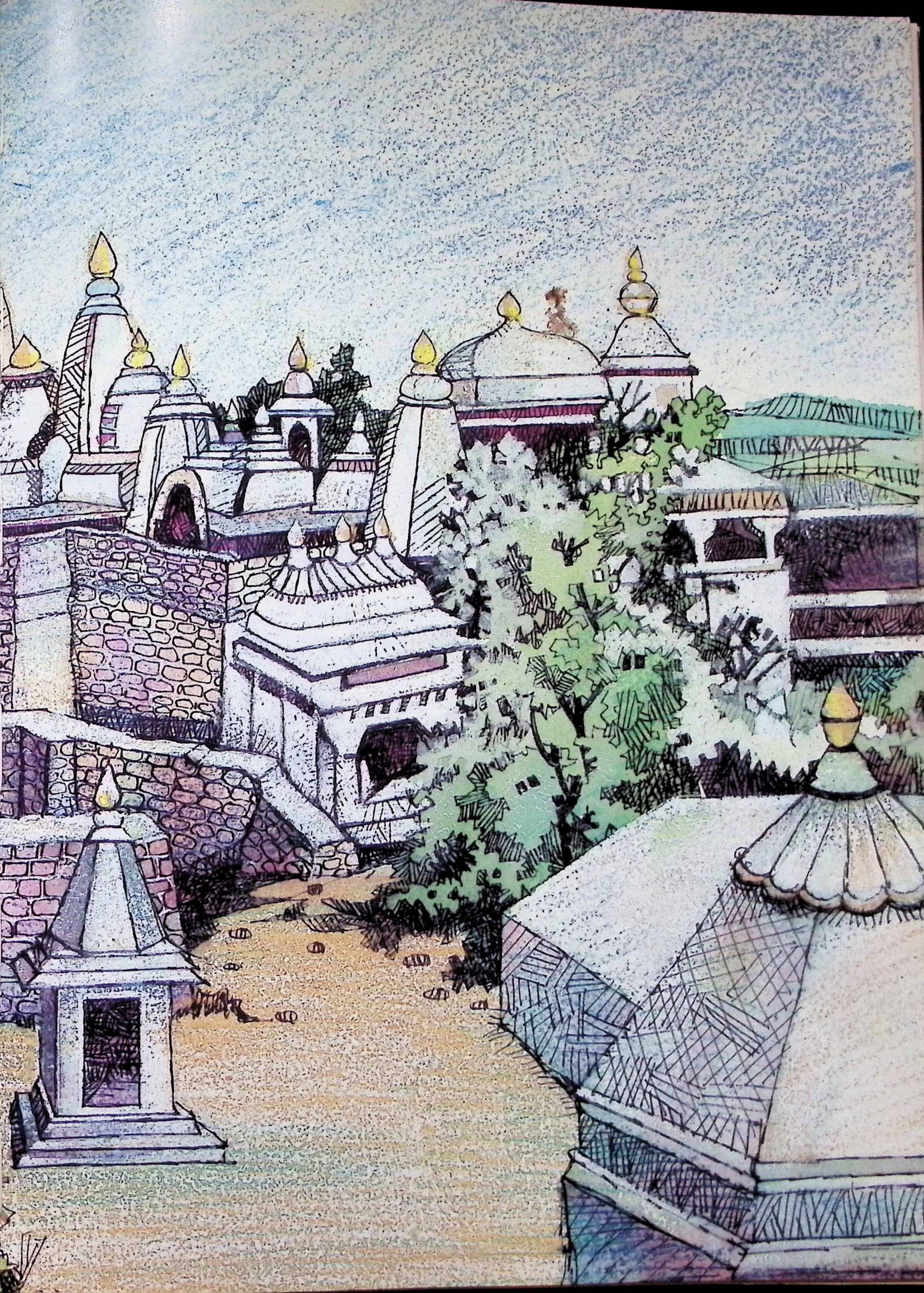
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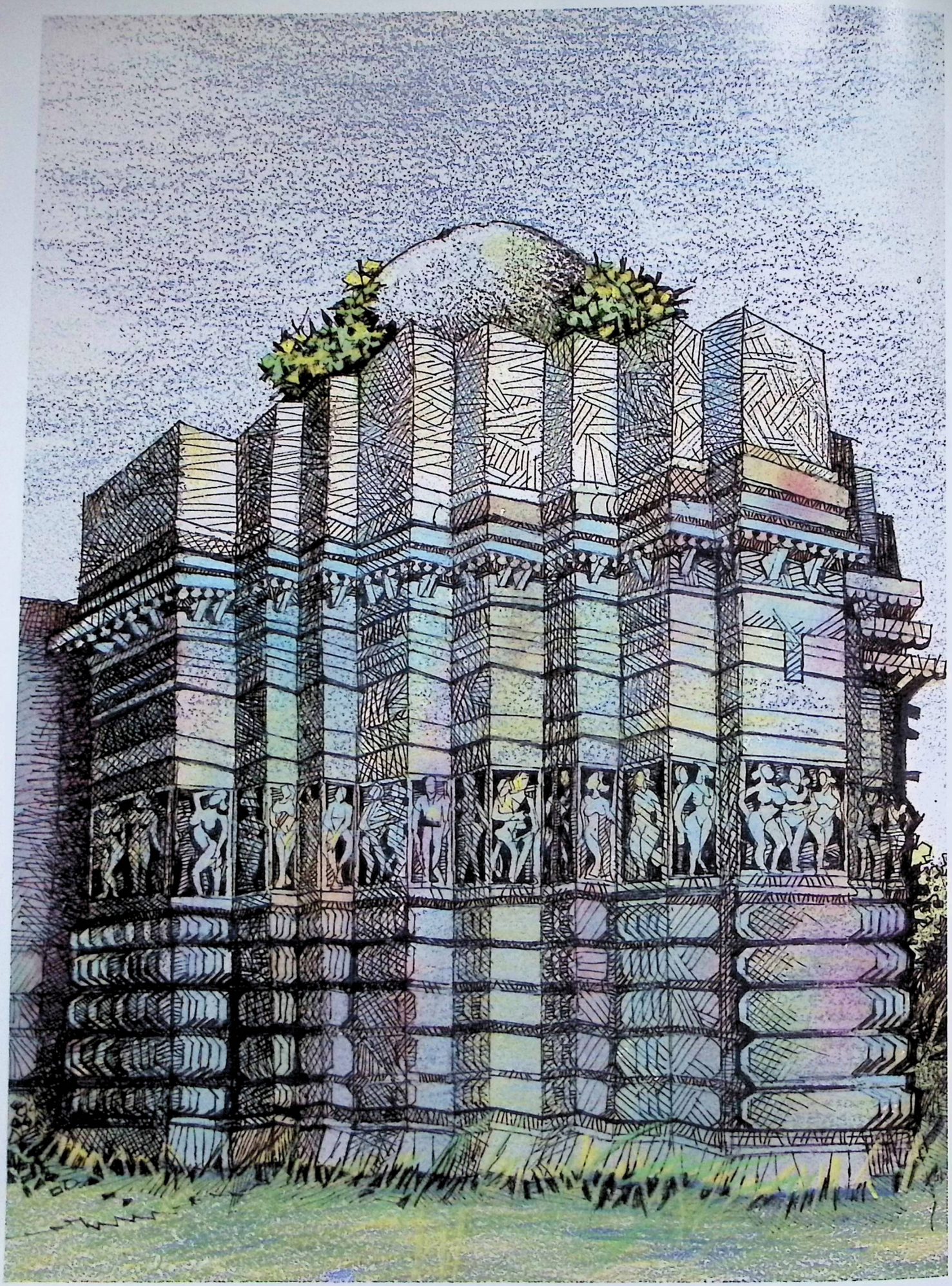


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6 Pandharpur Temple, Pandharpur

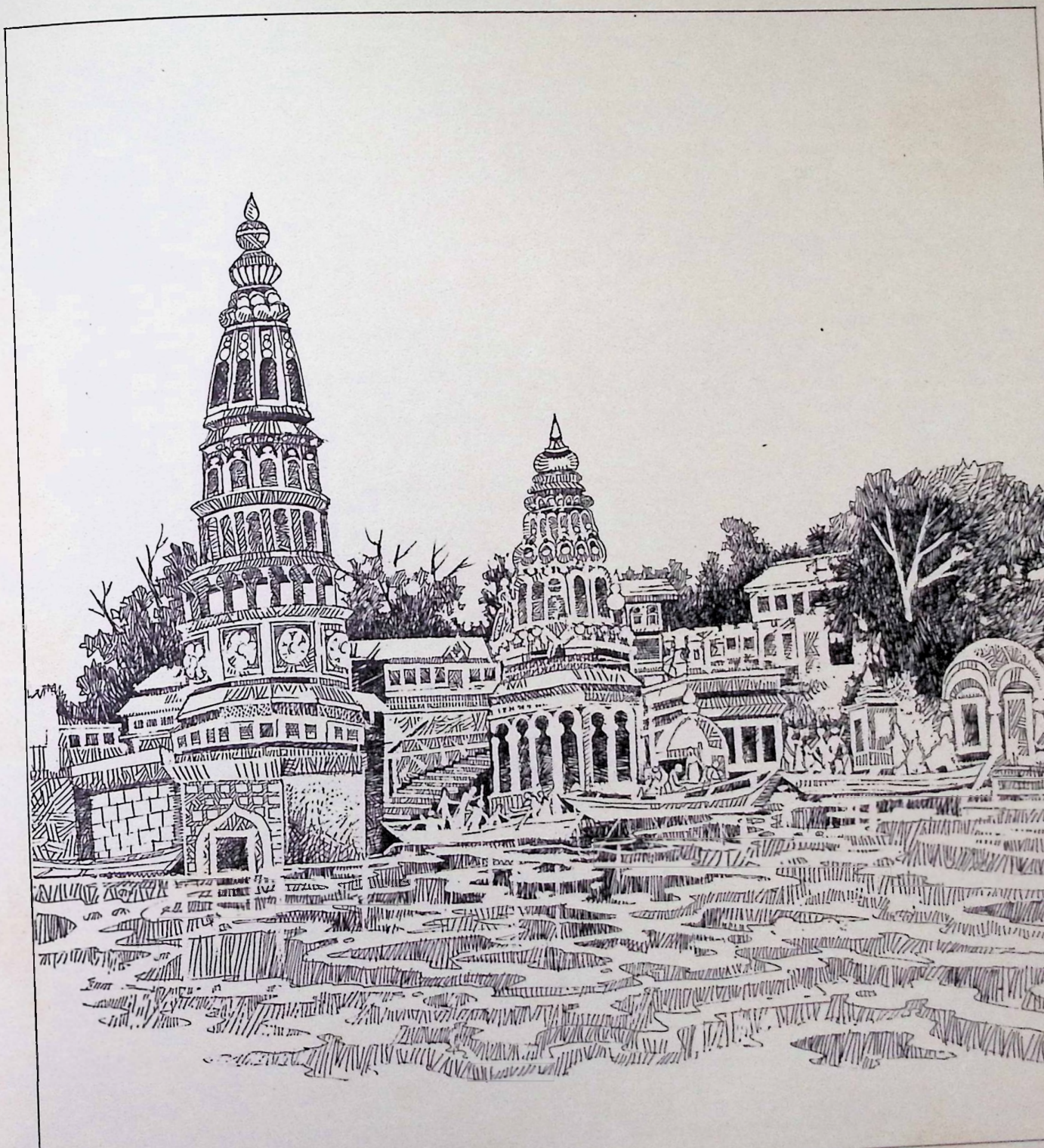
Architectural Aspects

The conspicuously significant features of this temple complex are the unique shape of the domes with plain mouldings at the base. Their octagonal sloping form and very high *kalasha* is a clear Islamic architectural influence. Even the stone arches and the construction of the outer wall reflects a mixture of Hindu and Islamic styles. The local laterite stone, heavy rainfall, and local wooden craftsmanship have also had an impact on the architecture.

The interior of the domes as well as the carvings and decorations clearly show the Adilshahi influence. The third dome was added by the daughter of the *Siddi* of Janjira who was a tyrant. Her husband was lost at sea when, on the advice of Brahmendra Swami – the *guru* of Shahu and of the Peshwas – she invoked Lord Parshurama. Her husband returned from the high seas. She then built this dome, and made a grant for the *chawghada* (playing of the drums).

The images of Kal, Kam, and Parshurama or Mahesh, Brahma and Vishnu are really intended to show the eternal life, and the celibacy of Parshurama.

The woodwork and the carvings on the Renuka temple within the temple complex are



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representative of the local *kunbi* craftsmanship at its best. The temple projects a strong sense of harmony with its surroundings. The red tiled roofs, the red laterite walls and pavings evoke a feeling of visual unity through colour and the overall effect of this structure in its lush setting is both dramatic and rich.

Festivals and Customs

Beginning on the first day of new moon the main celebration continues for three days and culminates on the birthday of Parshurama, on *Akashya-Triteya* (the third day of the new moon) in the month of *Vaishakha* (April—May). The Ganpati shrine in the temple complex is decorated during the festival, and a typical *makhara* (arrangement for the display of images) is fabricated. This *makhara* is a good example of vernacular craftsmanship and rural aesthetic concepts which are expressed in paints, coloured paper and wooden panels.

In a well-decorated *pandal* (cloth pavilion), *bhajan* (devotional songs), *kirtan* (sermons), *lalit* (devotional songs), *janmakal* (birth celebrations) are performed. *Prasada* (part of the ritual offering which is taken home) is distributed to all the households in the town. On Marghashirsha Ekadashi, which falls during December, the Pandharpur Vithoba is thought to be spiritually present at Parshurama. Hence, for the last hundred years, the Varkaris from the neighbouring regions come on a pilgrimage and perform a seven-day festival there. This is an excellent example of the adaptative approach of the Hindu devotee: if you cannot visit Vithal, imagine his presence where you are, and worship him with full devotion. The experience at Parshurama is of this dimension. Even the *mahashivaratri* celebration takes place in this temple, and a *yatra* is performed by the devotees.

Throughout the year many devotees visit to make vows to Parshurama. In the temple garden is a cannon which was fired twice a day for many years. The temple complex with the Banganga tank, Ganga shrine, Renuka shrine and Ganpati temple—all of which are approached by the paved laterite path—preserves a picture of seventeenth-century Konkan architecture. The postures and gestures of the devotees as well as the colourful decorations are typical of the coastal people's festivals.

Pandharpur

"Not even Varanasi, Gaya or Dwarka can surpass the reverence (created by) Pandharpur." (Sant Tukaram) This place is variedly described as the spiritual capital or pilgrimage centre of Maharashtra. The traditional Varkari pilgrimage, the *padasparsha darshan* as well as the hundreds of *dindis* (group processions) and palanquins that visit the temple on every *Ashadhi* and *Kartiki Ekadashi* have given great significance to the town. This holy place has developed along the River Chandrabhaga in the Solapur District.

The Temple Complex

The temple complex is indeed very old and has been renovated many times. There is evidence to show that a king from Prathisthana of the Shalivahana dynasty renovated Pandharpur in A.D. 83. An old copper plate of A.D. 516 under the Rashtrakutas records this as a temple village in a well populated territory. Later, a local inscription in A.D. 1239 records a royal visit of Deogari Yadav. The tradition of the *paluka* procession began in A.D. 1296. In A.D. 1650, Haibathbaba organised palanquin visits to the temple from Alandi. The temple was many times destroyed by the Muslims but was later renovated. Originally a place of Shiva worship the god is claimed to be Vishnu by the Vaishnavites, as Neminath by the Jains, as Avalokiteshvara by the Buddhists and as Surya by others.

The lofty pinnacles, low domes and flat roofs of various shrines and the *kalasha* of the Shri Vithal Rukmini temple observed from across a long horizontal stretch of white sand offer a pleasing view in all seasons. Behind the high stone walls, the temple is situated on a small hillock, occupying an area of about 52 m. by 106 m. It is surrounded by narrow paved stone passages of a two to three meter width, and has three gates on the east, three gates on the north and one each on the south and west sides. The *mahadwar* (main gate) is on the east which is approached by a flight of eleven steps known as Namdeo Payari. There is a Ganpati idol in a niche and the *nagarkhana* is on top.

The *mandapa* within the enclosure is about 18 m. by 37 m. and flanked by cloisters and a room covered with an ornate wooden canopy. There are two *deepmalas*—approximately ten meters high—as well as shrines for Garuda and Hanuman.

The *sola-khambi* (a hall with sixteen pillars) is approached from a smaller *sabhamandapa* flanked by the figures of *Jay-Vijay* and three steps—one of which is covered with brass sheets. On the left is the treasury. The *sola-khambi* rests on sixteen ornate stone pillars, one of them—the Garud Khamb—is covered with silver sheets. On the north of this *mandapa* is a detached verandah with rooms honouring Kashi-Vishwanath, Ram-Lakshman, Kalbhairav, Rameshwar, Dattatreya and Narsoba.

A silver-plated entrance which leads to the *chow-khambi* rests on four pillars; on the right is the *shejghar* (bed chamber). An ante-chamber and a silver arch lead to the 2 m. main square of the Vithal shrine.

There are minor temples like Rukmini temple. The greatest devotee of Vithal, Pundlik has his *samadhi shikhara* on the Mahadwar *ghat*. There are other important structures such as the Trailokya Nam *bhavan*, and the Tanpure *mandapa* in Pandharpur.

The lanes running eastwards from the temple, further link themselves with the *ghats*. Almost all twelve *ghats* are frequented by the pilgrims during the fairs. The Varkaris use the Uddhav, Chandrabhaga, Datta and Amelnerkar *ghats* extensively. The most important among them is the Mahadwar *ghat*. The river sands are also widely used as camping grounds as well as for *bhajans, kirtans* and other performances. The *mathas,* temples, *dharmashalas* and *fads* accommodate the pilgrims in large numbers who move to and fro from the temples.

The Varkari Procession

The Varkaris converge on Pandharpur, chanting and dancing all the way, and present an extremely rich and colourful picture. The dance, music and the prayers appeal to all, and the rhythm is captivating.

The traditional Indian aesthetic expression of such processions includes the glint and glitter of banners and palanquins, marching through various cities to reach Pandharpur. A large horse and buffalo market operates in Pandharpur during the *chaitry wari* (fair). During this festival, the temples are surrounded by shops selling ritual articles. Incense sticks, sweetmeats, holy powders, bangles, images and objects of brass and copper are available in the temporary stores.

The royal worship and chariot procession was started in 1810 under the patronage of the Patwardhans of Sangli. On *Ashadhi* and *Kartiki Ekadashi,* at noon, the gracious *rath* (chariot) procession enters the *pradakshina* near Khasgiwale *wada.* A fairly big chariot is drawn by the devotees and is preceded by a horse and an elephant in the honour of Sant Dnyaneshwar. Behind, in a decorated chariot, is the idol of Shri Vithal, Rahi and Rukmini. *Darshan* (viewing of image) is the most important event of the pilgrimage.

Regrettably, the original architectural fabric of the town and temple is hidden behind too many encroachments. At present there is hardly any space to view and comprehend the temple complex from any surrounding location. But with all its limitations, the experience at Pandharpur is indeed unique and memorable.

Shri Changdeo Mandir

Being on the route connecting northern India to the Deccan, Khandesh bore the brunt of the Islamic invasions. Consequently, very few religious structures of importance were constructed in that region after the thirteenth century A.D. Changdeo is one of the few surviving examples of those times and is representative of the architectural and spiritual traditions of Khandesh. The *gurukul* (residence of the sages where the students also lived) system, with cloistered rooms for meditation, existed at Changdeo. The Buddhist caves seem to have provided the architectural prototype for the temples. Architects and craftsmen derived details from various earlier Buddhist monuments and local sources, as well as from the north-eastern architectural tradition. Symbols and fascinatingly sculpted floral and creeper motifs were incorporated in the stone exteriors of temples. The interiors also present an elaborately carved and finely finished surface. The Changdeo temple is situated in a small village—also named Changdeo in the Jalgaon District. Changdeo is located at the confluence of the Tapi and Purna rivers and is about eight kilometers from the Savda railway station (Bhusaval-Itarsi main line).

To attain *nirvana* (salvation) the seeker had to be educated in the ways of spiritual elevation. *Yoga, mantras* and study of Hindu scriptures had to be conducted in peace and seclusion. The spiritual institutions of the *matha* flourished between the tenth and twelfth centuries in the Khandesh region. The temple was constructed in the eleventh century by Govindaraja who was a chief of the Yadava king, of Deogari Mahamandal Nath Seona or Senu II. The sun temple of Vaghli and the Mahadeo temple at Sangameshwar in the Chalisgaon region were also constructed during his reign.

The name Changdeo is not associated with Yogi Changdeo as may be presumed generally. Approximately fifteen kilometers from Chalisgaon in a town named Patan, a Maheshwar temple has an inscription which records that Changdeo was a chief of the Nikhumba king, Govan. It was under the rule of Changdeo that the temple is presumed to have been erected.

Changdeo also happens to be the name of the grandson of the famous astrologer, Bhaskaracharya, who wrote *Siddhant Shiromani.* The Yadava king, Sindhan, bestowed expensive lands, in A.D. 1206, to Changdeo for the purpose of study. *Shilpa Ratnakar* and other manuscripts on the subject of architecture were taught here and this may have influenced the growth of a new and vigorous architectural style. It has well-decorated half pillars and pilasters, simple images, an ante-chamber with cusped oval ceilings, floral motifs, and carved bands on the exterior. All these forms developed as a style in this region. The college of Changdeo helped to evolve this local style of architecture.

The Temple Structure

The temple structure of Changdeo is built in black stone, carved and fitted without any lime mortar. The whole temple is 32 m. long and 40 m. high. The *sabhamandapa* is 14 m. square and has four free-standing pillars and four half pillars in each of the four corners. These sixteen pillars and sixteen pilasters supported a heavy carved ceiling which was meant to support a superstructure. Today most of the *sabhamandapa* has vanished. The ante-chamber has an oval stepped roof with a pendant design at the centre. This oval form is unique to this region.

According to Henry Cousens and others, this temple may have been built to support a brick

superstructure. However, the strength and finish of the lower structure indicates a clear provision to support a strong superstructure of stone construction.

The temple has certain special features which are typical of this region such as the heavy and high *shikhara* and the use of relatively plain exterior walls. The external offsets on the wall are further emphasised both at the base and at the top by the exterior banded mouldings. The horizontal and vertical carved panels depict creepers while the column bases, walls, plinths and cornices reveal lozenge-shaped patterns.

Festivals

The festival at Changdeo has a regional tradition confined chiefly to the local population of Khandesh. Unlike the fairs and *melas* associated with temples in western Maharashtra, where people gather for shopping and a day or two of fun and frolic, the Changdeo festival revolves around religious and devotional activities. On the day of Mahashivratri the devotees gather on the sands at the confluence of the rivers and, after prayers to Mahadeo, they break their fast with *dal batti*—a dish consisting of dumplings made of coarse wheat flour and *dal* (lentil curry).

The festival has the usual shops of sweets, bangles and flowers. And at Changdeo the brass utensil shops are a speciality. Traditionally drama troupes performing on themes of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* would gather there to enlighten devotees during the festival held from the third day of the month of *Magha* (January) to *Amavasya* (no-moon day). Apart from this festival, minor fairs are held on the days of solar or lunar eclipse.

Ramtek

Ramtek is situated approximately fifty-four kilometers to the north-east of Nagpur. The name signifies "the hill of Rama." Older names for the Ramtek hill are Sindhuragiri (Vermilion Mount) and Tapogiri (hill of penance)—both of which occur in an inscription of the Lakshman temple of the fourteenth century.

On the hill which stands approximately a hundred and fifty meters above the town, are a number of temples which are visible from a long distance. The southern and western sides of the hill are protected by natural scarp, and the northern face is protected by a double line of defence. The outer wall is ascribed to the earlier *Gavali* kings. The temple citadel is at the western or highest extremity of the enclosure. From the west end of the Ambala tank at the foot of the hill, a flight of steps leads up to the temples. Near the top of the steps is a very old stone-faced tank; close to this are two temples of Narsimha with huge images.

Legends

Legend records that Narsimha, after killing the demon Hiranya Kashyap, threw away his cudgel on the hill with such force that it made a hole which formed into this tank.

In early times a Shudra (lower caste) named Sambuka lived at Ramtek and practised austerities—a prerogative of the higher castes—with the effect that he caused the death of a Brahman's son. Rama beheaded Sambuka, who was highly pleased at being so honoured in his death. He prayed to Rama that he should reside at Ramtek forever and that he, Sambuka, might also be worshipped there. The temple of Dhumreshwar Mahadeo was constructed over the *linga* (phallic symbol) in memory of the Shudra. Ramtek is considered so sanctified because of the promise of Rama to be present there permanently.

The Temple Enclosure

Raghuji I of Nagpur built the outer gate and other massive walls of the temple enclosure. This gate is called Varah Darvaza, because of the huge figure of the *varaha* (boar incarnation of Vishnu) which is placed just inside it. Beyond this area are three more gateways. The Singhpur gate is in the second line of walls and leads to the second court. The Bhairava Darvaza leads to the third court or citadel and beyond this is the Gokul Darvaza which leads into the last court. Upon entry, the visitor beholds the temple of Raja Dasaratha and the Sage Vasistha. The Lakshman temple is in front; behind it rises the great temple of Rama and Sita. Temples of various other deities are arranged round the main structure.

The architectural styles that influenced Nagpur also appear at Ramtek. The stylistic influences from the eastern and northern regions are evident in the architectural form, walls, the use of small pavilions and *chattris* (tombs) at different points within the temple complex. The inverted lotus pattern for the roof, stone-grills, projections, and recesses on the exterior, create a fine play of light and shade. The *shikharas* adhere to the Bhumija style with miniature replicas of the main spire.

The main temples are ascribed to the medieval Brahmanic style. The carvings on the Gokul Darvaza and in the Lakshman temple are especially noteworthy for their quality.

Fairs

Two religious fairs are held at Ramtek, one at the time of *Tripura Purnima* and the other at the time of *Rama Navami*. A custom of burning a yellow *pitamber* on top of the Rama's temple is representative of the burning of the demon, Tripurasur, by Shiva. At the fair are sold utensils, consumables, and decorative articles.

The temple forms seem to evolve from the local material, terrain, architectural styles as well as the deity for whom the temple is constructed. The Varkari tradition and other forms of *bhakti* worship have kept the religious spirit and devotion alive in Maharashtra.

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Rituals and Sacraments

K.K. Chaudhari

The religious life of a Maharashtrian Hindu, like other Hindus of the land, is interwoven with customs and traditions related to various religious ceremonies known as *samskaras* or sacraments. A *samskara* generally refers to a purificatory act in a sacrificial ritual. It is generally regarded as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of men and women and as an outward symbol of inner transformation. Some *samskaras* such as *Upanayana* serve both spiritual and social purposes; they open the door to Vedic study, and thus confer special privileges upon, and exact duties from, the performer. They have also a psychological value, impressing upon the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules. *Samskaras* such as *Namakarana, Annaprashana* and *Nishkramana* are more or less of a popular nature. They afford opportunity for the expression of love and affection as well as for festivities. Others, such as *Garbhadhana, Pumsavana* and *Simantonnayana* have mythical and symbolic elements. Marriage is a sacrament which brings about a union of two personalities into one for the purpose of social proliferation and for the upliftment of the two by self-restraint, self-sacrifice and mutual cooperation.

The *samskaras* and the sequence in which they are to be performed are mentioned in the Vedic texts. However, not all ancient writers agree on the number of *samskaras* to be observed. With the passage of time, many *samskaras* have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by the Brahmans in the manner prescribed by the *Smritis* (holy texts). In Maharashtra it was customary to observe the following *samskaras*:

1. *Ritu-Samgamana* (first appearance of menstruation)
2. *Garbhadhana* (foetus-laying ceremony)
3. *Pumsavana* (ritual for getting a male issue)
4. *Simantonnayana* (a ritual during pregnancy)
5. *Jatakarma* (ceremony of uttering benedictory verses into ear of the new-born)
6. *Panchavi* and *Satvai* (worshipping the mother fifth and sixth)
7. *Namakarana* (naming ceremony)
8. *Karnavedha* (piercing of the ear-lobes)
9. *Annaprashana* (the first feeding of the child)
10. *Chaula* or *Chudakarma* or *Javal* (the first tonsure of hair)
11. *Vidyarambha* (initiation to learning)
12. *Upanayana* or *Munja* (thread-girding ceremony)
13. *Samavartana* or *Sodamunja* (return from the stage of studenthood)
14. *Vivaha* (marriage)
15. *Chaturthikarma*
16. *Antyeshti* (funeral rites)

Of these, even *Garbhadhana* (foetus-laying ceremony) is falling into abeyance on account of the rise in the marriageable age of girls, and *Namakarana* and *Chaula* are celebrated in a popular way without Vedic *mantras*. Often, two or more *samskaras* are combined together, as for instance, the *Chaula* which is performed on the occasion of the *Upanayana*, while *Samavartana* is done immediately after *Upanayana*.

Every auspicious *samskara* begins with the worship of Ganapati, *Punyahavachana* (holy day blessings), worship of *Matrus* (seven mother-goddesses) and *Nandishraddha*. *Ganapati-pujana* consists of inviting the presence of Ganapati on a betelnut on a handful of rice grains. The performer bows before the Lord with the words, *"Om Mahaganapataye Namo Namah Nirvighnam Kuru"* (salutations to the great Ganapati, make this rite free from obstacles).

Pumsavana

This rite is so called because, by virtue of it, a male child is believed to be born. It is performed during the third month of a woman's pregnancy so that the deities governing the sex of the foetus would be propitiated and a male issue assured.

Panchavi and ***Satvai***

Although not a Vedic *samskara,* a ceremony known as worshipping the *Panchavi* (fifth Mother) and the *Satvai* (sixth Mother) is observed among all Hindus on the fifth and sixth days after child-birth. This is the first popular ritual in an infant's life. A common belief is that these nights are full of danger to the new-born infant and that its destiny is then decided. Hence, the propitiation of the deities to guard the child from evil spirits.

Namakarana

Namakarana, called *"Barse"* in Maharashtra, generally takes place on the twelfth day after birth, and no Vedic ceremony, as prescribed in the *Sutras,* is observed. Usually a priest is consulted as regards the auspicious names in view of the astrological circumstances at the time of birth. Women invited for the ceremony bring presents for the child. A small oblong granite stone is rubbed with oil and laid in the cradle. The mother, holding her baby, stands on one side of the cradle and says to the woman on the other side, *"Koni Govinda ghya Koni Gopal ghya."* The woman then receives the stone and the child is placed in the cradle. The mother whispers its name into the child's ear which is then announced to the congregation. The women sing a *palana* (cradle song), lulling the child to sleep. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food including *ghugarya* (boiled gram).

Karnavedha

Piercing of the infant's ear-lobes is compulsory by custom. Generally a goldsmith pierces the lower ear-lobes with a pointed golden wire and turns it into a ring. In the case of girls, the left ear is pierced first. The Vedic justification for *Karnavedha* is explicit from the *mantra,* "Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears." (Rigveda I 89.8)

Chaula or ***Javal***

In this *samskara* a lock is cut from the child's hair for the first time after birth. The principal act consists of cutting the child's hair; the other related rites involve a sacrificial fire, receiving benedictions and the secret disposal of the hair.

Upanayana

Upanayana, or *"Munja"* as it is known in Maharashtra, is an important purificatory *samskara* whereby a boy is initiated to learning and *Brahmacharyashrama* (stage of studenthood). Comparison with ancient Zoroastrian scriptures and modern practices of the Parsis tend to show that the sacrament of *Upanayana* goes back to an Indo-Iranian origin. The *Upanayana* of a Brahman boy is performed in the eighth year from birth, in the eleventh year for a Kshatriya and in the twelfth year for a Vaishya, although some latitude is allowed. There are intricate rules about the proper *muhurta* (auspicious time).

The religious rites include *Ghana*—the inaugural ceremony—*Ganapati-pujana, Matruka-pujana* and *Punyahavachana.* The ritual of *Chaula* follows if it has not been performed earlier. The father cuts a few hairs from the boy's head, and the barber removes the rest except for the top-knot. The boy is then bathed. In the company of other boys, the mother sets her son on her lap and feeds him. She, herself, eats from the same plate.

As the lucky moment draws near, the priests hold, between the boy and his father, a curtain marked with a vermilion *swastika.* The priests recite *mangalashtakas* (lucky verses) and the guests cast *akshatas* (rice grains mixed with a vermilion powder) at the boy and father. At the auspicious moment, the priests conclude the *mangalashtakas,* pull the curtain to the north and the boy bows his head at the feet of his father. Music is played and guests are honoured with *pan-supari* (betel-leaf and betelnut).

The *Upanayana* proper now begins. A *homa* (sacrificial fire) is kindled and offerings of ghee, sesame and seven kinds of *samidhas* (sacred fuel sticks) are offered to it. The boy, dressed in a *langoti* (loin-cloth) and *pancha* (a shoulder-cloth), requests the priest with folded hands to initiate him to *Brahmacharyashrama.* The latter obliges him, hands over to him a consecrated *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) and *danda* (staff) of the *palash* tree and gives him instructions as to how to acquire knowledge. After praying to the sun, the boy also offers *samidha* to the fire, and the priest concludes the sacrifice with the final oblations. The priest whispers the *Gayatri-Mantra* (sacred verse in praise of the sun) into the boy's ear and the boy repeats it after him.

Then follows the ritual of *Bhikshavala* (begging alms). After returning from the Ganapati temple, the boy entreats his mother with the words, *"Om Bhavati, bhiksham dehi"* (lady, give me alms). She complies with blessings, sweets and a gold or silver coin. The other women also follow suit. The idea is that a *Brahmachari* must beg for his food. The last ritual in *Upanayana* is *Medhajanana,* by virtue of which it is supposed that the student's intellect is made capable of mastering the Vedic lore. The boy prays to the goddess of intellect to give him knowledge and glory.

Ganapati and Varuna, represented by betelnuts, are invoked and bowed to when the ceremony is over. The boy is now a *Brahmachari* and he is supposed to pursue learning for 12 years. After completing his studies, he should undergo the *Samavartana* rite known as



1 *Upanayana* (thread ceremony)
2 *Vivaha* (marriage)

Sodamunja (return from the stage of studenthood). Currently, however, *Sodamunja* takes place shortly after *Upanayana*. The boy discards the girdle of sacred grass, the *munja*, as well as his loin cloth. He dons a silk-bordered *dhoti*, coat, shoulder-cloth, a cap with embroidery in gold thread, a pair of shoes, and pretends to set out on a journey to Banaras. Thereupon, his maternal uncle dissuades him from that course and promises to offer him his daughter in marriage so that the boy may marry and become a householder.

Vivaha

This is the most important of all *samskaras*, a composite rite comprising several ceremonies performed in a certain order. In fact, there are 43 rituals connected with this *samskara*. However, most of the marriages are solemnised presently with a modified version omitting many of the ritualistic details listed in the orthodox form.

Among the Brahmanic Hindus, in Maharashtra, the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same *gotra* and *pravara* (same eponymous groups) or the same *pinda* (blood relation). A boy's marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is, however, approved.

The present marriage customs of Hindus can be grouped in three broad classes: (i) the Vedic form, as specified in the *Grihyasutras*, where Vedic *mantras* are recited; (ii) *Pauranika*, a form which excludes Vedic texts; and (iii) the modified Vedic form recommended by Dharmanirnaya Mandal of Lonavala. The first form is followed by Brahmans and allied castes, the second by non-Brahmans and the third by any caste.

Marriage Customs

Traditionally, marriage customs were elaborate, but now many of them are performed in an abridged form while several have even become extinct.

After the propitiatory rites, various festivities and ceremonies are performed. These are: *Ganapati-pujana, Punyahavachana, Matruka-pujana.*

Halad

The sacrament starts with anointing the boy with turmeric powder mixed with scented oil by his mother, sister and other women. This is a lively ceremony wherein the boy is given a



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ritual bath to the accompaniment of *haladi* songs and music. The residual turmeric and oil mixture called *ushti halad*, along with a *sari* and the usual articles of worship, is carried to the girl's place. The ceremony of anointing with turmeric and giving a bath is repeated for the girl and her *oti* (lap) is filled. The girl sits down and then, in her lap, are ceremonially placed five handfuls of rice and a betelnut. With the performance of this ceremony, the boy and girl are declared bridegroom and bride.

Seemantapujana

Literally meaning "boundary worship," it was originally performed when the boy crossed the border of the girl's village. Now-a-days *Seemantapujana* is performed in a temple on the marriage day. The parents of the girl go to the bridegroom's place, and worship Ganapati and Varuna represented by a betelnut and water-pot. They wash the bridegroom's feet and offer him a new dress. The bride's mother washes the feet of the boy's mother and performs the *oti-bharan* ceremony for her as well as for the other female relatives of the groom.

Varaprasthana

The boy's party goes in procession to the girl's place where *suvasinis* (married women) greet the boy by waving a lighted lamp. He is led into the marriage hall to sit on a *chouranga* (low square stool).

Mangalashtakas

The ceremony begins with the bridegroom standing and facing the east, while a *antarpat* (silk waist-cloth) with a *swastika* mark is held in front of him. The bride is then brought to stand opposite the boy with the *antarpat* between them. Both bride and groom hold garlands, while priests chant *mangalashtakas*. When the auspicious moment arrives, the *antarpat* is withdrawn to the north, musicians start playing on their instruments and the guests throw *akshatas* at the couple. The groom puts a *mangalsutra* (the wedding necklace) around the neck of the bride.

Kanyadana

It is in this rite that the girl's father tells the bridegroom that he should not prove false to his daughter in *dharma, artha* and *karma*, and he responds with the words, "I shall not do so."

Lajahoma

Lajahoma is performed after igniting the sacrificial fire. The bride makes three offerings of *lahyas* (parched grains) while *mantras* are repeated by the bridegroom. The fourth and last is made by the bride silently. The couple takes mutual oaths before the fire, earth, priests, and gods that they will be each other's partners throughout life for better or for worse.

Saptapadi

The marriage becomes final and irrevocable when the ritual of *Saptapadi* (seven steps) is performed. In this ritual seven small heaps of rice with a betelnut thereon are arranged around the altar and the sacrificial fire rekindled. The bridegroom leads the bride, putting her right foot on the rice heaps one by one at each step, while the priest chants sacred verses. Then the couple offers ghee and parched grains to the fire.

After *Saptapadi* the bride and groom bow to the Pole star with folded hands which is symbolic of their firm determination to observe constancy of the marital vow throughout life. The *Vivaha* rituals conclude with the *Varat* (bridal procession), the *Grihapravesha* (bride entering her new home), the *Devakotthapana* (taking leave of the deities) and the *Mandapodvasana* (dismantling the *pandal*).

Funeral Rites

Antyeshti

Even death is a purificatory ritual. When a person is on the verge of death a small piece of gold, a leaf from a tulasi plant and drops of Ganga water are placed into his mouth. The body is laid on the ground with its head towards the north. The chief mourner has to undergo a purificatory bath to the chanting of *mantras*. The dead body is washed, scented and wrapped in a new cloth and decked with flowers. If the dead person is a *suvasini* (a married woman), she receives the honour of being rubbed with turmeric paste and *kumkum* (vermilion) marks. Hindus, following the Vedic and Puranic rites, usually cremate the dead, while others may bury the mortal remains.

Uttarkriya

Uttarkriya is performed on the twelfth or thirteenth day after death, and a community feast is held. *Bharni* oblation, or *Shraddha* (obsequial sacrifice) performed during the *Pitripaksha* (dark half of *Bhadrapada* month) is undergone very solemnly. Women who die during the life-time of their husbands are offered special oblations on the *avidhava-navami* day in *Bhadrapada* while the husband is alive. *Akshaya Tritiya* is another day for commemorating the dead ancestors by offerings and gifts.

The whole life of a Hindu was formerly overlaid with so much ritual in the *Grihyasutras* and *Smritis* that the tendency to neglect and circumscribe them became insistent and inevitable. This inclination was further encouraged by the later digests which prescribed easier substitutes for elaborate sacraments. Thus the entire life of a man is interwoven with purificatory rites for the elevation and sophistication of the mind.

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Customs and Traditions

Sarojini Babar

The slightest hint in the family that little feet with their baby anklets were going to sound in the house, that one was going to be an aunt, would send one into a mystical ecstasy. I would think, "Let my brother's wife have a beautiful little girl: let that tiny ***chandrajyot*** (flame of moonlight) brighten the whole household; and let me quite lose myself in all the celebrations and ceremonies! How delightful that the house would have a smiling baby with little red lips, soft floating hair, tender skin, and pink cheeks! What a pleasure it would be to wrap the tiny tot in a silk ***khan*** cloth (a special weave popular in Maharashtra) from head to foot, adorn it with a necklet and ***bindi*** as well as tiger claws threaded in wire, or dress it up in baby-clothes made of choice embroidered fabrics and cradle it in one's arms! And I would let nothing keep me from visiting the goldsmith to get a full set of baby ornaments for it. I would not be myself if I did not invite and offer proper ***puja*** to five virgins and invoke the protection of Jivati, the goddess who looks after the safety and growth of little babies, and send a messenger round to every house in the neighbourhood to announce that Mahadevi herself had taken birth in our house in the form of our little queen!

Yes, indeed! Let my brother have a daughter born to him, and I would, as it were, have wheels to my feet and get around to fetching so many things. When I wear out thresholds, visiting every house with invitations to the naming ceremony, offering sweets that are meant to quench hunger and thirst, it will be as though on the wings of thought. My grandmother always says, the first child should be a girl; for, in her form, Lakshmi lives in the house and Saraswati moves everywhere about the household. She says one ought to empty the ocean for jewels to put on the baby's dress and cap. Parrots and mynahs should be set on the cradle. Lamps like the sun and the moon should be kept lit. The doorway of the house should shine with hanging lamps. The toy-maker must be asked to make a canopy of toys over the cradle. Five happy ***suvasinis*** (married women with husbands living) must have their ***sari-pallus*** filled with gifts. Food-offerings of sweets must be made to the goddess in the town temple and her blessing sought for the little one. The little queen's cap must have tassels of marigolds and a pipal-leaf to enhance her fairness.

Mother says the eldest brother's daughter is like cream on milk. She must be cherished like a son!

"The daughter's form is as the jasmine spray
The mother cherishes her like a son.
We must wait, though, for the beholder to say the same!"

When the little darling puts on the grace of growth and begins to get about the house on fours, and then toddle about with tinkling anklets, the house fills with tender pride. I remember when our oldest sister had a daughter; my parents brought her dolls to play with from many surrounding towns. Toy cooking sets of baked clay cluttered the house. Her long hair was plaited with every kind of tassel. Little skirts and blouses were made of silken cloth with gold-embroidered borders. And her little games of housekeeping and so on filled the front verandah of the house with their stir. Sweets and snacks of all flavours were brought for distribution; the notes of many songs echoed in the house and our home became a veritable Indra's court. For her game of housekeeping, the tiny pots and pans collected were such that the whole town might come to see. The little girl was, as it were, introduced to her first lesson in running a family. Her childhood began in splendour, in the company of girls of her age.

A girl in the house is a portion of one's heart, cherished the more tenderly because one



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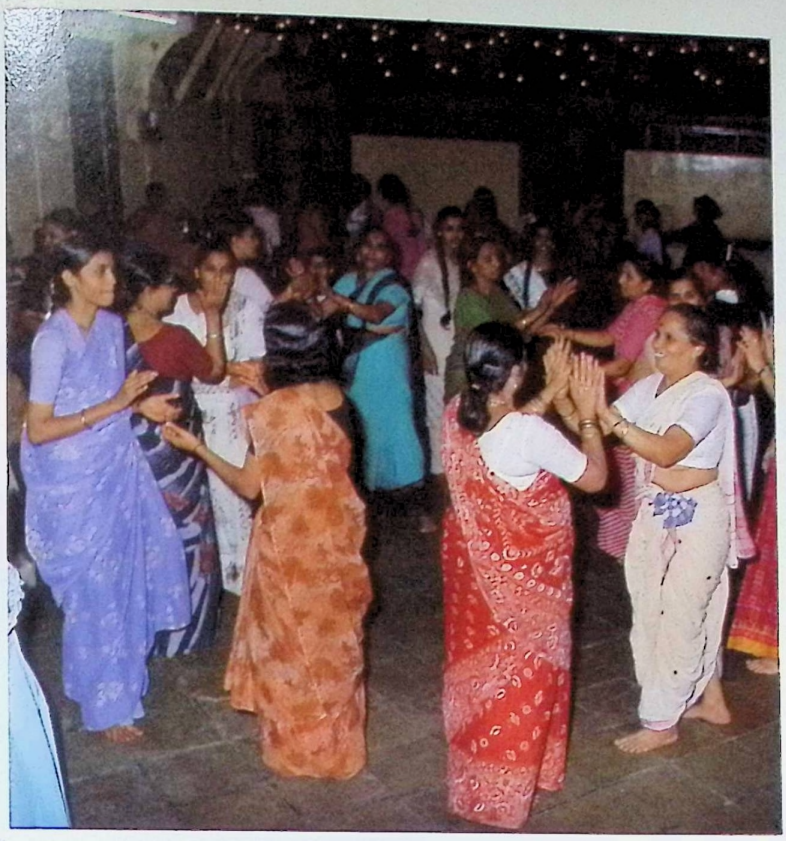




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day she must leave to go to a husband's house. The gods are said to have dowered their daughter with whole plantations of sugarcane and betel-leaf. We too want to give her gifts as rich as possible. Plans for the gifts are initiated as soon as the girl comes of age. Marriage settlements begin to be thought of within the limit of the parents' power. Efforts are made in the direction of finding a suitor from a family of equal standing.

"Who has tattooed on your cheek
Who has pressed there a rose?"

Pleasure and enthusiasm over the daughter's looks fill the mind. Words and verses like the following are in the air:

"They have come to see the bride, the Ganeshas of the fort have come;
A hundred thousand pearls are set in our maiden's crest and hair;
They have come to see the bride, climbing into the forecourt
The bride is as the star of Venus, our Princess Mynah;
Beneath her neck lie twelve strings of pearls:
In the house to which you go, dear one, be a queen."

There is talk of a bower of jasmine for the wedding and thought of happy rituals:

"Sacred is the hour when the cows come home,
And the gathered Brahmins pronounce the *mantras.*"

The day of the marriage has arrived. Instrument-players have been sent for. Plans have been made for the wedding baths.

Ceremonial and decorative displays of food colourfully arranged have been thought of. Turmeric has been ground by the *suvasinis,* singing songs to invite gods and deities with their families and retinues. Worship has been offered to the sacred post set up at an auspicious hour. Preparations are afoot for watering the mango tree, filling the bin of the mill and, above all, the worship of Gauri. And in all this bustle, when the maiden, dressed in choice wedding garments, climbs the wedding-platform, the hearts of her family sink at the thought that she must now move into a house of strangers.

The girl's parents look upon their beloved daughter, in the gold-embroidered *sari* that swirls about her feet, with the line of *kum-kum* red across her fair forehead, flower-buds in her plaited hair, armlets, nose-ring and waist-belt gleaming; and their eyes become misty at the knowledge that she must now go from among the girls she has lived with. Regaining their poise with effort, they stand at one side, and try to fill their eyes with the sight of their son-in-law. "The cradle of our house we now hang in yours," they say humbly to the bridegroom's parents, and beg them to take care of their daughter.

By this time the bride has walked the sacred seven steps with her groom and is now looking forward to going to her new home, to becoming the lady of that house. Her childhood has now receded. She is beseiged by her new maturity, covered by her new responsibility. She enters her new abode with the ritual of knocking over its threshold the filled measure of grain; and, with every step that she moves forward, she leaves behind her the sense of separation from her natal family. She walks slowly with her new partner in life, as he too looks proudly at her, dressed in the splendour of a gold-embroidered turban crowned with an aigrette of honour, a black spot on his turmeric-covered cheek, and silver-leaf smeared on his forehead. Over his shoulders is draped an *uttariya* woven with gold threads and he wears a new coat and new shoes, all surmounted by the bridegroom's token crown, the *bashing.*

"Of the happiness her husband gives, smilingly tells the bride
Her nose-ring reddened by the *paan* from his lips."

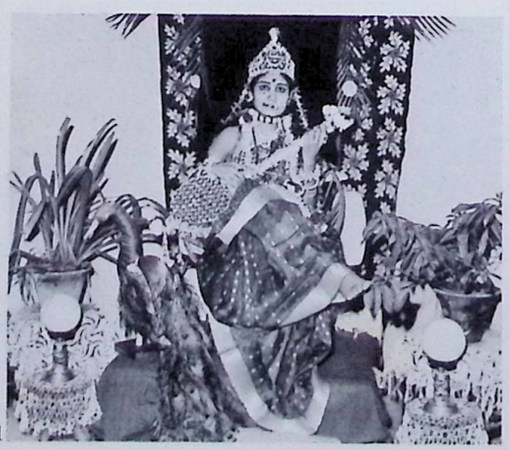
Her companions ask:

"Into the red gold-broidered stole, the buds of jasmine and *mogra*
Tell us, sister-in-law, how you managed to weave?"

Her mind is filled now with the aspiration to successfully live the wifely role. She enters a new world of her own. She has to seek the meaning of her new life, while she coyly speaks the riddle-verses that allow her to mentioned indirectly the name of her husband. She intends

1 *Savitri puja*
2 *Haldi-Kumkum*
3 *Hartalika puja*
4 *Tulsi puja*
5 Women playing *jhimma*
6 Maharashtrian bride
7 *Mangala-Gauri puja*
8 *Bhau-Bij*
9 *Naga-Panchami puja*
10 *Mahalakshmi puja*
11 *Vadi-Bharana*
12 Child wearing ornament of *tilgul-halwa*


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12

to taste the delight of:

"Bright moonlight, the night itself like moonlight
The godlike nearness of the Lord of her bed."

She has yet to win her repute among her husband's sisters and the wives of his brothers. She means to contribute something to her new family which will make it feel it has received a touch of royal splendour. She means to prove, too, that the bold *tikka* that marks her as a married woman means more to her than pounds of gold in ornaments. She says to everyone:

"Diamonds and rubies are no ornaments to me
Kum-kum set on turmeric is my brocaded banner."

She shyly adapts herself to the customs and ways of her new home. She has not only brought with her ornaments and clothes from her home, but also the teaching her mother has imparted to her in the same way as she has given her strengthening medicines as a child. Instinctively she realises that a woman must make a happy life in the house to which she is given in marriage. It sustains her as did her mother's milk in infancy; in turn she sustains the demands made by her new household. She meets everyone's standards in conduct and speech; she offends no eye and exposes herself to no censure. This new bride quietly and smilingly handles the awkward moments that arise in her in-laws' house.

About the time of *Naga-panchami,* the excitement will pass the bounds of speech. In the dazzling days of the month of *Shravana,* the *naga-deva* (the cobra as deity) is to be worshipped and long life is to be asked for the brother in one's natal house. The head is bowed before the *naga-deva* as representing the ancestors, as the protectors of the wealth of the husband's house. Family rituals are to be observed. Nothing is to be ground, nothing pounded, nothing sliced; for no risk must be run of hurting the *naga-deva's* hood! In all this, the elders of the household are to be emulated.

The same for the festival of *Samkranti.* New clay pots must be bought, cleaned and then painted. They are to be set out on painted wooden seats and filled with fresh produce from the fields: chopped sugarcane, sprays of green *gram,* carrots, beans, ears of wheat and groundnut. Sesame and *gur* is to be changed. Food offerings of *puran* and *dal* are to be made to the deities. The little clay pots are to be exchanged with five matrons, in token of wishes to protect the happy married state. All the customs of the house must be sustained.

In all these matters our little wife is quick-witted. She needs to see something done only once; that is enough to fix it in her mind. She will then carry it out herself. Everyone in the house is convinced of her good sense and thinks her a good *grihini* (mistress of a household).

The time comes when this young queen shows signs of being with child. Her face reflects it, and there is a burst of happiness in the house. Not too much is said, beyond "She feels the desire of pregnancy strongly." Her likings are considered, and there is a tender fuss over bringing her this fruit and that vegetable and making for her the dishes she likes. With her appetite already gone because of morning sickness, the *enceinte* feels all the more bashful under these attentions. While she eats, perhaps wild fruit in a secluded corner, she dreams of the sweet baby to be born.

The ceremonial meals to appease the desires of pregnancy are arranged as splendidly as possible, in the company of friends and relatives, round the auspicious dates in the fifth or the seventh month of pregnancy. For these occasions, the expectant mother is set in a shrine made of the tender trunks of the plantain tree; or on a swing hung from the branches of a woodland tree; or on a four-square wooden seat in the house, all dressed in flowers; or in a boat on the river. She receives encouragement and comfort, and whatever she prefers is cooked in the house. Green bangles and green *saris* are brought for her, and bracelets and garlands of flowers. She is lovingly fussed over by an enthusiastic family:

"O pregnant woman, there is grace in your womb
May you bear from it an incarnation of Krishna himself!"

Dinners are arranged for moonlight nights. Everything is done which will keep her cheerful and happy. This goes on both in her husband's house and in her natal home when she visits her parents. It is a time of unspoken wishes, to be guessed and satisfied.

"What this pregnant queen desires, how can a husband know?
The limes drip their juice in the garden.
What this pregnant queen desires, the husband has perceived—
He has brought in a kerchief tender mangoes."

The pleasure of such attention enhances the taste in her mouth. The meals she is given, to the accompaniment of the songs for pregnant women, nourish her. In health and comfort she awaits the coming of the little one.

When she turns to drawing *rangoli* designs on the ground freshly swept and sprinkled with cow dung, she draws cow's feet so neatly that she might seem to be laying down a carpet before the unborn baby's feet! The *swastika* is the symbolic seat of the Sun-god. When delineating it, she thinks of the bright future of her child; and so, as she lays down the auspicious lines, her heart rejoices.

On festive days during *Navratri* in the home, her mother-in-law insists on applying on her hands the same fragrant sandalwood paste that is applied to those of Mahalakshmi. While

blowing into the water-jugs of Mahalakshmi's ceremonies, her lips seem to utter:

"Let the water-jar resound,
Rama, let the flute sound
Let our pregnant one wear the paste of sandalwood."

With the songs, the Mahalakshmi set up with care in the house will look as if propitiated. The women invited to the *haldi-kumkum* reception will say, admiringly, "You are fortunate. This daughter-in-law has come like Lakshmi bringing happiness and contentment in her footsteps!" The mother-in-law, utterly pleased, will nod, glance at the daughter-in-law obliquely; and wave salt and mustard over her that night to avert any evil of envy.

At such times, thoughts of the man who goes travelling on some errand out of town sounds from her lips:

"In the gardener's meadow stand plantains
And coconut palms like sisters-in-law
Amidst them the air that brushes you, O rose:
The one who is to smell it has gone out of town."

Our little queen's knack of getting household tasks done is powerful. While she bustles about them, she murmurs:

"The *kumkum* on my forehead is wet with sweat
My aunt's jasmine flower is fresh
My husband gives me happiness like the full moon's light
My appreciative husband is like the *kevada* leaf."

Still, when she thinks suddenly of her mother and her mother's house, this loved wife too becomes tremulous. When she finds before her mind's eye mother, father, brother, sister, brother's wife, nephews and nieces, uncles, aunts, grandmother, grandfather, she is bound to begin before her husband the refrain: let me visit my mother! No matter what prosperity or honour a wife has in her husband's home, she knows that the happiness of her mother's home is not here, nor that of this home, there; but, putting comparisons aside, she sends messages with friends, saying to them; please visit my father's house with the arched doorway and tell my mother to send someone to fetch me home.

Then, of course, her brother will come, riding a choice pony; and she will get ready quickly to go with him, even if it is on condition of returning in a couple of days! Basketfuls of special food—*puranpoli, laddus, sanjuri*—travel with her, and are distributed to neighbouring houses to mark her arrival.

Now, no matter how sensible a person may be, there can be a clash now and then, a little disagreement. But it does not do in a family to remain vexed or to succumb to tears. It does not do to take complaints to one's husband over every little thing. Nor can messages be sent to one's natal home with anyone available: the atmosphere must not get hot and suffocating. Family troubles must be swallowed down quietly like a mouthful of water.

The brother asks, "Mynah how fare you in your father's house?"

Does she reply, "As the clasp of an ornament chafes." Or "As Brahmadeva has written, I shall fare."

Making much of such matters will not do; so this wise wife thinks to herself, "Tomorrow my child will compensate for all. When, I, smiling, lay him on the lap of each one, all annoyances will dissolve."

And this is a true thought. To see the new baby in the house is to forget any past frictions. Everyone plays with the baby with a mind clear of reservations. Everyone thinks, this is a lamp unto our family, and delights in holding it, cherishing it.

A little prince in the house is as a heap of gold, a splendour, a resting place for the heart and mind. A link between the two families of father and mother. It is a source of happiness for all, even the elders.

So the wife bears cheerfully all the stresses of pregnancy. She loses herself in the thought of the beautiful being to be born soon. Her mind begins to dwell on many things to come: what sort of eyes the baby will have; how its lips will smile; how it will be happy and content while sucking at the breast, looking at her; how she will be almost in a trance herself while it does this; how both the husband's family and her natal family will fuss over it; and so on.

When thinking whom her baby is going to resemble, she recalls the greatness of the deities and occupies her mind in their worship. She thinks of the elders, loses herself in thinking of her husband's appearance and qualities and finally rests in the thought: "Let my baby reflect the form of Krishna!" Poising herself carefully because of the weight in her womb, she bows to touch the feet of the elders and she seeks their blessings for the baby. More, as she circumambulates the sacred *tulsi* plant, she asks of God that the baby may have long life, taking some of her own span.

At such times, the baby, kicking from within, says to her, "Wait only a little while—I shall show you soon who I am." She bursts into a smile then as though she is already Devaki and Yashoda!



Early Literary Expression

S.V. Sohoni

A small coin discovered very recently in Maharashtra supports, beyond doubt, the evidence recorded in some *Puranas* that there was a king by name of Hala in the Satavahana dynasty who ruled over the Deccan more than 1,800 years ago. The obverse of this unique numismatic piece shows an elephant facing right, with the legend, *"Rayyo siri-Halassa"* (of King Hala) in Brahmi script and the reverse carries the well-known Ujjain symbol. Rarely does such a dumb witness of history, like this copper coin, yield so eloquent a testimony about a ruler, known hitherto in terms of information derived exclusively from purely literary sources.

According to ancient literary information, Hala's capital was at Paithan, on the Godavari (Aurangabad District, Maharashtra). A colophon to an old manuscript, records that this king ruled over the Kuntala territory, which is generally identified with regions of south Maharashtra with adjoining areas in north Karnataka, in the basin of the Krishna river system. In fact, Kolhapur, located on the Panchaganga, a tributary of Krishna, derives its present name from *kshullakapura* which means, the "small town." The Satavahana association with Kolhapur has been referred to in ancient Greek and Roman travel books by way of a variant in the town's name: Hippokoura.

That the centre of Hala's political jurisdiction was at Paithan is indicated by specific ancient literary sources: a famous Prakrit verse states that the lofty white Snow Mountain in the north (the Himalayan Range) is well matched in its grandeur by the high snow-white frame of Hala (in the south). Yet another Prakrit verse states that the Godavari does not move away from the site of Hala's capital, though Hala himself had departed from Paithan.

In addition to these references there are other grounds to hold that the core of Hala's political authority was in Maharashtra. Authors of literary works of later centuries continually refer to him as an incomparable patron of writers using Maharashtri Prakrit as their medium of expression. Maharashtri Prakrit, a language which had evolved from Sanskrit, in due course, led to the development of Marathi as a spoken dialect.

Apart from this palpable stress on Maharashtri Prakrit during Hala's reign, the world-famous *Anthology* of Prakrit verses, the *Gatha-Saptashati,* compiled under his patronage, contains prominent references to the geography of the central Deccan. Furthermore, the flora and fauna mentioned in the *Anthology,* were also such as have been usually noticed in this region. Equally significant is the prominent fact that the life of the common people in the rural areas of the central Deccan—village organisation, agricultural conditions, dress and ornamentation, habitation, festivals, domestic life, work on farms and in forest settlements, pleasures and pains of a rural family—is the staple material drawn upon for the verses in Hala's *Anthology.* These social conditions continued to prevail in this part of the country until very recent times. Thus, during festivals when there was less inhibition in meeting people, the Indradhwaja celebration was mentioned prominently—it is now known as *Gudipadwa;* and *Madanotsava,* known widely these days as *Holi,* when saffron coloured clothes were worn, as was done until recently in the central Deccan, and coloured powders sprinkled on relations and friends, among other merriments.

Obviously, an adequate analysis of the verses in the *Anthology,* from a point of view based on modern social sciences—as differentiated from a purely literary assessment of its contents—is important to any comprehensive historical study.

Among the introductory stanzas in the *Anthology,* there is one which plainly states that Hala, the patron of poets, *kavivatsala,* made the selection of seven hundred Prakrit verses, out of a *crore* of them then available. Besides Hala, who contributed 44, there were as many as

261 poets whose verses were selected. Names of some of these poets are Malavadhipa, Andhralakshmi, Samudrashakti and Vindhyaraja. If these were regional names, it would appear that Hala tapped poetic talent from all parts of his empire.

There is a possibility that although the material from which the 700 verses were chosen might have included verses which were fashioned out of what was essentially folk poetry, the selection exhibits verses where an element of robust erotic sentiment is traceable—and Maharashtra's *lavani* poems certainly echo it. *Fig. 4*

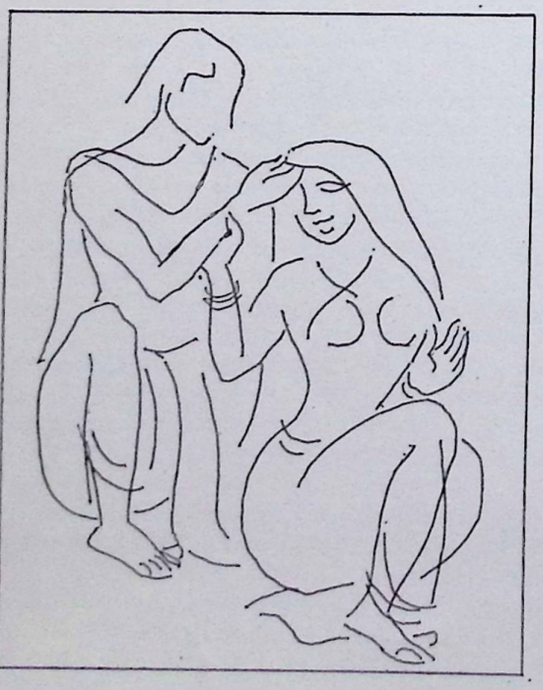
Hala had a very able team of associate editors; Gunadhya attended his court and Shripalita was definitely a selector. A careful analysis shows that Hala and his colleagues had kept in view the following criteria:

- —that a verse should not relate itself to a purely philosophical proposition. It could, however, be a pertinent observation of life.
- —that it was not intended to develop a narrative theme.
- —that verses should emphasize the basic fact that human nature was universal, irrespective of varying conditions in urban centres, village communities or forest settlements.
- —that, as far as possible, verses should have a rural background.
- —that verses should possess literary excellence and, though rural in atmosphere, should not be either rustic or vulgar in taste.
- —that the enjoyment of living should be highlighted and the hypocrisy of priests and monks exposed.
- —that the extensive scope for multiple meanings provided by Prakrit as the medium of expression should be fully utilised, whereby one verse could do the work of two, three or even more.

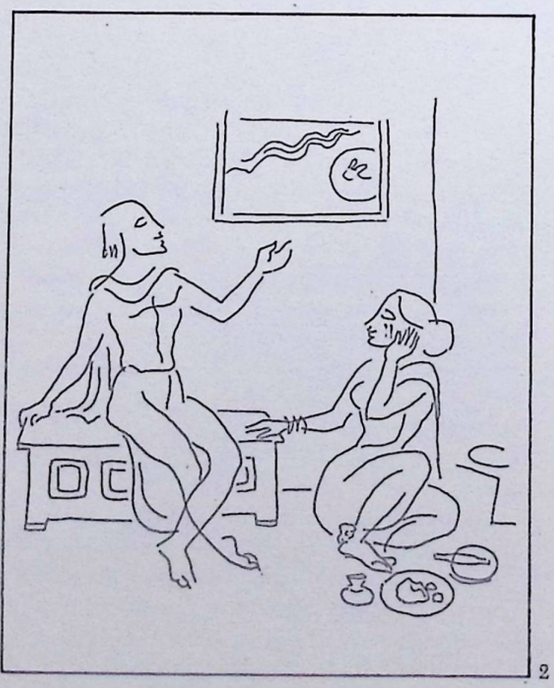
In this light, it would not be unusual for a modern reader to recall F. T. Palgrave's preface to his *Golden Treasury*. Palgrave expressed the hope that many readers would find the book "a lifelong fountain of innocent and exalted pleasure, a source of animation to friends when they meet and able to sweeten solitude itself with the best society—with the companionship of the wise and the good, with the beauty which the eye cannot see; and the music, only heard in silence." He also quoted Euripidis: "He sat in the meadow and plucked with glad heart, the spoil of the flowers, gathering them, one by one." This description of poetic intent fully applies to Hala's *Anthology*.

Initially, the *Anthology* was also known as the *Treasury* (of literary gems). Every anthology tends to grow in dimensions when handled by persons of high literary calibre who record parallel passages on the margins. Similarly, Hala's *Anthology* increased in volume from 700 verses to over a 1,000, in the course of long centuries of circulation throughout India. But there is little doubt that its original corpus was 700 verses, a *saptashati* which proved valuable to the understanding of *kama* and *artha*, or pure enjoyment of living, in contrast with a far more important *saptashati*, which threw light on philosophical doctrines.

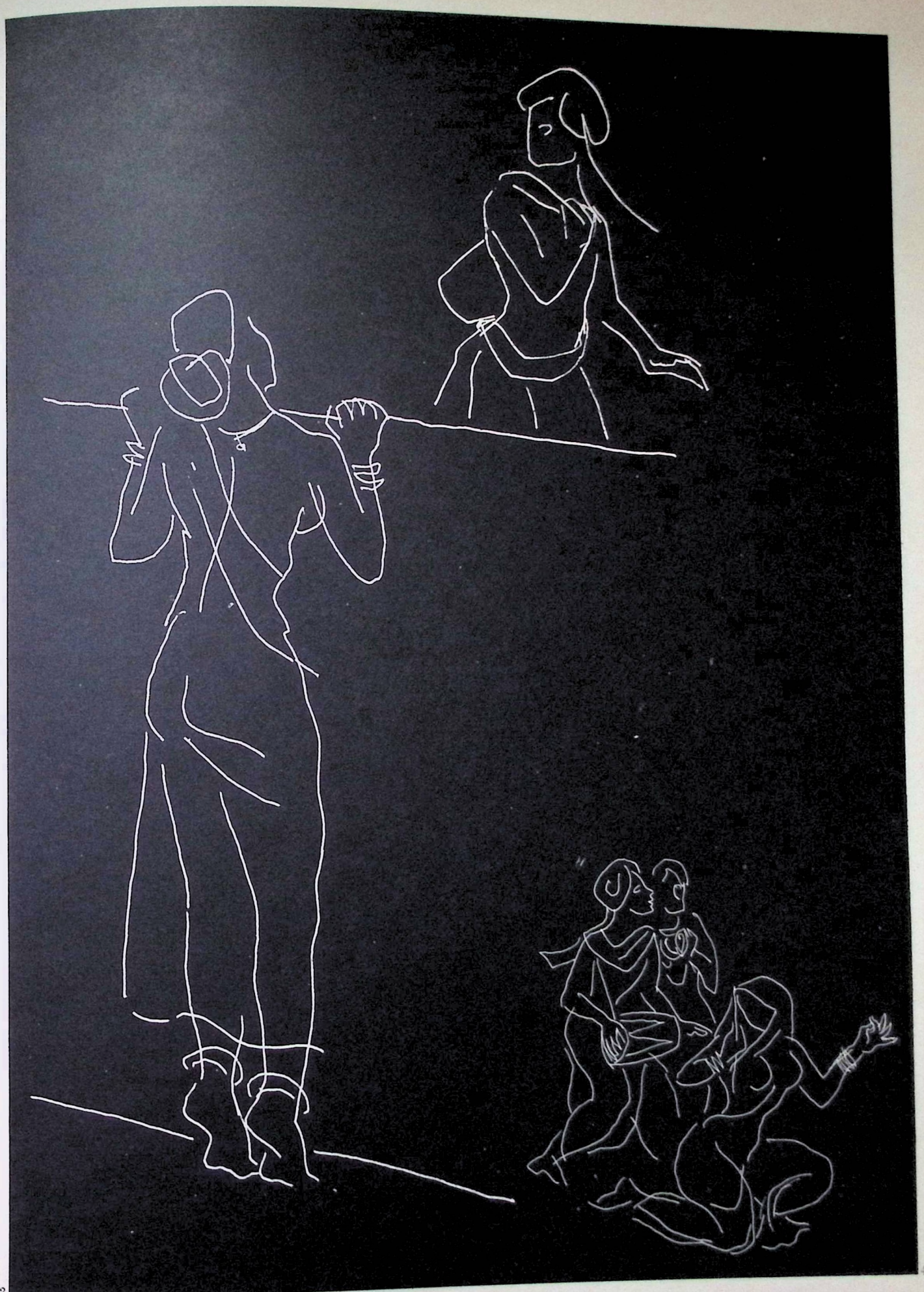
The vivid pictures of life in rural areas of the Deccan of the second century A.D. contained in the *Anthology*—of the paddy, pulses and cotton fields and salt pans on the coast and the huts in the villages or in forest settlements, of love and its frustration, of jealousy and passion, experienced by ordinary mankind in an agricultural setting—evince modern parallels, thereby conferring a status on the work as a permanent member of the world's great literature. But it would be wrong to conclude that Hala and his poets possessed an outlook similar to that of present-day social scientists, with their doctrines of



1



2



3

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justice and economic betterment of the masses. For Hala and his contemporaries breathed what clearly was a feudal air, clinging to faith in benevolent public administration, in the hand of a few for the many. In structuring the *Anthology,* they took into account reactions of a very sensitive literary scholarship to an unvarnished survey of rural life, thereby presenting a new literary genre. And what they compiled was of immense interest to great authors of subsequent generations. Even Kalidasa borrowed ideas and expressions from this work. Its value as a touch-stone for measuring literary achievement was gratefully admitted nation-wide by literary critics in the centuries that followed.

If some individual verses in Hala's *Anthology* remind one of Japanese *haiku* poetry on account of a dazzling illumination of hitherto hidden but exquisite ideas, let it be noted that while *haiku* lines contain just one such right spark, Hala's verses present a kaleidoscopic series.

There is a charming verse (672) in this *Anthology* about a husband unveiling the face of his bride—he later reported to an intimate friend that it looked like the moon traversing the bright fortnight in a few moments, as the veil was gradually drawn away. This would typify the skill of Hala's poets—there is an expanding horizon of suggestive meaning, one ripple of appreciation being followed by a yet wider one in the process. By way of illustration, the essence of a few selected verses may give an idea of the starting points. *Fig. 1*

In verse 13, is the word-picture of an almost everyday occurrence in the kitchen: while busy cooking over the fire, a woman happened to touch her face and thereby darken it. The husband laughed—for it resembled the moon with spots. Double meaning abounds in this *gatha,* particularly in the second line, and that too, in the last three words. The implicit suggestion is that the husband's appearance in the kitchen distracted her; then, they happily smiled, which expressed their attachment. This is Hala's own verse. *Fig. 2*

Another exquisite verse is 221: a man is going out on a journey and is walking along a village path. The woman is unable to openly bid him farewell and has to stay on the opposite side of the fence that borders his path: "What could she do, if you cannot be seen by her, standing with her trembling limbs, on her toes, her bosom resting on the edge of the fence?" In the preceding verse 220, the lady has been, in similar circumstances, compared to a bird, flitting about with trembling eyes peeping outside through the bars of its cage. *Fig. 3*

Verse 232 is a lament for days gone by, firmly recalling several lines in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury:* "Those contemporaries of ours have already departed; where there were bowers of creepers, only their dry trunks remain. We too have become old. Similarly, the roots of love have split apart."

Buddhism flourished in the Deccan during the Satavahana period. Verse 308 colourfully compares circles of Buddhist monks who had knelt down, wearing their holy robes, to worship the Buddha's feet—looking like flowers of the flame of the forest tree, resembling the scarlet beaks of parrots.

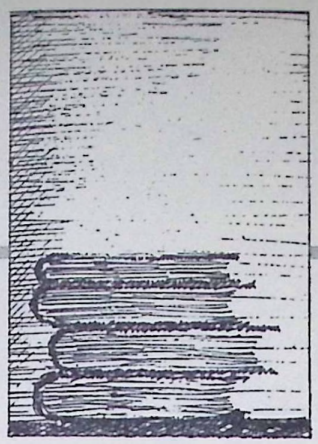
Hala's emphasis that human emotions were the same everywhere, is evident in verse 665. A frustrated lady is recorded as saying, "Oh fair complexioned one, you have coloured red my heart while occupying it. Though my heart is fully filled with love for you, you have not acquired its tinge despite being firmly established in it." There is exquisite punning in words like *raga, rakta, ranjita.* The word, *dhavala,* not only means fair complexion, but even in its current Marathi form, is used to describe a big lone bull.

A charming description of a winter afternoon on the western seacoast in verse 679 is translated as: "Oh voluptuous young lady, in the autumn season white clouds, bereft of water appear splendid, exactly like big heaps of salt or masses of raw washed cotton."

Verse 692 teasingly refers to a newly employed ploughman who, while driving his pair of bullocks to the field, saw a farm servant bringing his afternoon meal on her head. He released the nose-string of the bullocks, when he ought to have loosened the yoke! The unfamiliar sight confused the ploughman completely; he thought relief had come for one of the bullocks.

Satavahana coinage included a type exhibiting a sailing ship and it did not necessarily assume that it referred to the eastern coast exclusively. An observation based on coastal navigation appears in verse 740: the ship's crow has returned to the masthead, after its futile search for land, like jilted love unable to find an alternative resting place.

That Hala compiled his *Anthology* in Maharashtri Prakrit might have been due to a purely accidental combination of favourable circumstances in the Deccan. As noted, it soon achieved an all-India status and now ranks among the world's best in its category. Great literature is never confined to regional or even national boundaries—for a language joins people; it does not divide them. The *Anthology* is the Deccan's contribution to the imperishable world of letters, proving the fact of the unity of the Indian culture, resting squarely amidst its diversity—*avibhaktam vibhakteshu*—the indivisible among the apparently divided.



Contemporary Literature

M.V. Rajadhyaksha

The mist that shrouds the origins of Marathi literature starts to clear in the last quarter of the thirteenth century to yield a few shining points, the most luminous of them being the *Dnyaneshwari* (1293). The *Dnyaneshwari* was not the earliest work; for that distinction there are three or four claimants: Mukundraj's *Vivekasindhu,* a substantial work in verse expounding the Advaita philosophy; Mhaimbhatta's *Leelacharitra,* a prose account of incidents from the life of Chakradhar, founder of the Mahanubhava sect; Mahadamba's *Dhavale,* a transcription of songs sung at a wedding; and a slight work ascribed to the Mahanubhav teacher, Chakradhar. The maturity and self-assurance of such works suggest forerunners, however groping, and put one on the scent of possible earlier writings. King Hala's *Gatha-Saptashati* (third century?) is an anthology of a thousand-odd two-line poems which vividly recreate the life of the common people from a region of Maharashtra. It is written in Maharashtri Prakrit, a direct antecedent of Marathi. One can assume a continuity in a people's urge to express themselves and therefore, in this case, some literary activity in the long and obscure centuries of the insipience of Marathi.

The *Dnyaneshwari* has been, for millions, perhaps the greatest classic in the Marathi language. With its twin appeals—the intellectual and spiritual—it blazed a gleaming trail of saint-poetry across four centuries. This poetry, most of which blended the saintly and the human, the metaphysical and the earthly, had great variety and was not constricted to any insular creed. The poetry of Tukaram (1608-1650) best illustrates this blend; its mystic fervour counterpoised by an ironic exposure of hypocrisy and injustice. This *Bhagwat Panth* was an aspect of the *bhakti* movement that was then sweeping through most of the country. The *Panth* had its distinct identity: it sought no *moksha* (liberation) for the individual, and it was truly comprehensive and catholic in spirit. It cut through the partitions of religion and caste, its fold representing the entire social gamut: from the Brahman to the Shudra and the Muslim. And among its poets there were women too. This spiritual democracy was not at all translated into social democracy, and yet it must have percolated to some levels of social life.

The "poetry of the pundits," which reached its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had hardly any relevance to the social life. Mostly narrative, it drew on the *Puranas;* and its virtuosities, prosodic and rhetorical, restricted its appeal as entertainment to the elite. The plebeians found their entertainment in such folk forms as the erotic *lavani* and the heroic *powada:* the heroic was usually naive, and the erotic was mostly uncouth. And both had an open-air verve that did not fit into the cloistered forms of poetry. The gap in poetry represented a gap in society; good for the health of neither. Of prose there was yet little; but, being functional, it was spared the pretensions of the 'literary.' The best of it has languished in *bakhars* (chronicles) and court correspondence.

The Beginnings of Modern Literature

With the British take-over in 1818, a comprehensive alteration began. The new system of education, available to all, proved to be the most potent instrument of change. An awareness of age-old constraints as well as an influx of new ideas gave rise to ferment; the individual yearned for selfhood. This would necessarily entail rejection of the old order. The appeal of political freedom was wide, and it served those who set themselves against any attempts to recondition the dilapidated society. The vigorous contention between the reformers and the conservatives animated the literary scene as nothing had done before.

The year 1885 saw the publication of the first poem of Keshavsut, the radical poet, and also of the first work of Hari Narayan Apte, the liberal novelist: it inaugurated "modern"

literature in Marathi. The conservatives were generally more active, and more effective, in polemical prose—particularly in journalism, with Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak lending to the cause not merely his political weight but also his forceful pen. The conservative camp had, on the whole, the better of their opponents in winning a following, if not necessarily in argument. The line dividing the two was not, and could not be, always clearly marked, and several writers hovered about the line. Ram Ganesh Gadkari, whose birth centenary is being celebrated this year, won unparalleled popularity as poet and dramatist. A pliant escape from the present reality was provided for the novelist by history, and for the dramatist by history and mythology—both areas being suitably hazy for a revivalist colouring. Gradually the reformist movement withered, its ostensible expression in literature in most cases, diluted with saccharine romance and trivialities puffed into rebel acts. All this occurred mostly within the confines of the urban middle class—except where, for variety, a pretty rural cosmetic was used. The readers were content, entertained, and also a little edified. Some writers stood out from this general mediocrity, but they were too few to make a meaningful impact.

The Post-Independence Revolution

Such was the situation till the mid-1940s. But 1947 could well be described as having launched a revolution in literature—and that with a slim volume of poems, *Kahi Kavita,* by B. S. Mardhekar. The poems broke new ground in content and expression, throwing out much deadwood of poetic convention. A complementary movement was under way in the sphere of short story also, its recognised leaders being Gangadhar Gadgil, P. B. Bhave, Arvind Gokhale and Vyankatesh Madgulkar. These reforms, and others, acquired new freedoms. And, before long, as the initial resistance to the novelties crumbled, much of what had pleased the readers of even the earlier generation became suddenly *passé.* However, the synchronisation of this "modernist," *(Nav-sahitya),* movement with political freedom was purely accidental. The discontent with the accepted literary standards that had been simmering under the surface for some years now erupted into defiant writing. The repurcussions of World War II imparted a certain immediacy to this writing. The old certainties seemed to flounder, and even some of the allegedly new panaceas raised doubts. These writers showed great variety, not just in technique but in temper, attitude and objective. Yet they all explored untrodden paths and cultivated a refined and rigorous sensibility.

Mardhekar's poetry, for example, sprang from his reactions to the world around him while Rege's shut itself up in a private world of sensations. The intellectual, the major element in Mardhekar, is alien to Rege. These two, in varying degrees, influenced and stimulated younger poets—such as Vinda Karandikar, Mangesh Padgaonkar, Sharatchandra Muktibodh, Sadanand Rege, to name only a few—and invigorated older poets such as B. B. Borkar and Indira Sant. Yet no two of them are alike.

This variety was also found in the short story. The pioneers drew forth the potential in several writers such as D. B. Mokashi, K. J. Purohit and Vasundhara Patwardhan. The other forms of literature were slow to respond to the changing climate. In the realm of the novel, S. N. Pendse, maturing gradually, worked the "new" strain in scanning the reality of human relationships. Even G. N. Dandekar, otherwise avowedly old, showed, if erratically, an alert instinct for the truth of character. The solitary, almost freakish modernity of Vishram Bedekar's *Ranangan* (1939), the story of a German-Jew girl and an Indian boy whom fate had brought together on a voyage, had, however, been strangely neglected till the fifties.

In drama, the first stirrings of the new spirit emerged in the mid-fifties in the early work of Vijay Tendulkar, who was to achieve great eminence later; as also in a couple of plays by Nana Jog, whose sudden death kept their promise from being fulfilled. P. L. Deshpande's *Tuze Aahe Tujapashi,* a sparkling satire, vitalised an anaemic theatre, which began experiments with a variety of themes and modes.

The Revitalising of Modernism and the Contemporary Scene

Poetry

The "modernist" movement was fortunate to have been revived and invigorated around 1960—a happy coincidence, that being the year in which Maharashtra achieved its identity as a state. Dilip Chitre's *Kavita,* his first collection of poems, in 1960 marked a turning point and represented a change which pervaded more forms of literature than had the earlier one. The innovations, generally speaking, were bolder, and there was a greater variety of tones.

Of the leading poets of the previous phase, P. S. Rege let his poetry continue in its hermetical privacy; for in it, time had always seemed to stop. As characteristically, Vinda Karandikar's continued to sprout fresh shoots in an alert response to the changing climate: delicate like the *Ghazal,* or tough like the *Virupika.* The latter offended the squeamish with its presentation of the grotesque aspect of the conventionally beautiful or sacred, tinged by satire. Satire was a vein newly cultivated by Mangesh Padgaonkar in this period; it was a direct, explicit kind of criticism of social and political corruption. Narayan Surve's satirical poems have a firm leftist ring but their politics are irrelevant to their popularity. Some of the younger poets of this age, such as Narayan Kulkarni Kavthekar, have also written satirical poems. Satire usually wears its purpose on its sleeve; irony usually veils it. Irony is regarded as the essence of modernity.

Mardhekar bears it out; so does Gangadhar Gadgil. Not many of the writers of their generation had it in a noticeable measure. But one comes across it constantly in the post-sixties age: muted sometimes, sometimes distinct. This reflects the mood of the age: more sceptical of appearances, more disillusioned with simple utopias, and more impatient with eloquence.

Of the other important poets of the previous period (*c.* 1947-65), B. B. Borkar, "Anil" and Indira Sant continued to mature in their own lyrical vein, unaffected by the changing scene around them. So, too, Sharatchandra Muktibodh, with his fine blend of the personal and the ideological. But not quite Vasant Bapat, who has periodically moved off his lyrical track into ironic comment or into a different theme. Sadanand Rege—who had anticipated this age in the previous one—fulfilled himself with whimsical fancy, growing subtler and more and more inimitable, with a deceptively plain diction that rejected embroidery of word and feeling. He left a noticeable impress on two forms: poetry and the short story.

Dilip Chitre, ever a dissenter and committed most of all to himself, does not use his poetry for direct comment. But its intellectual content shows his caustic reactions to the world around him. His sense of irony and paradox imparts a fine edge to his writing. The same note of challenge marks his short stories.

Another writer with a touch of genius was C. T. Khanolkar; but he had a failing peculiar to geniuses: he was erratic. He was all feverish imagination and intense feeling. Well-harnessed, these qualities achieved consummation in his lyrics (which he wrote under the pen-name "Aarati Prabhu"). Unbridled, they sometimes went to a sad waste in his longer works—plays and novels—making for patchy writing. Yet, when the author was in firm control, they brought forth exquisite writing—like the novel *Kondura,* or the play, *Kalaya Tasmai Namah.* His early years were spent in the south Konkan, and when he moved to Bombay, he carried a part of that region within him: its natural beauty which yielded lovely images; and its superstitions, which fed both the streak of the irrational and his sense of an immanent fate. The streak explains his fascination for abnormal characters, but these characters are localised only superficially. He transformed the south Konkan into a land of mystery.

Rural and Regional Life

Rural fiction became popular with some writers in the thirties. Village life was held up as the ideal. Natural and moral beauties were discussed and praised in excess. The hard-working, god-fearing, innocent villager became a stock character. This romanticising (with a didactic tinge) had begun earlier in poetry. Its falsity was exposed by *Nav-sahitya,* which provoked considerable writing, particularly in the form of the short story, that tried to give a truthful, unvarnished picture of the rural scene. Vyankatesh Madgulkar provided the model. It was soon realised that generalising the rural was also a kind of falsification, in such a sprawling region with a variety of sub-regions. Hence the earnest attempts to give the rural "a local habitation." The novelist, S. N. Pendse, marked out for himself an area in the north Konkan. Then it was G. N. Dandekar, with his Maval area, near Pune, and the Purna basin in Vidarbha. The south Konkan has motivated gifted writers in various forms such as Madhu Mangesh Karnik, Jayawant Dalvi, and A. N. Pednekar, besides, of course, Khanolkar. Further south, Goa (which actually gave us the first collection of regional stories) has contributed several writers who convey the very special flavour of its way of life: Mahadevashastri Joshi and Laxmanrao Sardesai, for instance, in fiction; as well as B. B. Borkar in poetry. The identity of Vidarbha is cherished in fiction by Uddhav Shelke; that of Marathwada by R. R. Borade. The Desh region has always been a more populous literary hive than any other with the largest number of delineators in fiction. Some of the more prominent names among them, besides Vyankatesh Madgulkar, are: Ranjit Desai, Shankar Patil, D. M. Mirasdar and Anand Yadav. Their precursor, in some ways, was R. V. Dighe, whose *Panakala* (1939) portrayed with zest and understanding the life in the fastnesses of the tracts where the Desh meets Konkan.

Such localised fiction, and also other writing, has raised some problems. To compensate for the sentimental portraiture of the villager in the past, some writers now tend to make him wily and hard-boiled, or comically stupid. These, it is said, are distortions calculated to amuse. *Katha-Kathan* is now something of a performing art. Secondly, with the tremendous facility of movement and the advance of education, village life is no more as isolated as it used to be. And then, there are the fast-spreading audio-visual media. Is the rural world, then, so utterly different, and its literature a separate and self-sufficient entity? Finally, how much dialect should be used in such writing? Almost none, as in Madgulkar; or just a little spicing (for realistic or comic effect); or throughout (making it unintelligible to all but the locals)? This raises a wider, and more vital question: won't such identity consciousness, if overdone, encourage insularity?

In poetry this kind of localisation is minimal. N. D. Mahanor, one of the finest poets writing today, has been a farmer for many years; a practising farmer, for he works on his farm which lies in the shadow of Ajanta. His village, its very trees, animals and birds, is what his poetry is all about. And so is the little prose he has written. But one does not normally set him in the category of 'rural'. Nor does one apply the epithet to Bahinabai Chaudhari, of the early decades of this century, who sometimes broke into spontaneous song while she was working on her farm. This could be said of several poets who truly belonged to their rural setting; their work carries that atmosphere quietly and naturally.

Other Special Environments

If, many years ago, the 'beautiful' countryside provided for the jaded fiction-reader an escape from the respectable urban middle-class life, in this age an escape from both was provided by the ugly slums. The slums had been a part of the life of a city like Bombay for quite a long time; but when they first entered literature, the prurient registered a characteristic shock. That was in the early sixties with the publication of Jayawant Dalvi's novel, *Chakra.* Its scene of action is a slum on either side of a busy road in Bombay's harbour area. It has the usual ingredients: filth, crime—like illicit distillation—and a matter-of-fact attitude towards sex and violence, along with an underlying human warmth. About the same time appeared *Vasunaka,* an episodic novel by Bhau Padhye, which touched off an even sharper controversy. Its scene is not exactly a slum, but a slummy middle-class area in Bombay; and its worst crime, according to its critics, is not in the action but in the speech: an uninhibited, picturesque, sex-larded speech. How much of it has been absorbed by the common people, and by literature, should make for interesting research. Madhu Mangesh Karnik's *Mahimchi Khadi,* which came a few years later, is about a slum proper, also in Bombay; and it has its crew of cast-offs, down-and-outs and shady characters and, of course, a dash of sex and violence. None of these novelists passes a moral judgement on that life. They try to understand it, not exploit it. Nor is there any overt protest; no attempt to hang socio-economic or political platitudes on it.

A writer of fiction, limited to a fixed area, geographical or thematic, is liable to run into the danger of missing the larger human context. S. N. Pendse did not let his north Konkan hold him captive. He shook it off for Bombay; and he has been working this new area just as convincingly. Dalvi and Karnik, too, wisely deserted the slum theme after dealing with it once. G. A. Kulkarni is regarded by critical consensus as the finest short-story writer of today. His scene is mostly centred in Belgaum, and generally in north Karnataka. He brings the place alive with minutiae of description, and makes it significant with imagery. His men and women, perplexed and helpless, are chained to their mean environs, and yet alienated from them. Their tragic predicament is his theme—universal and timeless.

Alienation and the Absurd

A most effective exponent of alienation is Bhalchandra Nemade. In *Kosla* (1963), his first and best novel, a young man tells us with disarming and quizzical honesty how he stumbled through the college rut, and the domestic rut, as an exercise expected of him, without ever feeling related to either. He drifts, and knows that he is a drifter, and can do little about it. Even this knowledge is a curse. The past is a drag; the future means nothing, nor does the present. He is an outsider. Hemade's powerful descriptions of waste and impotence are drawn from the language, as it were, by breaking and twisting its respectable moulds and sometimes by parodying its colemnities. Bhau Padhye, Kiran Nagarkar and several others, have similarly manipulated language. (A wholesome thing, indeed, for the language is sadly cluttered with rusted, bloated moulds.) Nagarkar has gone far beyond language experimentation in *Saat Sakke Trechalis* (Seven Sixes Make Forty-three). It is the first 'absurd' novel; and his first, and only novel. It scoffs at emotional and intellectual certainties. To Vilas Sarang and Shyam Manohar too, the world is out of gear. Somehow the language is too rigid to express this; so they set about dislocating it.

The absurd has had a wider and more arresting expression in drama than in the novel. Perhaps the visual element supplies an additional dimension. But this form of expression is not for the common playgoer; hence it is mostly confined to experimental theatre. The more distinguished writers of the absurd are C. T. Khanolkar, Mahesh Elkunchwar and Satish Alekar. Vijay Tendulkar also manifests distinct strains of it. That such impressive and varied talent should have been attracted to this genre would suggest its affinity to the temper of the creative writer of today. Even the professional theatre now has room for the abnormal in character and situation, along with the ludicrous and the tragi-comic, as in the plays of Jayawant Dalvi and Tendulkar; a hopeful sign that our sensibility, fed for a long, long time on smooth platitudes about life, is maturing. Such plays would have been laughed out, or hooted out, even forty years ago. The 'new' short story, particularly as represented by Gangadhar Gadgil, has had much to do with disabusing the mind of more and more people about the concept of what is 'normal', and thus widen its perception.

Other Themes in Fiction

For some experimenters in fiction, the established form is good enough; their concern is mainly with the content such as in the political novel. Sharatchandra Muktibodh, the poet, wrote a trilogy recreating a phase of the freedom movement. More recently, Arun Sadhu provided glimpses of the world of the intriguing power-hungry politicians. Some of his other novels, and several by other writers, are political in the wider sense. So are quite a few plays by Vijay Tendulkar, Ratnakar Matkari, and G. P. Deshpande. The pre-Independence writers would not be too cautious when politics was their theme; and when they wrote on it, the treatment had to be oblique. It involved a challenge . Behind it all was a steady dream of a free country, with harmony and progress and prosperity for all. The failure of the dream to be realised is a favourite theme now—with its various shades of anger and frustration and cynicism. And there is perverse pleasure in shattering the old illusions; there are hardly any new dreams!

There are some dreams, though, which time does not touch. These are the dreams, not of

1 Hari Narayan Apte
2 Ram Ganesh Gadkari
3 P. K. Atre
4 N. S. Phadke
5 V. S. Khandekar
6 Anant Kanekar
7 B. S. Mardhekar
8 Indira Sant
9 P. L. Deshpande

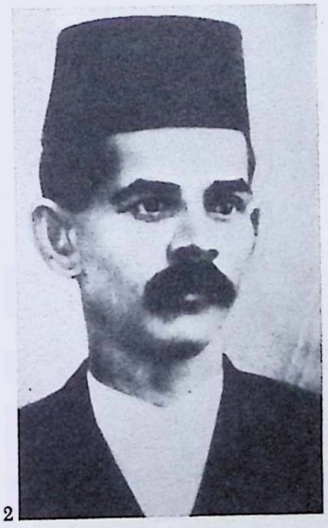
the future, but of the past: in this case, the past enshrined in the history of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Maharashtra. Being incongruous with the 'new' spirit in literature, these popular dreams seemed to be on the way to fading out. But they brighten up later to inspire novelists such as N. S. Inamdar and Ranjit Desai; and also the historian, Babasaheb Purandare, who could cast a spell on huge audiences with his dramatic narration of episodes from that history, particularly from the life of Shivaji.

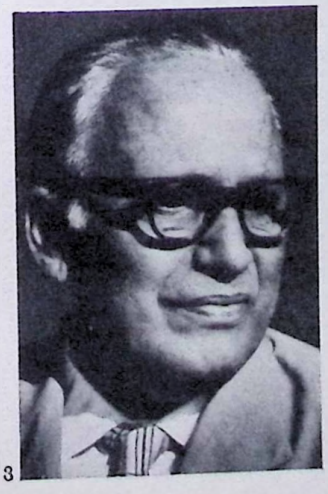
Dalit Literature

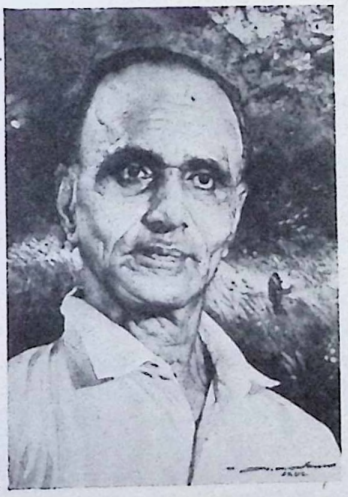
No movement in literature had created as sharp a controversy as the "Dalit" literature—probably not even the *Nav-sahitya* movement. The latter controversy lost its edge soon, and the movement established itself. But though Dalit literature does not any longer provoke the kind of violent reaction it did in the early days, it has not yet gained wide acceptance. It has, however, a large number of advocates at the level of serious argument, and happily for the cause, several of them are non-Dalits.

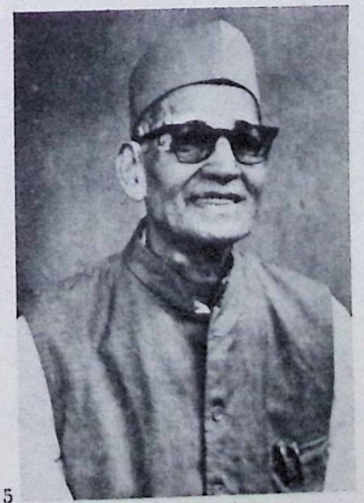
The controversial literature problem of the Dalits is basically socio-economic. Understandably, it has now acquired a political dimension. Their writing is an eruption of the pent-up anger of generations—of centuries, in fact—at the sub-human conditions in which they have had to live. The anger may be occasionally hysterical and undiscriminating, but it is genuine and spontaneous. And it has produced some excellent writing, particularly in poetry, the novel and autobiography. Autobiography continuously spills over into the other forms. As for poetry, sometimes autobiography is apparent; more often it is in solution. But not all poetry written by the Dalit poets is Dalit—in the sense of being agitational. A large number of the poems have an intensity rooted in the poet's "private self" and are not derived from the "public cause" such as in Keshav Meshram's work. Some of the other leading poets are: Daya Pawar, Namdeo Dhasal, Arjun Dangle and Yeshwant Manohar. In fiction, Keshav Meshram is different in that he does not create out of his personal experiences as a Dalit. Baburao Bagul does. The autobiographies are the most widely known of the Dalit writings. They contain facts which would make most fiction blush; facts of a life of degradation and humiliation, not just of poverty. Literary convention wrings an almost pleasurable sentiment out of poverty; but that is by the middle-class measure of poverty—a sadly inadequate measure when applied to the Dalits. Even if one grants to a sceptic that the facts are a little overcoloured, they should induce earnest soul-searching in all readers but the acutely insensitive. The outstanding autobiographers are: Daya Pawar, Shankarrao Kharat, Laxman Mane, Madhav Kondvilkar and P. E. Sonkamble.


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The impact of such creative writing has been instrumental in bringing about a change in the literary scene. Literary conferences—not merely those of the Dalits—discuss various aspects of the Dalit literature. So do the more enlightened periodicals; at least one important monthly is run by Dalits. And there is now academic recognition as well, with the literature being prescribed for intensive study at a post-graduate level in some universities. This movement has a variety of repercussions on the main-stream of Marathi literature. We could speak of them together as a liberating influence: liberation from inhibition relating to theme and the presentation of experience, and to expression. Of the last of these: the movement towards directness and closeness to living speech, which had been making halting progress, has gained a new strength; the use of slang (as in the fiction about the slums) tends to animate language further. Dalit writings should, before long, become an integral part of the main-stream of Marathi literature.

Autobiography

More autobiographical writing has appeared during the last forty years or so than in the earlier years—some of distinguished quality. A fair proportion of the autobiographers are women, and some of the best work has come from them. This has projected an insight into the way women's lives have changed over the years.

Women Writers

It is not that women writers form a separate class—though they did in the first few decades of modern literature when there were very few of them. Indira Sant represents the continuity of the best in poetry for some fifty years; and Shanta Shelke, for forty years. Neither allowed her individuality to be sacrificed to poetic fashions. The young women writing poetry today are too numerous to mention here, but two should suffice as examples: Prabha Ganorkar and Malika Amarshaikh. In the short story there are many women who have made a mark. The woman of today, exposed to a variety of tensions—at home and outside—is the focus of a large number of these stories. Among those who express her situation with sensitive understanding are Kamal Desai, Vijaya Rajadhyaksha, Ambika Sirkar and Sania. A different background—less urban, more conservative—imparts a special appeal to the skillfully narrated stories of Asha Bage. The number of women who write commercial novels is large. Of the very few who attempt anything different, Gauri Deshpande is the most prominent—with her bold themes and equally bold treatment. Malatibai Bedekar, whose first novel created a controversy fifty years ago, continues to explore challenging themes, though her output is limited.

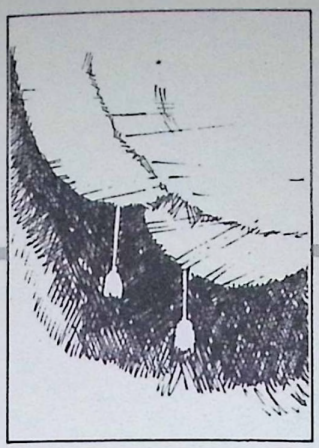
Other Male Writers

In the spheres of the novel, short story and critical essay between 1925 and 1970, Anant Kanekar, N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar deserve special mention for their contributions. Khandekar's novel *Yayati* won the coveted Dnyanpeetha Award—the only Marathi literary work to attain such distinction. The number of male authors who have done notable work in poetry and short story is large. Some of the more significant poets are: Vasant Dahake, with his note of being walled in and alienated; Grace, whose utter inwardness is reflected in his obscure imagery which shuns contact with the outside world; Gurunath Dhuri, with love and loneliness as his interrelated themes: and strikingly different from all these, Suresh Bhat, whose neatly turned *ghazals*—abandon, delicacy, paradox and all—have won highly deserved popularity and a large number of imitators. These poets and several others continue to enrich, each in his own fashion, Marathi poetry. Of the notable short-story writers, several have been mentioned above in different contexts. Some of the others are: Vidyadhar Pundalik, whose *forté* is his sense of form, and whose subject is the life of the middle-class in a city like Pune; S. D. Panwalkar, whose subjects have an uncommon variety—from the god-fearing Brahmans of Sangli to the desperate smugglers infesting the Bombay port; and Ratnakar Matkari, with his deft handling of the eerie and the supernatural.

Humour

Other literary forms have also responded, some superficially, some in depth, to the new ethos. But this account is too brief to include them all. There is, however, one potent element in literature which cuts through the frontiers of long-established forms. It is humour. The literature of this century has been well-endowed with humour. The rich lineage begins with S. K. Kolhatkar to continue and become richer in R. G. Gadkari, P. K. Atre, C. V. Joshi and, in this age, P. L. Deshpande. It is a many-splendoured lineage. Humour has not only enlivened every form that it has touched, but has, at its best, given it depth. All humorists, except Joshi perhaps, have used humour as a corrective to all manner of foibles—even literary ones—thus emphasizing that humour is not all levity and froth, but has a serious aspect as well. P. L. Deshpande illustrates this best. He has a variety of distinctions in a variety of activities; but to his admirers—and they run into *lakhs*—he is first and last a humorist.

It is customary to speak of the Western impact on contemporary literature in Marathi. The influence is there: of the great creative writers, and of thinkers such as Freud and Marx. It has stimulated and energised some of our best writers without making them derivative. And, though not so obvious, there is the influence of the Marathi writers of the distant past—of the saint-poets, for instance. Such influence is not alien to modernity. Didn't Tukaram and Ramdas help shape B. S. Mardhekar?



Theatre

Madhav Manohar

The erratic career of Marathi theatre is difficult to chronologically trace. The Marathi literary tradition was more than five hundred years old when the British established their rule in India. Literary compositions of all types abound in this tradition. But strangely, neither fiction nor drama found a place in it. The reason for this omission is not evident especially since Marathi literature is a product of the legacy of Sanskrit literature, and drama is an important component in this rich and ancient heritage.

Of course, there were some unrelated forms such as *bahurupi,* puppet shows, *bharud, gondhal, lalit, bhajan, kirtan,* which were popular but none of them contained the elements required in drama proper. *Kirtan* was a form that comprised a one-man show; it consisted of the narration of a mythological episode with the roles of various gods and demons, kings and saints being assumed by the *kirtankara* and enacted through song and dance. Not surprisingly, it was the *kirtan* which helped to introduce and establish proper Marathi drama. This occurred after two decades of British rule in India.

It is true that the Tanjore kings in Karnataka, descendants of Shivaji Raje Bhonsale, had been writing plays since the end of the sixteenth century, and there is a sizeable list of Marathi plays composed by these Tanjore kings. These plays followed the pattern set by the Sanskrit *Natyashastra,* and seem to be rich in song and dance, the first of them being *Lakshmi Kalyan Nataka* (1790). They were, of course, in the tradition of the court plays; and because they were performed in distant Karnataka they did not wield any influence on what may be called 'proper' Marathi theatre in Maharashtra. Moreover, Tanjore plays were virtually unknown, till their discovery by eminent historians of Marathi literature such as Itihasacharya Rajwade.

The first Marathi play, *Sita Svayamvara* (1843), was composed by Vishnudas Bhave (1819-1901), who categorically stated that he was influenced by the Kannada form of *yakshagana* —a form of dance-drama. But he was at pains to point out, that the Kannada *yakshagana* was crude, and that he had tried to improve and surpass it. Be that as it may, even Bhave's plays, approximately fifty-five in number, were quite crude in composition as well as in presentation. The traditional *sutradhara* in these plays narrated a mythological story in verse, and the actors conveyed the meaning with appropriate gestures. The *sutradhara*'s version of the myth originated in *kirtan* and the songs he recited carried the imprint of the *kirtan* narrative form. Even if Bhave is considered to be the very first Marathi playwright, he had practically no influence on proper Marathi drama, which came into being much later.

The pioneer of genuine Marathi drama was Kirloskar (1843-1885) who, in 1880, made and presented his own adaptation of Kalidasa's immortal *Shakuntala.* The play was interspersed with many songs—more than a hundred in number—composed in simple traditional metres such as *ovi, lavani, saki, dindi*—which were popular in those days. Kirloskar owed no debt to Bhave, and the *sangit-nataka* that he initiated with *Shakuntala* was perfected in *Saubhadra* (1883). The latter served as a norm for Marathi theatre for almost half a century thereafter.

Saubhadra still remains one of the more popular Marathi plays, and its magic lies in its music—even today. *Saubhadra* is a successful mixture of the traditional Sanskrit theatre and the English theatre. Though its story is adapted from the Sanskrit classics, *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavata,* it is patterned after English light comedies. And yet, the songs and the music which have contributed to its richness, are strictly native. *Saubhadra* laid the foundation of what later evolved into the form, *sangit-nataka. Saubhadra* as well as the unfinished *Ramarajya-Viyoga,* the last of the Kirloskar plays, abound in overtones of the social configurations of the times.

Deval (1855-1916), always proud of being a disciple of Kirloskar, is renowned for his

adaptations of the Sanskrit *Vikramorvashiya* and *Mrichchakatika* (1889) as well as the English *Othello* (1890). His genuine contribution to the Marathi theatre, however, was his social play, *Sharda* (1899), which dealt with many existing evils, particularly the dowry-system and its natural outcome, the tragic marriage of the adolescent bride with a rich old man. Among his plays is *Sanshayakallola* (1916), a light musical comedy bordering on farce and *Sharada* with its rich characterisation and sparkling dialogue.

Kolhatkar (1872-1934) is known for his romantic comedies *Virtanaya* (1896) and *Muknayaka* (1901), but he is admired more for the songs he composed for these plays in the northern or Pharsi style of music. The popularity of his artificial plays was, however, short-lived.

Khadilkar (1872-1948) is recognised as one of the architects of what came to be called the Golden Era of the Marathi theatre, the other being Bal Gandharva, the musical prodigy of the Marathi stage. Khadilkar, a staunch disciple of Lokmanya Tilak, wrote the plays *Kichakvadha* (1907), *Manapman* (1911) and *Svayamvar* (1916) which reflect the political strife and the predominantly patriotic mood of the people. Though primarily a writer of prose plays, he later turned to the *sangit-nataka,* and introduced the classical style of music on the Marathi stage.

This classical music became very popular, and as long as it was somewhat restrained, it enhanced the popularity of the *sangit-nataka.* But at the same time, it established the musical content, as opposed to the literary content, as being of primary importance in Marathi theatre. During the time of Khadilkar and Bal Gandharva, music was the primary attraction; everything else was subordinated to it. The dramatic element gradually declined and became superficial.

Among all the dramatists of the period Gadkari (1885-1919) stands out as a writer of genius, who exhibited a literary style of his own in his plays. In the process he squandered away all his precious gifts. Primarily a poet, he was also known for his wit and humour; and his plays, four complete and two incomplete, display an abundance of poetry as well as wit. He was inordinately fond of alliteration as well as metaphor, and all his plays are replete with these devices. He was more of a poet than a dramatist; but he was aware of his limitations and always eager to overcome them. Two of his last plays, *Bhavabandhan* (1919), a comedy, and *Ekach Pyala* (1919), a tragedy have left a deep impression on later dramatic compositions. His incomplete *Rajasanyasa* is perhaps the finest illustration of Shakespearean tragedy. He died young before his talent could effloresce fully.

Varerkar (1883-1964) was a contemporary of almost all the playwrights mentioned above, but he did not imitate any of them, and gradually evolved a moulded style of his own. He is the only dramatist who in his long career exploited contemporary themes and political as well as social subjects for his plays. Unfortunately, the prime of his dramatic career coincided with a slack phase in Marathi theatre. But to the end of his days he continued to pour out a series of significant plays. *Hach Mulacha Bap* (1917), a light social comedy; *Satteche Gulam* (1922), a political play advocating the Gandhian principles; *Sonyacha Kalas* (1932), depicting the struggle between the mill-owners and the mill-hands; *Saraswat* (1942), a play dealing with literary norms of the times; and *Bhumikanya Sita* (1955), a stormy version of *Uttar Ram Charita.* All have left their mark on Marathi theatre. Varerkar is also responsible for a number of innovations in the stagecraft of his plays.

With the advent of the talkie-cinema in 1931, the leaders of Marathi theatre turned to film production and, for nearly 25 years thereafter, Marathi theatre lay more or less dormant. In the meantime the theatres, which were meant for drama, were all converted into cinema houses. But this time was congenial for experimentation, and Vartak's (1894-1950) *Andhalyanchi Shala* (1933), the first of its kind, marked the emergence of a new kind of Ibsenic theatre. For almost half a century while the *sangit-nataka* held sway, it was said to be Shakespearean. Although Shakespeare or Ibsen only provided the skeleton for the plays, the essence of either playwright was not much in evidence in Marathi plays. Marathi theatre was quite satisfied with emulating the pattern rather than the content. *Andhalyanchi Shala* marked the beginning of a new era, and the plays thence-forth appeared to be realistic in contrast to the romantic genre of the preceding period. Realism was the key-note of later plays, and was apparent not only in the design but in the content as well. Till then great actors like Bal Gandharva or Master Dinanath excelled in the female roles, but *Andhalyanchi Shala* initiated a new era, in which talented actresses gradually assumed the female parts. This change affected Marathi theatre to such an extent that even the conception of the plays had to alter.

Atre and Ranganekar were the two playwrights responsible for keeping the theatre alive during a difficult period. Atre (1898-1969) was adept in the composition of light plays such as *Sashtanga Namaskar* (1933) and serious social plays such as *Gharabaher* (1934) and *Udyacha Sansar* (1936). A strange fusion of both frivolity and seriousness is evident in the play, *Lagnachi Bedi* (1936). Ranganekar (1907) concocted a series of popular plays like *Kulavadhu* (1942), which told simple domestic stories enlivened with lilting music and gentle humour. He stressed some middle-class family problems, but his treatment lacked a serious element. Yet, it must be said to his credit, that he fashioned his plays to suit the changing times, and succeeded in keeping the *sangit-nataka* alive.

While Marathi theatre was going through a crisis, certain writers, directors, actors and individuals associated with theatre in general, formed groups such as Kalakar and Rangayana in

1 Mohan Agashe
Ghashtram Kotwal
Theatre Academy

2 Balkoba Natekar, Bhaurao Kolhatkar and Annasaheb Kirloskar
Sangeet Saubhadra
Kirloskar Natak Mandali

3 *Shakuntal*
Kirloskar Natak Mandali

4 *Sutradar-Pariparshwak*

5 Satish Dubhashi and Bhakti Barve-Inamdar
Ti Phulrani
Indian National Theatre

6 Bal Gandharva as Rukmini
Swayamvar

7 Kashinath Ghanekar and Master Dattaram
Raigadala Jenwha Jag Yete
The Goa Hindu Association

8 Vasantrao Deshpande and Faiyaz
Katyar Kalzat Ghooslee
Natya Sampada

9 *Hayavadan*
The Goa Hindu Association

10 Madhav Watve and Vijaya Mehta
Sandhya Chayya
The Goa Hindu Association

11 Mangesh Kulkarni and Mina Gokhale
Saakhkhe Shejari
Rangyatri


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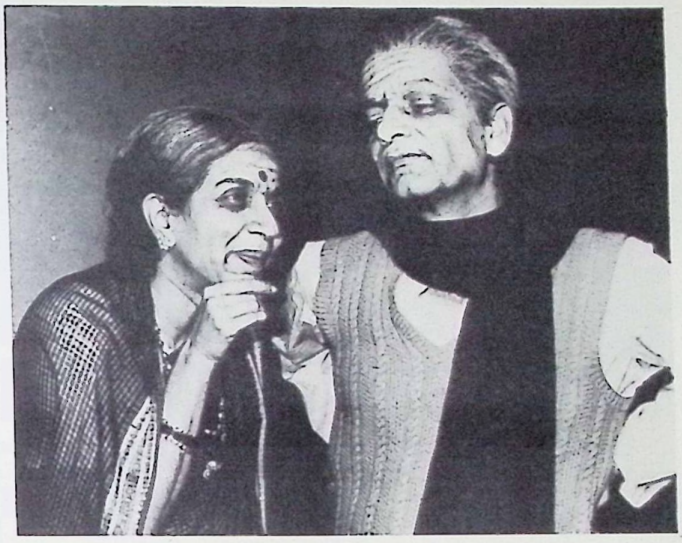
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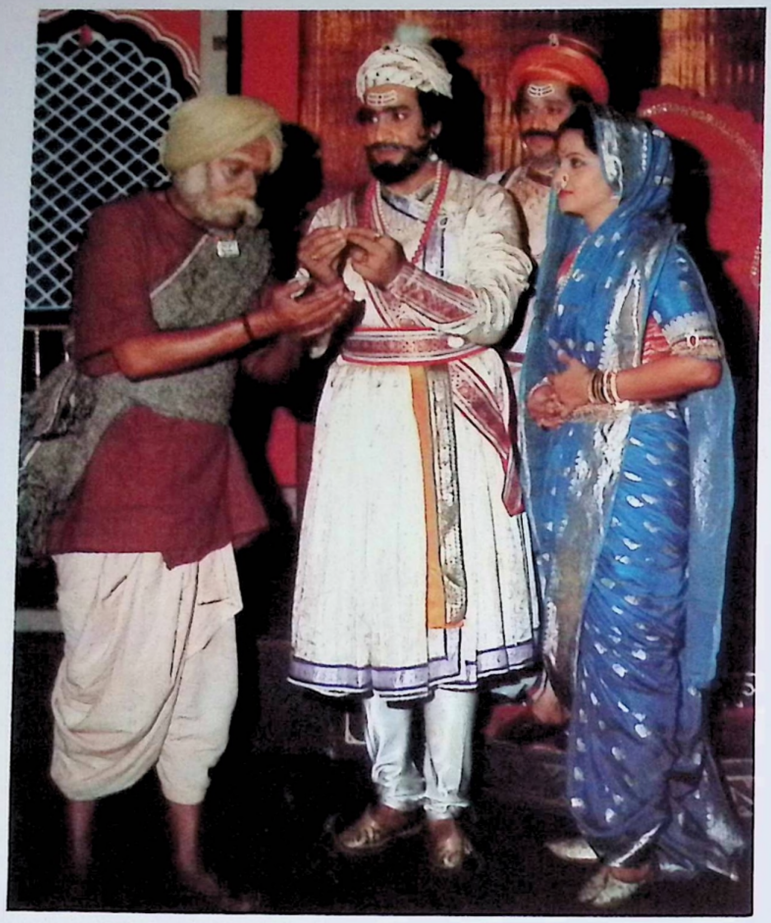
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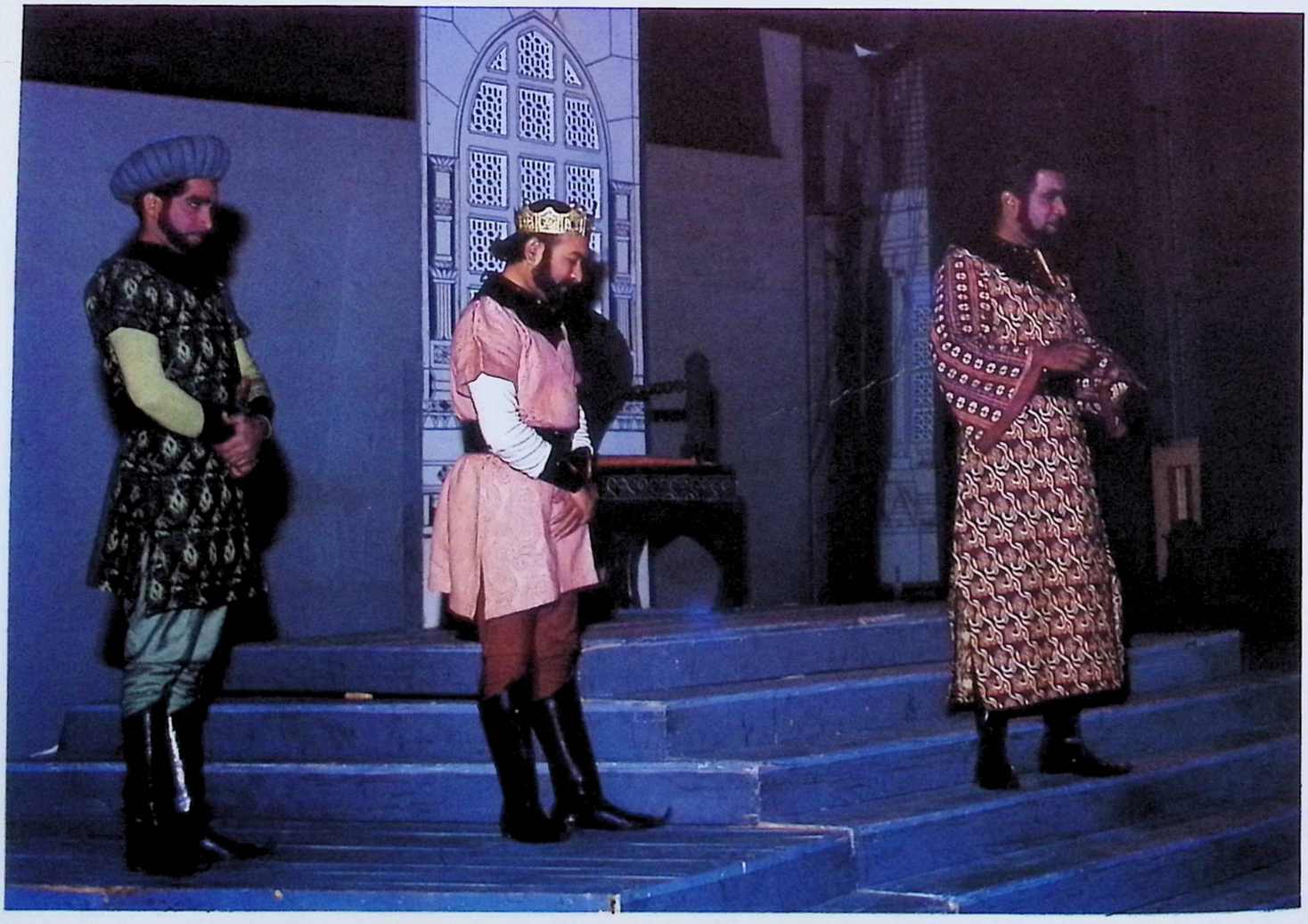
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12 Janardhan Sohoni, Bal Dhuri, Chandrakant Kale and Smita Talwalkar
Chhawa
Chandralekha

13 Yashwant Datt and Sulbha Deshpande
Natasamrat
Chandralekha

14 Arun Sarnaik
Tughluq
Avishkar

15 Playwrights

a) Annasaheb Kirloskar
b) Govind Ballal Deval
c) Mama Varerkar
d) Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar
e) Kavi Kusumagraj
f) Vijay Tendulkar
g) Bal Kolhatkar
h) Sri V. Vartak

Bombay, Progressive Dramatists Association in Pune and Ranjan Kala Mandir in Nagpur and aimed at revolutionising the very concept of the theatre. They experimented with themes, forms and presentation. Playwrights Madhav Manohar (1911), P. L. Deshpande (1919) and Vijay Tendulkar (1928) at Bombay and Purshottam Darvekar (1927) at Nagpur offered brilliant adaptations of popular Western plays, while Atmaram Bhende, P. L. Deshpande, Damu Kenkre, Vijaya Khote and P. Darvekar directed such "new wave" plays. Vasant Kanetkar (1923) composed a psychological play, *Vedyache Ghar Unhat* (1957), which was aptly directed by Bhalba Kelkar. Slightly earlier, Ebrahim Alkazi was busy directing some of the European masterpieces in English. All this experimental activity, which was limited to the production of a few fine plays of vision, was ultimately responsible for providing professional theatre and cinema with eminent playwrights, directors, actors and technicians.

In the meantime, the budding playwrights Nagesh Joshi (1915-1958), Bal Kolhatkar (1926) and Madhusudan Kalelkar (1924) turned out popular plays like *Dev Manus* (1945), *Diva Jalude Sari Rat* (1962) and *Vahato Hi Durvanchi Judi* (1964). Kolhatkar and Kalelkar are still active, and they have written numerous popular plays.

Kusumagraj Shirvadkar (1912), like his predecessor Govindagraj, is more of a poet than a dramatist, and his plays, even if composed in prose, are poetic in their style and content. His career in theatre started with adaptations of European plays like *The Ideal Husband* (1946) and *Monna Vanna* (1950). He has also adapted *Macbeth* (1954) and *Othello* (1961), the finest adaptations available in Marathi. Shirvadkar's most popular play, *Natasamrat* (1971), is not an exact replica of *King Lear,* but it contains the same basic ingredients. *Natasamrat* is considered to be the finest flowering of Marathi drama. Shirvadkar has also written the mythological plays, *Kaunteya* (1953) and *Yayati Ani Devayani* (1968), and the historical plays, *Dusara Peshva* (1947) and *Vij Mhanali Dhartila* (1970). His works are distinctive and unique for their poetic appeal.

Vasant Kanetkar (1923), a stalwart of professional theatre, has composed more than thirty plays so far, and some of them have introduced new concepts to the theatre. His very first play, *Vedyache Ghar Unhat* (1957) displayed the psychological conflict apparent in the generation gap. A versatile and innovative writer, he can handle an exquisite domestic comedy like *Prema Tuza Ranga Kasa* (1961), as well as a mythological *sangit-nataka* like *Matsyagandhu* (1964) and a historical play like *Raygadala Jevha Jag Yete* (1962) wherein great heroes like Shivaji and Sambhaji cast away their masks and act like human beings, shedding light on the father-son relationship. In 1966, for *Lekure Udand Zali* he composed lively music that departed from the traditional style. Since then he has written some fine biographical plays like *Himalayachi Savali* (1972) and *Kasturimriga* (1976). He has also recently contrived to bring together the elements of the four great Shakespearean tragedies—*Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello* and *King Lear*—in an ambitious play called *Gaganbhedi* (1982).

Vijay Tendulkar (1928) has tried to inject new blood into Marathi theatre. He has written some vague adaptations of European plays and themes such as *Shrimant* (1955) and *Shantata, Court Chalu Ahe* (1968). He has created quite a stir with *Gidhade* (1971), *Sakharam Binder* (1972), *Baby* (1975) and *Mitrachi Goshta* (1982) which dealt with sex and violence. It seems that he is fascinated by controversial themes, and his present play, *Kanyadan* (1984), offers a bitter commentary on the struggle between the ideal and the real, with a *Dalit* conflict to match. *Kamala* (1982) is an another instance of the same kind. His pseudo-historical romance


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Ghashiram Kotwal (1972) is also very popular and widely known to non-Marathi audiences in India as well as in Europe. Vijay Tendulkar is the only Marathi dramatist who enjoys a nation-wide reputation through the adaptations of his various plays in several regional languages.

Jayawant Dalvi (1925) came into focus with a quiet play, *Sandhya Chaya* (1974), dealing with the problem of brain-drain. His *Barrister* (1977) is a romantic play with morbid over-tones. But its competent performance by Vijaya Mehta was quite popular for a time. Most of his recent plays deal with sexual imbalance and plays such as *Mahasagar* (1980), *Purush* (1983) and *Paryaya* (1984) have once again caught the imagination of the audience.

Ratnakar Matkari (1938) is now one of the most popular playwrights writing for the Marathi stage, and his plays, *Dubhanga* (1981), *Ashvamedha* (1980), *Khol Khol Pani* (1983) and others have earned acclaim. He is the only playwright who incessantly works for both professional as well as experimental theatre. His *Lokakatha* (1978-1979) displayed a cross-section of the rural unrest due to the tyranny of the landlords, who treat the tribals as their chattel. His experimental plays like *Brahma Hatya*(1967) and *Prem Kahani* (1972), and *Aranyaka* (1975) are more interesting than his professional ventures. He is also an outstanding playwright, who has worked consistently for the uplift of the children's theatre, and his children's plays like *Nimma Shimma Rakshasa* (1963) have contributed a great deal in that sphere.

The experimental wing of the Marathi theatre, with its glorious record for the past few decades, is now unfortunately idle for all practical purposes. It had its base at the Chhabildas High School Hall, and produced some striking plays of "new wave" writers, Vijay Tendulkar, Achchyut Vaze, G. P. Deshpande, Vrindavan Dandavate, Shyam Manohar and Mahesh Elkunjwar while competent directors like Satyadev Dubey, Shriram Lagu, Sai Paranjpe, Arvind Deshpande, Amol Palekar, Dilip Kolhatkar and Jayadev Hattangadi presented many of them. But somehow these plays are of little consequence, and as a result have ceased to attract the attention of the faithful audience which used to fill the hall in the past. It is sad to note that the movement is gradually losing its force.

Apparently the centre of experimental productions has shifted away from Bombay. The annual Marathi theatre festivals conducted by the Maharashtra State Government for the last so many years has succeeded in establishing small theatre groups not only in the crowded cities but in remote rural areas, and they contribute countless original plays written and directed by younger lesser-known writers and directors.

The tradition of musical plays which had prevailed for more than fifty years gradually gave way to prose-plays. Occasionally people like Dr. Bhalerao attempted to rescue the *sangit-nataka* form from oblivion but their success was limited because of the paucity of performers—for many had, in the meanwhile, aged or died. The music muse had become mute and the future seemed dismal. Efforts in reviving it—Vidyadhar Gokhale and Bhalchandra Pendharkar's *Panditram Jagannath* (1960) and other productions, including *Bavankhani* (1983)—tended to be sporadic and therefore could not generate the necessary momentum. The only musical play to achieve phenomenal success during this period was Purushottam Darvekar's *Sangit Katyar Kaljat Ghusali* (1969).

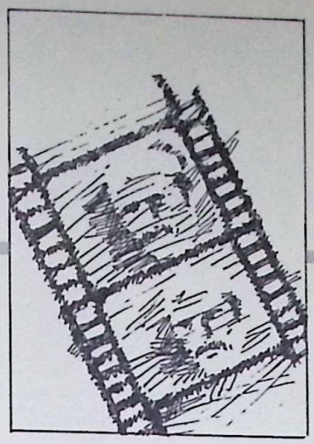
However, this long-standing tradition of *sangit-nataka* has not completely faded. In keeping with the times, it has diverged in new directions. The departure was manifested in the songs of *Lekure Udanda Zali* (1966)—the style of singing was based on that of contemporary Broadway musicals—and also in the musical extravaganza, *Phularani,* a version of Bernard Shaw's celebrated play *Pygmalion.* Obviously new trends in musical plays are in the process of emerging and are visible in plays like *Ghashiram Kotwal* (1972) directed by Jabbar Patel. This play has added a new dimension to the *sangit-nataka* by basing its musical score on folk-forms like *bhajan, kirtan, gondhal* and *dashavatara.* In *Tin Paishancha Tamasha* (1978), P. L. Deshpande's remarkable adaptation of Brecht's *Three Penny Opera,* Jabbar Patel along with Ananda Modak set the songs to rock-music. While the experiment has been interesting it has not been entirely successful as the strident rock tunes did not correspond with the style of the text. Certainly these efforts indicate a new awareness.

Satish Alekar's (1950) *Mahanirvan* (1974), a sort of satirical parody of the Hindu death rites, is again a new venture, which resorts to the folk-patterns of *kirtan-bhajan,* and it is a brilliant musical of the new style.

The *avant-garde* director Vijaya Mehta, has experimented with interpreting modern focus within the ancient framework of *Natyashastra.* She has, in her recent presentation of the folk-myth, *Hayavadana,* included all varieties of Marathi folk-forms and dialects. Interestingly, this play as well as *Ghashiram Kotwal,* have found receptive audiences; in foreign countries.

Poetic plays, *Rangapanchalik* and *Kalayavan,* composed by the distinguished litterateur, P. S. Rege (1910-1978), have yet to be presented in Maharashtra. To this genre also belongs Ratnakar Matkari's *Aranyaka* (1978). Composed totally in verse form, it contains meaningful comments on life.

The Marathi theatre represents a long and continuing tradition and its impact on the performing arts of India has been remarkable as well as significant. The Maharashtrian people are proud of this glorious heritage.



Cinema

Vasant Sathe

Maharashtra has played a pivotal role in the development of cinematography, both as an art and as an industry, since its inception. The first showing of the Lumiere Brothers' cinematographic venture was held at the Watson Hotel, Bombay, in July 1895. Savedada made the first effort to produce cinematographic films in Bombay. And in 1912 the story film, *Pundalik*, was shot in this city. Furthermore, Dadasaheb Phalke, the father of Indian cinema, produced in Bombay *Raja Harischandra*—the feature film that made history. Till the advent of sound systems in 1931, Bombay functioned as a focal point of film production in India. Pune, Kolhapur, Kirkee and Nasik were the other centres of production in Maharashtra. In Kolhapur, Baburao Painter introduced artistic sets and decor, thereby transforming film-making into a work of art. His *Sairandhri* (1920), was an important contribution to the development of the indigenous art of cinema.

During the 1920s several film-producing concerns flourished in Bombay. In addition to mythological subjects, themes from Maratha history and contemporary life were chosen for making feature films. The two most significant films of that era were Maharashtra Film Co.'s historical film, *Sinhagad* (1923), and a social film, *Savkari Pash* (1925), both directed by Baburao Painter. The former recreated the tale of patriotism and valour of Shivaji's lieutenant, while the latter was India's first realistic film, depicting the exploitation of a poor Indian farmer by the village moneylender. Made just forty years earlier than Satyajit Ray's *Pather Panchali*, the picture was a landmark in terms of its presentation of contemporary life. V. Shantaram, who played the role of the young ignorant farmer in this film, later became a renowned director and producer. He made two significant historical films—both silent—entitled *Netaji Palkar* (1928) and *Udaykal* (1930). The latter theme revolving around the military expeditions of young Shivaji, was originally named *Swarajya Toran* (Emblem of Independence). Owing to the objections raised by the film censors, its title had to be changed to *Udaykal* (The Dawn).

The Advent of the Talkies

In 1931, three or four years after the talkie was introduced in America, India made its first talkie film, *Alam Ara*. Bombay had the honour of releasing this first Indian talkie film in March 1931. Produced by Ardesher M. Irani, it starred Zuebeda and Master Vithal. The first Marathi talkie film was not released until February 1932. For this film, V. Shantaram chose the same theme that Dadasaheb Phalke had used for the first silent film, the story of *Raja Harishchandra*. The Marathi talkie version was entitled *Ayodhyecha Raja*. The picture was also made, simultaneously, in Hindi. Thus, from the beginning until the final years of the Second World War, Prabhat and other Maharashtrian concerns made bilingual films. *Ayodhyecha Raja* was basically a stageplay on screen. The first Marathi talkie film in which action dominated over dialogue was V. Shantaram's and Prabhat's *Agnikankan*, the story of a prince brought up by gypsies. With double versions in Hindi and Marathi in vogue, films were made on a spectacular scale for an all-India market. The first Marathi film to celebrate its silver-jubilee run (25 weeks) in Bombay was Bhal G. Pendharkar's *Shyamsunder* starring Shahu Modak as Krishna and Shanta Apte as Radha. As early as 1933, Shantaram experimented with colour. He made the double version of *Sairandhri* in colour, using a German multi-colour process. The attempt was, unfortunately, a failure. It was only after the Second World War that efforts to create colour films achieved success with Mehboob's *Aan*, Sohrab Modi's *Jhansi Ki Raani* and V. Shantaram's *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje*. Colour films became popular when the processing of Eastman Color Negative was started in India. Ambalal Patel launched the first colour laboratory in Bombay in the 1950s.

The First Social Films

After the failure of *Sairandhri*, Prabhat released the historical film *Sinhagad* and migrated to Pune where it had another studio. Until 1934 no film with a social theme was made in Marathi. After Prabhat shifted to Pune, Winayak directed the first Marathi social film, *Vilasi Ishwar*, based on B. V. Vererkar's novel. The film did not prove successful. In 1935, Vishram Bedekar made two short feature films based on the then popular works of Ram Ganesh Gadkari and C. V. Joshi: *Satyache Prayog* was about 6000 ft. long and *Thakiche Lagna* was about 4000 ft. long. Both were released together, but the pictures did not fare well, despite the popularity of the books.

Undaunted by the initial failure, Winayak created another social film, *Chhaya*, under the



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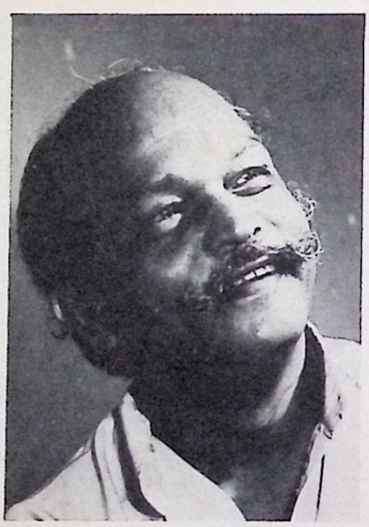
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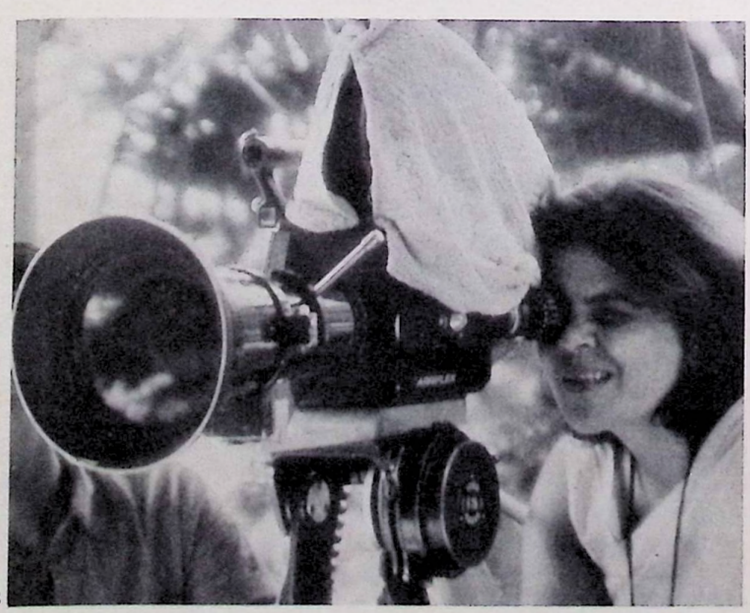
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1 Dadasaheb Phalke

2 Baburao Painter

3 V. Shantaram

4 Anant Mane

5 Rajdatt

6 Raja Paranjpe

7 Dada Kondke

8 Sai Paranjpe

9 Smita Patil
Umbartha

10 Prema Bhosle

11 Maya Jadhav and Subal Sarkar
Bhujang

12 Mohan Gokhale, Ramesh Deo, Naina Apte and Ashok Saraf
Hech Maze Maher

13 Madhumati Kambikar
Hech Maze Maher

14 Asha Kale
Thorli Jaoo

15 ***Sairandhri***
Prabhat's first colour film

16 ***Raja Harishchandra***
Directed by V. Shantaram

17 ***Saukari Pash***
Directed by Baburao Painter

18 ***Kunku***

19 Govindrao Tembe
Ayodhyecha Raja

20 ***Shejari***

21 ***Sant Tukaram***

22 Shahu Modak and Shanta Hublikar
Manoos

23 Sandhya and Pandit Nagarkar
Amar Bhoopali

24 Jairam Shiledar
Ram Joshi

25 Jayashri Gadkar
Sangthe Aaika

26 Master Vinayak
Brahmachari

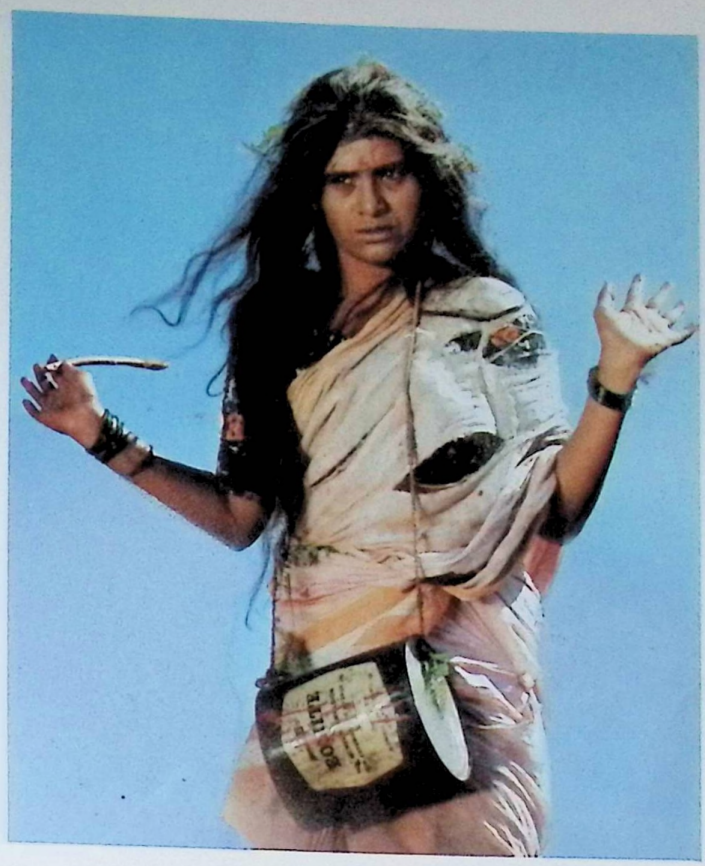
27 Jabbar Patel directing Smita Patil
Umbartha

28 V. Shantaram directing Sandhya
Pinjra

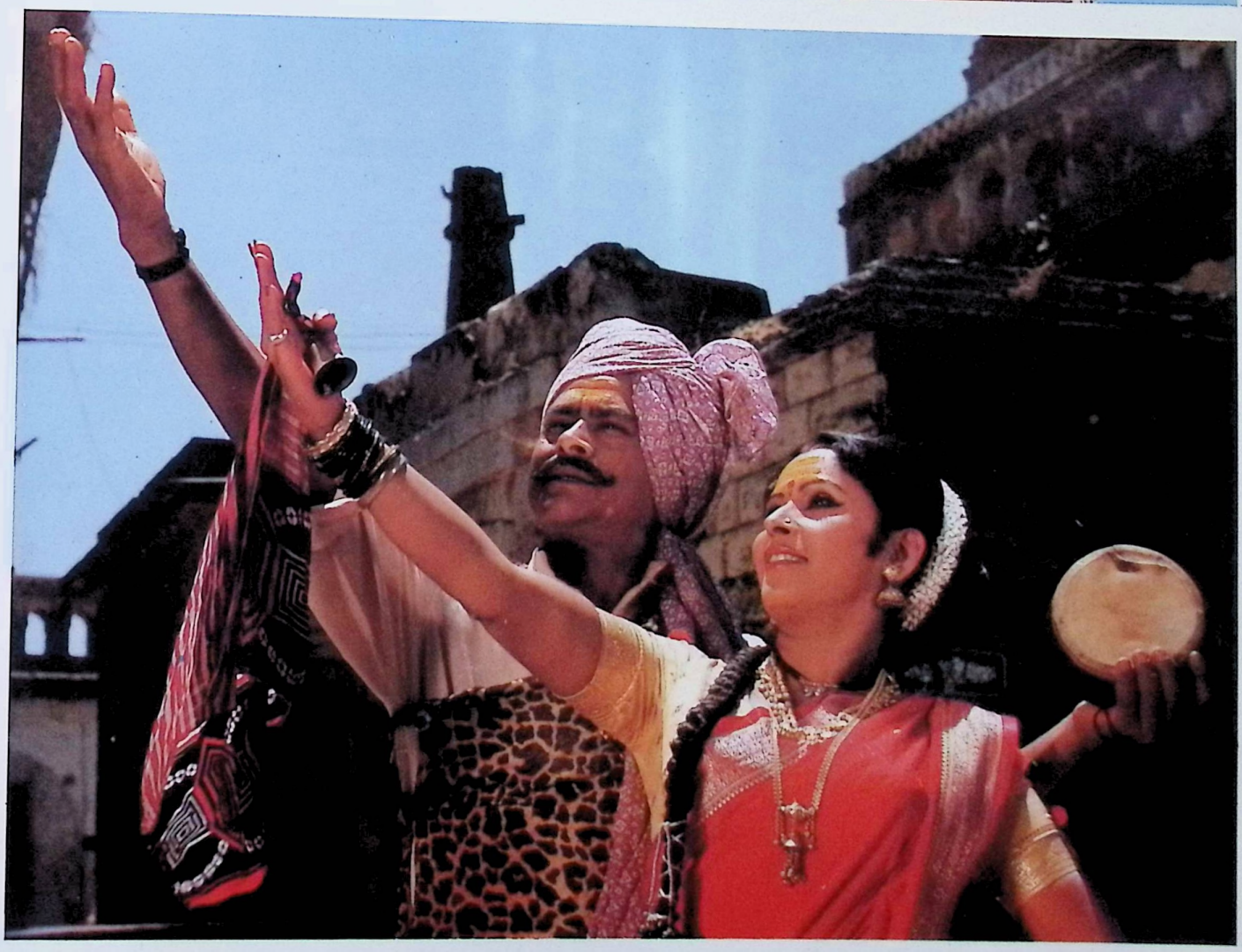
29 Nilu Phule, Usha Naik and Ranjana
Bhujang



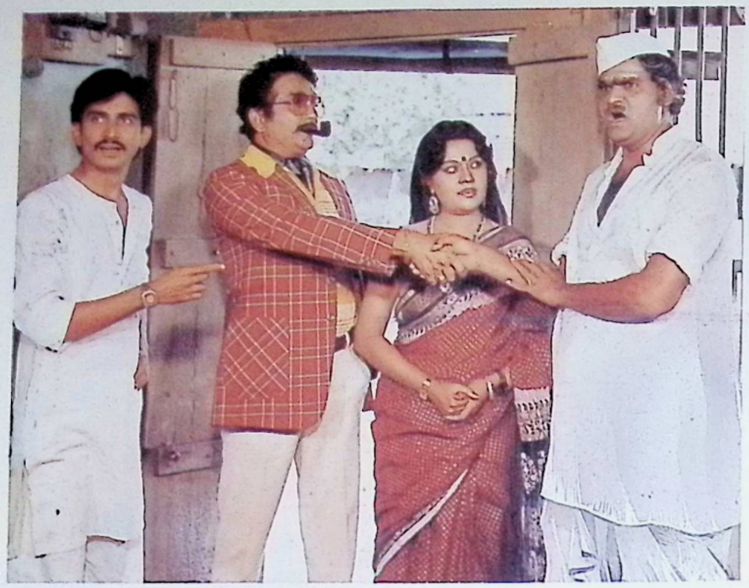
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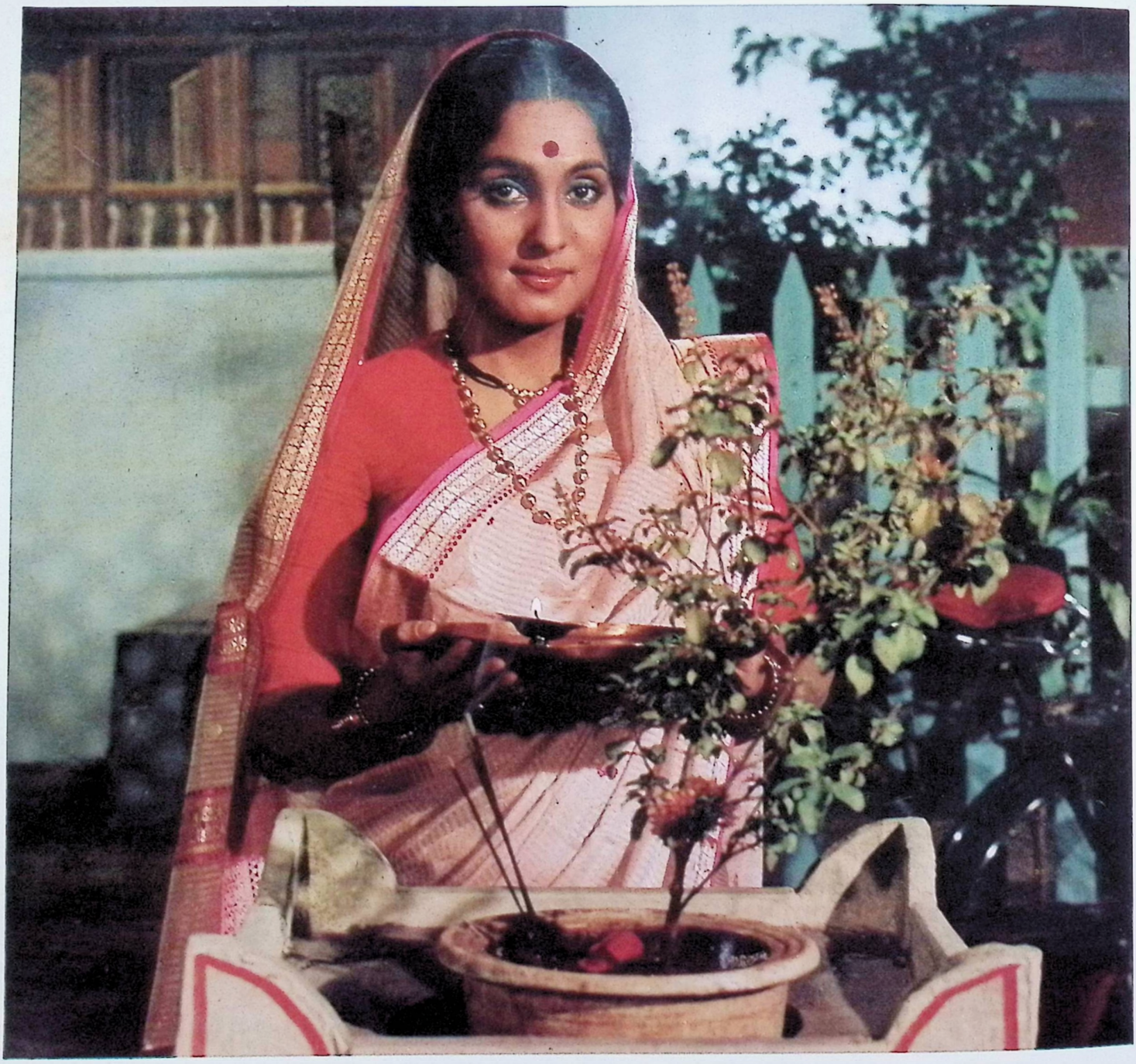
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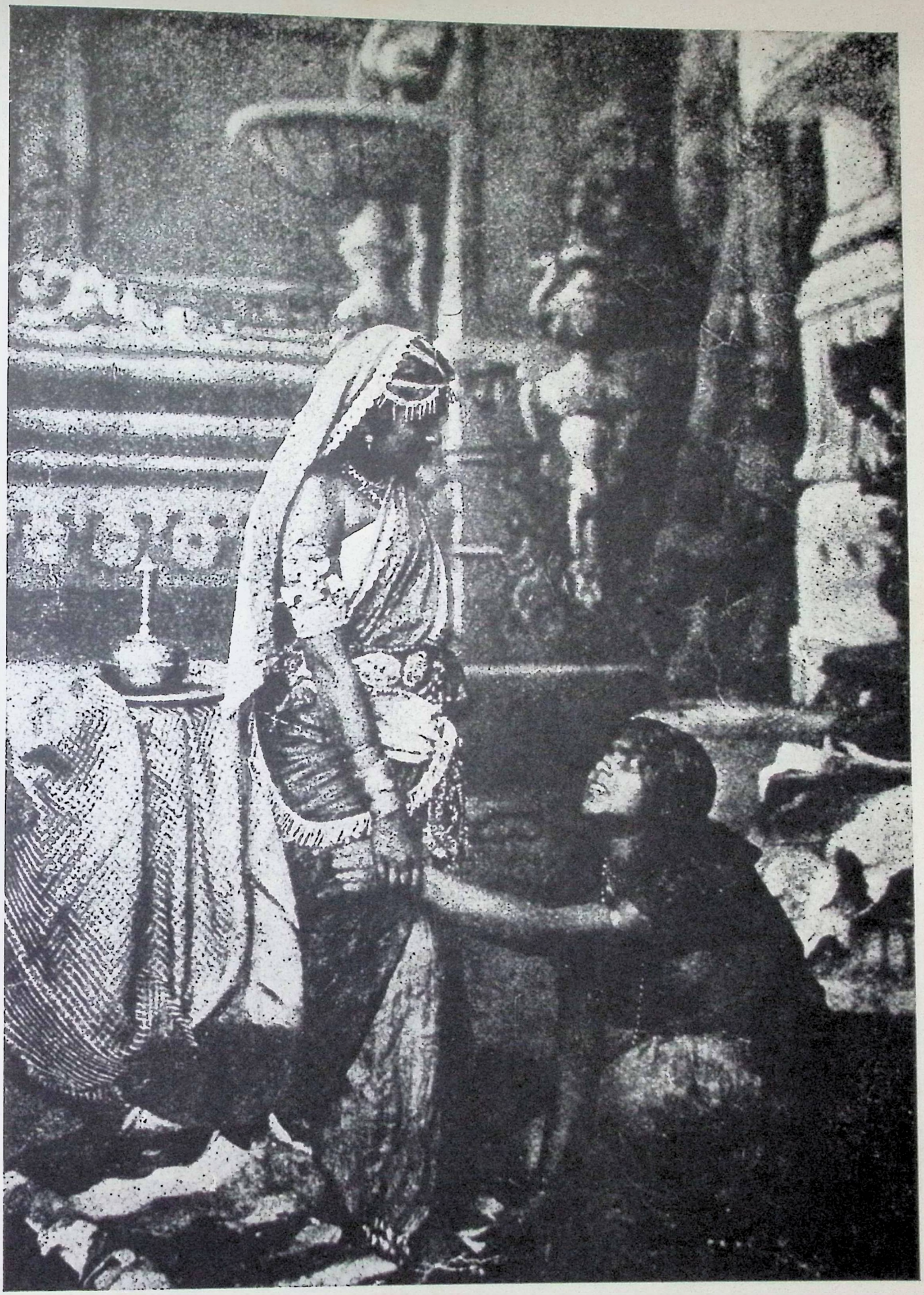
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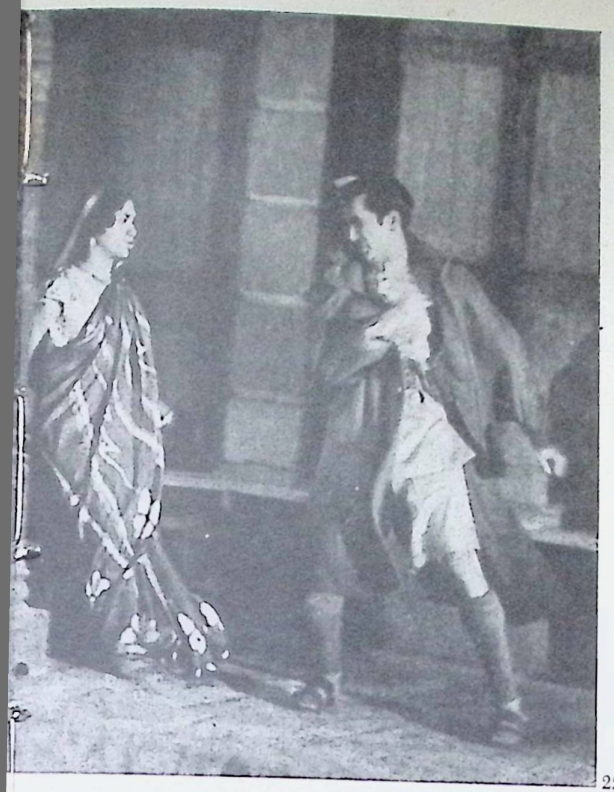
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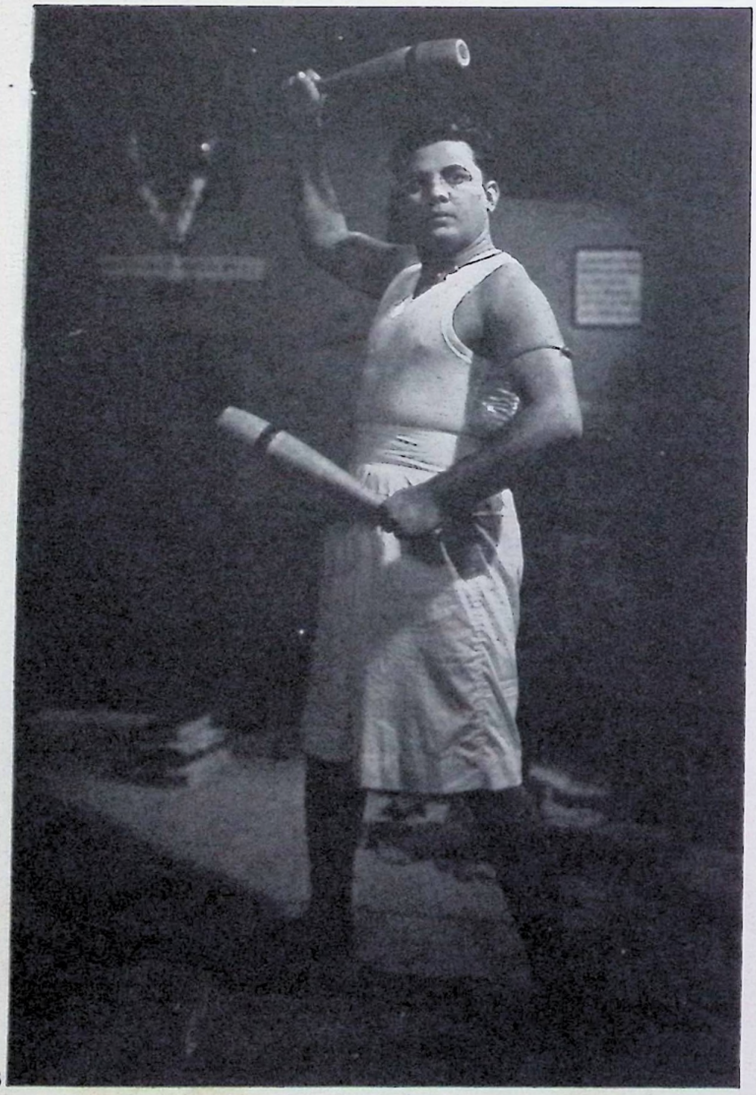
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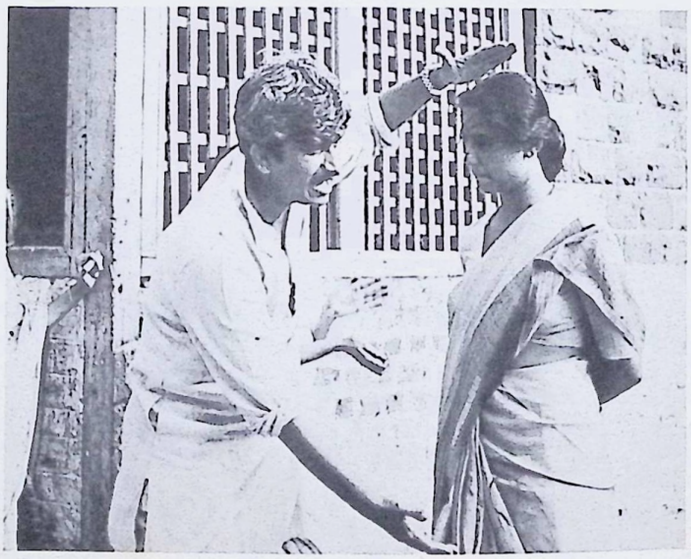
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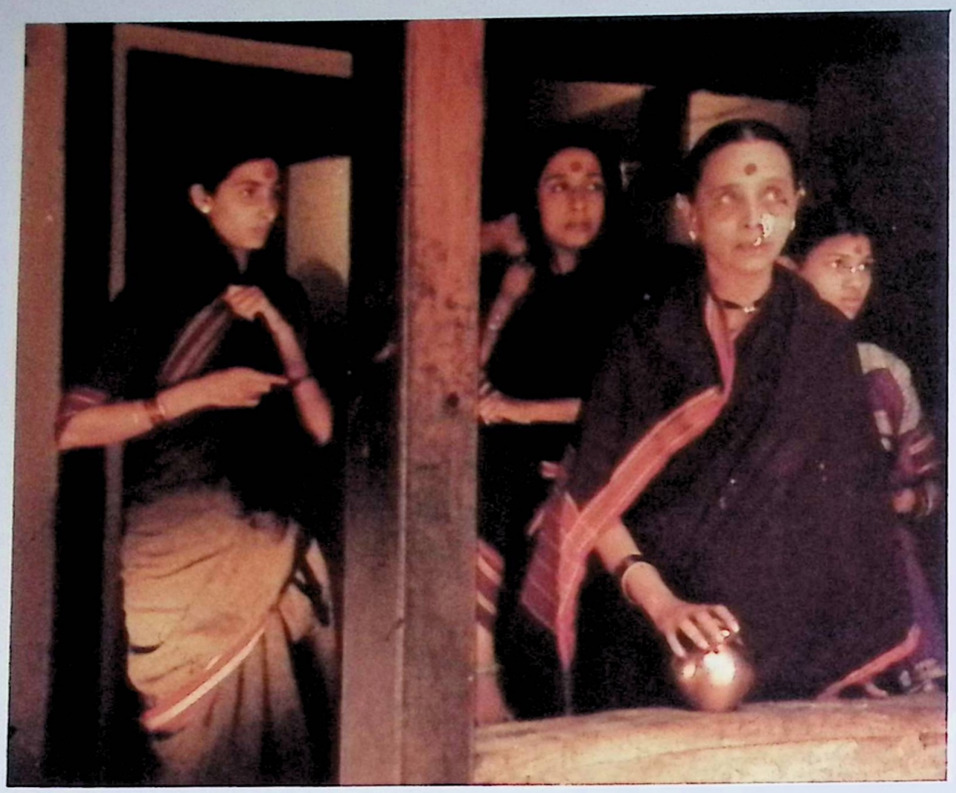
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30 Women of the Chapekar Family
22nd June

31 Arun Sarnaik
Totya Amdar

32 Amol and Chitra Palekar
Aakriet

auspices of Huns Pictures. Based on a story by V. S. Khandekar, the picture won an award for its screenplay. It established Winayak as a progressive director. Later, Winayak's presentation of Acharya Atre's satires and social exposées such as *Dharmveer, Bramachari, Brandichi Batli* and *Ardhangi* won popular acclaim and set the trend for such subjects. Winayak also brought to the screen Khandekar's purposeful plots such as *Devta, Amrit* and *Maze Bal.*

The Golden Age

1936 to 1942 was perhaps the most productive period in the annals of Marathi cinema. Apart from Winayak's contributions, Baburao Painter made a talkie version of his famous silent film, *Savkari Pash.* V. Shantaram released his first social film, *Kunku* (1937), featuring a young girl's revolt against her husband who was old enough to be her father. It created a stir all over India. Shantaram did not use background music—only natural sound effects. *Manoos* followed *Kunku*; it recounted the story of a prostitute's dilemma and a policeman's resolve to overcome personal tragedy through dedication to duty. V. Shantaram's *Shejari* portrayed an allegorical representation of Hindu and Muslim neighbours and stressed the need for communal harmony. All three films had their Hindi versions—*Duniya Na Mane, Aadmi* and *Padosi.* But the Marathi versions were superior to their Hindi counterparts in every respect.

Apart from the three social films, Prabhat also made films based on the lives of saints such as *Dharmatma, Tukaram* and *Dyaneshwar.* The first presented a strong emotional plea against untouchability. *Tukaram* was noteworthy for its humanism and realism. It ran for over a year at one theatre in Bombay; it also brought laurels from Venice where it was shown at the International Film Festival. *Dyaneshwar* carried the message of humanism and equality effectively and was also noteworthy for special effects. The moving wall was compared with the magic carpet in Alexander Korda's *Thieves of Baghdad* by the American cinematographer, Magazine. In *Shejari* the shots showing the bursting of a dam in the climatic scene, constituted a magnificent technical achievement in special effects by Pralhad Dutt. During this period, Bhal G. Pendharkar made several historical films, including *Netaji Palkar* and *Swarajya Seemevar.* His mythological film, *Raja Gopichand,* and social film, *Soonbai,* also attracted notice. Vishram Bedekar, who wrote the script of *Shejari,* achieved success as a Marathi film-maker with *Pahila Palna.* In 1941, Shantaram left Prabhat, and Winayak parted company from Atre. Winayak continued to produce comedies such as *Lagna Pahav Karoon, Sarkari Pahune* and *Pahli Manglagaur.* But due to the Second World War and the restrictions on distribution and import of raw film, the production of Marathi films almost came to a standstill. During the years 1943 to 1946, only ten Marathi films were produced. The most noteworthy among them were Prabhat's *Ramshastri*—a memorable film—and *Ramrajya.* Atre and Winayak, did not contribute anything significant during this period.

The Formative Period

The end of World War II and the dawn of India's independence, ushered in a new era of Marathi film with the release of V. Shantaram's *Ramjoshi* and Mangal Pictures' *Jai Malhar.* Both films, with their emphasis on folk music and folk dances, proved super-hits. They introduced *tamasha* and *lavani,* the two popular folk forms of entertainment, into films in a big way. Madgulkar, who wrote the songs for both the films as well as the script for *Ramjoshi,* played a prominent role in the development of post-Independence Marathi cinema. The composition of the audience had, in the interim, undergone considerable alteration. Instead of the educated middle-class, factory workers and farmers became the chief patrons of Marathi cinema. The new era marked the emergence of new talent in every field. It brought into the limelight the directors Raja Paranjpe, Datta Dharmadhikari, Ram Gabale, Raja Thakur, Anant Mane, Madhav Shinde; the artistes Sulochana, Vanamala, Usha Kiran, Chandrakant, Suryakant, Hansa Wadkar, Raja Gosavi, Ramesh Deo, Seema, Jayashree Gadkar, Shakuntala, Arun Sarnaik; the writers G. D. Madgulkar, Vyankatesh Madgulkar, P. L. Deshpande, Dinkar Patil, G. R. Kamat; the music directors Sudhir Phadke, Vasant Pawar, Vasant Desai, Datta Davjekar. As a result of their combined efforts, India witnessed a number of excellent Marathi films during the 1950s. Among them were Raja Paranjpe's *Pedgaonche Shahane,* Datta Dharmadhikari's *Bala Jo Jo Re,* Raja Thakur's *Mee Tulas Tuzya Angani,* Ram Gabale's *Jasas Tase,* Anant Mane's *Aboli,* Madhav Shinde's *Kanchanganga.*

In addition, V. Shantaram made *Amar Bhoopali,* scripted by Vishram Bedekar. It was based on the life of Honaji, the people's poet in the last days of Maratha rule. Bedekar himself made *Vasudeo Balwant* which recounted the tale of a revolutionary. Atre produced and directed *Shyamchi Aai,* based on Sane Guruji's popular novel. The picture had the unique distinction of being the first Indian film to win the President's gold medal as the best film of the year. He followed it up with *Mahatma Phule,* an inspiring biography of a social reformer, which also won a national award. Sadashiv Rao Kavi contributed such films as *Vahinichya Bangdya* and *Shevgyachya Shenga* in the fifties.

The lure of Hindi film induced the two most successful Marathi directors, Raja Paranjpe and Datta Dharmadhikari, to attempt films in Hindi. But their efforts did not succeed. Raja Paranjpe staged a brilliant comeback with *Jagachya Pathiwar.* In 1959, Anant Mane's *Sangte*

Aaika created box-office history and an all-time record by running for 138 weeks at a theatre in Pune.

In 1960, the State of Maharashtra was formed. One of the first acts of the state was to abolish entertainment tax on stageplays and to introduce cash awards for the three best Marathi films of the year. The first Marathi film to win the award was *Prapanch,* a most effective plea for family planning. Based on a novel by G. D. Madgulkar, it narrated the tragic story of a father who could not support his growing family. Along with the awards, the state government decided to exempt three films per year from entertainment tax; the benefit of the exemption was not given to the public but to the producer, who received Rs. 2 *lakhs* as a return of the entertainment tax collected on his picture. This scheme worked for over a decade but it did not induce the film-makers to increase the production of Marathi films. In fact, in the 1960s, the production of Marathi films declined to only ten or eleven films a year. Only Anant Mane succeeded in winning popular acclaim for his *tamasha* films. For, though these films had a rural setting and the *tamasha* troupe as principal characters, many of them dealt with social evils such as corruption among village politicians. These themes had a wide appeal. Other noteworthy films of the period include Madhav Shinde's *Kanyadaan,* Raja Thakur's *Rangalya Ratri Ashya,* Vasant Joglekar's *Shevtacha Malusara* and Bhal G. Pendharkar's *Sadhi Manase.*

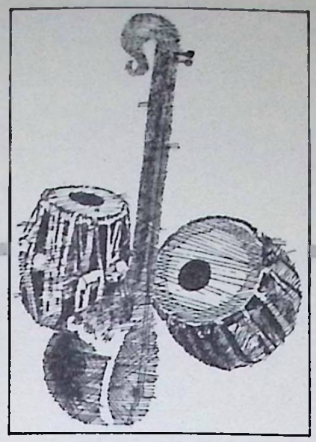
At this time the Marathi cinema was faced with twin problems: Marathi theatre and Hindi cinema. The exemption from entertainment tax had given a tremendous boost to Marathi theatre with the result that the Marathi films lost the urban middle-class audience to stageplays. Then, the Hindi film, which was experimenting with colour in the preceding decade, succeeded in perfecting its technique and a large number of films were shot in colour in the sixties. With Hindi colour films and Marathi theatre as its rivals, the Marathi film industry had to rely more and more on *tamasha* and the rural audience for its survival.

The Revival

Thus, by the early 1970s, the Marathi film had almost lost its audience. At this critical time came two Marathi films which endowed Marathi cinema with new life. The two pictures were Dada Kondke's *Songadya* and V. Shantaram's *Pinjra.* Dada Kondke's comedy, in which he played the role of a simpleton hero, captured the public's imagination. Similarly, the colours, music and the gripping story of V. Shantaram's *Pinjra* appealed to all sections of the public. Both films proved that Marathi cinema, which offered wholesome entertainment, had no dearth of spectators. Interestingly, *Pinjra* was a bigger hit than the most popular Hindi films.

The state government's adoption of the Tax Refund scheme, as recommended by the Marathi Chitrapat Mahamandal in 1975, served as an additional incentive to Marathi cinematographers. According to this scheme, a producer of a colour film was entitled to claim upto Rs. 8 *lakhs* as refund on the entertainment tax collected on his picture, provided he completed his second film. The producer of black-and-white films was entitled to Rs. 4 *lakhs.* Thanks to this incentive, almost all Marathi pictures are now being filmed in colour. Also, the production rate has increased. Most importantly, some truly purposeful films are being made in Marathi today.

The year 1975 marked the debut of Jabbar Patel as a film director. His *Samna,* written by Vijay Tendulkar, proved a success which won laurels at the Berlin Film Festival of 1976. Since then, Jabbar Patel has made three Marathi films: *Jait Re Jait,* which won the State award; *Sinhasan,* which depicted with authenticity the power struggle in the ruling party; and *Umbartha,* which presented a woman's struggle to free herself from the chains of old family traditions. It also exposed the corruption prevalent in institutions meant to protect women. Jayu and Nachiket Patwardhan have made *22nd June 1897,* narrating the story of the Chaphekar brothers who killed the British tyrant, Rand. Amol Palekar produced *Akriet,* based on the true story thematically centered around superstition and ritual. It won an award in France. Along with these films, there were others: Anant Mane's *Sushila,* Babasaheb Fatchlal's *Choricha Mamla,* Dada Kondke's series of hit comedies, Raj Dutt's *Devkinandan Gopala* as well as other popular films. Today Marathi films enjoy greater popularity than they did a few years ago. *Lek Chalali Sasarla* which deals with the problem of bride-burning for dowry has created a stir all over Maharashtra. It is evident that *tamasha* and *lavani* are no longer essential to the success of Marathi film. The technical standards have also shown remarkable improvement in recent years. For better technical facilities, the Government of Maharashtra has built Film-City in the suburbs of Bombay. It has the latest equipment for dubbing, sound recording and mixing; available at concessional rates to Marathi film-makers. Recently, the Government of Maharashtra has also undertaken to build a Chitra Nagri in Kolhapur. By next year, the Chitra Nagri of Kolhapur should begin to function, in which case Kolhapur will continue as the main production centre for Marathi films with Bombay devoting itself to the production of Hindi films. The problem, however, will be to obtain playing time in the existing cinema houses. The state government's order compelling each cinema theatre to screen Marathi films for at least four weeks in a year has not been implemented. But with the prolific video reproduction of Hindi films, the problem of securing release is automatically being resolved. With the tax refund scheme in force, Marathi cinema has a bright future.



Music

Ashok Ranade

Maharashtra is *madhyarashtra,* a region which enjoys a central location, and has been the confluence of cultural stimuli from both the southern and the northern parts of India. Influences have streamed into Maharashtra from all directions and have been assimilated in the religious and social structures, finding expression in literature, the visual arts and the performing arts. Among these, the tradition of music—tribal and folk, classical and popular—manifests a rich and varied heritage.

Tribal Music

The term 'tribal music' designates the music of the people who habitually live in the heavily wooded mountainous areas—the Bhils, Mahadev Kolis, Gonds, Warlis, Kokanas, Katkari Thakurs, Gaveets, Kolams, Korkus, Andhs, Malhars and Pardhis.

An important feature of primitive music is that it is closely integrated with movement which has choreographic potentialities. Not surprisingly, most of the musical occasions are described as dances, as for example, the *tarapi-nach* and the *ghor-nach* of the Warlis and the *ganesh-nach* and *holi-nach* of the Agaris. Again, the musical expressions of these people are marked by a pervasive collectivity, which, in turn, demands a perfect synchronisation of steps, movements as well as vocalisation. The collectivity is therefore causally related to the hypnotic repetitiousness in musical expression. It is essential for such music to employ instruments with an impressive acoustic output. Sharp tones and sonority reign supreme. For this purpose, small flutes, drums and wind-instruments of power are used and idiophonic struck and scraped sounds are selected. The primitive instruments are mostly made of easily accessible material such as bamboo, animal hides, gourds, clay pots, leaves and the like which do not involve extensive financial outlay. Instruments fashioned out of these materials are forked and jingling bamboo sticks, *tarpe* (a primitive wind-instrument which uses coupled gourds as resonators), *dera* (a primitive scraped membrane instrument), *thal* (a primitive drone with a metal plate and scraping rod), *ghungroo* (a primitive folk rhythm instrument) are characteristic and are played with great dexterity. The importance of musical instruments in primitive cultures is indicated by myths and tribal names. For example, the Agaris known also as *dhol*-Agaris, claim that they were drummer-musicians for Ravana, the demon-king of the *Ramayana* epic. Primitive musical compositions are permeated with religiosity and an intense rituality. Important events such as child-birth, initiation, marriage or death in individual life-cycles are occasions associated with music. Singing and dancing often signal the coming of the rains or the gathering of the first harvests.

Folk Music

Certain non-musical factors of a culture serve as indicators of the richness of its folk expression. In Maharashtra, apart from the major divinities, there is an abundance of cult and local deities. The extension of the pantheon naturally results in the multiplication of rituals, involving song and dance. Not all of these are connected with the caste system. Among the musical occasions are the thousands of fairs held every year in various parts of the state. Furthermore, there are more than seventy important sacred places in Maharashtra. These have their usual complement of temples and entertainers who play a significant role in the consolidation of folk traditions. It must also be noted that a large segment of folk music consists of women's songs.

Folk music generally means an abundance of songs which are generally widely understood. For various reasons folk-songs assume a character of a 'package' presentation which emphasizes the choric, choreographic or the histrionic impulse in fluctuating proportions. As a consequence

folk-songs defy all attempts at neat classification. The sixty-odd song-types prevailing in Maharashtra therefore need to be examined in a new light. The musical significance of these song-types is properly understood if they are simultaneously placed on three continua according to the accents they display. These three continua are: sound-effect to song; movement to dance; and routine bearing to dramatisation.

Nandivala

In this form, sound-effects are used as music. The *nandivala* in Maharashtra is a specialised entertainer-performer who presents his animal-training shows in villages allotted to him. Combining tricks with some soothsaying, the *nandivala* employs *gubgubee* (a two-faced scraped membranoplate), *ghadhyal-tipru* (the mallet used to strike the *gubgubee*) and tiny bells as instruments. Rhythmic playing, equally controlled verbalisation as well as loud thumping and scraping constitute the exploitation of the musical principle. After the show, the *nandivala* asks for alms.

Bahuroopi

This form consists of a drama-oriented song. The term *bahuroopi,* taken literally, means "one with many disguises." In actuality, however, a *bahuroopi* is a professional performer-entertainer who parades in different disguises and, in return for his performance, asks for alms. *Bahuroopis,* the avowed devotees of the cult-dieties Bahiroba, Khandoba, Jakhai and Janai, are widely known for songs representing a humourous invitation to a marriage. Impersonations of women, pregnant females and young mothers find a place in their repertoire. The versification is full of rhymes and assonances, and the recitation has an attractive and quick tempo. No musical instruments are employed.

Dhangari Ovya

This form consists of a movement-oriented song. This genre is associated with *dhangars* (goatherds) though, etymologically, the word *dan,* is derived from the Kannada term meaning cattle. The songs weave a musical web around Biruba, an incarnation of Lord Shiva. The myth associated with it mentions that, once upon a time, numerous flocks of sheep emerged from an ant-hill and began to destroy the standing crops. Lord Shiva was approached for redress and he created the *dhangars.*

The *dhangars* gather together in colourful clothes, and the participants dance around the players of a huge *dhol* and perform vigorous movements known as *gajanrittya* (a collective dance performed by shepards in the open air). The *ovya* songs are usually in the *ahirani* dialect and narrate Biruba's story, sing his praises and often touch upon secular themes. Broad forceful rhythms, emphatic stanza-endings, powerful voice projections and other features characterise this form of open-air singing. The presence of the prosodic mould of *ovi* (form used in extempore composing of folk music) is causally connected with the required flexibility in construction.

Vasudev-geet

This genre seems to be particularly poised to make a transition from a dance-oriented group expression to a melody-oriented solo performance. *Vasudev,* the performer, is an incarnation of Lord Krishna, as is apparent from the distinctive head-gear of peacock feathers worn and the instrument employed, the *murali* (a type of flute). With *ghungroos* (bells) on his ankles and a pair of *manjiri* in one hand the performer sings and executes nimble, delicate dance-steps with frequent whirling movements. *Vasudevs* belong to a class of itinerant devotees who perform for alms in the courtyards of homes in the early mornings.

Vaghya-murali Geet

The songs of this form constitute a sub-variety of *gondhal.* However, the feminine element qualitatively differs from the parent genre in its clear aesthetic orientation.

Vaghya and *murali* refer respectively to the male and female devotees of Khandoba (to whom they are dedicated).

The minimal number of performers in such a presentation comprises a *vaghya* and a *murali.* The *murali* is the chief dancer and the *surtya vaghya* is the individual who provides accompaniment known as *jagran.* The performance is distinguished by the *murali*'s graceful and nimble dancing, her attractive and neat costume and the pervasive but sophisticated sensuousness of her movements. As far as the instruments are concerned, the *jagran* consists of limited resources: the *tuntune,* the *khanjiri,* the *ghungroo* and the *ghol,* the last being a small bell tied to the loose end of the *murali*'s *sari* and played by her. In its musical use of the nonsense syllables 'haba-haba', or in the repeated atonal phrasing and in the use of definite and traceable *raga*-frames, the song-type affirms musical ambitions that range far beyond the song-types described as 'folk'.

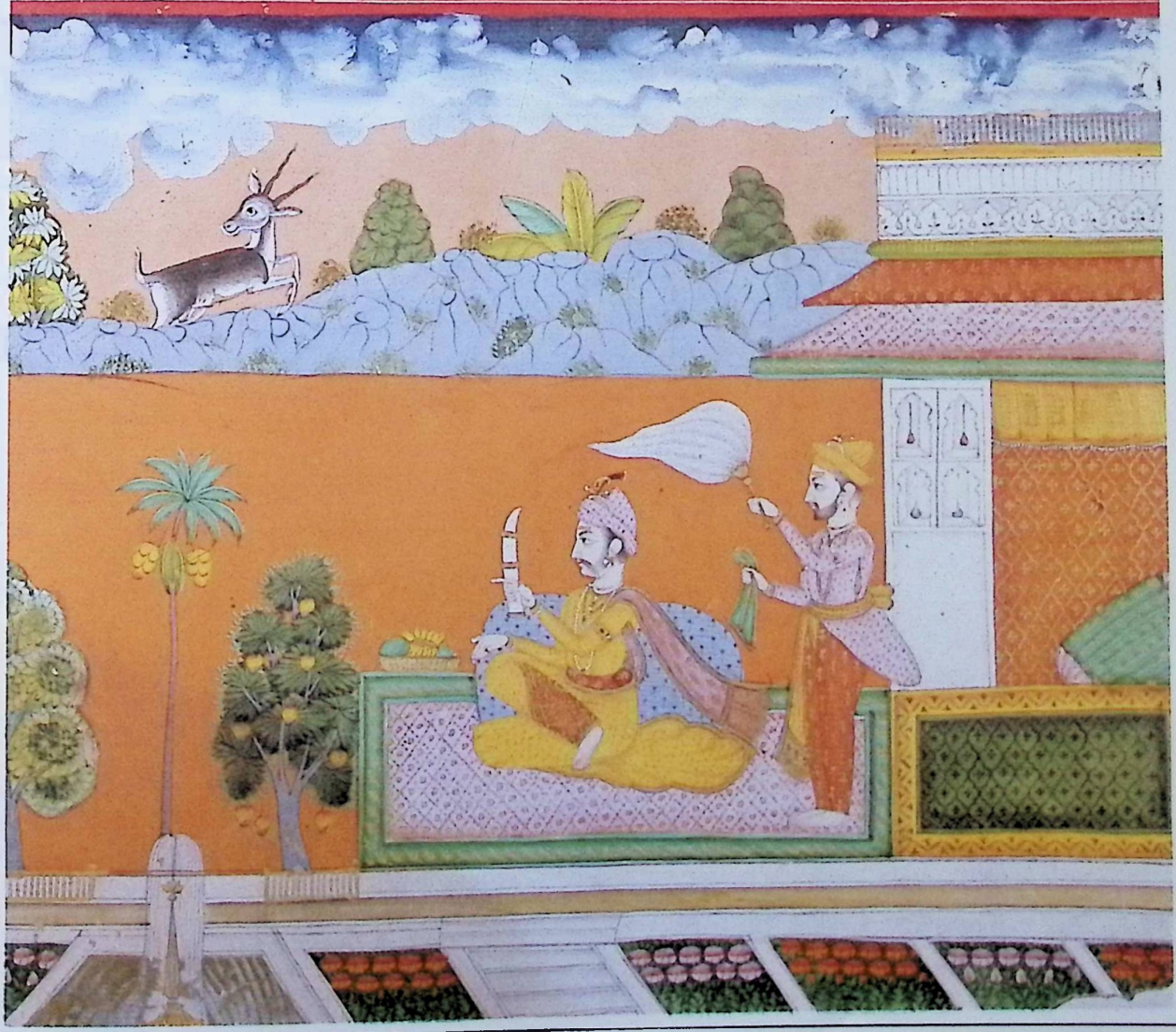
As indicated earlier, any attempt at the listing of folk music would necessitate a deeper analysis of the categories of game-songs, work-songs, ritual songs, lullabies and other songs related chiefly to women's activities.

At least sixty-odd types can be identified—in reality they signify a fraction of the wealth of folk music in Maharashtra.

1 Folio from a series of *Tala* paintings depicting various rhythms
18th century A.D.
Collection: Bharatha Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

॥गज

॥श्रीगणेशायनमः॥ बिंदोर्जघोर्नवेर्बिंदुर्जघूनांचत्रिकेत्था॥ चतस्रःश्रुतरेखाःस्युर्देगुरुस्यान्ततः श्रुतः॥गुरु
श्रुताश्रुताद्याणस्तान्जस्याङ्गजदेतकः॥उदाहरण॥०।० ॥६६६६६६६६०। ॥वट॥ त्था॥थे॥स॥थे॥थेथेथे
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सेककीजेहेकीकीत्रकीणातजेमुखताहाकुसेझकुकुशकुशकुदानगधेथाः॥३॥ताहाकुसेझकुकुशकुशकु
झानगधेथाः॥४॥नगध्थेथाःनगन्थेथानगधेथाः॥५॥ रगदेवगंधारकिंकिलतेरवतरतकरनतोउरंगरंग
तुम्हरंगरंगआ॥ओरमतीर्षजागदागरहोरमईलेतरंगनृमपर॥ रगनाट॥ रामः॥।॥ श्रीरामचंद्रायनमः॥



Devotional Music

Devotional music has been an important and uninterrupted tradition for more than four hundred years. Its wide hold cuts across social strata and the unique feat of assimilating both folk as well as art-music features attracts special attention. As a cult or a movement, *bhakti* devotion held sway in India from the fourth century and music became a part of the *bhakti* practices. All over India the *bhakti* movement gave rise to a special category of saints who were devotees, poets, singers as well as *gurus*. This led to the wide circulation of music and created a category of variegated music. This form has several salient features.

First and foremost it explored the three major modes of vocalisation: chanting, recitation and singing. It also employed the solo as well as the choral manner of presentation. Secondly, it judiciously selected its instrumental resources. Traditionally, the *vina ektari* has always provided the melodic aspect, while the rhythm was supplied by the *mridang*, the *khanjiri*, the *manjiri*, the *tal* and the *chiplya*. The instruments chosen in this form are simple, relatively easy to play (with the exception of the *mridang*) and involve little maintenance. For rhythm, cycles of four and eight beats are employed in a majority of cases. These cycles do not require special

...adev performers
...ma
...hara dynasty
11th century A.D.
Collection: Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur

4 *Nandi* bull

5 The *tarpe* being played during a performance by a Warli tribal

6 Sitar

7 Rajarambhau Kadam of Parbhani—a famous *Gondhali*

8 Pandit Vishnu Digambar Paluskar



2



3



4

skill or virtuosity.

Devotional music expresses itself through various vocal forms such as the *bhajan*, the *kirtan*, the *sankirtan* or the *gayan*. These forms have a long history and can be traced to the twelfth century. Certain other forms associated with a performing tradition are known as *dhavale, abhang, gaulan, pad, bharud, stotra, arati, karunastak, shloka, ovi, phatka, katav* and *virani*. Even though sections of devotional music compositions may have lapsed over the centuries, a significant number of them still remain in circulation because sects like *Varkari, Samarth* and *Datta* prescribe obligatory and daily rituals for their followers. Chanting and reciting form an important aspect of their devotional practices.

The continuous tradition of devotional music has been perpetuated and enriched by the evolution of new religious movements.

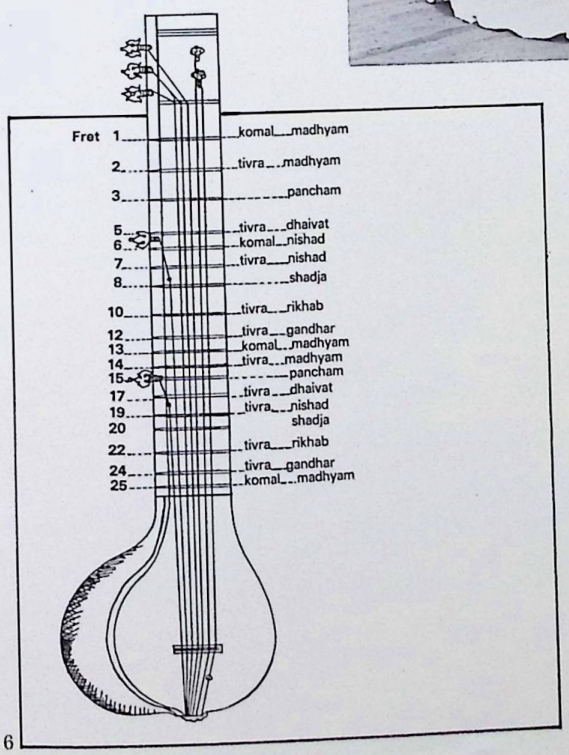
The *kirtan* in Maharashtra has branched into several interesting sub-traditions. It has also provided the basic format for similar expression in the south. Furthermore, it has contributed to Marathi stage music which became popular in Maharashtra from 1843 onwards. Even though it is not possible to discuss all the *kirtan* continuities in depth, a diagram of its types should



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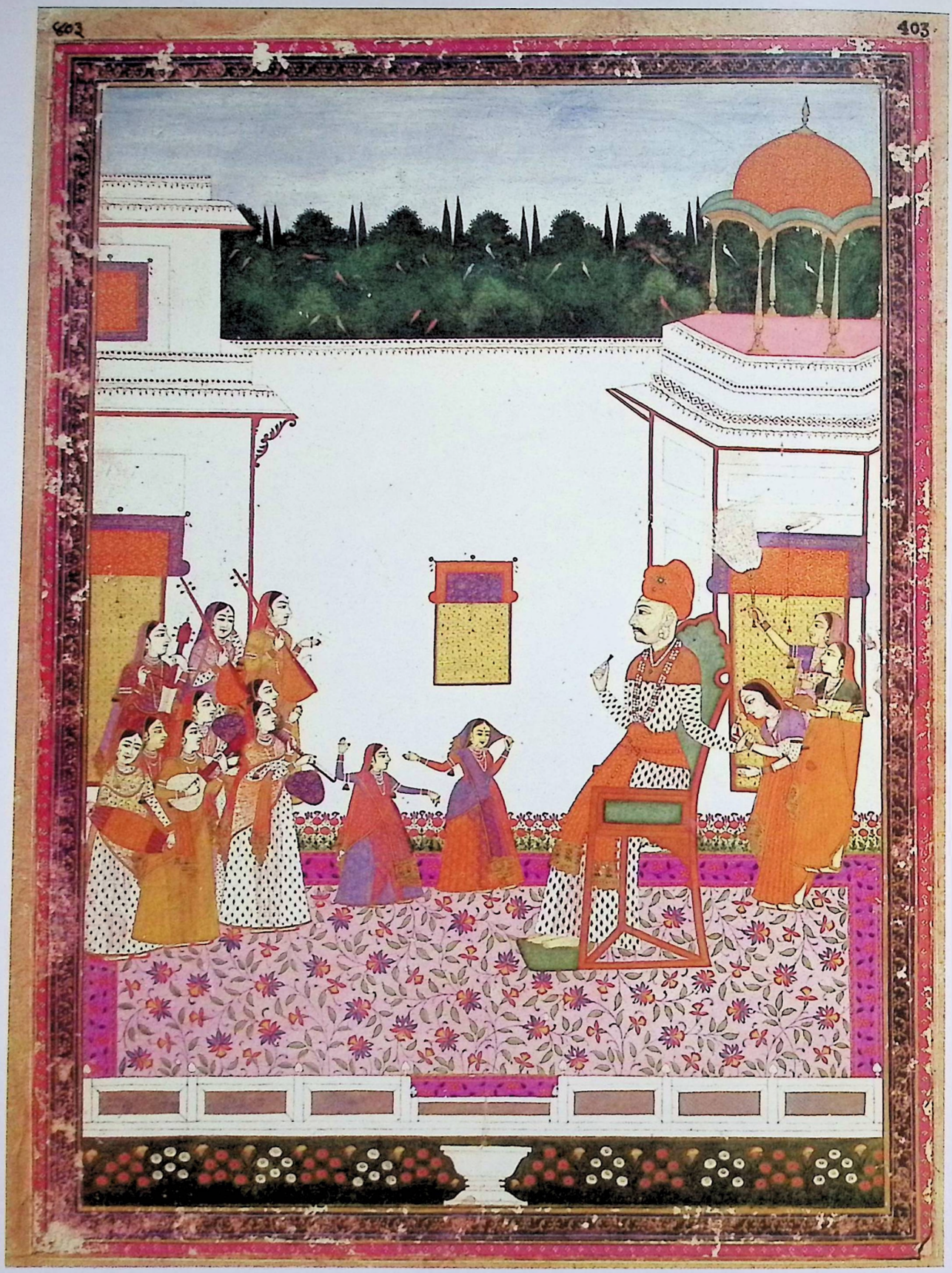
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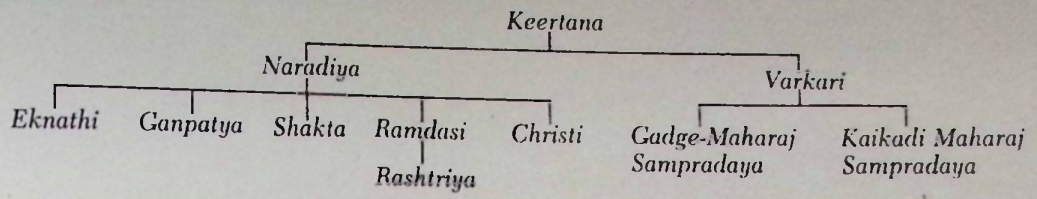
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9 Court dance
Maratha Kalam; c. A.D. 1800
Collection: Bharata Itihasa
Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

provide an idea of its variety.



Classical or Art Music

Without going into intricate problems of definitions and terminology it is possible to describe classical or 'art music' as music with a codified grammer within a scholastic tradition. Music answering such a description existed in Maharashtra from as long ago as A.D. 200.

The *Gatha Saptashati* – a second century compilation – gives an inkling of the general life-style of those times. A perusal of these couplets reveals spectacular performances by groups of professional dancers. The musical instruments employed were the *dundubhi, nagara, mridang* and *vina* as well as the flute. Thus, the robust and the sophisticated as well as the rhythmic and the melodic aspects of music were evident. The compilation also mentions a husband who provided musical accompaniment to his wife's recital. In other words, both the elite and the non-elite musical expressions were already established during this period.

Pictorial and other evidence from the centuries that followed reveal that music was employed on various occasions such as processions, coronation ceremonies, religious festivities and the announcement of gifts. Early in the thirteenth century, *ragas* such as *kalyan, ramkali* and forms such as *choupadi* appear to be well-established, judging from the fact that Sant Namdeo's compositions included in *Granth Saheb* – the Sikh sacred text – were set to tune in *ragas*. Obviously, Maharashtra had opted for a musical system that was later to become the Hindustani system of art music. That by the sixteenth century the northern system was clearly the prevailing mode, is apparent from the devotional compositions of Dasopant (1551-1615), which were set to *ragas* such as *huseni* and *kafi*. Moreover, he described other *ragas* such as *maru* and *gaud* as *dakshinshala*, indicating thereby that they were prevalent in the southern regions. Interestingly, like Maharashtra, the adjoining kingdom of Bijapur appears to have been favourably inclined towards northern music.

For example, Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626) in his book, *Kitab-e-Nauras*, employs terminology including names of *ragas* which clearly suggest Persian influence. Furthermore, the compositions are written in Braj, as are most compositions of Hindustani music. In all likelihood, Ibrahim Adil Shah is the originator of the *raga-ragini* miniatures associated with the Hindustani tradition of music. The possibility that artists from the defeated Hindu dynasty of Vijayanagar must have turned for patronage to the Adil Shah court, therefore the absence of a Carnatic style in it, assumes special significance.

During the reign of Shivaji, established trends continued. After his death in 1680, for almost fifty years, art and music suffered from indifferent patronage until the Peshwas – the Prime Ministers of the descendants of Shivaji and the other Maratha chieftains found sufficient means and inclination to offer support to music. For example, Raghobha (1784-1783), who was the Peshwa for a short period, records the expenses incurred while arranging a concert of a musician of Tansen lineage. Raghobha's son, Bajirao II, retained the services of Chintamani Mishra – a Dhrupad singer. Thus, by 1819, when the British Union Jack was hoisted over the Shaniwarwada, Maharashtra had developed a firm and a wide-ranging tradition in art music which included such forms as the *dhrupad-dhumar, khayal, tappa* and instruments such as the *sarangi, sitar* and *pakhawaj*. In addition, during this period, the form of *baithakichi lavani* – akin to *thumri* of Hindustani music – arose and received definition.

During the British rule, music flourished in Maharashtra and received impetus from various forces. At this time the educated Marathi elite began to associate itself with the arts and to offer sustained patronage to performing artists. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkarajikar was among those to receive such encouragement. During his career, he edited a music magazine in Bombay, aided by Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and other luminaries, and contributed substantially to the creation of a platform for the *khayal* style of Hindustani music in Maharashtra. With organised promotional efforts, the audience and appreciation of music expanded significantly. The institutionalisation of the art was another important factor in its growth. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar opened a music school in Lahore in 1901 and Ustad Abdul Karim initiated a similar institute in Bombay a few years later. Western music had been promoted by the Parsi community since the late nineteenth century.

Vishnu Digambar, who had been exposed to staff notation, evolved an Indian notation system by 1900. Bhatkhande contributed to several major branches of theoretical study: history, criticism and grammer. His signal contribution involved the written 'translation' and codification of the oral tradition. After extensive research, he formulated the grammar of Hindustani music and, in 1909, the first volume of *Sanjit Paddhati* was published.

In addition were interesting and instructive manuals on *sitar, mridang* and harmonium (the latter variety, proliferated as stage-music, became more and more popular). Ms. Clement-Deval

and G. B. Achrekar, Krishnarao Mule and others too contributed to the grammatico-historical discussions of music. In 1912, the establishment of the Western India Philharmonic Society served the purpose of introducing Indian music to the western world. Some Indian musicians also learnt western music from European masters.

The most vital and energetic musical form that developed in Maharashtra during the mid-nineteenth century was Marathi Stage Music. A unique blend of art and non-art music, it drew its power from its accommodative and assimilative capacities. It prospered into a major musical stream due to the varied contributions of actor-singers such as Bhaurao Kolhatkar, Balgandharva, Keshavrao Bhonsale, Master Dinanath and others. The form enjoyed uninterrupted growth till the advent of the talkie in 1931.

Band-music achieved recognition in many of the princely states. Similarly, orchestra music also became popular. Pandit Vishnu Digambar, Ustad Abdul Karim Khan and others, used the orchestral items in the *jalsas* they organised. Also, by 1930, the major *gharanas* (term used to specify musicians and musical styles) of Hindustani *khayal*-singing enjoyed stability.

New Musical Instruments

To the traditional instruments such as the *pakhawaj* and the *tabla* were added the violin and the pedal-harmonium. Later, the Indians introduced the bellow-harmonium. Harmoniums of both types were extremely popular in Maharashtra. Western instruments such as the banjo and the piano were employed frequently in orchestra and film music. Several other factors affected all categories of music, though in varying degrees. Among these were the easy availability of gramophones in India from 1928 onwards and the recordings of songs from stage and cinema. At the same time, radio-broadcasting was introduced in India and that played its own part in ushering new styles and trends in music. But an even more important function was performed by the press. Newspapers in English and Marathi, in the nineteenth century, influenced the opinion of the educated and cultured elite — the new patrons of the arts — through their reports and criticisms.

Popular Music

The existence of popular music can be traced back to the seventeenth century. There is reason to believe that *powada,* an important song type in this genre, received impetus during Raja Shivaji's times. Marked by a forceful, rhythmic, outdoor manifestation, the *powada* consisted of singing praises of heroes and descriptions of valourous deeds. This also included praises of the activities of leaders of society. With changing times there was a considerable expansion in their thematic content and the compositions included subjects such as famine and the *holi*-festivals of the Peshwas, to the depiction of the Goa Liberation Movement (1955) or the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement (1956-62). The stentorian voice of the singer-composer was accompanied by musical instruments such as the *tuntune* (a rhythm-*cum*-drone instrument with one string) and *halgi* (a membrano-phonic struck and scraped instrument).

Around 1860 a new form of folk-drama known as the *vag* (consisting of narrative, *lavani*-singing, dance and effective but unsophisticated acting) came into vogue. Uma and Babu Savlajkar are credited with the first successful performances of the genre.

Maharashtra shot into a glamorous age with the advent of the talkie cinema as first Pune, and later Bombay, became the seat of the Indian film industry. From the 71 compositions of the film, *Indrasabha* (1931), to the 'no song' film, *Naujawan* (1931), Indian cinema displayed various facets of its relationship with music. However, by and large, myth and music have been the staple food of Indian cinematic experimentation. The play-back singing brought about a qualitative change in music through the entry of the talented singer Lata Mangeshkar and other play-back singers.

From 1931 onwards, Maharashtra witnessed the emergence of another form of popular music — that of *bhavgeet.* To sing a poem in tune and not merely to recite it is the essence of the *bhavgeet gayan.* Shri G. N. Joshi, J. L. Ranade, Gajanan Watve, Sudhir Phadke are some of the artists who performed creditably during various phases of the development of this form.

It is also important to note the emergence and gradual decay of the *mela*-songs in Maharashtra. They owed their origin to the Ganesh Ustav and Shivaji-Jayanti celebrations made popular by Lokmanya Tilak in the 1890s as one of the ways of bringing people together and involving them in the freedom struggle against the British. The songs formed a part of variety-entertainment programmes that included collective dance, singing and drill — which contributed to the festivities.

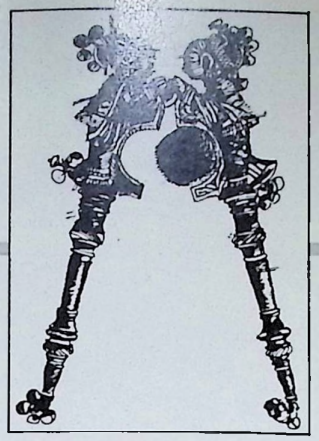
The musical scene in Maharashtra today is a rich fusion of forces — all of which mutually influenced each other. Never before have the non-musical areas of culture come so close to music and yet been so separated from it! The paradoxical processes of cultural fragmentation and artistic integration are simultaneously in progress, necessitating an alert response to the challenge ahead.

Traditions in Art

कलक्षेत्रातील परंपरा

हाती घेऊनी चिपळ्या टाळ ब्रम्ह वीणा ॥
सरजाचा तोल ईना ॥ हे जी ॥
कंबरेशी की माचपट्टा चाल झटासट
सरजा नार जसा डुलू लागला मोरा ॥ हे जी ॥
डोळ्याला भरुन काजळ कुंकवाची चिरी
गळ्यामध्ये सोन्याची सरी ॥ हे जी ॥
शेमल गळा डोरल दुरीचा जोड
पायात शिंदेशाही तोडा ॥ हे जी ॥
कानात करंड फूल झुब्याला मोती
नाकाला नथ सरजाची शोभा देती ॥ हे जी ॥
हातात हिरे कंकण पाटल्या चार
अंगावरती लेली जरिन सरजा नार ॥ हे जी ॥
अगात जरीची चोळी फेराची लुगडी
कानाला शोभती बुगडी ॥ हे जी ॥

- लोकगीत



Everyday Art

Anjali Munshi

The region of Maharashtra is steeped in antiquity. The stratigraphical levels of several archaeological sites in Maharashtra have yielded a number of objects which provide a great deal of information on the material culture of the different periods of pre-history, proto-history and history. These items throw light on the life existing in ancient times. The excavations and explorations carried out at sites in Paithan, Ter, Inamgaon and Mahurzari have unearthed broken pieces of pottery and potsherds, beads and bangles, artefacts and implements, utensils and vessels, terracotta heads as well as objects of ivory, bone, stone, metal and wood. Epigraphy and copper-plate inscriptions as well as sculptures supplement the picture of the day to day life of the men and women of the past, their habitations and living habits, their ideas and ideologies about religion, philosophy, art and aesthetics, science and technology and other different aspects of knowledge and disciplines. Continuing conventions are reflected further in the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu cave-dwellings, rock-cut cave temples and *viharas* (monasteries) as well as in shrines and palaces of later times.

From the very dawn of civilisation, proximity to the Arabian Sea with its waves splashing over Maharashtra's shores led to extensive marine activity and the development of fisheries as well as trade and commerce with foreign countries. The land routes led to regions beyond Maharashtra. The mingling and intermingling of various racial strains, foreign influences and indigenous traditions gave an exotic aura to this region.

All these factors influenced the arts and aesthetics of the land. Along with the highly sophisticated, cannonised and classical art forms existed touchingly appealing folk, tribal and *jungli* idioms. The present manifestations of the arts and aesthetics of the everyday life of the people of Maharashtra have deep-rooted connecting links going back to the fathomless past.

The day to day life of the people is based on their rich heritage of ancient civilisation and culture: life throbs with rhythm and cultural conventions. The routine life pattern is passed from generation to generation.

The average routine of a common person in Maharashtra starts with waking up at dawn, morning ablutions, anointing oil, bathing and scrubbing, coiling the hair, applying perfumes, wearing lovely costumes and ornaments and beautifying the body with cosmetics and adornments. Then commence the household duties such as watering the sacred plant of *tulsi,* drawing *rangoli* at the entrance, hanging *toranas* on the doors and windows and, at festival times, painting the walls with auspicious symbols. Then the *puja* of the household deities is performed. In a miniature temple called a *devara* are the gods, goddesses, deities — often titulary — demi-gods, and sacred forms. The worship is offered by pouring an ablution of sacred water known as *gangajal;* anointing the divinities with *panchamrut* consisting of milk, curd, honey, *ghee,* sugar; applying powders such as *kumkum* (vermilion), *haldi, abil, gulal;* and showering the images with *akshat* (rice grains). Then the lamps, filled with either purified butter or oil, are lit and incense sticks or powders are burnt. The worshipper then offers *naivadya* as well as sacred leaves such as *bili patra* or *tulsi patra* and different flowers and fruits while chanting *mantras,* reciting prayers and singing melodious devotional songs. At times, musical instruments such as cymbals, the *tambura* and the *mridang* accompany the singing.

The paraphernalia of the *puja* ritual includes many sacred vessels like water ablution pots, *lotas, kalshis, tamhanas, achmanis, panchapatras,* vermilion powder containers or *karandak, arati* and lamps, incense burners and flower plates. Although simple and humble, they are beautiful and artistically executed.



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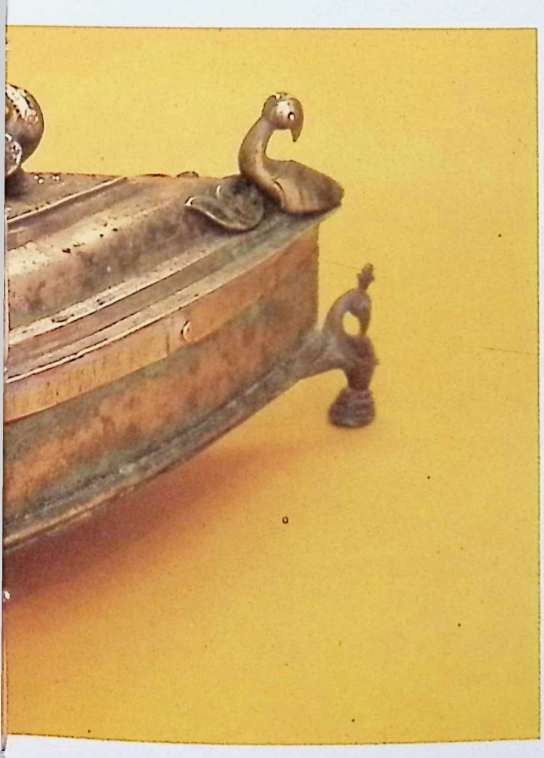
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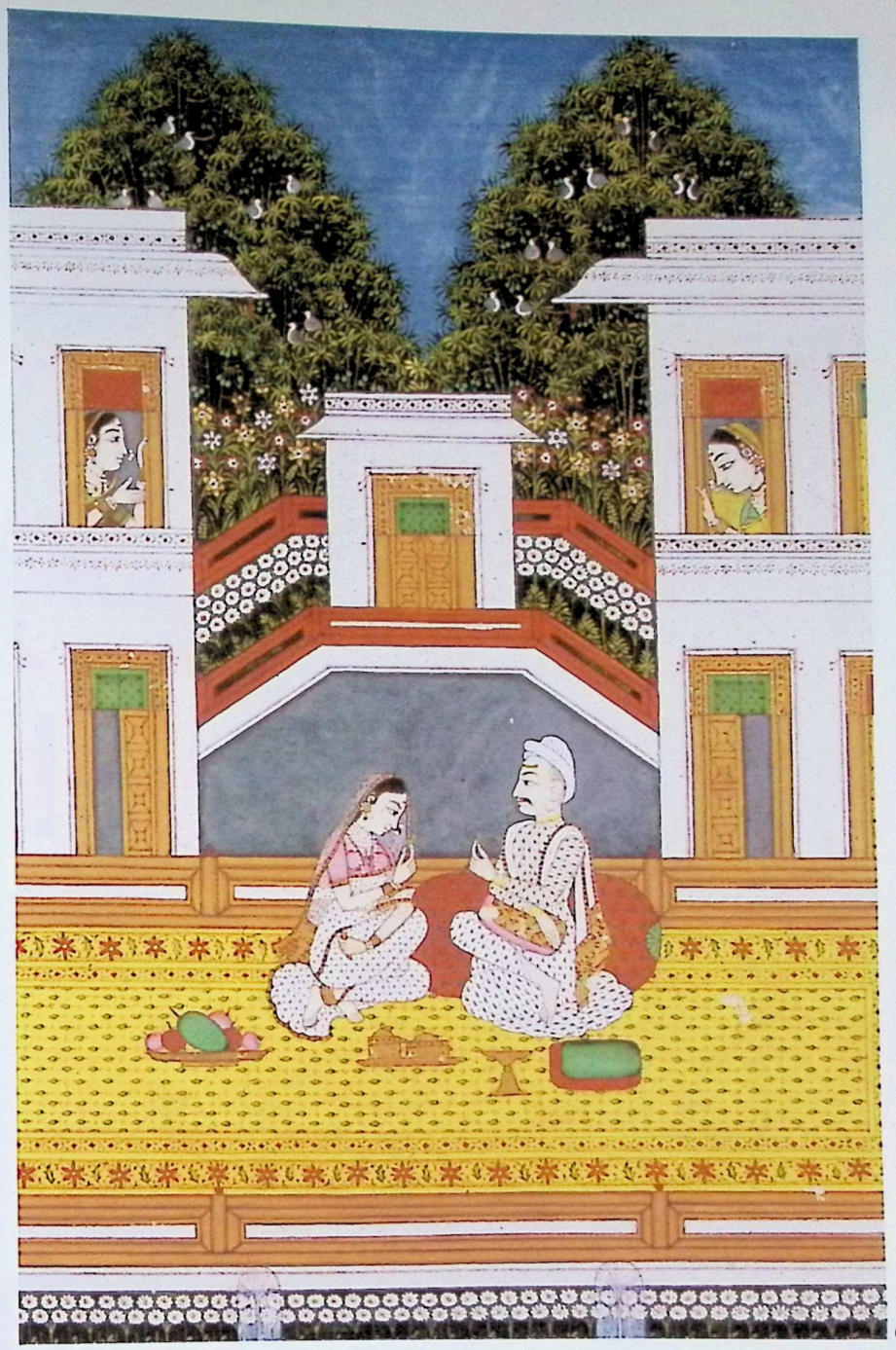


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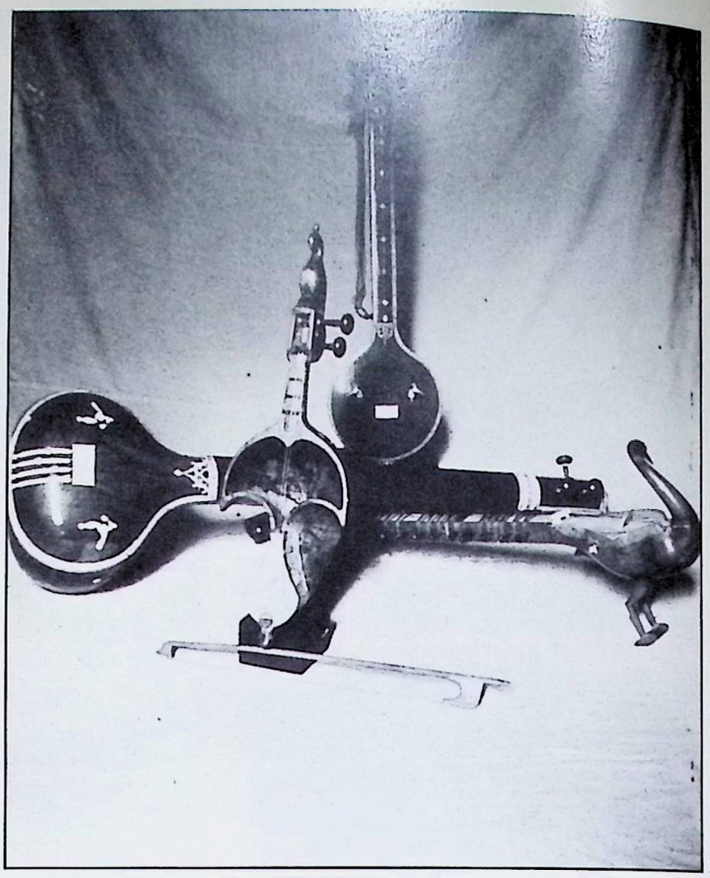
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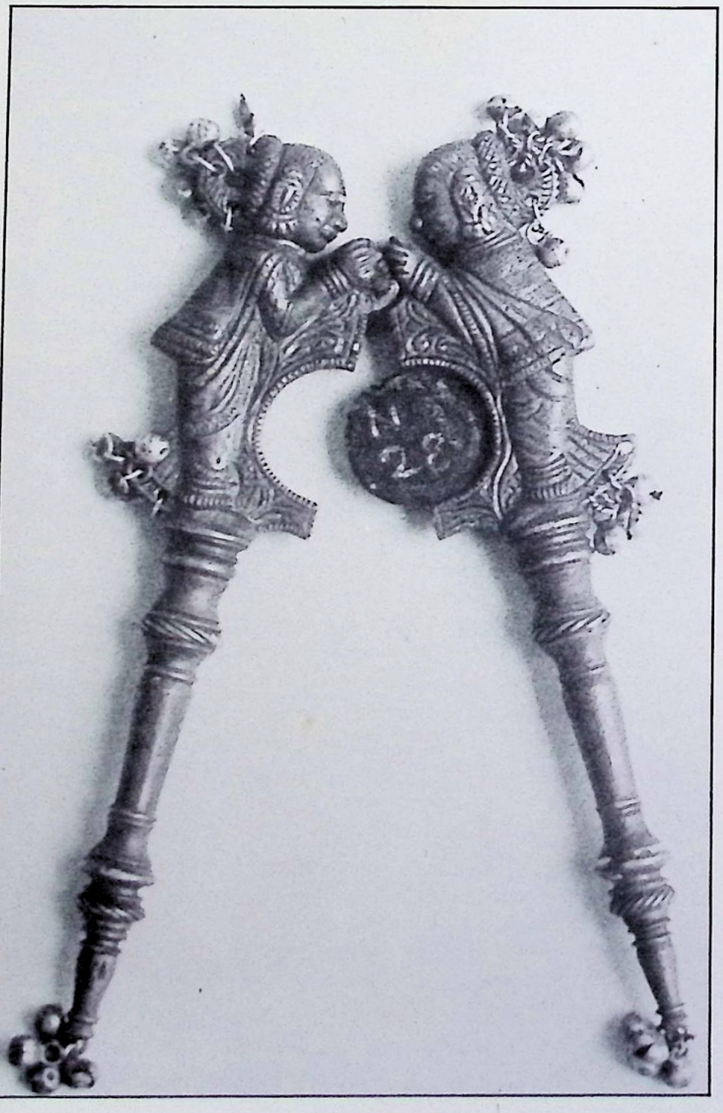
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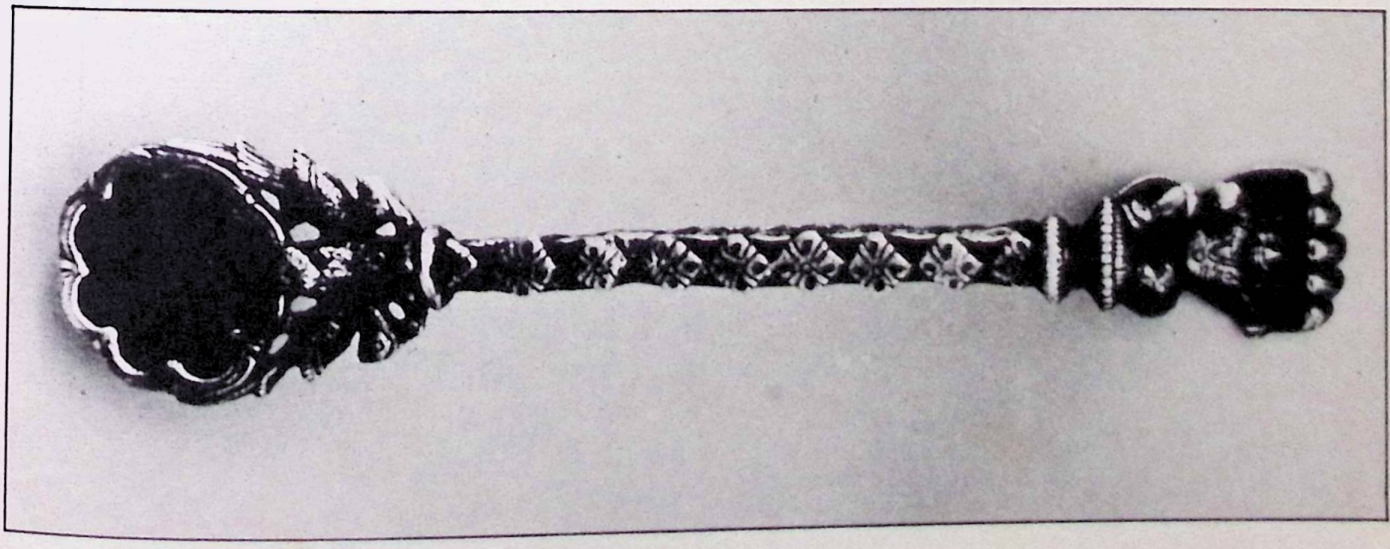
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Occasionally the *puja* rituals are long and elaborate. Auspicious occasions have special deities and special *pujas*. Ganesh Chaturthi, Chaitra-Gauri, Makar Sankrant, Diwali, Dashera, Gudi Padva, Holi and Vasant Panchami are celebrated with great festivity.

From birth to death, sixteen *samskaras* (sacraments) are given to a human being. Different rituals and ceremonies laid down in the scriptures are performed with each *samskara*.

In addition to the daily rituals are the feasts and festivals when merry-making and joy-sharing are carried out with great excitement. Sports and games, singing, instrument-playing, dance, drama and related performances become resplendent with artistic exuberance and invoke a high tempo of emotions. These human sentiments are reflected in the *objets d'art* of daily use. The form, shape and design of the objects are not only functional but also artistic. Often specific motifs are used on a particular object to convey a certain meaning.

Relics of the glorious days gone by reflect the rich artistry and skill of the talented craftsmen. The frail and fragile, but lively, Dr. Dinkar Kelkar has devoted his life to the collection of objects of everyday art. His entire assemblage is housed in a museum named after his son—the Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum. No visitor can fully grasp the core of Maharashtrian culture until he sees the unusual antiques and art pieces so carefully selected and so lovingly displayed in the collection.

Kaka—an endearing epithet that Dinkar Kelkar has acquired—establishes an enlightened rapport with visitors to his museum. At the age of eighty-nine, he is a young man of a bubbling spirit and untiring energy with immense pride in his varied collection. He talks about his experiences and objects with a sparkle in his eyes.

Passing through the different sections and the galleries of the museum, one feels like Alice in Wonderland. The different sections hold marvellous objects of bewildering variety and beauty.

The most impressive room is the living room of the *wada* (mansion) of Mastani, the beloved consort of Peshwa Bajirao I. Transplanted here, it reveals intricate architecture and woodcarvings as well as wall paintings. The superb furnishings evoke the atmosphere of the home of the courtesan queen whose portrait on glass is also contained in the museum. The Maratha courtesan wears an anglicised dress in the portrait.

Some of the galleries contain miniature paintings, and manuscript illustrations and *chitra-kathis* (narrative paintings). A colourful Chaitra-Gauri *pata*, painted on cloth in honour of the Goddess Gauri and worshipped during the *Chaitra* month, is particularly interesting.

Amongst the sculptures executed in different media such as stone, terracotta, metal and wood there is a five-headed Maruti which is dramatic. There are also innumerable images of gods and goddesses as well as folk deities.

The museum, however, is best known for its unusual collection of lamps. Of particular interest among them are: a nineteenth century lamp in the shape of a tree called *vrukshadip*, a brass lamp in the form of a standing two-armed Anjaneya holding a lamp-bowl, the rat *vahana* (vehicle) of Ganesh in the round, holding a many-petalled flowering lamp of the twentieth century and several *dipalakshmi* lamps and hanging lamps. Some of them exhibit Maharashtrian influence. These lamps are decorated with various motifs such as divinities, human figures, birds and animals.

The museum possesses a rich collection of objects associated with the ritual of making and offering *pan*, lime-containers and nut-crackers from Maharashtra. Pune and Nasik are well-known places for their own variety of *pan* or betel leaves. Most of these containers and nut-crackers are made in these places. The heart-shaped and pumpkin-shaped *pan-dans* and a circular brass lime container with a double-peacock motif belong to the present century. A great variety of nut-crackers—embellished with the divinities, erotic couples (probably Rati—Manmath), flora and fauna, or human motifs generally made in brass—range from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. A nineteenth century brass nut-cracker depicting a family consisting of a man, woman and child shows interesting workmanship.

In the museum a few objects connected with writing such as ink wells and pen cases, belonging to the last and the present centuries, are excellent examples of fine workmanship.

Amongst other articles there are objects related to daily toilet. These include the *vajris* (skin-scrubbers) from excavated sites of Maharashtra. These *vajris*, generally made of brass, are topped by bird, animal and human motifs. One of them is a foot-scrubber depicting two peacocks facing each other with necks crossed.

Music is always a favourite pastime among the Maharashtrians. Select and unusual musical instruments are displayed in a special gallery. Apart from the well-known *bin, tabla, dhol, shehnais*, many tribal musical instruments are also noteworthy.

The household articles include kitchen vessels and utensils, implements, *huqqas* (smoking pipes), spittoons, locks and indoor games such as *ganjifa* or *taurat* cards and *chopat*. These objects made in different media are artistically executed and are decorated with a variety of appealing motifs.

These myriad manifestations of magnificent artmanship and superb skill of the craftsman make a rich heritage for which the present state of Maharashtra is indebted to their great ancestors. These are not only *objets d'art* but also are *objets d'inspiratia*.

1 A household shrine

2 Ornaments for bullock horns

3 *Pan-dans*, nutcrackers, *chanchi*, lime boxes, lime applicator

4 Nutcrackers

5 A *pan-dan* with peacock motif

6 A *Nayak* and *Nayika* exchange *pan*

7 A scene from the *Ramayana*
20 x 35.5 cms.
paper

8 Brass toy, foot scrubbers, toilet box, ink pot and lock with key

9 Nutcracker

10 Musical instruments

11 Seed sower

12 Foot scrubbers

13 A platter

14 Carved ceiling depicting Seshashayi Vishnu
wood
19th century A.D.

15 Spoon for rituals



Crafts

Roshan Kalapesi

In many countries of the world, rapid industrialisation has led to the slow decline of the local craft traditions. This is not because industrialisation has posed a threat to the crafts but because industry, with its financial backing, mass production and efficient marketing, represents a corporate power with which even the strongest craft unit cannot compete. Inevitably the crafts languish and, with the disappearance of a craft tradition, the rich cultural heritage of the country becomes depleted.

It is important to define at the outset that not all those who create objects with their hands are craftsmen. A fine distinction exists between a person who produces an object and one who creates it. An industrial worker too makes objects with his hands but the creation of them is not determined by him. For the craftsman, his work is his ideology: it involves his mind, emotions and spirit. To produce the object, he employs the disciplined training he has acquired at great pains over the years. Even though he sees the materials, as generations before him have done, and uses his inherited skills to give the object shape and form, he does so by commanding his hands to create anew. In India, there are no distinctions between craftsmen and artists. Actually, there is but the word *shilpakar* to represent both. Interestingly, the term is used to designate an architect as well.

Craftsmen

Leisure Craftsmen

A whole range of family celebrations, public fairs and festivals give many craftsmen the opportunity to express their talents. In the villages and small towns, the paucity of organised entertainment encourages such activities as painting, embroidery, weaving or carving during leisure hours. In the city, however, where leisure time is a rare commodity, craft is on the decline. Except for the 'hobby-crafts' produced by those who are often motivated by the desire to supplement their incomes, dedicated craftsmanship is uncommon in cosmopolitan centres.

The rural and tribal person sees 'material' as something to be used creatively. It is his natural inclination to embellish and beautify everything around him, especially on days which are special to him. The Warlis of Maharashtra, for instance, paint on the walls of their homes when celebrating a birth or marriage in the family. Though this activity is usually performed by women, there is a master craftsman known as Jiva Soma Mase, who has perfected the art and achieved international recognition for his work. Such success has brought him invitations to participate in many festivals and fairs. There, removed from his natural environs, he sits working hour upon hour. He is expected to paint mechanically on paper and exhibit his art to the 'curious'. Working in alien surroundings, he seems to have lost inspiration and, consequently, his work is lifeless and dull. What Jiva Soma Mase needs is funds to build and equip for himself a studio, in his own village, where he can keep and train other young people to perpetuate and develop the art form that has sprung from his spirit and enriched us all.

Besides tribal paintings, tribal embroidery by the Banjaras, the gypsies of Maharashtra, also has grown from being a leisure-craft to one that brings a good income to those involved in it. The secret of its success is that the craftsmen have formed an organisation over which the master craftsman, Gopibai Sangram Jadhav, presides. The organisation strives to retain traditional colours and designs and, since the members market their wares together, the risk of buyers playing one against the other to bring prices down is minimised. Most important—they do not compromise on quality and hence their art will always be appreciated.

Seasonal Craftsmen

Many families who farm and are involved with agriculture, or who live in rural regions, have stretches of time when they are free to work at some craft. Waiting for the rains, or for the crops to ripen, they turn towards the fabrication of items derived from products of their own land. The most notable seasonal tribal craftsmen are the basket and mat weavers. In Maharashtra at one time, they moved in groups from one mango farm to another during the season, and were paid to weave baskets in which the fruit was transported to the markets. Unfortunately, today they do not go to the farms anymore, and precious wood is used instead of baskets to crate mangoes. In several other states the adequate production of cane and bamboo has made it possible for many to occupy themselves with weaving throughout the year. In most parts of Maharashtra, the basket weaver relies on dried leaves, fibres, husks and a little bamboo (much of the high-quality bamboo is cornered by the paper mills). Ultimately, during the dry season, "without work or water," villagers migrate to the urban areas and some never return to their villages.

The *mela* is a place to sell seasonal craft or produce, or, alternatively, to barter it for the craftsmen's own needs. However, they are often displaced by urban shop-keepers, who bring cheap synthetics and other goods. The *mela* also functions as a place for the young to meet, to sing and dance through the night and perhaps to find their future mates, but there too, inundated by tourists, a sensitive occasion for them is vulgarised in the name of tourism.

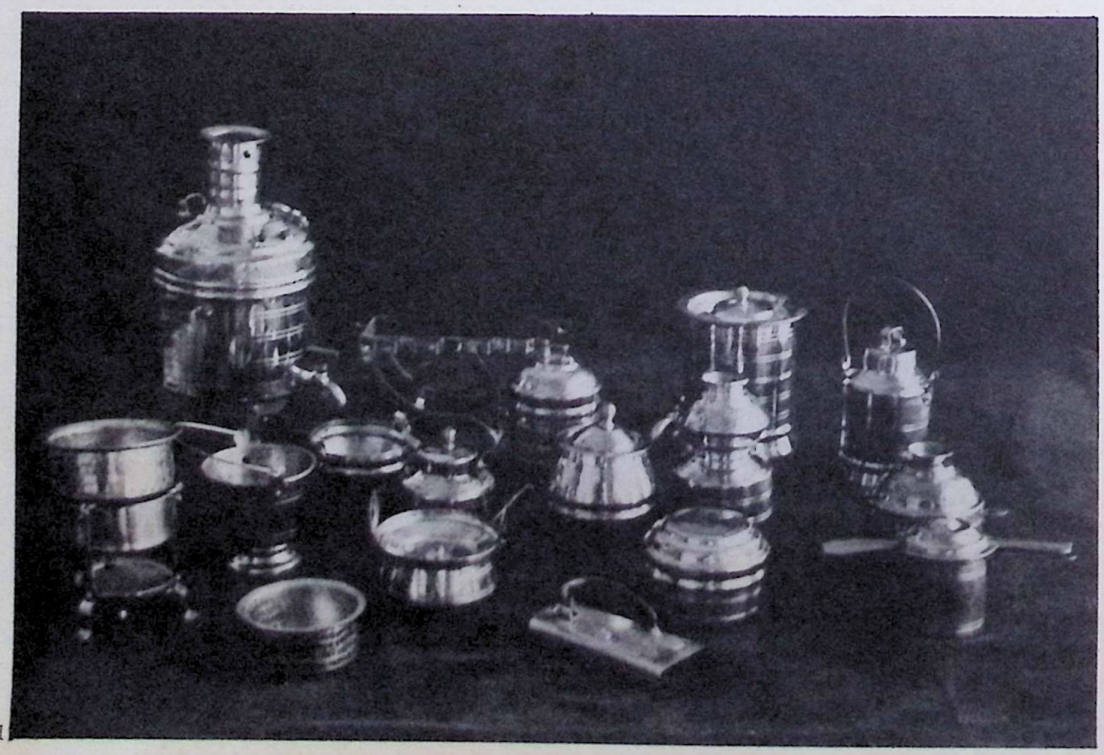
At the *mela* people get a chance to meet, chat and philosophise as well as see famed performers. They too are silenced by the 'blaring cacophony' spilling from the microphones of political-party booths, which alternately play film music or spout political credos. The positive, warm culture of our rural people is being thrust aside, and the only opportunity for marketing by the individual is truly being destroyed.

Parampara or Hereditary Craftsmen

Through the chance of birth, children in India may inherit a rich tradition handed down countless generations. Following strict codes of living and learning, these children grow to become new generation craftsmen, living in small villages or around the temples, palaces or monuments, built by their forefathers. These tradition-trained craftsmen produce the best objects in the country.

Industrial organisations prefer to employ craftsmen, because of their discipline, concentration, and an ability to use their hands. The higher wages, and the lure of city culture, have gradually denuded our rural regions of craftsmen. Living now in urban slums, these ex-craftsmen are unable to pass on their heritage to their own children, who will grow up as unskilled workers. The tragedy has been that we have failed to value our traditional training and have eliminated it from our education systems, doing great injustice to our younger generation.

However, it has been very heartening to find another kind of professional craftsman emerging in our cities, who has chosen to give up other remunerative work and move towards fulfilling his urge to become a craftsman. For, as the *parampara* craftsmen disappear, these new craftsmen will play an important role as they will be the ones who will carry our traditions into the future.



1 Most toys have an educational purpose in India.
Miniature kitchen vessels made of brass are handed down from generation to generation, preparing the future housewife.
Craftsman: Deherkar, Murbad

2 The Soma family from Solapur has created a new form in these woven wall-hangings by interpreting traditional symbols in a contemporary idiom.

3 The Jadhav family in Chalisgaon has been instrumental in protecting and making available the embroideries of the Banjaras (gypsies). Master craftswoman Gopibai has involved her whole family and a new generation of young embroiderers in developing this traditional craft.

4 The raised silken design on a cotton ground is created by a complicated process of weaving the *himru* fabric using *jalas.*
Craftsman: K. R. Mohan

5 The old *bidri* hookah-base was probably, made by an elder of the Rahim family in Aurangabad. The gleam of real silver and the preciseness of the work is rarely found today.

6 The *paithani sari* is distinctive because of its gold *pallav* and border.
The Government refined this craft and several looms have been set up at Paithan, where examples like this are created.

7 *Yeola* weaver with Dobby loom

8 *Yeola* silk *sari*

9 A potter at his hand-driven wheel

10 Though hand-made, the pots have an uniform quality

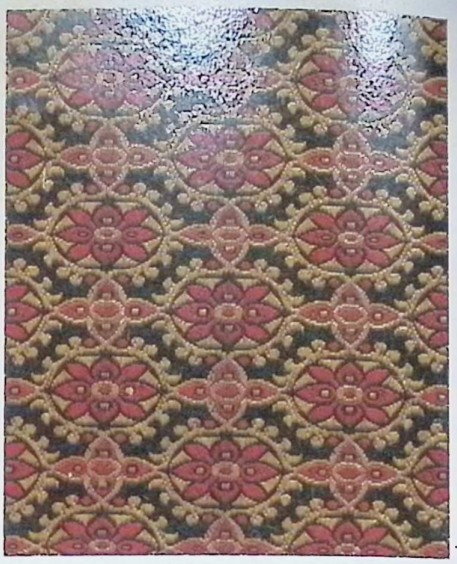
11 A cobbler's shop

12 The Kolhapuri *chappals* have universal appeal





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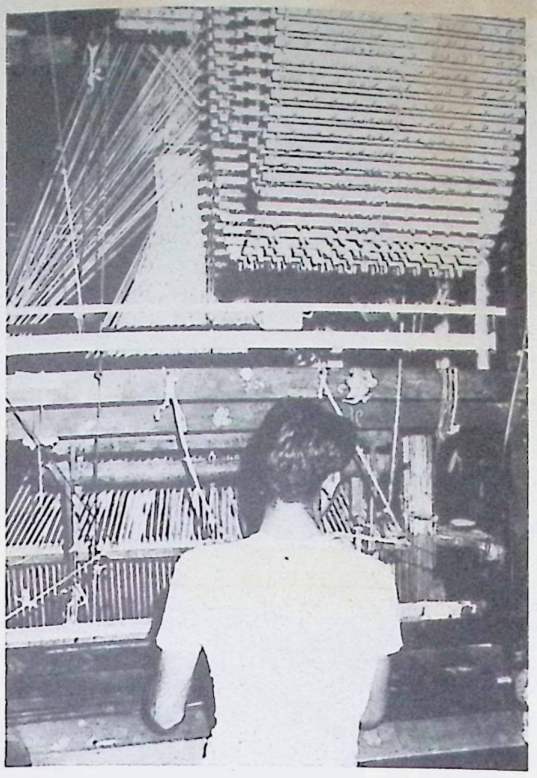
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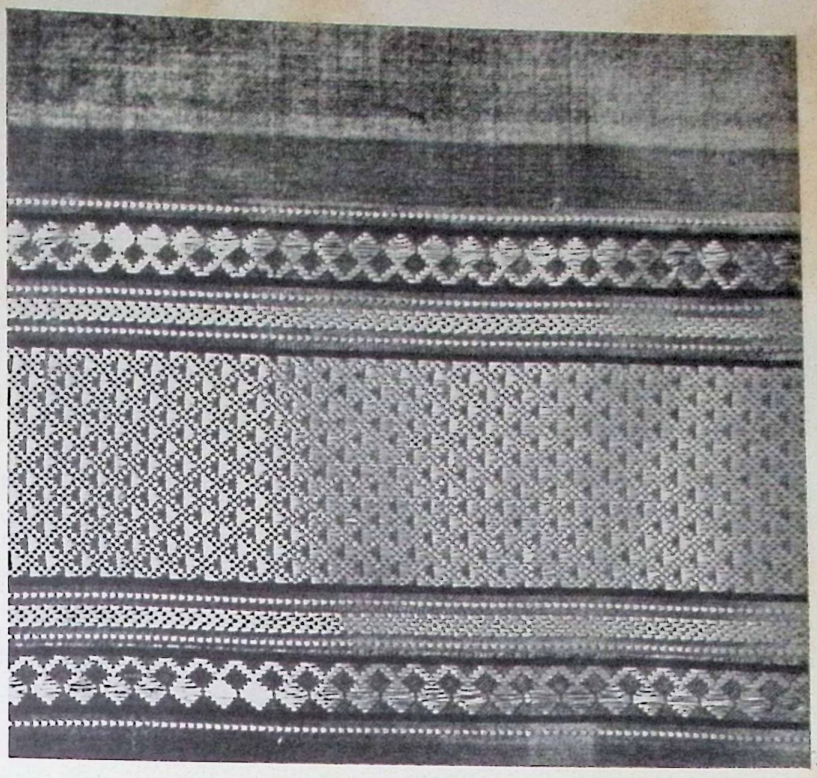
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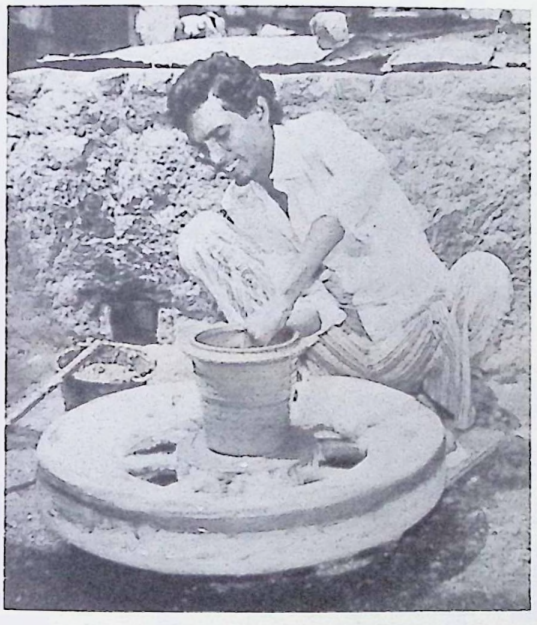
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Crafts

The strongest surviving traditional crafts of Maharashtra are weaving and metal-work, with most other crafts, besides that of Kolhapuri *chappals,* being practised in isolated small pockets, on a small scale.

Weaving

Textiles were a notable product of the state until the turn of the century, when we experienced some restraints. But political independence in 1947 brought a resurgence of interest in our weakened craft tradition. The woven *dhurries* of Maharashtra are among the country's best known floor spreads and the Maharashtrian *saris* and *khans* have a distinctive character.

Pottery

Growing urbanisation has forced craftsmen to adapt and cater to urban needs in order to survive. In our state, there are a few village potters and the *khumbarwada* in the city making the most ordinary terracotta. More exciting is the work of the 'new' potters, many of whom consider themselves artists. The state has made an organised effort to protect and promote the craft in Bhadravati, and, hopefully, this will serve as an example to other centres.

Metal Work

Gold and silver ornament-making flourishes, yet most contemporary designs lack creativity. Silver ornaments are being produced mostly on an assembly-line basis, wherein no single craftsman creates an ornament from start to finish. The master craftsman, who often is also the owner of the unit, employs junior craftsmen to produce sections which are then assembled. Consequently, the apprentice does not learn the craft fully and can never be independent. Old and well-executed designs in units at Kolhapur and Hupri are produced, but, the skills are gradually depreciating and design is moving into commercial hands.

Excellent workmanship is evident in vessels made of copper, zinc, tin, brass, *kasha* as well as alloys of other kinds. Nasik, an important centre for metal-craft, has many idle craftsmen because the high cost of metal has culminated in reduced sales. Despite unemployment, many icon or vessel makers will refuse orders for white metal 'art-ware' from businessmen. Traditionally, the craftsman has always made 'utility' items, unashamedly spending long hours decorating a simple pot or spoon, but the concept of producing 'useless' decorative items seems to him "a misuse of the materials God has created for us."

Small Crafts

Leather

Listed as a small craft, leather evidently has made its urban transition and will not remain small for long. It started with large exports of the skillfully made Kolhapuri *chappals.* Threatened now by spurious dealers, whose production is often defective, the industry is facing an unnecessary decline in sales. However, those craftsmen employed in leather units making garments, furniture and a vast range of shoes and bags, have produced work that is in demand internationally.

Textile Prints

Printing is not a traditional craft of Maharashtra. In recent years, however, some of the finest printing units have been established and are recognised for their high-quality production.

Stone and Wood Carving

The old masters are gone who spoke of "the image 'within' the wood or stone that they exposed by creating spaces around it." Such veneration is absent, as also the sensitivity to environment that produced past masterpieces. One adjunct of wood is the craft of 'finishing in lacquer'. Contemporary craftsmen also make *pattas* in lacquerwork, which is a very old craft, but only a few craftsmen are able to produce the kind of items that would sell well.

The Crafts of Aurangabad

The crafts of Aurangabad form an isolated group. Today about 4 or 5 families work at weaving *himru* and producing *bidri* work. These crafts were brought to Aurangabad from other centres as part of Muslim Culture. The fabric, *himru,* was specially invented to suit Islamic religious injunctions which forbade the wearing of silk. Both *himru* and *bidri*-ware were created for the Shahs—the royalty of the land.

The *himru* produced today however is woven very slack and often fast-dyed yarn is not used. The *bidri* worker too uses a lesser quantity and quality of silver in his work. This, presumably, is done to reduce costs. The craftsman will only venture to make beautiful and expensive items, if there is a viable market for them.

One needs to mention here that there is a group of traders, who employ stone-cutters for the production of agate beads in Aurangabad. This craft will predictably fall into abrupt decline because of changing tastes.

The oft-repeated statement that "there are no crafts left in Maharashtra" is not yet true. But it may become a fact in these days of technological progress if the crafts are not consciously nurtured and fostered.



Coins

B.V. Shetti

The earliest coins found in Maharashtra are the silver punch-marked coins discovered in 1871 at Sinhi near Kolhapur and in 1876 at Sultanpur, Satara District. In 1943 a large hoard of coins was found at Bahal in Khandesh. The dating of the coins in these three hoards cannot be precisely determined as they are not yet properly classified. The coins from Bahal feature a variety of motifs such as the bull, the elephant, the deer, the frog or the fish as well as plants and human figures. Occasionally, the coins depict architectural motifs such as the arch or symbols like the taurine. The square and round coins from Sultanpur are impressed generally with a die rather than with punches. The motifs on these square and round coins are similar to the taurus and the quarter-foil motif which is a symbol represented by a circle with a knob-like centre.

Apart from those found in hoards, are similar coins recovered from archaeological excavations in Maharashtra. Those from Paithan are unpublished and the evidence from Nevasa is restricted to two coins which depict the taurine and the solar symbols. Both are of copper, one of which is coated with silver and might belong to the Mauryan period. These punch-marked coins from Maharashtra reveal little deviation from those found abundantly in northern India.

The tribal coins, die-struck and made of copper, are even more rare. Rectangular tribal coins are reported from Nevasa. They are of two types: one bears the Ujjain symbol, a cross with orbs made of pellets and enclosed in a circle; the other portrays standing human figures, *svastikas* with triple tips, *sadarachakra* (a whorl form of the sun with a six-armed symbol) and a taurine. The Nevasa excavations were done between 1954 and 1956.

The coins of the Satavahanas, the first emperors of the Deccan, are reported from a number of sites in Maharashtra, including Nasik, Nevasa, Kolhapur, Ter, Karhad, Paithan, Chanda and Tarhala. The Satavahanas employed copper, lead and potin for their coinage; silver was confined mainly to the coins of three rulers: Vasisthiputra Pulumavi (*c.* A.D. 130-59), Vasisthiputra Satakarni (*c.* A.D. 159-66) and Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni (*c.* A.D. 174-202). A few portrait coins of these rulers in imitation of the Kshatrapa coins have been discovered. The Satavahana coins show animals such as the bull, the elephant and the lion on the obverse side together with the legend. The motifs on the reverse generally vary from the tree-in-railing, the fish, the taurine, the river, the *nandipada*, the *svastika* and the Ujjain symbols. The technique used in the Satavahana coinage shows that the die used for stamping was normally larger than the size of the coins, with the result that the legend and the motifs are incomplete. Nevertheless, they are remarkable in clarity though the motifs are stereotyped. A few Satavahana coins, showing a double-mast ship, testify to the prevalence of maritime trade and commerce.

A number of heavy die-struck lead coins with thick letters (*c.* second century A.D.), show a bow and arrow on the obverse, and a tree-in-railing on the reverse. They were found at Kolhapur and at Nerle in the Satara District. These evidently belonged to three kings: Vasisthiputra, Gautamiputra and Madhariputra (*c.* the second century A.D.). They use metronymic names with the suffix *Vilivayakura.* Some scholars regard them as the feudatories of the Satavahanas, while others assign them to the Kura or Ankura dynasty. The recent studies of the coins from the excavations of Kolhapur, however, have shown that the Kuras were contemporaries of the early Satavahanas. A number of Kura coins have been found among the Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) hoard—cut into halves, thirds and quarters. Evidently, they served the purpose of fractional coins.

The Chutus dynasty seems to have ruled part of Maharashtra (*c.* the second century A.D.). Their coins are of lead and bear a three-tiered hill on the obverse and a tree-in-railing on the reverse. The coins belong mostly to the border regions of Maharashtra State. However, the lead

coins found at Kolhapur have a symbolic affinity with those of the Kura dynasty.

The Kshatrapa and Kshaharata coins reported from Maharashtra are very few. Save for the Jogalthembi hoard of about 13,270 silver coins of Nahapana, ruler of the Kshaharata family and Shaka dynasty (*c.* A.D. 110-24) found in 1905, no other collections of these dynasties have been discovered. The reason may well be that Gautamiputra Satakarni (*c.* A.D. 106-30), the most illustrious king of the Satavahana dynasty, restruck the silver coins of the contemporary Shaka ruler, Nahapana, after killing him and annexing the Shaka territories.

During the first three centuries of the Christian Era the ports along the Deccan coast established trade contacts with Rome. Soon, copies of Roman coins in terracotta, lead and even gold were minted and were possibly used as ornaments. Such copies are reported from Kolhapur, Nevasa, Ter, Paithan and Kondapur. These are usually in the form of perforated circular pieces and depict royal heads of state as well as Roman goddesses within a dotted border. The *bullae* imitating the coins of Tiberius are numerous.

The Traikutakas (*c.* third century A.D.) seem to have come into prominence soon after the downfall of the Satavahanas. The first known Traikutaka king is Maharaja Indradatta, whose name is mentioned only in the legends of the coins of his son, Maharaja Dharasena. The Traikutaka coins closely resemble those of the Western Kshatrapas.

The great paucity of numismatic evidence in Maharashtra, after the fifth century A.D. till the medieval period from A.D. 600-1500, can be accounted for by the unsettled conditions and the changing political patterns in the region. Recently, some coins of the Kalachuri king, Krishnaraja (*c.* sixth century A.D.) were reported on the Elephanta island. Even the great Rashtrakutas who ruled over this region have not left any coins. The Yadavas of Devagiri (*c.* twelfth-thirteenth centuries A.D.) have left for posterity a few punch-marked gold *padmatankas.* The punches consist of motifs such as the lion, the Goddess Sri, the *sankha* and the lotus symbols with a Nagari legend.

However, the coins of the Shilaharas, who ruled in the Deccan and north Konkan during the ninth to eleventh centuries A.D. are encountered in Kolhapur and nearby regions. In addition to gold, they also issued coins in silver. But this data is not sufficient for a comprehensive study.

After his conquest of Devagiri (Daulatabad), Alauddin Muhammad Shah of the Khilji dynasty (A.D. 1296-1316) issued coins from that city. Muhammad-bin-Tughluq (A.D. 1325-51) issued coins in the name of Qutababad from Devagiri during A.D. 1325-1327. Then, in A.D. 1327 the name "Deogir" was reintroduced on the coins for a short period. In A.D. 1328 the appelation changed to "Daulatabad." The Daulatabad mint appears on several coins issued by later rulers.

The numismatic history of the post-Aurangzeb rule (A.D. 1658-1707) is quite confused. Though a large number of coins bear the names of the Mughal rulers, they are really not their issues. Approximately 200 Mughal and non-Mughal mints, issued coins in the name of the Mughal rulers.

Some of the Maratha mints revealed by these coins are Aurangabad, Auranganagar, Balanagar, Balwantnagar, Chandor, Chinchwad, Daulatabad, Dilshadabad, Kalpi, Kankorti, Kolhapur, Khujista Bunyad (Aurangabad), Muhiabad (Pune), Mumbai (Bombay), Sangamner, Satara and Solapur.

Muhammad Adil Shah II (A.D. 1656-72) issued silver currency which was quite different from that prevailing in the Deccan. It was of foreign origin and known as the *larin.* This currency originated in the district of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf and was most popular among Arab marine traders. Each *larin* consisted of a piece of silver wire or rod bent at its middle, somewhat like a hairpin. The *larin* affords scanty surface for legends. However, most of them bear the title *"Sultana Adil Shah"* on one side and *"Zarb Lari dangi* (or *dabul*) *san . . ."* on the other. Perhaps these were struck to meet the local demand of coastal money. A hoard of 359 silver *larins* was uncovered from Dapoli (Ratnagiri District) in 1919.

Chhatrapati Shivaji (A.D. 1627-80) and his successors issued gold and copper coins. So also did the family of Shivaji's brother, Venkaji, which was established in the south at Tanjore. The gold coins of both families are of the *pagoda* type. Shivaji's coins bear on the obverse the term *"Chhatrapati"* in Nagari script and *"Sri Raja Shiva"* on the reverse. These gold coins, known as *hon*, are rare. The chronicle *Sabhasad*—while giving an account of the treasurer of Shivaji—



1 Larins: Ali Adil Shah II, Adil Shahi (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1656-72
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

2 Tiberius: Roman (obverse)
Gold; A.D. 14-37
Private Collection

3 Tiberius bullae: Roman (obverse)
Terracotta; 1st-2nd century A.D.; Ter, District Osmanabad
Collection: B.R. Lamture

4 Damasena: Western Kshatrapa (obverse)
Silver; A.D. 223-36
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

5 Mahadeva: Yadava (obverse)
Gold; A.D. 1261-71
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

6, 7 Shivaji's Hon: Maratha (obverse and reverse)
Gold; *c.* A.D. 1674
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

8, 9 Muhammad-bin-Tughluq (obverse and reverse)
Gold; A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327); Deogir, District Aurangabad
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

10 Aurangzeb: Mughal (obverse)
Gold; A. H. 1099/31 (A.D. 1687); Aurangabad
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

11 Alauddin Muhammad Shah: Khilji (obverse)
Gold; A.D. 1296-1316
Collection: B. V. Shetti

12 Punch-marked coins: Bahal, District Khandesh (obverse)
Silver; *c.* 5th-4th century B.C.
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

13 Lion: Satavahana (obverse)
Copper; *c.* 1st-2nd century A.D.
Private Collection

14 Sri Satakarni: Satavahana (obverse and reverse)
Copper; *c.* 1st century A.D.
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

15 Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni: Satavahana (obverse)
Silver; *c.* A.D. 174-202
Private Collection

16 Vasisthiputra Satakarni: Satavahana (obverse and reverse)
Silver; *c.* A.D. 159-66
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay



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17 Gautamiputra Vilivayakura: Kura (obverse)
Lead; *c.* 2nd century A.D.

18 Chutukulananda: Ananda (obverse)
Lead; *c.* 2nd century A.D.

19 Nahapana: Western Kshatrapa (obverse and reverse)
Silver; *c.* A.D. 110-24

20 Dharasena: Traikutaka (obverse and reverse)
Silver; *c.* A.D. 456

21 Krishnaraja: Kalachuri (obverse and reverse)
Silver; *c.* mid-6th century A.D.

22 Chittaraja: Shilahara (obverse and reverse)
Silver; *c.* A.D. 1025-40

23 Shivaji: Maratha (obverse and reverse)
Copper; A.D. 1674-80

24 Rajaram: Maratha (obverse and reverse)
Copper; A.D. 1689-1700

25 Shahu: Maratha (obverse and reverse)
Copper; A.D. 1708-49

26 Muhammad Shah: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1719-48; Satara

27 Muhammad Shah: East India Co. (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.H. 1138/8 (A.D. 1725); Mumbai

28 Muhammad Shah: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.H. 1150/30 (A.D. 1737); Auranganagar

29 Muhammad Shah: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.H. 1159 (A.D. 1746); Kankurti

30 Shah Alam II: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1759-1806; Chandor

31 Shah Alam II: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1759-1806; Pune

32 Shah Alam II: East India Co. (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1759-1806; Mumbai

33 William III and Queen Mary: Indo-English (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1692-93; Mumbai

34, 35 William III and Queen Mary: Indo-English (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1692-93

36 Shah Jahan III: East India Co. (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.D. 1759-60; Mumbai

37 Muhammad Akbar II: Mughal (obverse and reverse)
Silver; A.H. 1253 (A.D. 1837); Dilshadabad

Figs. 17-37, Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

enumerated 32 kinds of gold coins and 6 varieties of silver money. Copper coins, found in large numbers, bear the same legend. The coins of Shivaji's successors retain the title *"Chhatrapati"* on the obverse and bear the names *"Sri Raja Shahu"* or *"Sri Sarabharaja"* on the reverse.

The Peshwas who administered Maharashtra between A.D. 1713 and 1818 were the virtual rulers of the region. They issued silver coins which were patterned on Mughal coins and retained the names of the Mughal rulers together with their Mughal or Peshwa symbols. Such coins are mostly known from Muhiabad (Pune). There were also a number of other mints from where the Marathas issued their coins. Copper coins produced by the Peshwas have yet to be properly scrutinised. During the Peshwa period, the Peshwas issued licenses for goldsmiths for minting coins. The license fee was paid in the form of royalty to the government. The customary mint charges were 7 coins per thousand—6 for the government and 1 for the manager of the mint. In some provinces of the Peshwas the land-holders established their own mints from which counterfeit coins were issued.

Bombay came into the possession of the English on February 8, 1665 as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Princess of Portugal when she was betrothed to Charles II of England. Thus the trading centre of Western India moved from Surat to Bombay.

By 1672 the East India Company had established a mint in Bombay. An experimental issue of the Mughal-style rupee, which came into existence at the time of Sher Shah (A.D. 1539-1545), with regnal years of James II and William and Mary, did not become popular and the coins were withdrawn. Coins of European design were struck in Bombay until 1717. From 1717 to 1778 the Mughal-style Bombay rupee was the principal coin of the Western Indian trade. In 1815 the East India Company transferred all mint production from Surat to Bombay.

The coins of British India, from the reign of William IV (1835) to the reign of George VI (1947), can be divided into two main sections; those struck under the authority of the East India Company from 1835 to 1858 (1862), and those struck under the authority of the Crown from 1862 until 1947.

The rupees of William IV had the monetary value written on the reverse in English, Bengali, Persian and Nagari characters. These rupees, from 1835 to 1840, were all dated "1835." The portrait coins of Queen Victoria show two different head designs on the obverse, and are called Type I and Type II. The former has a continuous obverse legend and was issued from 1840 to 1851 whereas the latter has a divided obverse legend and was issued from 1850 until 1862. The rupees dated "1862" were struck with the date unchanged until 1874. However, in 1863 the Bombay mint adopted a method of adding dots or beads to its dies to indicate the exact year of minting.

The East India Company forged Mughal coins for some time. Then, to legalise their actions, they obtained permission from King James II in 1686 to issue copies of native coins. After great persuasion, Farrukhsiyar, one of the Mughal rulers (A.D. 1713-19), gave his consent in 1717 to the Company to mint his coins in Bombay. Since then till A.D. 1774 the coins were issued in the name of Mughal emperors bearing the mint name "Mumbai."

According to the currency reform of 1835, a rupee of the uniform weight, size and finesse was the only currency of the whole of British India. This is the Company's Rupee of 180 grains with 165 grains of pure silver. From this time, the double-*muhar* of the value of thirty rupees, *muhar* of the value of fifteen rupees, the ten-rupee and five-rupee coins in gold and the rupee, half-rupee, quarter-rupee in silver bear the effigy and name of King William IV (A.D. 1830-37) on the obverse. The reverse of the gold coins had a lion and a palm-tree as well as the East India Company legend and the money value inscribed in English and Persian script. The value of the silver coins was shown within a wreath with the East India Company inscription and date.

Queen Victoria (A.D. 1837-1901), niece of William IV, succeeded him in 1837. Her coins began to appear only from 1840 due to the delay in transporting fresh dies from England. Queen Victoria's rupees are of two types, one showing her uncrowned head from 1840 and the other with crowned bust from 1862. On 1st January 1877 she assumed the title, Empress of India.

Among the successors of Queen Victoria were her son Edward VII (1901-10), grandson George V (1910-36) and great grandsons Edward VIII (1936) and George VI (1937-52). No rupee was issued in the name of Edward VIII.

The copper coins issued along with these coins were the pice, double pice and the pie. The copper coins bore on the obverse the Company coat-of-arms with the date. The value was written in English and Persian script within a wreath and the East India Company logo ran along the rim. A new silver coin of two *annas* was introduced in 1841. In about 1906 or 1907 the issue of a new coin of one *anna* in nickel and dodecagonal in shape was proposed.

The silver half-rupee, quarter-rupee and two-*anna* coins were suspended in 1918 and cupro-nickel coins were issued in their place. But cupro-nickel half-rupees were not produced after 1919 and the quarter-rupee after 1921. These denominations were re-issued later in silver. The cupro-nickel two-*anna* and *anna* coins were replaced by the aluminium-bronze coins in 1942, which continued upto 1946. The silver coins were suspended in 1945 due to a shortage of the metal and were re-issued in 1946 in cupro-nickel. A new half-*anna* coin in nickel-brass was introduced in 1942. In 1943 a new thin pice perforated in the centre was issued. British coins from the reign of Queen Victoria to that of George VI were minted till 1947, and ceased thereafter when India became free.

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Jewellery

Kalpana Desai

The traditional sense of aesthetics is still a dominant force in the personal attire of the Maharashtrian people—particularly among members of the older generations. Throughout Maharashtra, jewellery designs and patterns reveal a continuation of traditions which have been recorded in innumerable sculptures and paintings for over two thousand years. Today's living tradition, though disappearing fast, includes types of ornaments visible in the sculptures of Pitalkhora, the paintings of Ajanta, the variegated patterns seen on pieces belonging to the Gupta and later periods, as also those carved on the medieval sculptures of the region. Some ornaments, such as the *nath,* are comparatively recent in origin and feature in miniature paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Pearls, precious stones and gold—for which there is a distinct preference—are the materials employed in the making of ornaments. Poorer people, however, generally use silver instead of gold.

One of the most common techniques of making the voluminous golden ornaments worn by most Maharashtrian communities involves the use of the jeweller's mould which is generally made of stone. A thin gold sheet is pressed onto the mould or gently beaten on it to obtain the design. After removing this sheet, the hollow left by the mould is filled with lacquer and given the final finish. This method not only reduces the cost by limiting the amount of gold required but also avoids unnecessary weight. Use of lacquer is also supposed to lend a particular lustre to gold. Jeweller's moulds dating back to the second century B.C. have been discovered at Ter in Maharashtra. Earrings of the Kolis, the Bhandaris and the Samavadis, as well as various kinds of flower-shaped ornaments for the hair, the intricate Kolhapuri *saj,* and the *mohanmal* are all produced by the lacquer technique.

Another procedure used in the fabrication of jewellery is the weaving of fine gold wires into different patterns. Certain armlets, for instance, are made in what is known as the "mat weave" (*chatai chi veen*). A type of necklace known as the *goph* is also a product of this art. Thick gold wires are twined to make a necklace called the *sari* and a variety of bracelet known as *toda.* Wires can also be arranged in a chain pattern to produce another type of *toda.* A plain gold strip is commonly used for waistbands and for a bangle known as the *patlya* whereas gold tubing is used to make the *sari* and the *goth* and armlets known as *kada.* These techniques do not require much soldering and therefore leave very little scope for the adulteration of gold. In the fashioning of this kind of jewellery, there is obviously more emphasis on bulk and simplicity rather than on aesthetics or design. Besides personal adornment, such items also seem to serve the purpose of investment and ostentation, quite unlike the comparatively cheaper but ornate mould jewellery which is purely ornamental.

Court Jewellery

Ornaments made for royalty are usually profusely studded with diamonds and precious stones. Originally, it might have become the prerogative of the elite to use precious gems as symbols of regal status. But eventually, this kind of jewellery became a part of tradition. Habitually, royal patrons maintained a *ratnashala* (jewellery house) in the palace where, at times, records of the ornaments belonging to members of the entire family were kept. Ramabai, the wife of Peshwa Madhavrao I, distributed her ornaments to people prior to performing the *sati* rite in 1772 A.D. Most of her ornaments are listed in the family records which describe them as being made of emeralds, diamonds, rubies and pearls. Except for anklets, very few references to ornaments made solely of gold are available in these records. The tradition of setting precious stones in the ornaments changes from the seventeenth century onwards; after which the style

of setting becomes greatly influenced by Mughal designs and techniques. Use of jade for ornaments perhaps reflects the impact of Mughal jewellery.

Elite Jewellery

People living in urban areas tend to allow free exchange of traditions between communities. Consequently, they have a much larger choice of designs and combinations even within the traditional fold. Therefore, apart from the exclusive ornaments of the Kolis and some other communities, the rest of the types are accepted as belonging to the common cultural heritage of the whole of Maharashtra and distinguished by community preferences. The members of the Pathare Prabhu community, for instance, prefer to use ornaments made of solid gold rather than those cast in a mould and filled with lacquer. Their usual set for ordinary daily use consists of a pearl or diamond *kudi* in the ears, a *sari* as well as a set of bangles. On special occasions they deck themselves with a pair of *sari* necklaces, in some cases the *gathla* or the *mohanmal* and then the *chandrahar*. For the forearms, the sequence starting from the wrist is: *toda, jalicha bangdya, patlya* and *pichodya*. The *khelna* or *vel* serve as armlets. The *bugadi* and *kap-balya* for the ears, a *phul* for the hair and a pearl or diamond *nath* complete the traditional ornamental decor. The anklets, barring those of the ruling families, are of silver. Of these, the *nath, toda, khelna* and some necklaces are gifts made by parents to their daughter while the *sari, patli* and *bugadi* are received by the bride from her in-laws. It is peculiar to this community to present a heavy *goph* to the son-in-law as a form of dowry. It is worn even today by men at the time of special religious ceremonies or family weddings – sometimes along with the *toda*.

The Deshawar community members are known to have *chitak* (a golden strip worn tightly fitting around the neck comparable to the *chinchapeti*), the Kolhapuri *saj* and the *putalimal* as their traditional ornaments which are now popular all over Maharashtra. The *chinchapeti* was more an ornament of the Brahmans of Deshawar. They wear their bangles in a slightly different sequence from the Pathare Prabhus. Nearest to the wrist, they wear the *shindeshahi toda,* then several *bangdyas,* followed by the *goth* and the *patli.* The sequence of pearl bangles would be the *gajara, bangdya* and *raiphul* (or *raviphul*). The people of Konkan do not seem to have a rich tradition of jewellery due perhaps to their poor economic conditions. They have adopted the jewellery of the Deshawars and others. The *nath* is the only ornament which is compulsory for the Konkan women. Women of the western Ghats have similar ornaments, generally made of silver. Their armlet is of a peculiar zigzag pattern. The ornaments of the urban communities include:

Necklaces

Sari: A circular golden tube, or two wires twined with a little spiral design at the two ends, joined with a hook in the front. It is stiff and worn quite close to the neck.

Mohanmal: Made of moulded beads. An early example of this necklace shows different designs on the beads.

Gathla and *Putalimal:* A necklace consisting of a row of gold coins. The *gathla* is a small piece and generally made of inscribed coins. The *putalimal* is much heavier and, usually, the coins feature a female figure.

Chandrahar: Circular rings linked to each other. The existing fashion, dating back to the eighteenth century, comprises several such chains of flat circular rings for this necklace which is supposed to hang to the navel. Earlier it consisted of only one string of circular rings.

Kolhapuri saj: Worn loose around the neck, it has moulded designs of auspicious symbols, such as the moon, the fish and the lotus, strung alternately with a gold bead. Originally



1 Order of bangles from the left: *shindeshahi toda, bangdya, goth* and *patli*

2 *Bhikbali* worn by men on top of the ear

3 Jade earrings and pendant of Nana Phadnis

4 Child bride and groom

5 Pearl ornaments: *nath*
Necklaces: *chinchapeti, pot (pend), tanmani*
Bangles: *gajara, bangdya, patlya, raviphul*
Ear ornaments: *kap* (one pair with *bhokra* or *dul*)

6 Hair ornaments: *suryaphul* (top) and *mor* (bottom)

7, 8 Armlets: *vaki* and *khelna* (of *chatai veen* or mat weave) late 19th century A.D.

9 Gold ornaments
Necklaces: *vajratik, mangalsutra, Kolhapuri saj, jondhalipot, chandrahar, gulabphul* and *vaki* on either side
Pairs of bangles: *pichodya, bangdya* and *toda*

10 Deepalakshmi, wearing typical ornaments of the women from the Ghats *c.* 18th century A.D.

11 *Putalimal*
early 20th century A.D.

12 *Sari*
late 19th century A.D.

13 Probably a prototype of *mohanmal*
c. 19th century A.D.

14 *Kamarapatta* (waist-band)



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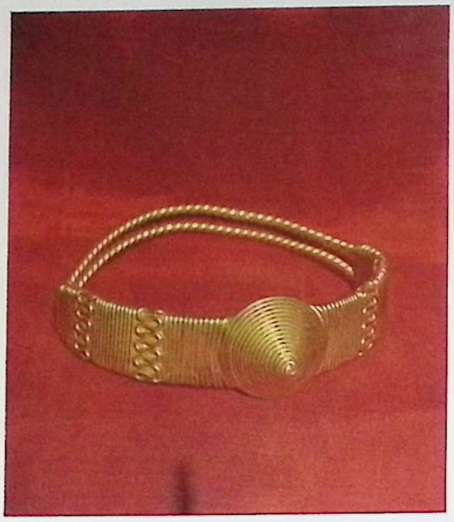
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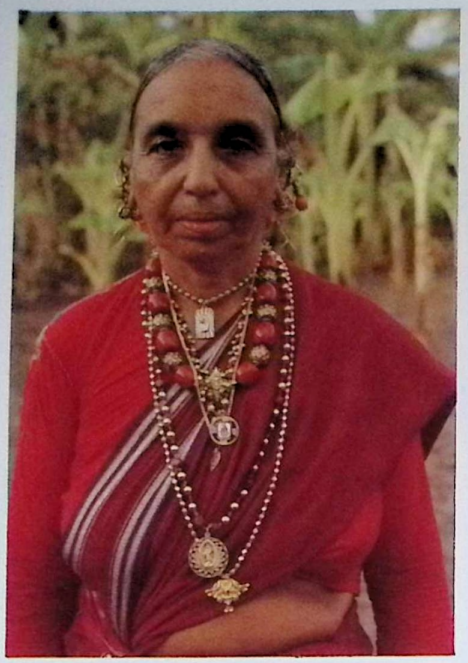
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15 East Indian lady wearing *valya, dharnia, shiran, bormal, etc.*

16 *Gathe* of the old traditional variety worn by Koli women early 20th century A.D.

17 Ornaments of Koli women: *kanthi* of seven strings, *gathe, nath, phul* and *bangdya*

18 Family of Samavadi Christians wearing traditional ornaments painted photograph of early 20th century A.D.

a symbol of a woman's marital status, it is worn by single women as well.

Goph (gop): A cord of beautifully plaited fine gold wires. Wires tied together at one end are passed around each other in such a way that a pattern resembling plaiting is created. Incidentally, the name also applies to a game played by boys at Janmasthami or Gauri festivals in which a similar plaiting pattern of colourful silk is created by the movement of the players. The players each hold one such thread which is suspended from the top of a pole and move in a symmetrical circular motion creating the *goph* design.

Chinchapeti: A collar made of pearls and studded stones, stitched on a velvet padding.

Tanmani: Multiple strings of pearls with a big *khada* or pendant of studded precious stones and uncut diamonds. Judging from the ornaments shown in sculpture, the *tanmani* could have been suspended by cotton or silk threads.

(Necklaces of ordinary wear are the *bormal, hirakanthi, jondhalipot* of golden beads like sweet corn and *ekdani.*)

Bangles

Toda: There are two kinds of *toda.* The *shindeshahi* and the *gujarati.* The *shindeshahi toda* is of thick gold wires linked to each other in a flexible manner and can bend at any place. The other variety, popular among the Pathare Prabhus is a thick twine of gold wires set on a gold plate with a design at the rim. Possibly, the Pathare Prabhus brought these items from Gujarat when they migrated to Maharashtra several centuries ago. Hence the name *gujarati toda.*

Jalicha bangdya: Bangles of carved design or lattice work.

Patli: A flat strip with a design of a few dots in the centre.

Goth: Bangle of plain gold tubing.

Pichodya: Broad bangles with a design at the outer end, generally worn last in a set with a fixed sequential order starting from the wrist.

Ear Ornaments

Jhumar or *tongal; bhokra:* A small chandelier-like ear ornament of pearls or gold.

Kap: Semi-circular red or green stone surrounded by pearls and fixed to the hair. The *kap* and its accessories are known as the *kap-balis.*

Bugadi: Worn on the upper rim of the ear.

Bali: A ring worn in the second hole of the ear if a *bugadi* is worn in the first one.

Other Ornaments

Nath: The *nath* is the pride of Maharashtrian women. Generally it is made of pearls but sometimes fashioned of diamonds and other precious stones. There are two types of *nath*—one forms a full circle around the nostril whereas the other is longer and hangs in a semi-circle by the side of the nose.

Vel, Vaki, Tulbandi, Khelna: Armlets worn on both arms. Made of woven, zigzag or plain design with a prominent centre piece and, at times, featuring a big stone. Sometimes tiny chains suspended at the lower end form beautiful loops on the arm.

Kamarapatta: Worn around the waist by women of very rich families only on special occasions. The centre matches the front of the *vaki* which has a studded stone in the centre. The decorative design in the front is a later development.

Phul: Various kinds of flower ornaments known as *phul* have a predefined placement in a woman's coiffure. The first big one, the *agraphul,* is a large ornament fixed on top of the head while that in the plaiting of the hair is known as the *mud.* The flowers are modelled on real flowers like the rose or the sunflower. They are hollow inside and therefore have a dimension, whereas the *phul,* worn by the Pathare Prabhus, is flat and shaped either like a leaf, a peacock or buds. Earlier there was also a tradition of wearing ornaments with motifs of the sun and the moon on either side of the parting on the head.

The fashion of men wearing ornaments is becoming more and more extinct. Male children are presently rarely adorned, although a few decades ago, it was quite common for a boy to wear a *dul* (a small dangling earring). Sometimes boys and men also wear a *vakda tait,* a moon-shaped pendant containing *vyaghranakha* (tiger-claws) suspended by a golden chain.

The *bhikbali* is the only ear ornament worn by men. The name indicates a very interesting custom of old times. This *bali* (ring) was made for small boys from the money distributed by family friends and relatives to ward off any evil that might befall the child. It is known as the *bhik* ring because it is made from donations or alms.

Certain communities, however, still retain their distinct and exclusive jewellery. They are the Kolis, the Bhandaris, the Samavadis, the Vadavals and their Christian counterparts known as East Indians. Though many new trends and fashions are introduced in their ornament design now, in some parts where tradition has remained undisturbed, the jewellery worn by a woman at once betrays the community she belongs to.

Koli Ornaments

The Kolis, engaged in fishing and farming along the coastal areas, seem to have retained one of the oldest traditions of jewellery and preserved an age-old custom of wearing huge earrings which result in unusually large holes in the earlobes. Their elongated earlobes, stretching half-way down to the shoulders, are reminiscent of those seen in various sculptural representations.

The volume of these earrings is out of proportion to their weight because they are hollow inside.

It is a pleasure to see the Koli woman draped in her tight-fitting *sakachchha sari* walking erect with a load on her head, her big *gathes* (earrings) slightly swinging in her ears, her multi-stringed *kanthi* forming beautiful curves and her golden *nath* elegantly covering her lips. The Koli Christians have a slightly different set of jewellery; they wear *gathes* in the ears, but their necklaces are known as the *bormal* and the *putalimal*—occasionally used by other members of the Koli community as well. The Bhandaris also have a similar set with the addition of the *bugadi* worn on top of the ears. Among the ornaments prominent in the Koli community are:

Gathe: A circular golden ring generally with a design of vertical lines and dots and, at times, spirals. The ring has a hinge joint and its two ends are kept together by means of a tiny screw. In some cases another smaller ring is attached at the bottom of the main ring and tightly fixed to it. Sometimes a tiny artificial screw is used to simulate the joining of the two ends of the small ring. Perhaps this is a continuation of the old custom of attaching a smaller ring separately which facilitated the use of different designs, such as the *makara,* the sun and the star, on the same ring. The *gathe* is made by the mould technique.

Kanthi: A five or seven-stringed gold necklace with two pendants on each side near the shoulders. Generally, two different designs are used for the alternating strings. The peculiarity of the *kanthi* is that the pendant is not in the centre as in most necklaces and that the strings vary in length.

Nath: An indication of the marital status of the Koli woman, this ornament is removed if she is widowed. It is a circular ornament of gold with a piece of coral on it, and at times even decorated with a crown.

Kada: A thick golden bangle.

The Samavadi and Vadaval Ornaments

The Samavadis, both Christians and Hindus, as well as the Vadavals, the inhabitants of Salsette, have very exclusive ornaments. The fine earrings worn by the Samavadis are traditionally linked to the marriage ceremony and, therefore, these earrings are the mark of the woman's marital status. As soon as a girl is betrothed, the top of each ear is pierced at five places. On the eve of her marriage, two *gudacha valyas* are inserted in the lower holes while *sadhya valyas* are inserted in the upper holes. Over her left ear, a long coral bead set in gold and called the *dharnia* is suspended by a gold chain which is fixed to the girl's hair.

The traditional set of necklaces consists of five varieties out of which the two *shirans* and the *mangalsutra* are compulsory wedding gifts. In addition to the set of necklaces, the women adorn themselves with *phul* in the hair, large earrings called *kalpotis,* gold bangles and *jhanjris* of silver.

The Vadavals and the Salsette Christians who are derivative of various Hindu communities, have fewer but similar ornaments to those of the Samavadis. Prominent among such ornaments are:

Dhuledia: 6 strings of small gold beads held by two golden *dalimbs* (big golden beads).

Peros: 3 strings of large *bhinus* (small gold beads) held by two gold *dalimbs.*

Shiran: (large) Eight large corals alternating with eight gold beads or (small) five large corals alternating with five gold beads.

Dole: 14 coral beads and 7 gold beads.

Vazratik: A collar consisting of three rows of gold beads.

Poth: A combination of red, coral and gold beads.

Kapoti or *Kap:* This is a typical disc-like cockle-shaped earring with a small supporting chain fixed to the hair. It is also very large and requires a big hole in the lobe.

Karab: A ring worn in the middle of the ear.

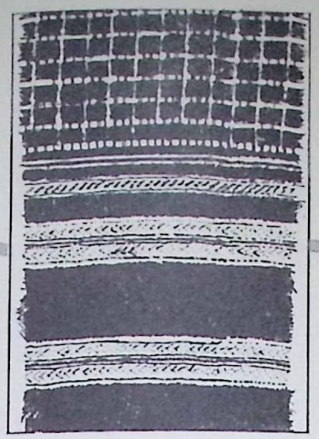
Bugdya: A stud or a small flower ornament worn on top of the ear.

Gulabphul, Ketak Dhapnyas, Kuluk: Hair ornaments.

(There are also a number of gold bangles and two silver *jhanjris.*)

A bride receives ornaments at the time of her marriage both from her parents and from her in-laws. The richness of these presents depend on the financial position of the family parties. The only indispensable ornament which must be given to every bride is the *gharsuli* or the *mangalsutra* which serves as an indication of the woman's marital status. It is a necklace of one or several strings of fine black beads—either strung on a thread or chained by a gold wire with two small shell-like pendants known as *vati,* each fixed between two gold beads in the centre. Sometimes a coral is also added to the piece.

Maharashtrian women, rural or urban, fondly identify each ornament with a specific name, indicating its particular design and use. Because such jewellery is losing popularity, it is feared that this tradition will eventually disappear. But whatever may be the impact of the new fashions and changing tastes or the economic conditions, the glorious legacy of ornament design in Maharashtra has survived till today.



Textiles

R.S. Morwanchikar

The discovery of cotton was a break-through in the history of textile development. Apart from being durable and washable, cotton had elegance and grace compared to skins and barks previously used for clothing. So also were silk fabrics which have, since proto-historic times, been regarded as valuable articles.

Literary and epigraphical references indicate that an amazing variety of costumes made out of cotton and silk fabrics were used in India. One can refer to the *Rigveda* for the golden woven fabric *hiranyadrapi*; to the epic period for the pearl-fringed fabric *manichira;* to the Jain authorities for Indian *patto* silks; and to the Greek records for the gorgeous *paithani* fabrics from the great ancient trading and industrial centre, Pratisthan or Paithan. Indian textiles of varied designs and of high quality monopolised the world market for more than two thousand years.

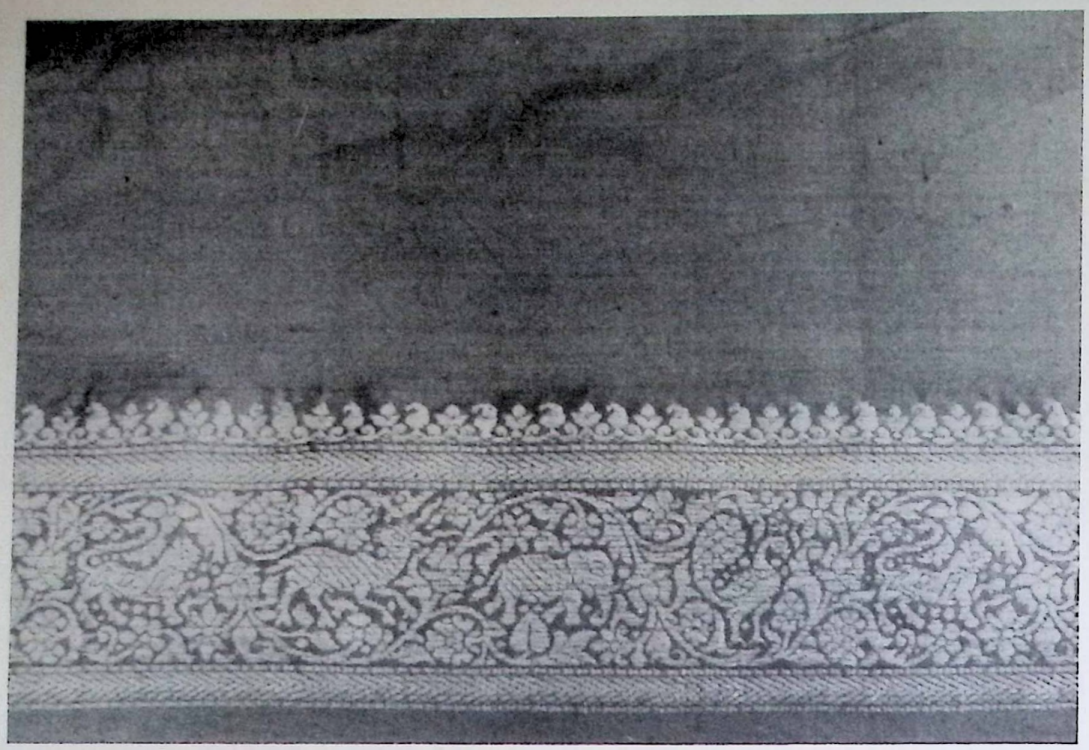
The art of fine weaving, the complex processes of bleaching and dyeing, and the arts of hand and loom embroidery were perfected by our people before conditions in the textile industry were modernised. The crafts were mostly hereditary. The qualities required of a true artisan were apprenticeship, devotion to duty and cooperative effort. The knowledge of the arts and crafts was imparted by parent to offspring and was thus passed from one generation to another.

The Satavahana rule opened a new chapter in the cultural growth of Maharashtra. The era of the Satavahanas marked a phase of urbanisation and, as a result, a number of trade centres like Ter, Bhogavardhan, Junnar, Govardhan (Nasik), Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) emerged. The Satavahanas ruled for more than four hundred years. The political stability and economic prosperity of the region accelerated the process of urbanisation. Moreover, the Satavahanas were great traders and successfully enhanced their trade contacts with the Graeco-Roman world. The discovery of the monsoon in the year 46 A.D. gave further impetus to the trade with the western world. As a result, a cluster of ports such as Barigaza (Broach), Caliana (Kalyan), Nala Sopara, Chemulla (Chaul) were established on the west coast. The brisk widespread inland and overseas trade included the export of cottons, both dyed and naturally coloured, muslins and silks as well as silk threads.

The Nasik inscriptions testify to the humming activities of the weavers' guilds in the region. The clothing of the people consisted of loom-made unstitched articles such as scarves, *lungis,* turbans, *dhotis,* shawls and *saris.* Most of these were of cotton because certain regions in Maharashtra — Vidharba, Khandesh and Marathwada — were known for their cottonfields from ancient times. Indians had also mastered the art of dyeing. In places such as Paithan, Junnar and Ter, dyed or bleached clothes were embroidered in gold or silver threads.

During the post-Satavahana period, we find additions and modifications carried out in the pattern of the costumes. Bana's writings and the Ajanta and Bagh paintings testify to such changes. Thus we find heavy brocades, *amsuks* (thin muslin breast covers), *patii* and *cola* (a tunic worn by a young girl). The soldiers used a uniform which included a tunic, kilt and turban. These were the patterns in use till the advent of Islam as confirmed by the accounts of I-tsing, Marco Polo and Ibna-Batuta. All of them agree that down to the thirteenth century the dress in the Deccan continued to be of the same kind.

The Islamic people subscribed to a different aesthetic concept of cloth and were fond of tailored garments. They liked muslin and silk brocades, wall hangings and tapestries. Their choice of colours differed from that of the local people. Moreover, they brought with them patterns from their native land — Central Asia. So the coming of Islam into the Deccan widened the scope for tailored clothes. As a result we get a number of varieties of *jamas,* coats, jackets, skirts, petticoats and such other stitched items.



1 *Shikar* border
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

2 Yeola *paithani*

3, 4 Yeola *paithani*
Collection: Lalitabai Lalchand

5 *Paithani*
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

6 Detail of *paithani sari* depicting Ajanta lotus motif at the outer end

7 Green *buttedar shalu* with *akroti* motif

8 *Black chandrakala* with Ajanta lotus motif

9 Traditional *asavali*

10 *Huma-parinda* or heavenly bird

11 *Kuyari* or mango motif—a speciality of Yeola looms with the upper end of the mango turned to resemble the neck of a bird

12 Striped paithani
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

13 Weaver weaving on Paithan loom
Paithan

14, 15 *'Khan'*—cotton and rayon Blouse pieces

The interaction between the native Hindu society and the Muslim rulers during the medieval period gave rise to new styles of attire. Intense political and economic activities led to the emergence of new townships and fortified cities such as Gulshanabad (Nasik), Mominabad (Ambajogai), Yeola (Nasik), Jalnapur (Jalna), Shahagad, Aurangabad, Akola and Balapur. During this phase new life-styles emerged in the traditional centres.

The Marathas succeeded the Mughals and they extended their patronage to industrial and other textile activities. They also adopted some forms of Islamic fashion. However, their special regard for the traditional Hindu garments encouraged the development of textile centres. From this milieu various distinctive textile patterns evolved.

Some centres became renowned for their textiles. For example, Daulatabad (Deogiri) was famous for its muslin and silk. Like Deogiri there were other centres like Paithan, Champavati (Bhir), Kandhar, Nanded and Latur. Textile products frequently derived their names from the place where they were originally made. For example, *paithani* came from Paithan, *shahagadi* from Shahagad, *danavati* from Dhanwad, *jainabadi* from Jainabad and *calico* from Calicut.

The important centres in Maharashtra and their products are listed below:

Aurangabad	*himroo* and *mashru*
Daulatabad	muslin
Balapur	*chandrakala saris*
Sangamner	*chandrakala saris*
Paithan	*asavali* or *paithani saris, pitambara, kimkhab*
Yeola	*paithani, jamdani, pitambara*
Ter	muslin, cotton
Shahagad	*shahagadi*
Nasik	brocade
Nagpur	silk bordered *dhotis*
Amravati	*pasodi saris*
Solapur	*khanas,* cotton
Tuljapur	*khanas,* cotton
Kolhapur	*khanas,* cotton
Ahmednagar	all types of cotton
Pune	brocades
Dharwad	*khanas*
Pandharpur	*ghongodi, pasodi, pitambara*
Akola	*pasodi, shela*
Dharwad	*dharwadi saris*
Bhir	*pasodi saris*

Besides these centres there were other places known for a variety of cotton and silk fabrics. They are Kalyan, Ratnagiri, Malegaon, Jalna, Satara, Dabhol, Jintur, Rajapur and Wai.



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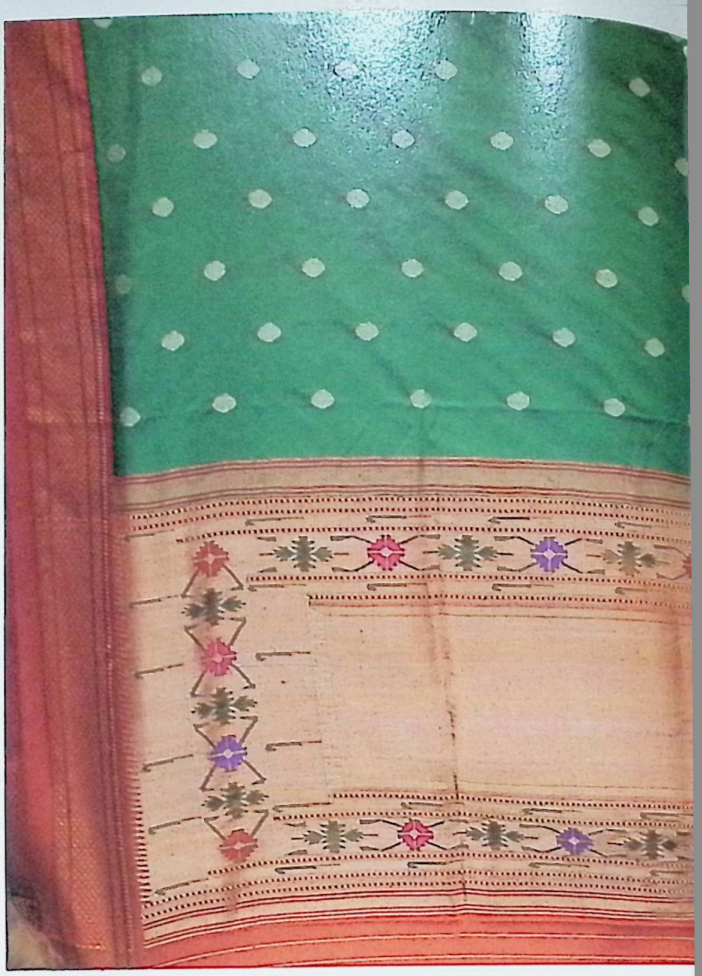
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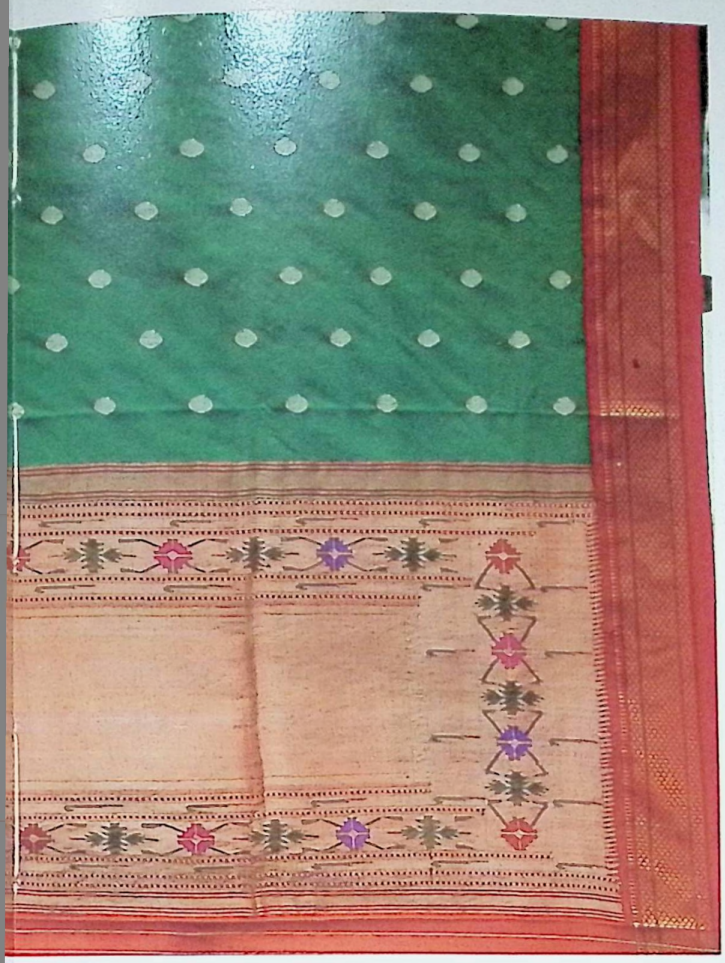
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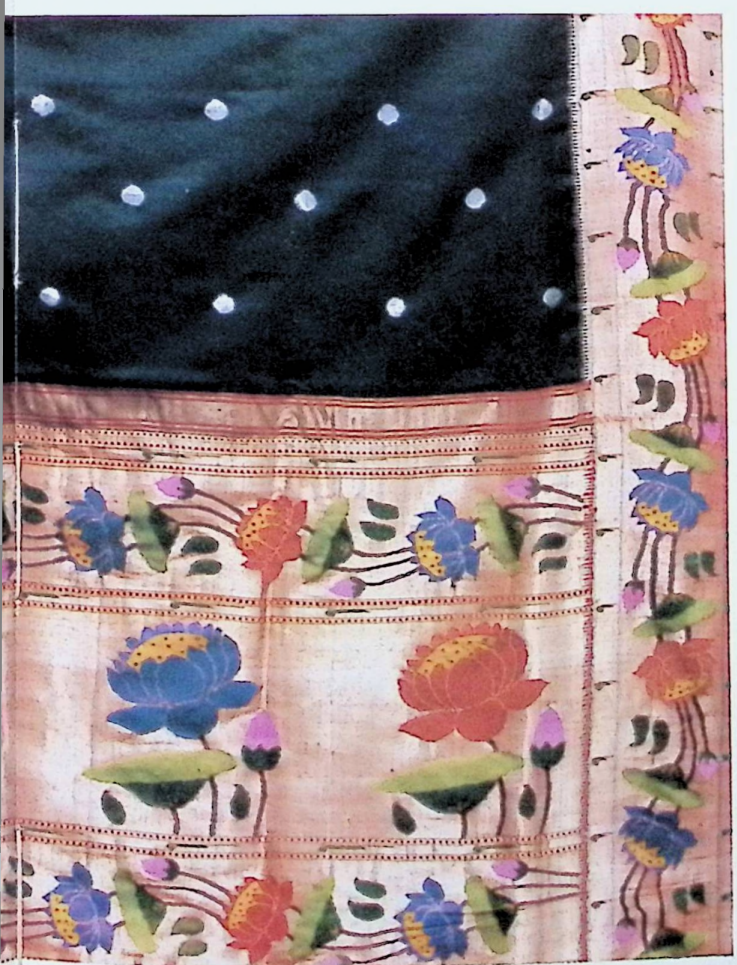


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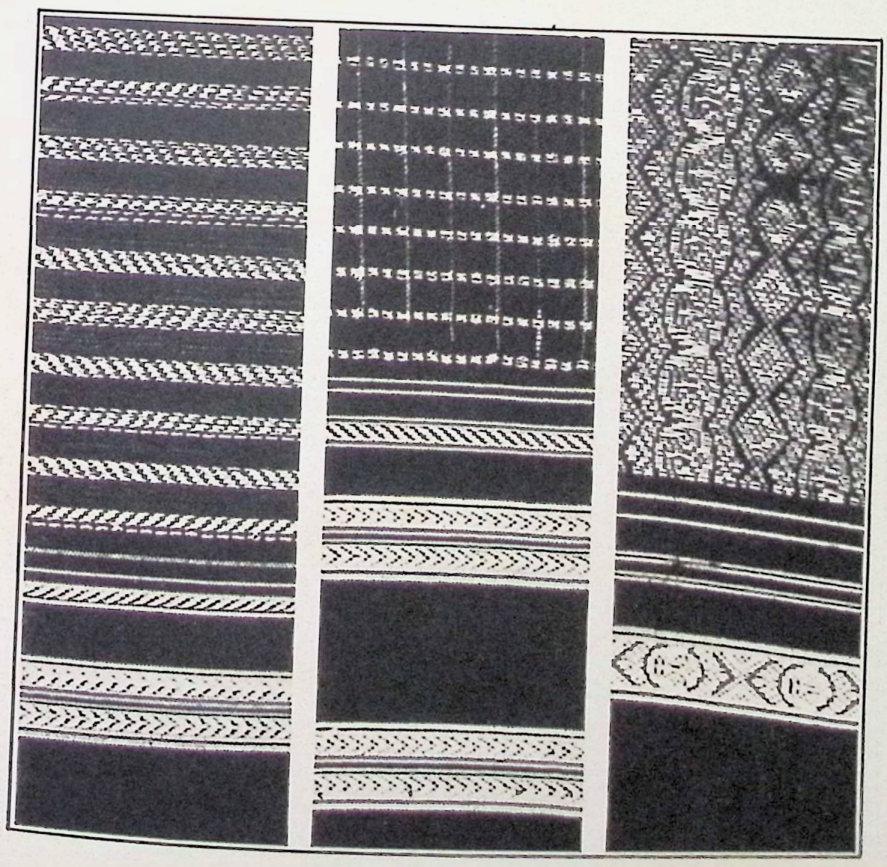
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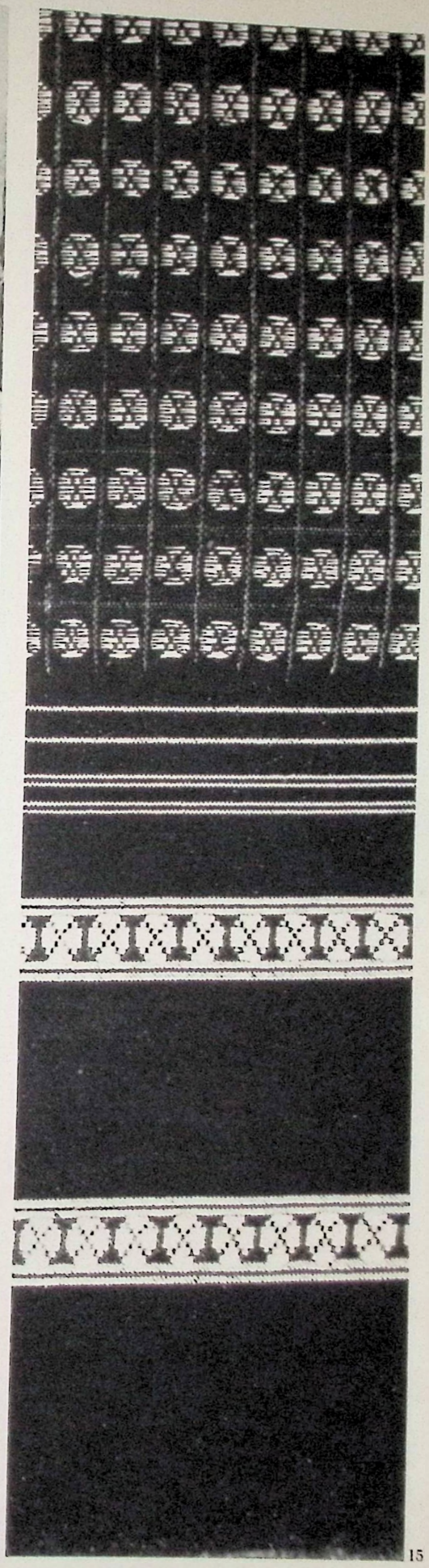
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Textiles

Kimkhab: A type of gold brocade in the Deccan, formerly in great demand in spite of its high cost. The Persian Ambassador to Golkonda from 1603 to 1609, was fascinated by its exotic quality and carried some pieces back with him. In fact, he was required to postpone his departure because the manufacture of the pieces had occupied the looms at Paithan for five years.

Mashru: A mixed variety of striped cotton and silk weave. It was generally used by the ladies as an undergarment. The basic warp is of silk and the woof or weft is of various coloured cottons. The term *mashru* is derived from *share,* meaning "legal." The wearing of pure silk fabrics at prayers was prohibited among the Muslims and hence, this pattern was introduced. Paithan and Aurangabad were the famous centres of *mashru* production.

Himroo: A similar variety of mixed silk and cotton but with a texture that is almost as fine as muslin. It is used for veils, headdresses, bridal robes and *saris.* Costlier than *mashru,* it was worn by the wealthier classes.

Paithani: The most celebrated textile in Maharashtra. *Paithani* is the name given to the costly high quality silken gold embroidered *saris.* These *saris* can also be fringed with pearls or precious stones. They can be woven in cotton also. The basic weave of *paithani* is simple. It is a tabby weave and the speciality lies in the design which is woven without the assistance of a mechanical contrivance like a *jala.* Multiple tillies or spindles are used to produce the design. The design is linear. The borders as well as the *pallav* or *pallu* (outer end of the *sari*) carry creeper and floral motifs on a background of gold. Such *saris* are worn by brides. The *sari* became very popular during the Maratha period. At that time the favourite motif of decoration was the *asavali,* a kind of flower, and hence the *saris* were also known as *asavali saris.*

The speciality of *paithani* lies in the design woven in its borders and ends. The *pallu* is richly decorated with a variety of motifs like *asavali, akroti, gazwel, bangdimors, shikar-khana,* Ajanta lotus and *huma-parinds.* Some of the *saris* have a coin motif known as *butties* spread over the fabric. Such coins are called *buttedars* or *shalus.* The bright green *shalus* with red borders and elaborate *pallus* were considered auspicious for ceremonial occasions. The contemporary poets have taken note of the inclination of Maharashtrian ladies towards a *paithani shalu.* Couplets describing their elegance is a common feature of the folk songs of Maharashtra.

The Peshwas had a special love for *paithani* textiles. There are a number of letters in the Peshwa Daftar which testify to this. A letter from Madhavrao Peshwa (7-12-1768) asked for the supply of the *asavali duppatas* of red, green, saffron, pomegranate and pink colours. The Nizam of Hyderabad was also attracted to them for which purpose he visited Paithan several times. His daughter-in-law, Begum Nilofar, is believed to have introduced some new motifs to the border as well as to the *pallu* designs.

In course of time the *paithani sari,* though costly, became a popular item in the marriage ceremonies of kings and laymen. Other regional centres also began weaving *paithani.* Yeola was one such centre which later became known for its *kuyari* (mango motif) *pallav paithani.* Besides Yeola, the *paithanis* of Pune, Nasik, Malegaon were also famous. Thus Paithan played a significant role in weaving the cultural fabric of Maharashtra.

Jamdani: Jamdani is a loom-figured muslin. Although the weaving of *jamdani* is a simple procedure, the sewing of the embroidered pattern on the warp is both difficult and time-consuming, requiring skill and patience. The designs are complicated and therefore they are expensive. Emperor Aurangzeb was fond of such textiles and introduced new patterns. Subsequently, this fabric came to be recognised also as *aurangzebi.* Aurangzeb forbade the weaving of *jamdani* by weavers other than those working for the government.

Chandrakala: A unicoloured silk or cotton *sari.* Generally it is black and known as *"kali-chandrakala"*, i.e. black *sari.*

Khana: Khana is a special variety of cloth prepared for the bodice. Its peculiarity lies with its bold borders. There were some places like Dharwad, Kolhapur and Shahagad which were well-known for its production.

Pitambara: It is a silk variety generally used by males because it is just half of the length of a *paithani sari.* The difference between the *paithani* and the *pitambara* lies in the decorations of the borders and the *pallu. Pitambara* has comparatively small borders and no *pallu.* It is also known as *mukte* or *sovale* as it is used on some ceremonial occasions or rituals — especially those celebrated by the Brahmans. Yeola was known for the *pitambaras.*

The new patterns derived their names from individuals such as Mehmudi, Jaftatkhni, Aurangzebi and Nafarmani.

Dyes: Indians had a special fancy for dazzling colours. The cave paintings of Maharashtra are known for their tasteful colour-schemes. The dyes used are made from the roots and barks of shrubs and trees. For example, a reddish colour is obtained from *lac* which is found on both banks of the river Godavari. The bark of the mango tree yields a dark yellow dye while that of the *babul* tree gives a reddish-coloured dye. Black, green and blue are obtained from mixing indigo with the above colours.

Traditional weaving is on the decline as human skills are being replaced by machines. However, machine-made fabrics can never compare in quality with those produced by hand.

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Ancient Metal Images

S. Gorakshkar

In the broader spectrum of Indian metal sculpture the contribution of Maharashtra, though seemingly negligible, is yet quite significant.

Sculptural art in India has essentially been employed in the service of religion and hence Indian art has often been designated as "icono-plastic." Yet those who contest the term have referred to the large number of secular themes that form the subject-matter of several sculptures. Nevertheless, the term aptly applies to metal sculptures where secular themes are almost unknown.

What then is the exact place of metal sculpture? There are two aspects—one is the form and the other is the symbol. The plastic form is the formal aspect of sculpting. The smallest or biggest of such metal images are but representations of the same idiom that existed in a given area or at a given time. The various known styles of artistic/sculpting activity during such periods as the Kushana, Gupta, Pala and Chola are all found distinctly in existence in metal images just as they are visible in their larger counterparts in stone. But unlike stone sculptures, which are generally conceived as part of a wider architectural composition, the metal images are essentially individual figures.

And it is this that underlines their symbolism. In India the various 'isms' such as Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism permit personalised as well as congregational worship. Every individual has the freedom to worship a personal image in the privacy of his house. The icon thus becomes a cult image as it is intended to bring the worshipper closer to his deity. Naturally the accent is not so much on its plastic form as on its magical potency. Metal images have served this latter purpose mainly because of their size and portability.

The changing concepts of worship from *sadhana* to *mantra* and thence to *tantra* have led to the development of images from simple to elaborate, and even to incomprehensible, forms. This, in turn, has contributed to the classification of images into *yoga, bhoga, vira* and *abhicharika,* so as to enable the worshipper to achieve the desired end. We thus have images which are *shanta* (serene) and *ugra* (ferocious). Nevertheless, the strong aesthetic outlook of the Indian sculptor has moulded incomprehensible forms with singular charm and dignity unmatched anywhere else in the world.

During the formative stages of India's sculptural art, whether for the Buddhists or the Jains, the presentation was that of a metaphysical concept and not of an image. The image of the spiritual leader was only a corollary. Yet when it appeared, the image was of a *yogi* in meditation, either standing in the *kayotsarga* pose or seated in the *dhyanamudra* pose. An elaborate *parikara* was a much later development. In course of time image-making was governed by canons laid down in texts on iconography. The accumulated formulae were redacted in such texts as the *Brihatsamhita, Vishnudharmottara Purana* and *Sadhanamala.* Varahamihira pertinently observes that the ornamentation, clothing, beautification of the image and so on should be in accordance with the usage in the region. This principle enunciates the regional formula and defines the mosaic of Indian art. The thread of this fabric is the unbroken tradition, the mythology, the worship of common deities which binds the art of the Bharatavarsha as a whole.

The changing religious concepts from period to period account for the emergence of different styles. Indian art revolved around deities who were essentially immortal and, therefore, the question of showing them as old and infirm never arose. Quite often, youthfulness was represented in a blatantly sensuous form.

Concealed behind the erotic form on the one hand and the incomprehensible esoteric iconography on the other, is a highly spiritual intent. Professor Gombrich's remarks aptly

describe this outward ambivalence of Indian art: "To the profane these enigmatic images conceal the holy arcanum of the supernatural; to the initiate, however, they serve as the first rung of the ladder which we ascend to the divine."

The metal images from Maharashtra discussed here necessarily display interactions between various processes of culture and stylistic idioms. Their history was revolutionised by the find, in 1974, of a hoard of four images at Daimabad in the Srirampur *taluka* of the Ahmednagar District. The *cache* comprises four images – a bull chariot, a water buffalo, an elephant and a rhinoceros. These four animals as a group appear only during the Harappan culture. The hoard was discovered from a site which has yielded evidence of a post-Harappan Chalcolithic culture. In spite of these considerations, the date and possible provenance of objects from this hoard are shrouded in mystery. Indeed, any explanation of their purpose and provenance is hypothetical but their date appears to be *c.* 1600 B.C.

Thereafter, there is no evidence until the early centuries of the Christian Era. This period is represented by a hoard of images found in Kolhapur and a *nidhi-shringa* discovered at Thane. In addition, are several Buddhist and Jain icons belonging to later centuries. Among them are three Buddhist figures, which were found at Ramtek and belong to the fourth century as well as images of the ninth century excavated from the Buddhist stupa at Sopara. The Jain figures consist of twenty-seven images, datable to the ninth-tenth centuries, which were discovered in an earthen pot in the side of a wall at Rajnapur Khinkhini (Akola District); a ninth century *chovisi* of Rishabhanath discovered at Chahardi (East Kandesh) and an impressive image of Bahubali. All these pieces of metal sculpture contribute to the study of cultural dynamics in Maharashtra.

This phase of the ninth century can be distinctly designated as of the Rashtrakuta period, even though the number of positively Rashtrakuta images is not very large. But the reason for this can be sought in a contemporary chronicle, the *Yasastilaka* of Somadeva wherein he criticises the ministers for melting metal images to extract gold. Whether as a result of this activity or otherwise, the casting of metal images does not seem to have gained much momentum during later centuries. Available evidence from later periods clearly shows a degenerate style – one which is rigid, petrified and devoid of all the grace and fluidity that marked the products of the preceding period. Indeed, metal images share the same fate as other sculptural arts.

Possibly, large bronzes ceased to be cast in Maharashtra because of their ready availability from southern centres of metal casting, as gleaned from such images now enshrined in many Maharashtrian temples. This seems to have occurred for two reasons. In the first place, the south Indian *sthapati* was better informed about the iconographic formula, and secondly, the tradition of bronze-casting survived more faithfully in that region than in Maharashtra where, incidentally, it was lost long ago.

Hoard of four images discovered at Daimabad: Bull Chariot (height 15.4 cm.), Elephant (height 36.5 cm.), Buffalo (height 27.5 cm.), Rhinoceros (height 28.5 cm.); *c.* 1600 B.C.; Ahmednagar District
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. *Figs. 1-3, 5*

The discovery of this hoard of four bronze images revolutionises the history of metal-casting in India. They were accidentally discovered from an area of Chalcolithic habitation which reveals no traces of subsequent phases of habitation.

The four images, a bull-chariot, an elephant, a water buffalo and a rhinoceros as a group appear only in the Indus culture. But even in the entire range of this period such staggering images have not been found.

The bull-chariot is particularly enigmatic. It shows a chariot drawn by two bulls with peculiar anatomy. Their hind parts have been modelled more like a horse. Their horns are bent forward more like those of unicorns of this period. The chariot too is unlike any seen in the entire sub-continent. It is an open platform with two vertical poles and a cross bar. The axle passes through two holes and the wheels are attached to it; the axle rotates with the wheels. The central pole of the yoke is quite long compared to its overall size and is placed on the necks of the bulls but not attached. A dog balances on the pole.

The rider stands on the platform holding a whip in his hand. Though the upper part of his body is realistic, the part below the waist is clumsily modelled. No comparable figure has as yet been discovered.

The rhinoceros shows an impressionistic modelling and the armour has more the appearance of a saddle. It is only the elephant and the water buffalo that have been realistically modelled.

All the figures have been provided with wheels, though the wheels of the elephant are missing. Yet, considering their size and weight, they were not intended as toys. The aggregate weight of these images is around 60 kg. In all likelihood, they were intended as processional figures. Such processional images made of wood are still visible in Maharashtra today.

Nidhi-shringa (height 40.7 cm.): *c.* 2nd century A.D.; Thane
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. *Fig. 4*

An important canonical text, the *Vishnu-dharmottara* contains the following verse:

"O King, in the residences of
men should always be painted
the treasure horns *(nidhi-shringa)*
of the bulls, the 'treasure



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handles' *(nidhi-hastan)* made of elephant tusks *(matangajan)*, the *nidhis*, the *vidyadharas*, the *rishis (siddhas)* . . . and other auspicious symbols famous all over the world." (tr. Dr. Moti Chandra)

A *nidhi-shringa* (cornucopia) symbolises the horn of plenty. Belief in its magical potency is basically a trait of all primitive cultures, which were in one way or the other associated with the animal world. Such a belief thus is not confined only to Vedic India but can be found in the religions of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Cretans, the Phoenecians, the Greeks and even the Harappans.

Hiranyashringa, the golden horn of Indra is mentioned in the *Rigveda*. Though in the *Rigveda* as well as the later *Samhitas, shringa* denotes the horn of any animal, the *Vedas, Brahmanas* and the *Shrauta Sutras* refer only to the horn of a black antelope for ritualistic purpose. The magical efficacy of the horn is underlined in the legend of Rishyashringa mentioned in the Epics as also in a couple of Buddhist *Jatakas*. In fact, in India, both the Hindus and the Buddhists entertain such a belief.

In Greece, a cornucopia was associated with the goddess Fortuna and Copia. Through this channel it penetrated Buddhism in the Gandhara region and became associated with Hariti, the consort of Panchika, who is often represented with a cornucopia. The concept percolated into the Gupta period and the motif appears on the "standard" coins of Samudragupta. It has survived to this date and in many communities in Maharashtra the practice of exchanging sweets contained in a box of this shape during a betrothal ceremony continues even today.

It is difficult to explain such a stray find in Thane. Its early date can be judged from the motifs appearing on it. Similar metal cornucopias have been found at Nalanda in the Buddhist context and are datable to about the eighth-ninth centuries.

Poseidon — Greek god of the sea (height 14.3 cm.): 1st century A.D.; Kolhapur
Collection: Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur. *Fig. 7*

Excepting that it was discovered at Kolhapur, the Poseidon image has no claims to being Indian. This figure, together with a plaque showing Perseus and Andromeda, a couple of *oniochoe* (bronze wine/water jugs with trefoil mouth and high handle) and a few Roman lamps, was discovered along with a few Indian bronzes in the Brahmagiri excavations at Kolhapur.

The model for this image was no doubt the one created by Lyssipus, a great metal sculptor of Alexander's period. Poseidon is also represented on the reverse of Alexander's coins.

The trident in the left hand of our image is missing. However, its facial expression is much more realistic and executed better than many other images. Its less athletic treatment suggests a later date than its Hellenistic counterparts.

Alexander's body was carried to Alexandria by Ptolemy I and kept in a golden coffin. Alexandria was then a Greek colony. Near Alexandria, on the island of Socotra (Dvipa Sukhatara), was a large number of Indians. In all likelihood an Indian trader picked up this image for its mythological symbolism and brought the statue home to Kolhapur.

Elephant riders (height 5.1 cm.): 1st century A.D., Satavahana period; Kolhapur
Collection: Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur. *Fig. 6*

This unique piece of the Satavahana period recalls the elephant-riding couples on Karle pillars. Imbued with a sculptural quality, the posture of the elephant suggests that the group is about to take off or alight. The purpose of this beautiful sculpture remains evasive, but a hypothesis can be postulated. A hoard of metal objects, mostly Buddhist, was excavated in 1877 in the vicinity of Kolhapur. Among these objects was a metal stupa and a *torana*. Could this group of riders then represent a royal family which came to worship the stupa? To some extent this hypothesis of Buddhist association is corroborated by another object found in the hoard — a ring with four faces, including that of a sphinx, projecting in four directions.

At Bharhut and Amravati one sees a similar feature interwoven in a *chakra-stambha* indicating its Buddhist association.

The costumes and postures of the figures help in assigning the piece to a date in the first century A.D. Similarly, the manner in which hair is let loose on the back of one of the female figures compares favourably with the coiffure seen in the terracotta figures of Roman workmanship from Ter.

Buddha (height 57 cm.): *c.* 4th century; Hamlapuri, Teh., Ramtek, Nagpur
Collection: Central Museum, Nagpur. *Fig. 15*

The Buddha is clad in a *samghati* spread over both shoulders and falling in graceful folds at the lower ends. The right hand displays *abhayamudra* and the left hand holds the gathered end of the *samghati*. The full face, with high cheekbones, the sharp nose, the mode of wearing the *samghati*, its collar, the manner in which the *antariya* and *uttariya* are fashioned suggest a Gandharan idiom while the snail-shell curls, prominent *urna*, long earlobes and the *trivali* on the neck indicate an amalgam of Gupta features. Beneath the robe, the slim body of the Tathagata is sensitively modelled. The image has a *prabhavali* and a halo with a radiating edge now damaged.

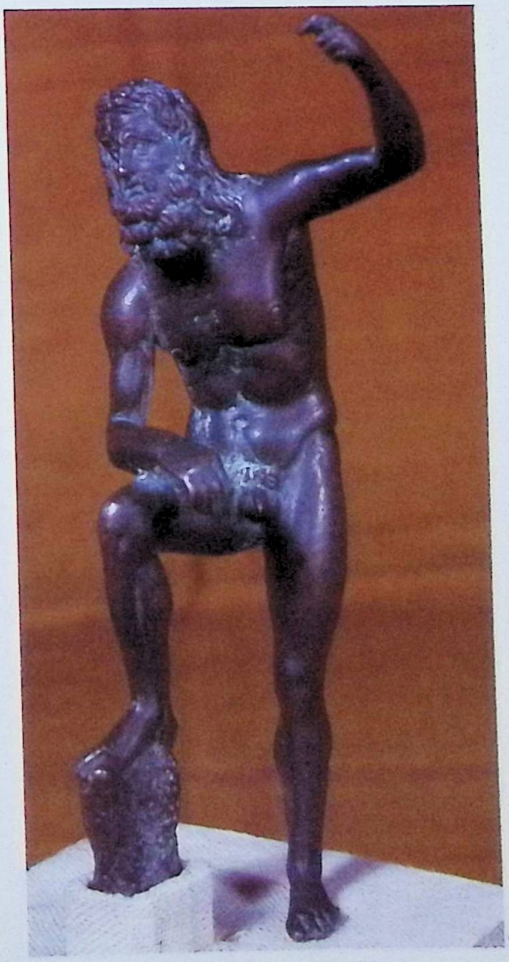
Quite clearly the image represents the north-western tradition probably imported to this region by a wandering pilgrim. This argument is fortified by a metal incense burner of evident Gandharan workmanship discovered along with it. In 1969, the remains of a Buddhist stupa were excavated at Pauni



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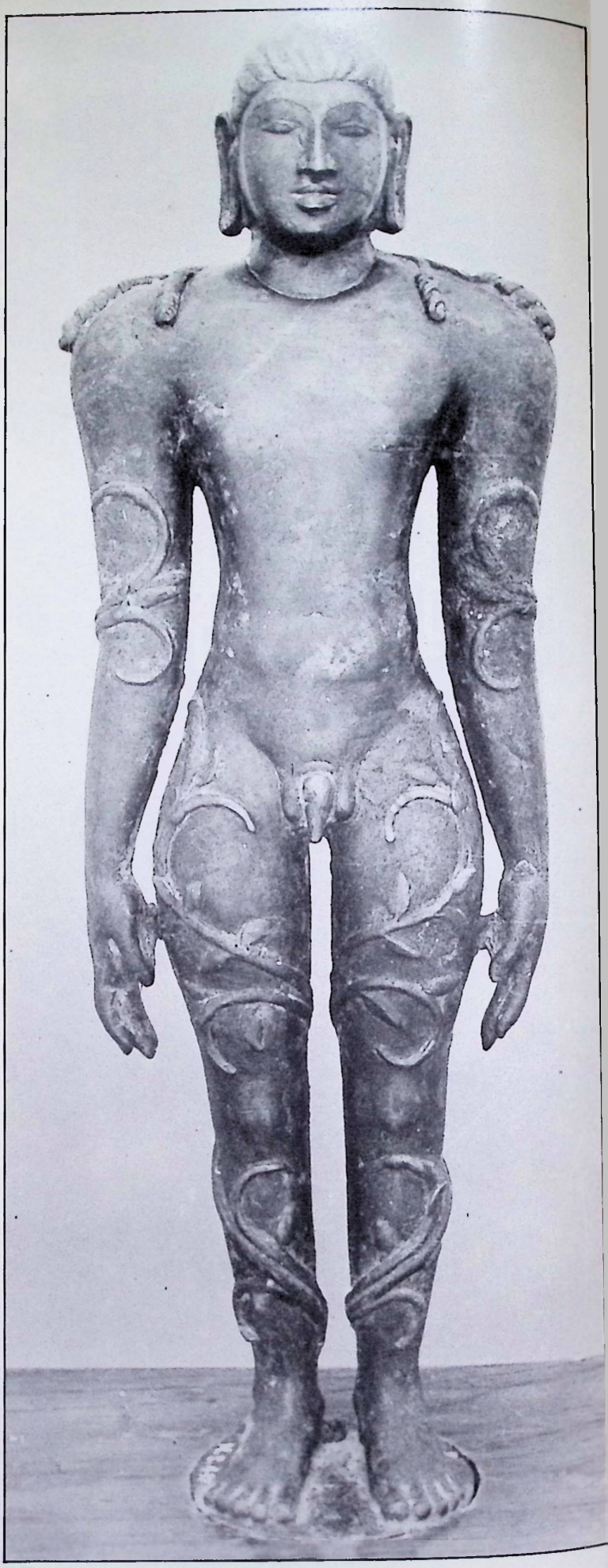
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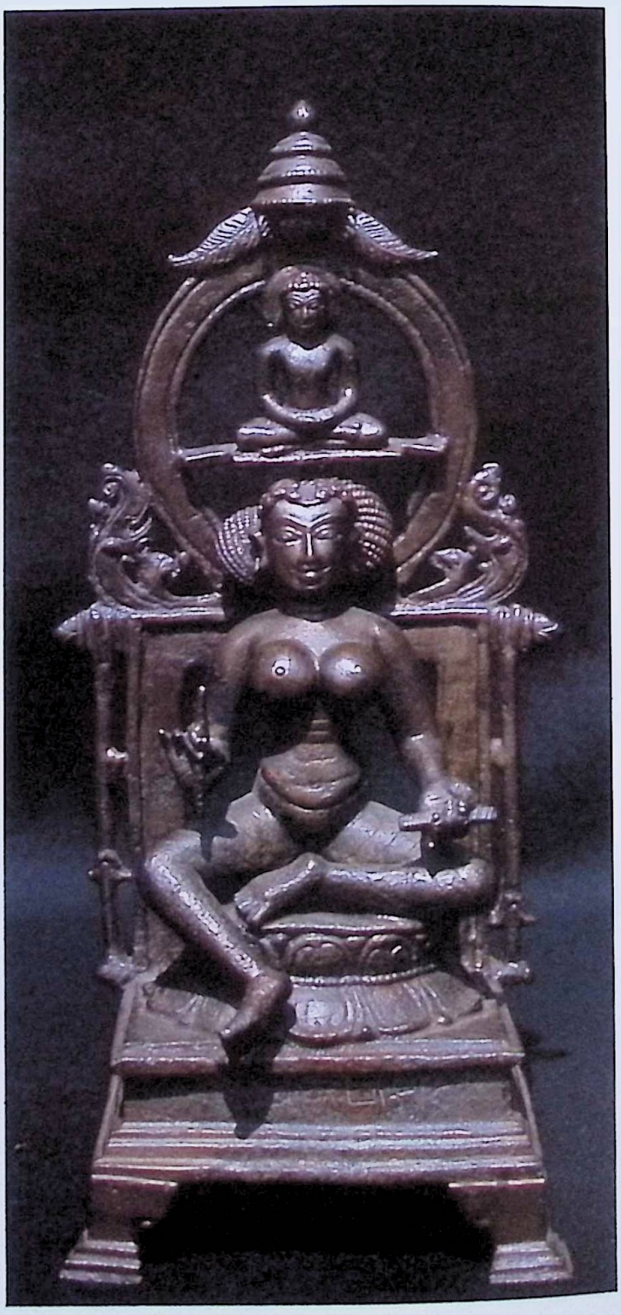
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in Vidarbha, indicating the existence of an important place of Buddhist pilgrimage in this region.

Another metal image of the Buddha was discovered many decades ago at Dhanesar Khera in U.P. and is now in the Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, U.S.A. Undoubtedly, both figures are products of the same guild if not the same hand. Both of them must have been cast together somewhere in the north-west and it would be inaccurate to assume that both are products of respectively local workmanship.

Buddha images: 4th century A.D.; found together with Fig. 8. *Figs. 11, 12*

Two Buddha images, unlike the previous image, belong to the southern Deccan tradition. Both the images are in *sampada-sthanaka* with the right hand in *abhaya* and the left hand holding the *samghati*. The *samghati* is worn in an open mode, leaving the right shoulder bare, and has no folds. While features such as the long earlobe and the *trivali* on the neck are present, the *urna* is conspicuously absent.

The finding of these two images along with the previous image strengthens our argument that all these images were collected as souvenirs by a wandering pilgrim.

Chovisi of Rishabhanatha (height 59 cm.): 9th century A.D.; Chahardi Tal., Chopda District, East Khandesh
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. *Fig. 18*

This is one of the early, and by far the best, surviving examples of Jain art. *A chovisi* is a shrine having twenty-three Tirthankaras represented around a central twenty-fourth Tirthankara, who is known as the *mulanayaka*. Here, the *mulanayaka*, standing in a *kayotsarga* pose is Rishabhanatha, generally identified by the hairlocks falling on his broad shoulders. The presence of a golden *srivatsa* classifies the image as a *shasvata pratima*, as prescribed by the *Agamas*.

In the centre of the pedestal is a wheel flanked by a deer on each side symbolising the sermon in the deer park, a motif that Jain images borrow from their Buddhist counterparts. At the bottom is a row of Navagrahas.

On either side of the Jina, a *yaksha* and *yakshi* sit on lotuses stemming from the pedestal. Such figures are but clichés in all images and seldom aid in identifying the Jina.

The inscription on the back of the pedestal reads: *Shri ~Jalavridha Chandrakule Shri Pradyumnacharya Parshva Shravakasya.*

According to the 17th canto of the *Pattavali* of the Kharataragachcha, the Chandrakula was established by Chandra, one of the three (or sometimes four) sons of Sreshthin Jinadatta and Ishvari who were converted at Surparaka (Sopara) by Vajrasena of the *Utkoshika Gotra*.

On a formal analysis, the style of the *dhoti* unmistakably points to western Indian tradition. The *chauri*-bearers show clear influence of the Rashtrakuta idiom in their elongated torso, stance, crown and even the *udarabandha*. The style of headdress or the *urah-sutra* of the *yakshi* on one side indicates a borrowing from the Pratihara idiom of northern India, and on the other, along with the female figures of the Rajnapur-Khinkhini hoard, indicates relationship with the Nolamba style of southern India. The *chhatra* at the top is again a southern Digambara tradition seldom seen in Shvetambara images. The popularity of Digambara Jains in western India, as reflected in the caves of Ellora and Ankai-Tankai, Khandesh and even southern Maharashtra was due to the Rashtrakuta patronage, particularly of Amoghavarsha (*c.* A.D. 814-878). This is perhaps the reason why even this Shvetambara icon shows so many features otherwise pertinent to Digambara iconography. The image evidently belongs to this flourishing period of Jainism in the ninth century A.D.

Bahubali (height 49.5 cm.): 9th century A.D., Rashtrakuta period
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. *Fig. 9*

Bahubali, the son of the first Tirthankara Rishabha, is depicted in penance with creepers and ant-hills growing around him. In scriptures and paintings he is always represented with creepers growing on his limbs. He is a special favourite of the Digambara Jains. The athletic figure with its heavy, yet well proportioned, torso has a boyish face with a serene inner expression of a person involved in deep meditation.

The thick incised hair with *jata* rolling on the shoulders is a characteristic that emerges in the Jain caves at Ellora and is unlike its Karnataka counterpart where the hair is invariably shown in tiny curls.

The monumentality and graceful modelling of this image are unmatched by any other metal image of Bahubali.

Yaksha-Dampati (height 23.5 cm.): 10th century A.D.; Rajnapur Khinkhini
Collection: Central Museum, Nagpur. *Fig. 10*

The *Yaksha-Dampati*, flanked by a *chauri*-bearer on either side stands in *tribhanga* on a plain pedestal. On the pedestal can also be seen eight *grahas*. This is one of the two fine images in the hoard.

The stele behind comprises of two vertical columns, each supporting a *chaitya-gavaksha*. On the centre of the cross-bar, under a triple umbrella with overhanging leaves indicative of Jina's *bodhi-vriksha* is a seated Jina. The meandering floral design of the upper part is of the Deccani variety.

The *yakshi*, like the Saraswati, also displays an elaborate coiffure. Both the female figures, in the treatment of their physical features and their hair, closely resemble the



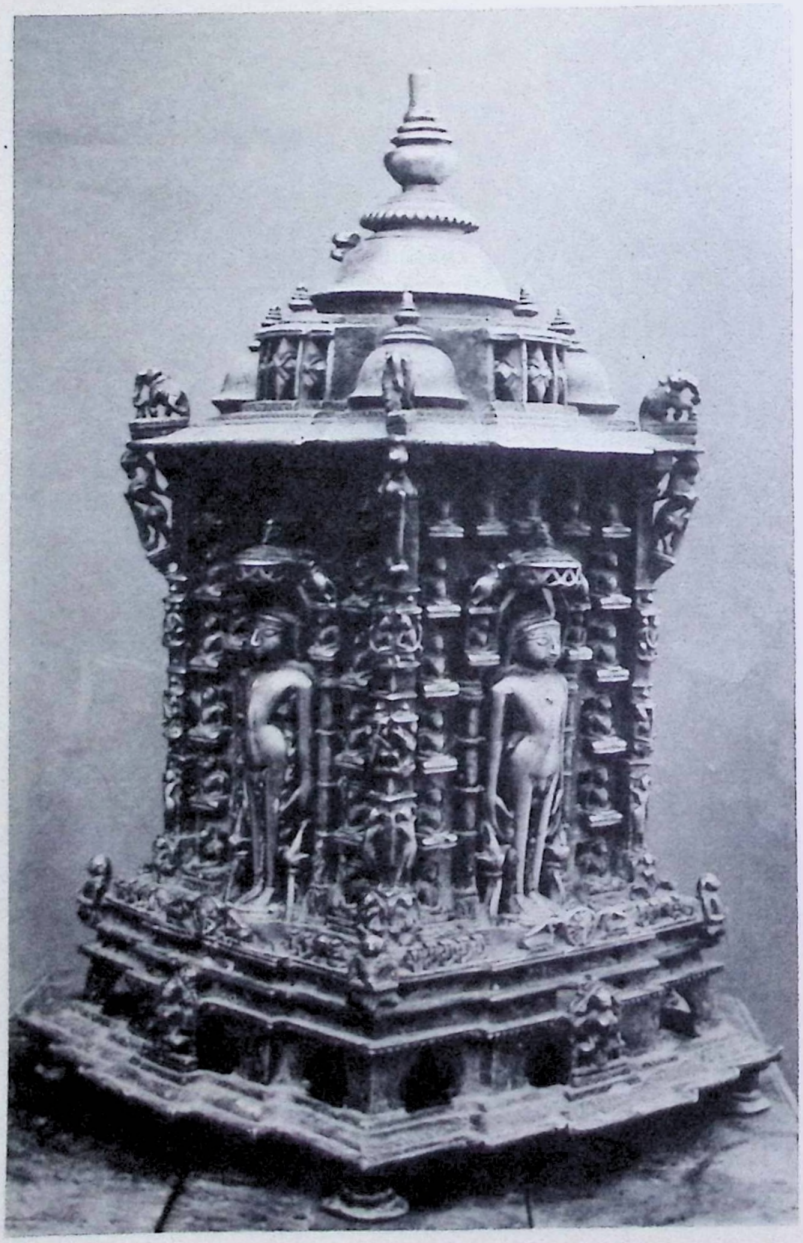
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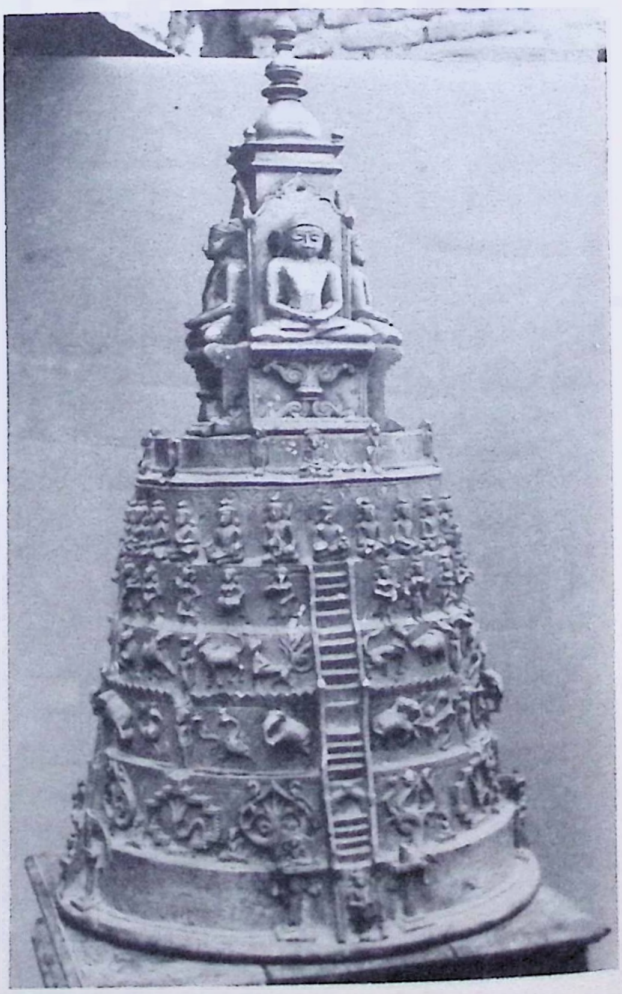
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female figures of the Nolamba period from Hemavati.

Saraswati (height 23 cm.): *c.* 10th century A.D.; Rajnapur Khinkhini
Collection: Central Museum, Nagpur. *Fig. 19*

Saraswati, the goddess of learning, holding a book as her cognizance, is adopted by Jains from the Brahmanical pantheon. Her Buddhist counterpart is the Prajnaparamita. She is the *Shrutadevata* who presides over the teachings of the Jinas. The image is starkly plain and simple and devoid of any ornamentation. The stele too, is of a simpler variety, but compositionally very effective and well balanced. Evidently this image and the previous one are the works of the same sculptor.

Ambika: *c.* 10th century A.D.; Rajnapur Khinkhini
Collection: Central Museum, Nagpur. *Not illustrated*

Ambika, the wife of a Brahman, was driven out by her husband for feeding the *munis* (monks). After leaving her house, while resting under a mango tree with her two sons, she saw her husband approaching, and, fearing his wrath she jumped into a well with her two sons and died. She was reborn as a *yakshi* of the *shasana* of Neminatha in the *Kohanda vimana* and hence is also known as Kushmandi. An effigy of Neminatha is always represented on the stele.

Here she appears standing under a mango tree, a son on either side, herself holding a bunch of mangoes. The composition of the stele is quite simple. This image also seems to be the handwork of the same guild as the two preceding figures.

Jina: *c.* 10th century A.D.; Kashta Sangha Mandir, Karanja. *Fig. 8*

One of the very few Jain bronzes which could be considered unique both iconographically and compositionally is the tenth century Jina in the Kashta Sangha Mandir, Karanja. The *mulanayaka* is seated in *dhyanasana* on a *tri-ratha simhasana* under a triple *chhatra* surmounted by a *kalasha* with overhanging leaves symbolising the Jina's *bodhi-vriksha*. On his right, Parshvanatha is shown against an architectural column and on his left is Bahubali. The Jina is flanked by his *Shasana-devatas, yaksha-yakshi,* seated on stemming lotuses on either side. The wheel on the pedestal signified *dharma-chakra*. Conceptually the stele has an inner *prabhavali* and an outer *parikara*.

The prabhavali comprises the back rest, the halo and the triple *chhatra*. The back rest has two rounded verticle columns flanked by a *vyala* on either side, and a cross-bar with ends designed as *makaras*. Over this rise the two *chamaradhara yakshas*. The outer *parikara* has a rounded column at the extreme end and on each side two flanking architectural columns with terraced *shikhara* and *kalashas*. The corpulent figures seated on the two extreme columns probably represent the *dikpalas*, though the composition could provide only for two. A decorative floral trefoil archer in perforated design rises above the configuration. Four musicians, perched in the branches of the *parikara*, symbolise *divyadhvani* (celestial music). The presence of Bahubali is an enigmatic feature seen only in another bronze which is in the Musée Guimet in Paris.

Vishnu with Lakshmi and Garuda (height 28 cm.): *c.* 10th century A.D.
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. *Fig. 16*

Four-armed Vishnu stands in *samapada sthanaka* on a lotus placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. Even though his two lower hands are broken, it is possible to suggest that he held the *padma, shankha, chakra* and *gada*. According to the *Rupamandana* and the *Ahirbudhnya Samhita* this is Keshava, of the twenty-four forms of Vishnu. Keshava wears a *karanda mukuta*, necklace, *yajnopavita, vanamala* and other ornaments. The *udarabandha* seen here is a borrowing from the Chalukyan idiom and is seen in the *chamaradhara yakshas* of the Chahardi *chovisi*, as well as the Sopara Maitreya. He is flanked by Garuda in *anjalimudra* and Lakshmi, holding a fly-whisk on his right and left hand respectively.

The stele at the back is of characteristic Deccan variety with architectural columns with a *chaitya-gavaksha* over it and a meandering floral pattern atop woven together.

Sapta Buddhas and Maitreya (height 12.5 cm.): *c.* 9th century A.D.; excavated from the stupa at Sopara
Collection: Asiatic Society of Bombay. *Figs. 13, 14, 17*

The spurt of proselytising activity which occurred after the third Buddhist Council, convened under Moggaliputta Tissa during the reign of Ashoka Maurya resulted in the spread of Buddhist doctrine to western India, with its main centre at Surparaka (modern Sopara). Sopara was then an active port mentioned in contemporary chronicles such as *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy. According to the accounts of *Mahavamsa*, a Yavana monk, by name Dharmarakshita, was sent to Sopara to preach the law.

Here, as well as at Gharapuri, the two sub-sects of Therevadins, the Dharmottariyas and the Bhadrayaniyas erected stupas and Ashoka's VIII and IX edicts were installed at Sopara to guide the floating population of such foreigners as the Scythians, Parthians, Romans and others. Around the eighth-ninth centuries the Theravadins made a bid for survival in the face of the increasing importance of the Avalokiteshvara cult as witnessed in its predominance at the Buddhist University establishment of Kanheri, not far from Sopara. In the ninth century, they evidently

made a bid at restoring and rededicating the stupa and, in the process, enshrined a casket containing the earlier relics consisting of fragments of a begging bowl surrounded by metal images of the Sapta Buddhas: Vipasyi, Visvabhu, Shikhi, Krakuchchanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Sakyamuni, as the Tathagata Buddhas, accompanied by Maitreya, the future Buddha. This coincides with the later phase of Buddhist activity at Ellora. Yet, even though Kanheri remained an active Buddhist establishment almost till the fifteenth century, as recorded in Portuguese chronicles, Sopara seems to have faded into oblivion.

In the centre of the circular stone casket, which was recovered by Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1882, there was a copper reliquary containing a series of four more reliquaries one within the other, of stone, silver, crystal and gold. Each casket contained several gold flowers and in the gold casket are terracotta fragments evidently of a begging bowl. It was a common practice to enshrine either *sharirika* (bodily relics) or such other belongings of the Buddha or a highly venerated monk.

The reliquary in the Sopara casket was surrounded by eight copper images referred to here. The seven Buddhas are all seated under their respective *bodhi-vriksha* and are not identifiable independently as one of the Sapta Buddhas except for the fact that they were found together. Nor do they indicate any stylistic characteristic which may suggest their period and provenance. However, the features and ornaments of Maitreya reveal its close stylistic affinity with the male figure from the Rajnapur group, the Vishnu from the Deccan and also the *chamaradharas* in the Chahardi stele, thus establishing that the Sopara hoard belongs to the ninth-tenth century idiom of the Rashtrakuta period.

Sarvatobhadrika: *c.* 14th century A.D.; Kashta Sangha Mandir, Karanja. *Fig. 23*

As mentioned, the increasing emphasis on ritual gradually resulted in large and elaborate images which, however, had lost all grace of the earlier period. This is reflected in this and the subsequent images illustrated here.

The *Sarvatobhadrika* or *Chaumukha* is a shrine with four doorways facing the four cardinal directions. This concept in sculptural form is available almost from the second-third centuries A.D. at Mathura.

Among the Jains two concepts have parallel iconography showing Jina images facing four different directions. One is of the Simhanisadya *chaitya* with four doorways and with different Jinas placed in each. The other is the *samavasarana* where the Jina is seated facing one direction and his golden images are placed in the other three directions. The Jina images in a *samavasarana* are essentially seated.

In the present image all the Jinas are standing under an umbrella which is western Indian in character. In fact the entire *parikara*, but for the Digambara Jina, is of the western Indian type. The configuration at the top symbolises a central *chaitya* flanked by four smaller ones in four directions.

Samavasarana: *c.* 15th century A.D.; Kastha Sangha Mandir, Karanja. *Fig. 24*

Samavasarana, a concept equally popular amongst the Digambaras and Shvetambaras, means the assemblage of gods, humans and animals who had gathered to hear the sermon of a Tirthankara immediately after his enlightenment. It is parallel to the Buddhist concept of *dharmachakra pravartana* and that is why Vasudevahindi mentions that the *dharma chakra* was placed near the Jina's feet as he delivered the sermon.

The *Avasyaka-niryukti, Trishashtishalaka-purushacharita* and the *Mahapurana* of Jinasena (a Digambara text) are some of the texts that describe the concept in great detail.

It comprises of three ramparts erected by the Vimanavasi, Jyotiska and the Bhavanapati gods, and each rampart is divided by four ornamental gateways. According to the Digambara tradition, Indra is the architect of this structure; it has a circular plan and a diameter of twelve *yojanas*. The structure is embellished with *manastambhas, ashta-mangalas,* stepped wells, *toranas* and *gopuras*. Moreover, on each side there are theatres where heavenly damsels performed dance and music. This image is a vivid representation of all such constituents.

A Jina is considered to enter from the eastern gate, make *pradakshina* of the *chaitya* tree and take his seat on the lion throne which is one of the eight *pratiharyas* prescribed for this purpose. The *vyantara* gods then make three exact replicas of the Jina in gold and place them in each of the three other directions.

In the Shvetambara tradition, the *samavasarana* is generally depicted in paintings and manuscript illustrations. It is, however, in the Digambara tradition that we come across, in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, such elaborate representations in metal.

Khandoba images: *c.* 19th century A.D.; Collection: Heras Institute Museum, Bombay. *Figs. 20, 21*

Khandoba, an incarnation of Shiva, with his main shrine at Jejuri is a popular folk deity in Maharashtra.

Iconographically, he is always represented as riding a horse with his consort, Banai, and carrying a *khanda* in his hand. Often, dogs are shown in accompaniment.

Of the two images illustrated here, one is traditional while the other is folkish. More often such plaques are worn by Vaghyas—the male mendicant devotees of the god.

Mahalakshmi: *c.* late 19th-20th centuries Collection: Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur. *Fig. 22*



Miniature Painting

Sarju Doshi

The ancient shrines of Maharashtra not only embody the philosophical and religious beliefs of the Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical faiths, but also the cultural values of the region. The rock-cut temples, excavated between the second century B.C. and the thirteenth century A.D., reflect the aesthetic impulses of the period in the architecture of their pillars and facades as well as in the contoured fluidity of their sculpture. The painting tradition, which must have expressed itself in mural as well as miniature forms, is, unfortunately, largely lost; its superb achievements are known only from the wall-paintings at Ajanta and a few fragments at Ellora. In all probability, miniature painting was also practised in these monasteries as manuscript illustration but no examples have survived. The tradition of painting seems to have disappeared in Maharashtra after Ellora sometime in the ninth or tenth century. When it emerges again in the sixteenth century, it is in the form of miniature painting for the Islamic rulers of the Deccan. Thereafter the pictorial tradition develops in a continuous movement, finding expression in both miniatures and murals. During the last four hundred years, painting in Maharashtra has been tempered by diverse stylistic influences: from the Rajput and Mughal courts in the north, from Andhra and Karnataka in the south and from Persia. These several stylistic idioms have contributed to the variety and wealth of Maharashtrian culture.

Ajanta and Ellora

The wall-paintings at Ajanta are the earliest examples of the mural tradition in Indian art. Those in Cave 9 and 10 form the early group and are believed to be as ancient as the second century B.C. The later paintings in Caves 1, 2, 16, 17, executed *c.* the fifth century A.D., are among the finest achievements in Indian art. They illuminate events from Buddhist lore in terms of the everyday life of those times. The scenes are set in palaces and gardens or amid crowded city streets. The narratives cover the entire wall surface and unfold episodically—flowing sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. The deep earthy tones and the softly modulated line project an illusion of rounded human forms which are eloquently expressive in their pose and gesture (Fig. 1). The confident and mature handling of these figures evinces a long period of stylistic development, the beginning and intermediate stages of which perhaps will be never known.

In the diffused light of the cave interiors, the serene beauty of these paintings heightened the mystical experience of the devotee.

At Ellora, several fragments of paintings are visible on the ceilings of the Kailasanatha temple. Some of them reveal two or three layers; the earliest appears to have been done in the eighth century—the same date as the shrine. The paintings comprising the uppermost layer are about two hundred years later. In these, as well as in the ninth century paintings from the nearby Jain shrine of Indra Sabha, the style has shifted from that of Ajanta. There is a tendency towards angularity and an emphasis on linear expression. Instead of mass, volume and calm dignity, the tautly executed and attenuated forms exude a nervous vitality. This negation of substance is carried further in the battle scenes in the Kailasa temple as the preoccupation with visualising compositions in patterns of line, form and colour increases perceptibly.

Ahmednagar

Islamic rule in India was firmly established in A.D. 1192 when the Muslim invaders defeated the Indian armies at Tarain and conquered the plains of north India. In the decades that followed the new rulers concentrated on consolidating their position in their

dominions. Towards the end of the thirteenth century they felt confident and focused their attention on the land situated south of the Vindhyas. They succeeded in subjugating its people and annexed the various provinces. But their supremacy remained precarious, and, before long, the authority of the Delhi Sultanate began to crumble. In 1347, a Muslim officer stationed in the Deccan rebelled against Delhi and founded the line of the Bahamani kings whose territories extended across the high plateau of the Deccan from the coast to coast.

The hostility of the Bahamani rulers towards Delhi made them turn outside India to Persia for their political and cultural contacts. Gradually, there evolved a distinctive Deccani-Islamic ethos. Historians of the period mention various artistic traditions fostered by the Bahamani Sultans. But these are totally lost except for a few artefacts and the superb architecture of their capital cities—Gulbarga and Bidar. Although no paintings can be assigned with certainty to the Bahamani kingdom, an idiom analogous to the *Chandayana* Series (Collection: The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay) probably prevailed in the northern Deccan. For, the compositions of the *Chandayana* Series are echoed later in some of the seventeenth-century *Ragamala* miniatures painted in that province.

In the course of time, the Bahamani Sultanate was itself convulsed with revolt. It splintered into five separate kingdoms: Ahmednagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda. Each of these five Islamic Sultanates and the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar constantly engaged in battle with one another. Eventually, the Muslim kingdoms formed a confederacy whose combined assault led to the defeat of Vijayanagar at Talikota in 1565; the Vijayanagar empire shattered and its capital lay in ruins. The victorious Sultans returned to their kingdoms in triumph laden with loot and, no doubt, slaves which included artisans and craftsmen.

This battle and the victory at Talikota are featured in the earliest extant illustrated document from Maharashtra. Painted in Ahmednagar *c.* 1565-1569 and known as the *Tarif-e-Husain-Shahi*, this manuscript celebrates the reign of Sultan Husain Nizam Shah and eulogises his queen, Humayun. Originally, the manuscript consisted of fourteen miniatures of which twelve have survived. They portray battle scenes and court scenes, but one painting, depicting women in a garden, stands apart from the rest not only because of its theme but also because of its poetic beauty. It shows a group of slender graceful women, draped in looped *saris,* standing in front of a flowering tree. The symmetrical accents in the composition and the sumptuous colouring proclaim a new aesthetic vision. The subject of the painting, however, is not new; it depicts the ancient *dohada* theme where the touch of a beautiful woman makes a tree blossom. In this particular case, the woman touching the tree is the queen herself. It must have been Queen Humayun again, who, as consort, was shown seated next to King Husain in the court scenes of this manuscript (Fig. 2). But at some later date—possibly after she fell from her son's favour—the queen's likeness was disfigured. The obliterated form, though indistinct, is still conspicuous in the paintings. Stylistically, the figure of Sultan Husain reveals a striking similarity to that of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Shah (1469-1500) in the manuscript of the *Nimat Nama* painted in Malwa *c.* 1500. The treatment of the women—especially their physiognomy and physique—also corresponds closely to that of the *Nimat Nama* but the women's attire, worn in the southern fashion, indicates the influence of Vijayanagar. Integrated with these indigenous influences is the foreign tradition from Persia which employs the landscape conventions of a high curved horizon and flowering shrubs in the background. There is, however, nothing derivative about the style of the *Tarif:* all its sources have been fused and synthesised to formulate a distinctive idiom.

Quite conceivably, there was an idiom of pre-Mughal painting in the Deccan patronised by the Bahamani Sultans. Although all evidence of such a style has vanished, its presence may be sensed in the structured compositions and the luminous colours of the paintings in the *Tarif-e-Husain Shahi* manuscript. This possibility is again underlined by the high degree of sophistication evident in a group of *Ragamala* paintings from the Deccan.

One of them—judging from the costumes and hair-styles—appears to have been painted at Ahmednagar. It portrays the *Vasanta Raga* as a prince seated with his consort on a swing (Fig. 3). The women, dressed in gauzy *saris* with stiff projecting ends, are strikingly reminiscent of the female figures in the *Chandayana* Series (Collection: Rylands Library, U.K.). The style of the *Vasanta Raga,* like that of the *Tarif*, tends towards eclecticism. It draws upon different aspects of various styles—such as Mughal realism and Persian landscape conventions. The lyrical beauty and elegant formal qualities of the painting attest that the artist could not only integrate the diverse traditions but also transcend them.

The presence of Mughal influence in the treatment of the mango trees and the costume of the prince would suggest that the *Vasanta Raga* was painted during, or soon after, the reign of Burhan II (1591-1595). In 1583, Burhan II had fled to the Mughal court after rebelling against his brother who was incumbent on the throne. Burhan spent a number of years with the Mughals and his exposure to their artistic tradition must have left its imprint on his taste.

1 Palace scene, Ajanta Cave No. 17
5th century A.D.

2 King Husain Nizam Shah, *Tarif-e-Husain-Shahi*
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1565-1569, Ahmednagar
Collection: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

3 *Vasanta Raga*
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1595, Ahmednagar
Collection: National Museum, New Delhi

4 Sultan Burhan, Nizam Shah II
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1591-1595, Ahmednagar
Collection: Raza Library, Rampur

5 Folio from a *Rasamanjari* series
Gouache on paper
A.D. 1650, Aurangabad
Private Collection

6 Folio from a *Bhagavata Purana*
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1800, Nagpur
Collection: Central Museum, Nagpur

7 Folio from a *Suganda-Dashami-Katha*
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1750, Karanja
Collection: Chandra Prabhu Digambara Jain Mandir, Nagpur

8 Folio from an *Ananta-Vrata-Katha*
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1750, Karanja
Private Collection

9 Panels from a *Pancha-Kalyanaka pata*
Cloth
School of Aurangabad
c. A.D. 1680-1700
Collection: Sena Gana Mandir, Karanja

10 Folio from a *Chandana-Maliyagiri-Katha*
Gouache on paper
A.D. 1733, Karanja
Collection: Sena Gana Mandir, Karanja

11 Sadashiv Rao
Gouache on paper
late 18th century A.D.
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

12 *Amrit-Manthan,* Sarkar Wada
Wall painting
c. 19th century A.D.,
School of Poona

13 *Chaitra Gauri-pata*
Cloth
c. 19th century A.D.,
School of Poona
Collection: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune

14 Ganesha with attendants
Wooden book covers
19th century A.D.,
School of Poona
Collection: Marathwada University, Aurangabad

15 Folio from a Maratha manuscript
Gouache on paper
19th century A.D.,
School of Poona
Collection: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune

16 Folio from a Maratha manuscript
Gouache on paper
19th century A.D.,
School of Poona
Collection: Marathwada University, Aurangabad

17 Devi with worshippers
Gouache on paper
late 18th century A.D.,
Kolhapur
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

18 Folio from a *chitrakathi pothi* (detail)
Tempera on paper
late 19th century A.D., Pinguli
Collection: Directorate of Art, Bombay

19 Folio from a *chitrakathi pothi*
Tempera on paper
late 19th century A.D., Pinguli
Collection: Directorate of Art, Bombay

20 *Folios from a copy of Pratishtha-Sarodhara-Jina-Yagna-Kalpa*
19th century A.D.,
Kolhapur
Collection: His Holiness Bhattaraka Lakshmisenji, Digambara Jain Matha, Kolhapur

21 City of Ayodhya, folio from a *Parthistha-Sarodhara-Jina-Yagna-Kalpa*
19th century A.D.,
Kolhapur
Collection: His Holiness Bhattaraka Lakshmisenji, Digambara Jain Matha, Kolhapur

22 Panels featuring Krishna and Radha
Gouache on paper
c. A.D. 1900, Solapur
Collection: P. J. Buwa, Solapur

23 Kansari Devi
Rice paste on mud plaster
A.D. 1980, Ganjad

24 Exorcism rite
Rice paste on paper
A.D. 1982
Artist: Jivya Soma

25 Train
Rice paste on paper
A.D. 1982
Artist: Jivya Soma

Although the Mughal touch is recognisable in the pictorial values of Ahmednagar Painting, it is not evident in the themes of the miniatures. Unlike their Mughal counterparts, the Ahmednagar Sultans did not record their political achievements or military exploits. The paintings do not depict the Deccani Sultans leading an expedition or a hunt, nor do they show them formally holding court. Evidently they did not use painting to reinforce their royal image. For, the miniatures portray the Sultan in casual activities. A portrait of Burhan II with his courtiers painted in translucent tones is offset by a lustrous gold ground which enhances the ethereal beauty of its palette. In another enchanting portrait, the same Sultan reclines restlessly on a canopied bed (Fig. 4) on a hot airless Deccani afternoon. In addition to these two magnificent portraits there are several line drawings and painted sketches of adolescent princes and rulers. The affinity for realism and surging movement reflects the Mughal taste that characterised Ahmednagar Painting in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the armies of the Mughal Emperor Akbar marched southwards into the Deccan, siezed the fort of Ahmednagar but were not able to subdue the entire state. The Ahmednagar forces, under the astute leadership of the Abbusinnian Peshwa Malik Ambar continued to oppose the invaders. From this period of turmoil only a few portraits, including those of Malik Ambar and an impressive Deccani African nobleman, were painted.

After the fall of Ahmednagar in 1638, the artists working for the governing families seem to have left the region and migrated to the courts of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. For, the style that the Ahmednagar artists practised does not reappear in nearby Aurangabad which also became a centre of painting around the middle of the seventeenth century.

Aurangabad and Nagpur

During the fifty years that elapsed between the fall of Ahmednagar and the Mughal conquest of Bijapur and Golconda, the city of Aurangabad assumed importance as the headquarters of the Mughals in the Deccan. In the Mughal army were numerous Rajput princes with contingents of Rajput soldiers. They were posted in Aurangabad for extended periods of time, with the result that Rajput elements became part of the local ambience. Adding to the conglomeration at Aurangabad were the people from Gujarat who provided various necessities and services to the army by setting up shops along the high road connecting the northern cities to the towns in the Deccan. Eventually, they settled in the Deccan but continued to maintain close contact with their homeland clinging tenaciously to their old customs and manners. They were thus responsible for contributing yet another dimension to the variegated culture of Aurangabad and the neighbouring regions.

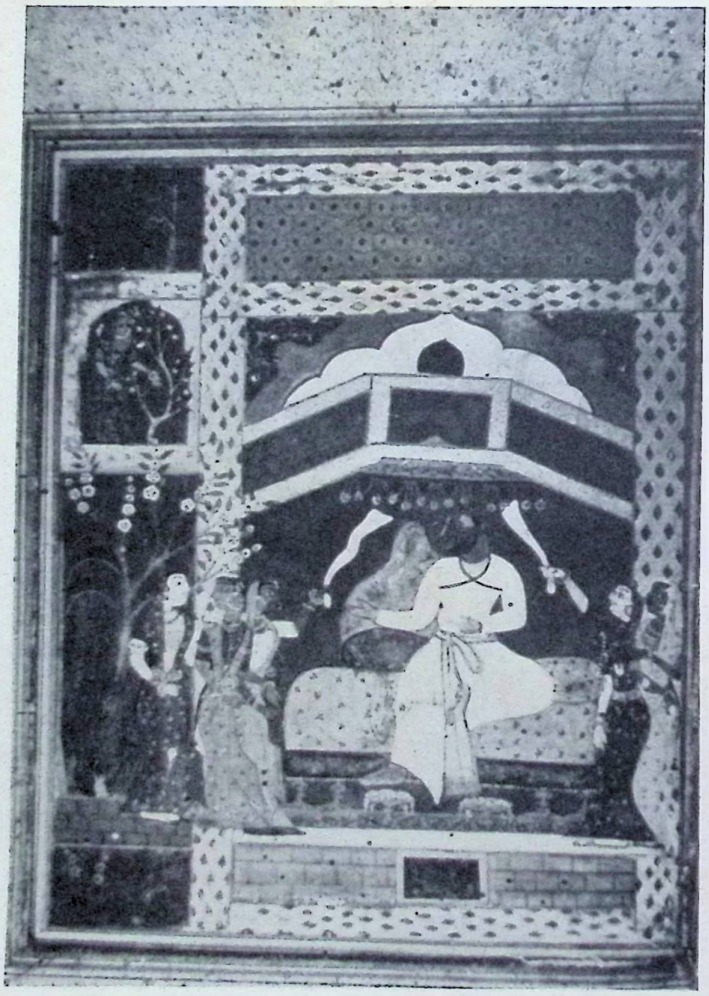
This coalescence of cultural currents is reflected in the miniatures produced for the Mughal grandees and the Rajput chieftains at Aurangabad. Painted sometime around the middle of the seventeenth century, they show that the style practised at Aurangabad lacks specific character and uniformity of expression: in fact, its adumbrations extend from the Mughal to the Rajasthani. All of them, however, contain certain stylistic elements that identify them with Aurangabad.

Among the early documents from this centre is a *Rasamanjari* series which states in its colophon that it was painted for a Sisodiya prince from Mewar at Aurangabad in 1650 (Fig. 5). The manuscript is a compendium of five treatises, each of which is composed by a different author. Only the first of these is illustrated with paintings of the *Nayaka-Nayika-Bheda*. The miniatures are direct and uncluttered. They depict the hero and heroine in a pavilion or against a landscape with trees, a stream or hills. The rendering of the human figures displays a close relationship with the School of Mewar, which is not surprising considering that these paintings were executed for a Mewar chieftain. Nevertheless, the style differs slightly from that of Mewar in its more delicate line and the strong palette which is accented with gold and combines dazzling yellows and oranges with restrained greens and mauves. The same style is encountered at differing levels of accomplishment in a few other series. This cluster of documents would suggest the existence of a group of artists in Aurangabad who specialised in this particular expression.

Reflecting again the blend of Rajasthani and Deccani styles is a painted scroll depicting the *panchakalyanaka* (the five auspicious events) of the Tirthankara Rishabha (Fig. 9). Envisaged on a grand scale, this cloth scroll is approximately 1220 cm long and 80 cm wide and imaginatively executed despite its iconographical bias. It is painted in a style which is intriguing because it does not conform to any known idiom but draws upon several schools such as those of Bundi and Bikaner (Rajasthan) and Golconda (Deccan). Its connection with centres in Rajasthan are explicit in the treatment of the figures: the drawing and colouring of the faces are reminiscent of Bundi while the elegant proportions and costumes appear to have been inspired by Bikaner. Certain compositional characteristics, especially the predilection for arranging figures in rows, can also be traced to Bikaner. The procession scenes, on the other hand, proclaim an indebtedness to the tradition of cloth painting at Golconda. To the Deccan again can be traced the conventions employed



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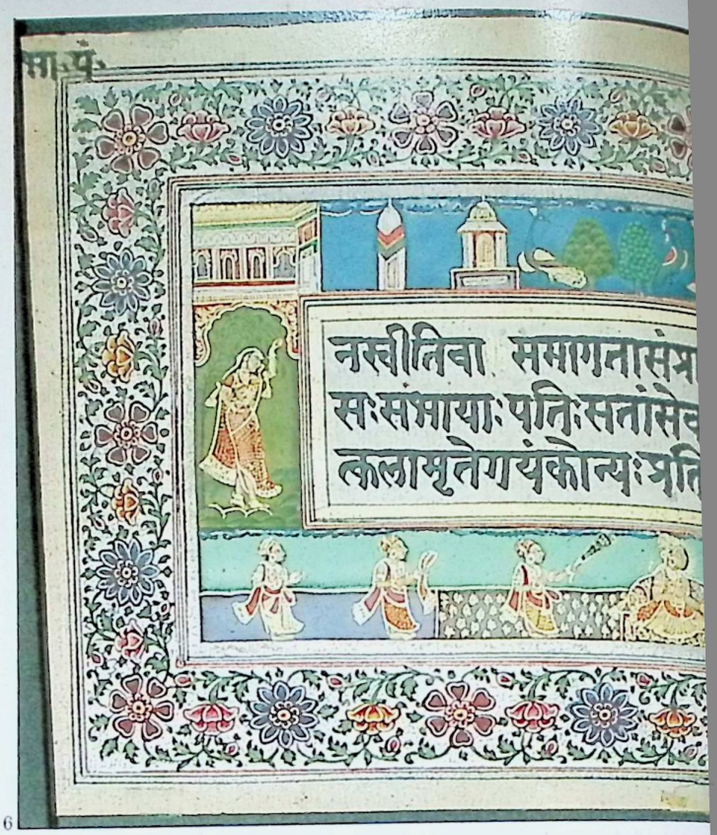


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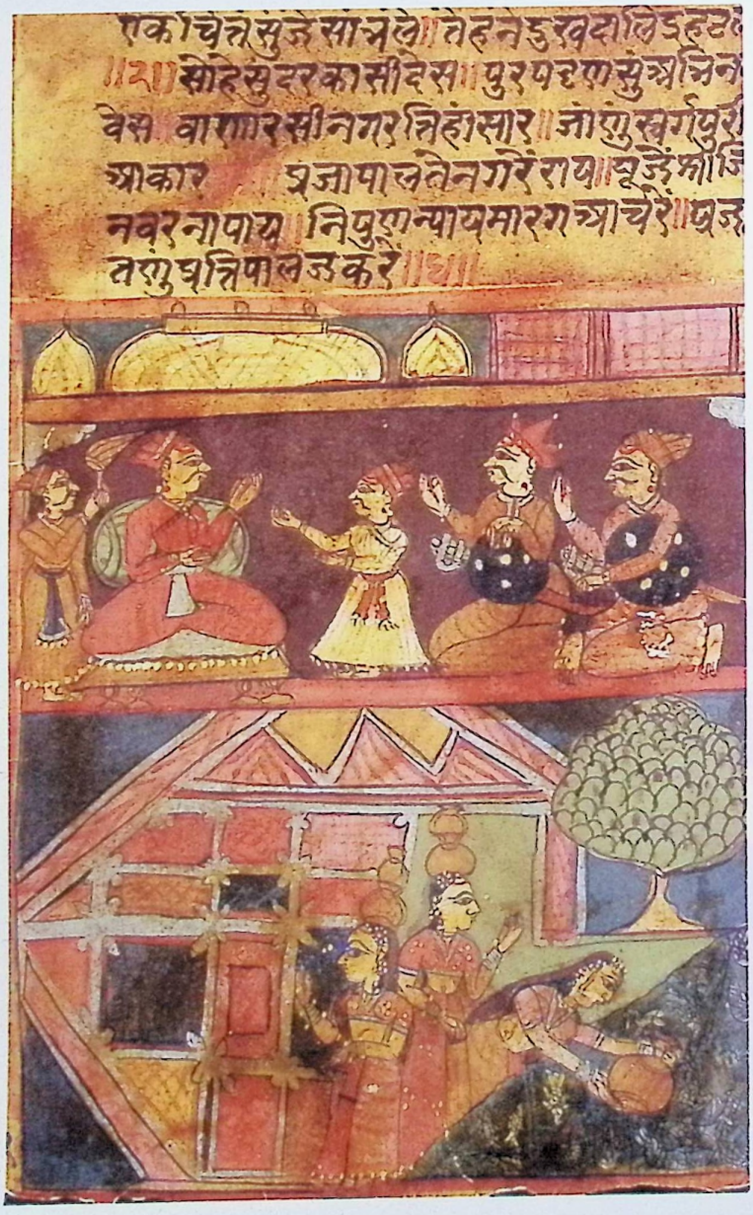




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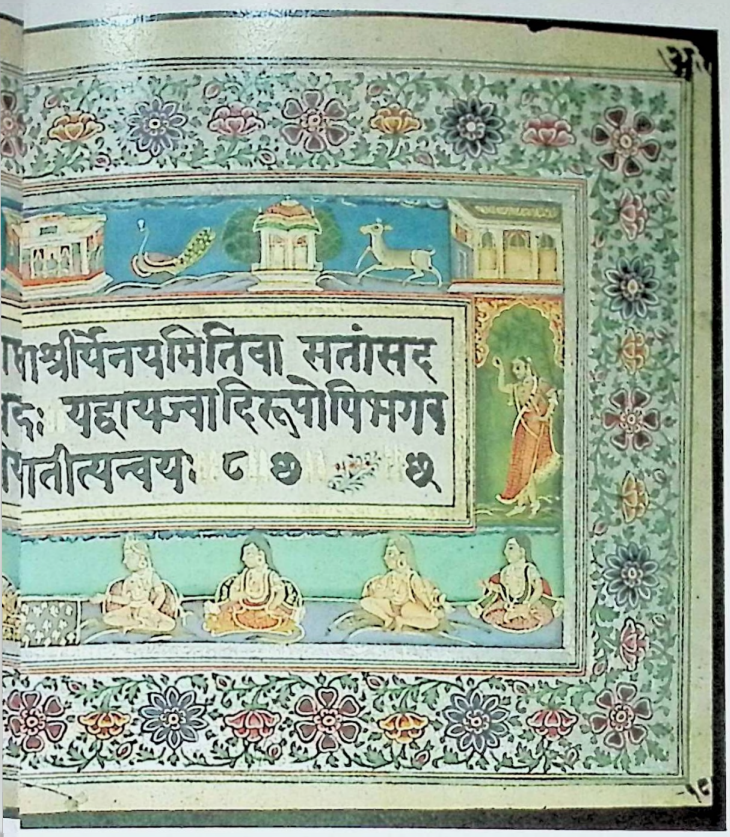
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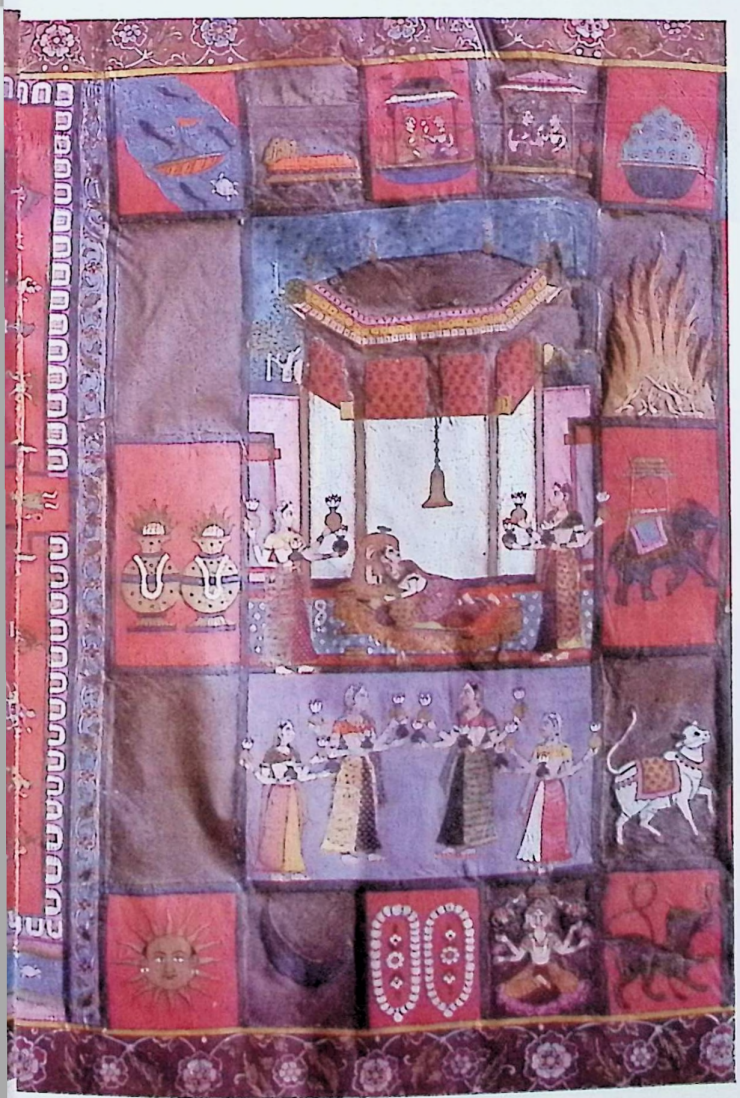


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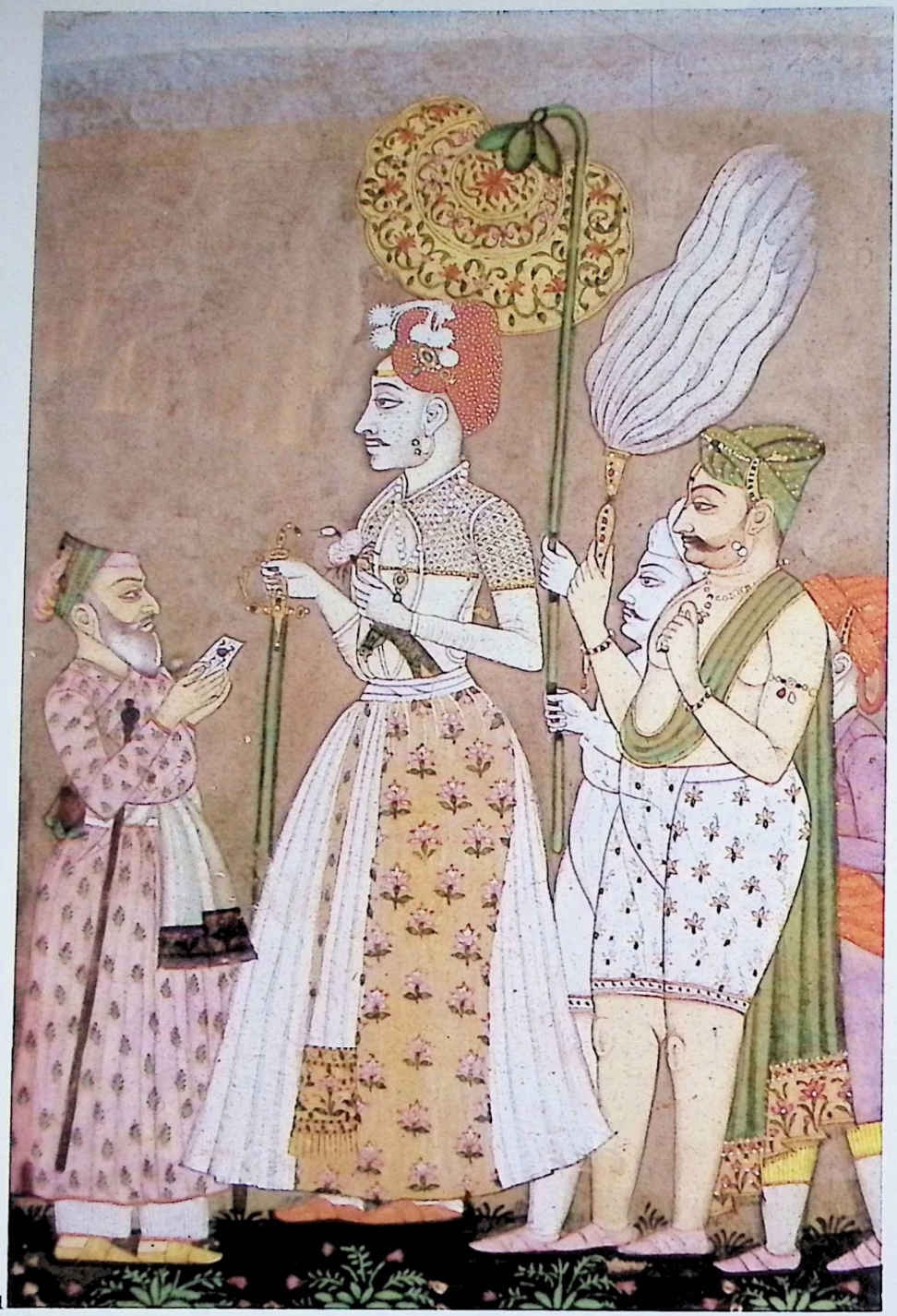


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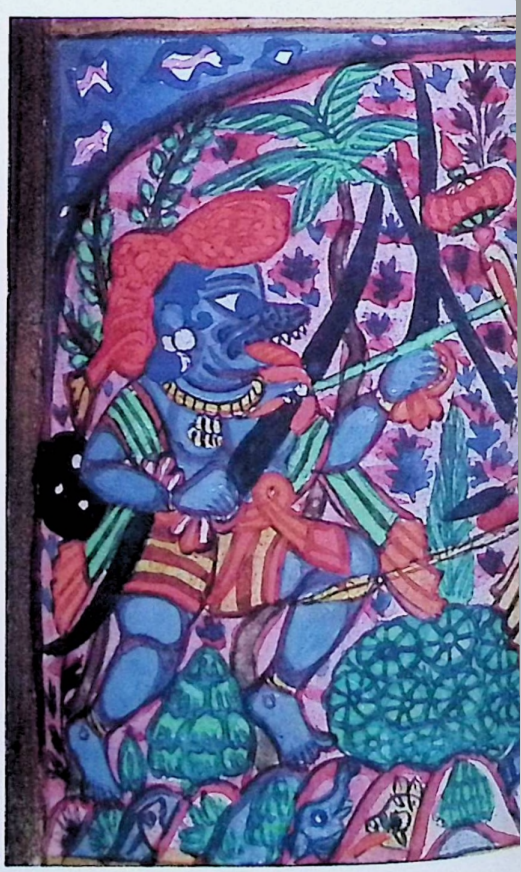
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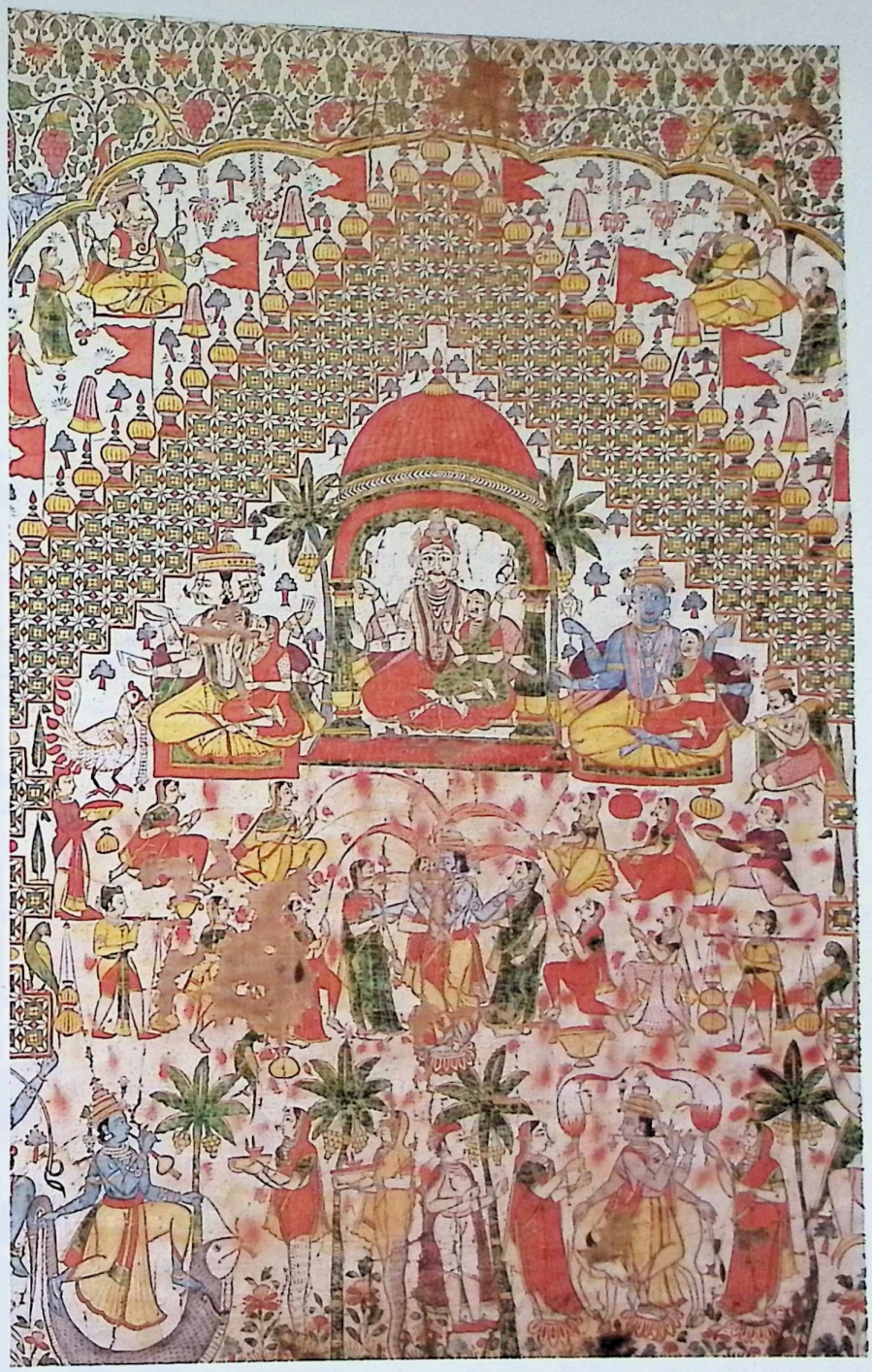
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श्रीगणपतिर्जयति ॥ जयजयशुध्धे ॥ उदोस्प्रसिध्धे ॥
अनावृतआनंदें ॥ वर्षतिये ॥ १ ॥ सर्वोक्ति ॥ विषयव्या
ळेंमिठी ॥ दीधलियानठेनाठी ॥ तातुझियाकृपादि
ठी ॥ निर्विघ्नहोये ॥ २ ॥ सुखसमाधिनशोकादिभयंनाम ॥
तरिकवणतिंतापपोळी ॥ कैसेनवोशोकजाळी ॥
जरिप्रसादसकल्लोकीं ॥ पुरेयेशीतूं ॥ ३ ॥ बाळक
पालनलालनरुपेंकनस्तोति ॥ योगसुखचिसोहंवे ॥
शेवकांतुसेनिस्नेहंवि ॥ सोहंसिध्धीचेलवे ॥ पा
लिशीतूं ॥ ४ ॥ आधारशक्तीचावुंकीं ॥ वाटविशीकव
तिकीं ॥ हृदयाकाशपालखीं ॥ पर्यंदेशीनिजें ॥ ५ ॥ नित्य
ज्योतीचीवोवाळणीं ॥ करिशीमनपवनाचिखेळ

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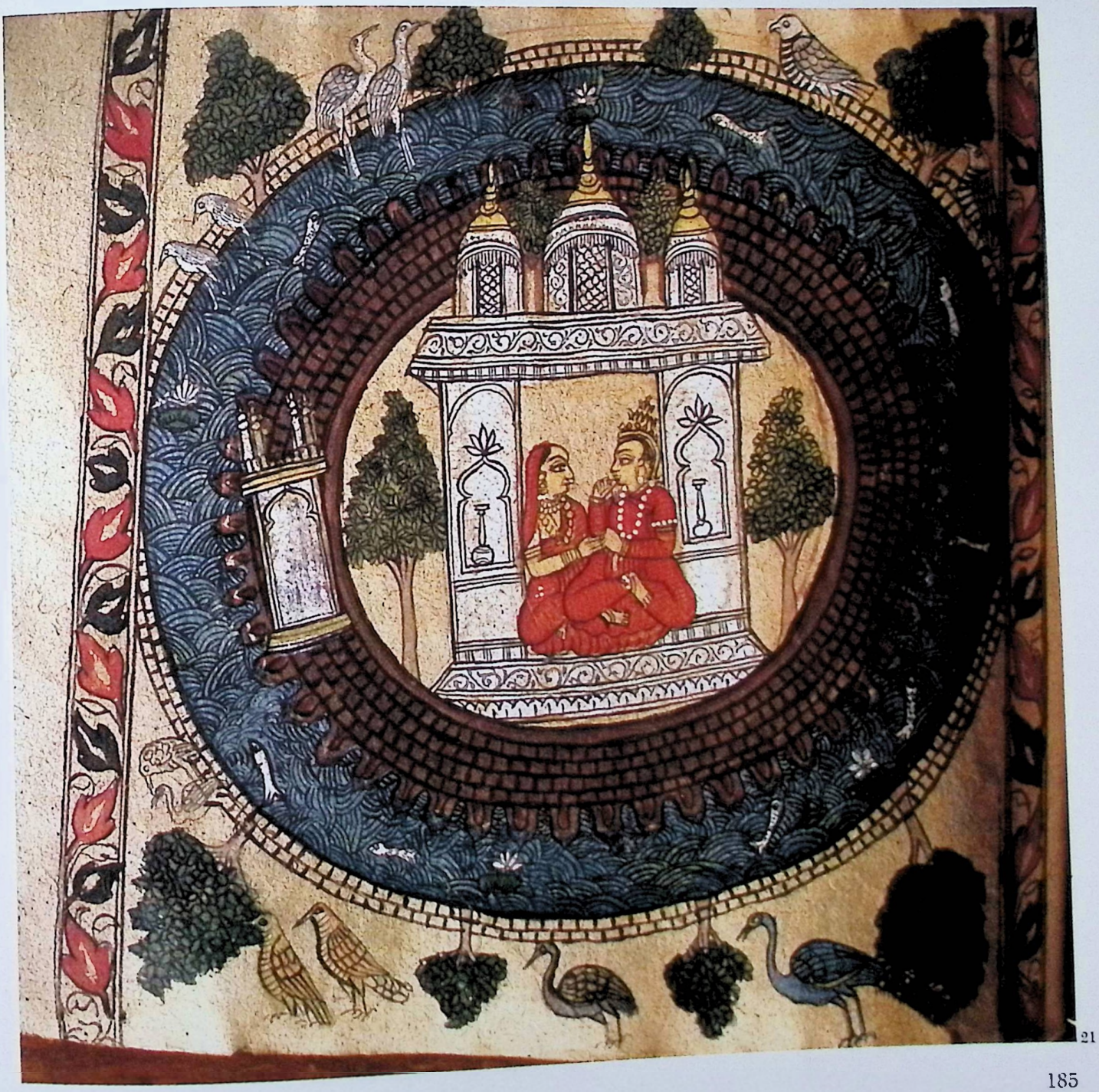
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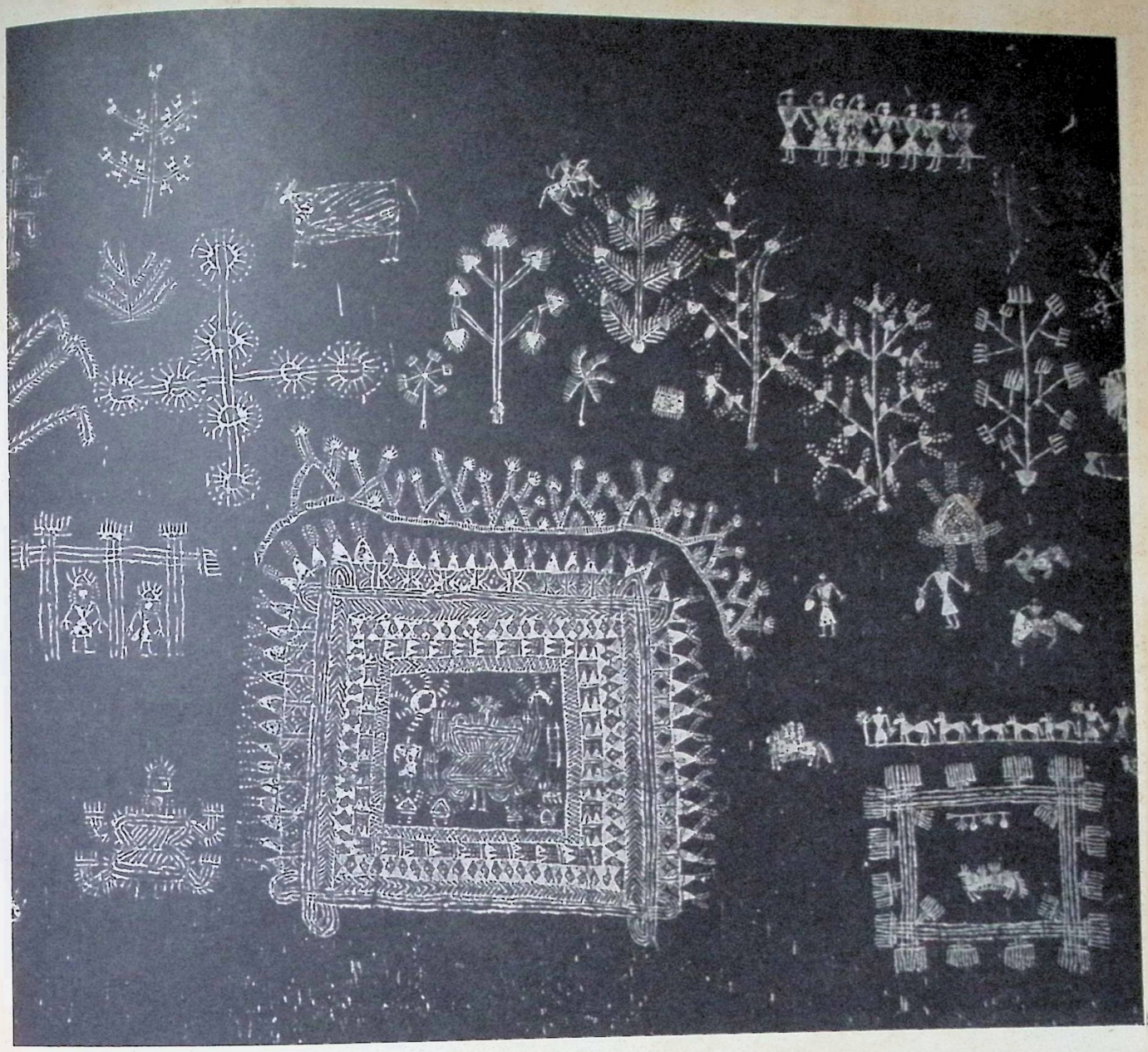
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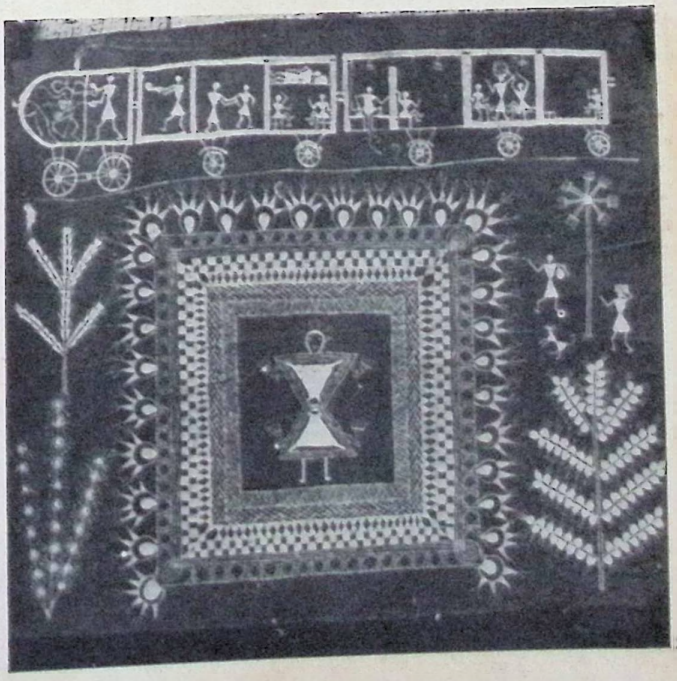
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for landcape—especially the trees. Such a style, courtly in its vision and refined in its workmanship, could only have originated in the metropolitan nucleus of Aurangabad. Although the scroll may not have been actually painted in Aurangabad, its style bears the hallmark of an artist trained at that centre. This Jain document appears to have been painted at Karanja—an ancient and important centre of the Jains, not far from Nagpur *c.* 1680-1700.

The Jain community at Karanja consists mostly of immigrants from Rajasthan—particularly from the region of Bundi and Kotah. Because of their affiliations with their homeland, they tended to favour the Rajasthani styles for illustrating their religious texts. Among such documents is a manuscript of the *Chandana-Maliyagiri-Katha* which mentions in its colophon that it was executed in 1733 at Karanja (Fig. 10). The miniatures—painted in bright yellows, chocolate brown and maroon—conform to the style associated with the Sirohi School. But, on closer scrutiny, departures become evident in the rendering of the architecture and the landscape—particularly the trees. Already the Sirohi idiom was being modulated to suit a new aesthetic in the Deccan.

On the basis of the style of this manuscript, a small group of Jain manuscripts can be attributed to Karanja (Figs. 7, 8). Painted sometime *c.* 1750, they exhibit idioms which extended from the predominantly Rajasthani to a local expression. The latter possesses a naive charm and a fresh approach in its manner of composition. Although this group differs stylistically from the documents painted in the Rajasthani style, both share certain motifs such as the formula for the walled city, the rendering of trees and rocks, as well as the style of architecture. These common features reiterate the surmise that they all belong to the same centre. Some of them are written in Marathi and in others the provenance becomes apparent from the Maharashtrian costumes.

Much later, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, an illustrated *Bhagavata Purana,* now dispersed among different collections, appears to have been painted for the Bhonsales—the Maratha rulers of Nagpur (Fig. 6). This large manuscript, containing numerous folios with ornamental border designs was probably painted during the peaceful and prosperous reign of Raghuji II (1757-1816). The text is in Marathi and often decoratively written with letters in gold alternating with those in ink. The miniatures are usually rendered in the form of panels on the folio. The style of painting, like that of the earlier documents from this area, relies heavily on Mughal and Rajasthani elements from the north. It also includes Deccani and southern influences. All these have been combined into a cohesive expression. The southern touch is particularly noticeable in the male head-gear. The Mughal and Rajasthani influence, though on the wane, is discernible in the treatment of the human figures and in the choice of colours. The style is accomplished and rich in detail; the extensive use of gold, the scale, as well as the careful craftsmanship confirm that it was made for a powerful ruling family.

Poona and Kolhapur

Chhatrapati Shahu of Satara, the grandson of Shivaji, ascended the Maratha throne in 1708. He delegated the affairs of State to his extremely efficient and shrewd Prime Minister, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. Being relieved of cumbersome administrative responsibilities, Shahu appears to have indulged in such activities as patronising the arts. Portraits of Shahu painted in a competent hand depict him as a white-haired ascetic king. In one, he rides a horse accompanied by dogs and attendants, one of whom holds a falcon. The painting inherits its compositional formula from Rajasthani portraits of equestrian noblemen and rulers. The influence of Rajput painting is discernible in several other portraits—some of which are superb studies (Fig. 11). They feature the Peshwas or Maratha noblemen seated on *masnads* (rulers' seats) on the floor, riding horses or conferring with courtiers.

These portraits painted for the Maratha nobility are apparently not the products of a cohesive stylistic idiom for they are curiously unrelated to one another. Possibly the Maratha rulers and noblemen did not maintain ateliers but commissioned talented artists to execute the miniatures as and when they wished. If this was the case, they either invited artists to complete such a commission or entrusted it to itinerant artists. Also, it was not unusual in India for talented artists and artisans to present a superlative work to the ruler who would then reward their ability magnanimously. This practice can perhaps explain the heterogeneous styles visible in royal collections. Although the portraits reflect a varied style of painting, the costumes employed confirm that they belong to Maharashtra. They may actually have been painted in Poona though they do not wholly conform to the style at that centre.

There developed at Poona, under the patronage of the Peshwas, a definitive idiom of painting which spread over a wide area including Satara, Wai and Nasik. This style expresses itself in two variants: one invokes a nostalgia for the Mughal and Rajasthani ethos, while the other has the exuberance and vitality of a local idiom. The first variant is encountered in miniatures featuring mythological texts such as the *Bhagavata,* poetic subjects such as the *Ragamala* or the series on the various *talas* (rhythms). The execution is competent

but the works exhibit a certain stiffness in the rendering of the figures.

The style of the second variant lacks the refinement and delicacy of line apparent in the first group. Nevertheless, it has a directness and immediacy that is very appealing. This version was generally used for the illustration of religious manuscripts (Figs. 15, 16), wooden book-covers (Fig. 14), horoscopes and ritual paintings on paper as well as cloth (Fig. 13).

The ritual *patas* frequently veer towards folk expression with their coarse line accompanied by vivid colours and bold designs. Among the religious manuscripts, several examples manifest an interesting characteristic: only the first folio of each canto is illustrated; none of the other folios have miniatures. Sometimes, the illustration occurs at the end of the canto instead of the beginning. In such instances the illustration is usually in the form of a decorative panel. Certain manuscripts reveal a rather quaint and unusual practice of giving decorative treatment to an occasional letter in the text. A striking feature of eighteenth century manuscripts from different centres in Maharashtra—Karanja as well as Poona—is that many of them are painted against a plain ground: no colour is applied to it. The effect is quite dramatic as the bold colouring contrasts sharply with the pale tint of the unpainted paper.

During the eighteenth century, many Maratha *wadas* (mansions and palaces) were decorated with wall-paintings (Fig. 12). Like the miniatures and illustrated manuscripts from the region they chose as their subjects iconographic representations of divinities, mythological themes and secular studies. Again, like miniature painting, mural painting displays two styles: one refined and sophisticated, the other folkish with figures boldly painted on uncoloured ground. Thus both expressions of mural painting are comparable to their counterparts in miniature painting. These parallels would suggest that the artists who executed the miniatures were also responsible for the murals.

Kolhapur, the other capital of the Maratha kingdom, may have encouraged painting though not many miniatures have yet been associated with it. In the nineteenth century, this art-form received impetus under the enlightened policies of the Wodeyar kings of Mysore. For Kolhapur, which is on the border of Karnataka, cultural interaction with that southern province was inevitable. A miniature of the Devi with attendants (Fig. 17) can certainly be attributed to the late eighteenth century at Kolhapur because of the pronounced influence of painting from Karnataka.

The protracted contact with Karnataka is mirrored in two profusely illustrated manuscripts in the collection of *Bhattaraka* Shri Lakshmisen of the Digambara Jain *matha* in Kolhapur (Figs. 20, 21). Written in Kannada, both these Digambara Jain texts decribe the various rituals and delineate the correct method of conducting them. Of the two manuscripts, one is older than the other and appears to have been executed *c.* 1825. Its text, framed on either side with ornamental borders, is occasionally supplemented by illustrations of different types of fire altars, objects connected with the performance of rituals as well as diagrams and *mandalas* associated with various ceremonies and rites, including the consecration of the Tirthankara images. The miniatures seem to represent the concerted effort of several artists whose skills had not reached the same level of accomplishment. Yet, despite the variations, there can be little doubt that the artists belonged to the same guild or family. The other manuscript, written and painted sometime around the beginning of this century, is in a much better state of preservation. It is conceived along the same lines as the earlier document but its palette is more garish. In both manuscripts, the costumes of the male and female figures are Maharashtrian. Like many other paintings from Maharashtra, these do not employ a painted ground. The miniatures have verve and their uncomplicated compositions and simplified colour-schemes have the appeal of folk art. In fact, the style exhibits a great deal of similarity to the art of the *chitrakathi* painters from the village of Pinguli in neighbouring Savantwadi.

Solapur

Except for the miniatures that decorate the shrine in the Shubharaya *matha* there are no paintings that can be definitely attributed to Solapur. These paintings are in the form of panels that served as an ornamental facade to the opening of the niche where the divinity was kept (Fig. 22). This function dictated the shape of the panels, some of which were cut angularly to fit the corners. Such niche ornamentations were common in Maharashtra and often comprised a wooden framework with decorative panels of mirror or glass. Occasionally these panels had motifs painted on them and their total effect, in reflected light, was enchanting.

In the Shubharaya *matha* at Solapur, these panels are not made of glass but of paper, and painted with charming scenes from the Krishna legend. Apparently, every few years, new panels were prepared and these were pasted on the earlier ones. In some panels the paper has peeled off, revealing the earlier miniature beneath it. The various layers differ from one another in their pictorial qualities. But the discrepancy is not large enough to represent a difference in style. Rather, it suggests the various stages in the evolution of the same style. Except for one of its stylistic phases, the idiom does not deviate from the general

preference for unpainted ground. Shubharaya Maharaj, who hailed from Andhra, had served at the court of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. But the yearning for spiritual peace brought him to Solapur, where he established a religious institution. It is doubtful if any of the surviving paintings date from the period of Shubharaya. Most of them seem to belong to the past hundred years. They reveal, in addition to the influence of Karnataka, that of Andhra. This may be due to Solapur's proximity to Andhradesha.

Pinguli

A large number of paintings from Maharashtra are contained in the illustrated *pothis* (manuscripts) of the *chitrakathis* (picture-showmen) whose hereditary profession is to travel from place to place exhibiting pictures and narrating stories related to them. This practice dates back to ancient times, centuries before the Christian Era and exists to this day in various provinces of India. In Maharashtra, it is carried on by the Thakar families now settled in the village of Pinguli in Savantwadi.

Originally, this community lived in the upper regions of the Sahyadri Range, but, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, numerous members gravitated towards Savantwadi, attracted by the generous patronage of Prince Jayaram Savant (1738-1752). Over the decades, they have abandoned their nomadic ways and settled down in Pinguli.

The *chitrakathis* employed either pictures or puppets (wooden and leather shadow puppets) to recount the exploits of heroes and men. These days there are less and less opportunities for the *chitrakathis* to practice their profession and consequently it is gradually fading away. Most of the *chitrakathi* families, however, are still in possession of the *pothis* with which they told stories. These manuscripts are made up of folios which consist of large rectangular sheets glued back to back. Both sides of the folios are illustrated. Each manuscript deals with only one specific legend. It is customary for a family of *chitrakathis* to have in his house a complete set of such manuscripts which depict the legends of Rama, Sita and Ravana, the Pandava brothers, Arjuna's sons and Raja Harischandra. Customarily, the *chitrakathis* executed the paintings themselves.

None of the existing *pothis* of the *chitrakathis* are earlier than the nineteenth century. Some appear to have been made in the beginning of the twentieth century, and employ British water-marked paper. Many of the compositions are imaginatively rendered; they exhibit dramatic content, vivid colouring, fantastic shapes and, above all, an innate sense of design. These paintings adhere to the conventions of the Indian miniature tradition, following the method of continuous narration. Also, the paintings show little concern for spatial depth. The broad clear forms and uncluttered compositions are eminently suitable for the purpose for which they were created. The characteristic of unpainted ground prevails here as in other paintings from Maharashtra. Within this broad stylistic framework there are some noticeable variations. Among these there is one group which is executed in a linear style (Fig. 19); its incisive line gives definition to bold angular forms and geometric shapes. The compositions convey energy and movement. These figures recall the shadow-puppets from Andhra and Karnataka. At the other end of the spectrum is a group of *pothis* that employs a more poised style with mellow colours and controlled movement (Fig. 18). This expression is consistent with the prevailing idioms in Maharashtra.



Ganjad

Not far from Bombay is Ganjad, the home of the aboriginal Warli tribe. The Warlis live in hamlets of thatched mud-huts which are constructed around a central cell. During a Warli wedding, the women get together to invoke the corn-goddess, Palghat (or Kansari), by painting her representation on the inner cell wall. This goddess, who symbolises creative energy, is first invoked and then enshrined with her iconographic symbols in a *mandala*. Thereafter, near the *mandala* are painted other divinities, auspicious objects, the wedding pavilion with the bride and groom in it, and various decorative motifs (Fig. 23). This sacred pictograph is executed in rice-paste with a straw.

In recent years this traditional art has received a wider connotation, and, contrary to tradition, it is practised by some men of the community as an art-form. The most talented among them is Jivya Soma who incorporates the life and the world of the Warlis in his paintings (Figs. 24, 25). They feature in intensely lyrical terms a spiderweb between two trees or the awesome exorcism rites practised in the dark cavern of a mountain inhabited by coiled snakes and crouching tigers. These paintings are delightful visions of a lifestyle which will soon be overtaken by the march of modernisation. Already they exhibit contemporary symbols: the tractor and the train. These have been combined with the more traditional subjects such as luxuriant vegetation, wild animals and joyous harvest dances.

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Contemporary Art

Baburao Sadwelkar

A critical study of painting and sculpture in Maharashtra reveals that there is no direct link between the traditional arts that existed until the end of the eighteenth century and the arts that emerged after the British rule in the early nineteenth century. Local artists, until then executed wall-paintings, miniatures, manuscripts, *pata*-painting and lacquer-work. Traces of these traditional arts are evident in many towns and villages of Maharashtra such as Pune, Satara, Wai, Chandwad, Nipani, Kolhapur, Savantwadi, Pinguli and Mahuli. The situation began to change at the turn of the eighteenth century when the English introduced European concepts in art and crafts to the Maratha rulers and their noblemen.

British Residency in Pune

Sir Charles Mallet, British Resident at the Court of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa, initiated in 1790, the establishment of an institution in Pune to teach the European Style of painting to Indians. Mallet, who took great interest in the social and cultural life of the local people, encouraged his colleague, artist James Wales, to start an Art School. A student from this School named Gangaram Tambat, who later acquired fame, painted pictures of the Ellora caves in 1794. Thomas Danniel, another English artist, travelled through India from 1786 to 1793 and made innumerable drawings and sketches. He influenced several local artists. Although painters working in Maharashtra during the eighteenth century are not known, their works have survived and reveal a mixed style influenced by English painters. This is evident particularly in portraits of noblemen and Peshwa rulers painted in tempera on paper. These painters also executed murals and glass paintings. The influence of the schools of Rajasthan, Karnataka and Andhra is also visible in their work. In the middle of the eighteenth century lived an artist named Shivram. His sons Sadashiv, Manku, Tanaji, Ragho and Anuprao were also painters. Another painter, Narsappa Vijapurkar, of the early nineteenth century, was known to be an expert at reproducing paintings. These artists developed their style and technique through observation and intuitive aesthetic judgement.

The Bombay Art School

By the beginning of the nineteenth century British rule was widely established with Calcutta as its capital. The British introduced several new schemes in the fields of education, law, medicine, communication and archaeology.

Around 1845, the idea of starting workshops and production centres for craftsmen (and not a school of Fine Arts) was slowly taking shape in the mind of a weaver's son, Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy. He was offered membership to a committee for selecting objects for an exhibition to be held in London in 1851. "At the Great Exhibition of 1851," writes Ramsay, "the natives of India surprised all Europe and America with the richness of their imagination, the justness of their appreciation and association of colours and the unapproachable delicacy of many of their works. They seem only to want the guidance of artistic education to be able to place themselves amongst the foremost in the walks of tasteful industry."

Sir Jamsetji offered a sum of Rs. 100,000 towards establishing an Art School where drawing, painting, diamond-cutting and wood-engraving would be taught to boys and girls of all communities. The J. J. School of Art was launched on March 2, 1857 and came to be housed in its present building on April 1, 1878.

Traditional Indian painters had keen observation of nature and intuitive knowledge of pictorial organisation. With a deep sense of contemplation and innate logic they were capable

of reproducing any object with precision. They never even dreamt of recording the momentary effect caused by light and shade on objects. Tonal values did not occur to them, much less the concepts of perspective and chiaroscuro. When Indian painters were introduced to the illusionistic realism produced by artists from Europe they attempted to reproduce European techniques. Young Raja Ravi Varma of the royal house of Travancore, inspired by the work of Theodore Jenson, successfully mastered the technique of European oil painting and employed it to depict Indian subjects—particularly those from mythology.

In the J. J. School of Art training in drawing, painting and design was launched along the system followed by art schools in England. Drawing of Greek and Roman antiques in light and shade was introduced and human models were engaged for the study of portraiture. Lessons of rendering tonal values in monochrome and in colour were accepted and mastered by the students. The skill and perception of these artists is evident in their work. The theory of linear and aerial perspective was altogether new to the students. Before long the students began to feel that their traditional way of painting lacked any theoretical or scientific base. The British, along with running art schools, also undertook several archival projects. One of them was of copying the Ajanta frescoes and the work was assigned to the J. J. School of Art.

John Griffiths joined the J. J. School in 1865 as a decorative painter and became the Principal in 1880. Griffiths observed that one of "the most curious and interesting of my experiences was the initiation of Hindu, Parsi and Goanese students in the mysteries of an art still congenial to the oriental temperament and hand—I am persuaded that no European, no matter how skillful, could have so completely caught the spirit of the originals." However, none of the artists of that period were drawn to the aesthetics of Ajanta, but aspired to master the Western technique of illusionistic realism.

In order to encourage and patronise the traditional arts and crafts in India the Indian Government organised an exhibition in Delhi in 1902-1903. "The exhibits were collected with the aim of excluding all trace of the modern foreign influences which debased the ancient indigenous arts of India." This exhibition put the Bombay School of Art on the map. Interestingly, it included G. K. Mhatre's sculpture "To the Temple" depicting a graceful Maharashtrian girl clothed in a soft clinging *sari*, incense in hand, going to the temple. The figure is beautifully conceived and modelled.

In the sphere of painting, however, the Bombay School of Art did not figure anywhere on the list of prizes.

Bombay Art Society

As the number of artists grew, the need for an appropriate forum for exhibition became apparent. Thus the Bombay Art Society was established in 1888. The Society organised exhibitions year after year and became one of the most prestigious art societies in the country. The inauguration of an exhibition was a spectacular social event. The major twentieth century artists were brought in the limelight by this institution and the Society's gold medal award was considered to be the highest honour for the artist.

New Mediums and New Subject Matter

The British initiated the use of new mediums such as oil paints and water-colours. Although water-colours had been mixed with glue and employed in tempera, the technique of using water-colours as a transparent wash was not common among Indian painters. Oil painting had never been practiced in India previously. New subject matter was also introduced. Miniature portraits on paper and on ivory had been produced in India, but the painting of life-size portraits was an entirely new concept. Still-life, landscape and genre painting also became prevalent under the influence of the British. Artists who had studied in the Bombay School were considered to be proficient both in portraiture and genre painting. A large number of genre paintings were executed by artists in Maharashtra during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Pestonji Bomanji, Dhurandhar, Trindade, Muller, Sardesai, Taskar and Panwalkar, were among the few who excelled in this art form.

Cecil Burns, the Principal of the School of Art in Bombay (1896-1918) was a fine landscape painter. As a result his students became interested in the medium and some of them showed extraordinary merit. The artist S. L. Haldankar could hardly be surpassed in portraiture in water-colours. He evolved his own technique using subtle hues to achieve lyrical effects. His style was inimitable and difficult to master; only his own son Gajanan came close to it.

Landscape Painting

The 1920s and 1930s represent the high point of water-colour painting. The art was practised in many centres of Maharashtra. Artists of renown were Haldankar, Agaskar, Taskar, Pithawala, Parandekar, Mali and Muller from Bombay; Abalal Rahiman, Madhavrao Bagal, Wadangekar, Chandrakant Mandre, S. N. Kulkarni from Kolhapur; V. G. Kulkarni from Nasik; Dixit, Puran in Pune; Jamblikar in Sangli and Pednekar from Malvan. Artists like D. J. Joshi, Deolalikar and Bendre from Indore were also influenced by the Bombay School. Though relatively unknown, Abalal Rahiman of Kolhapur was much ahead of

1 Reflection, S. G. Jamblikar
27.5 x 37.5 cm, water-colour, 1935
Collection: Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay

2 Drawing, Abalal Rahiman
27.5 x 37.5 cm, charcoal, 1886
Collection: Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay

3 Coronation of Maharaja of Baroda, M. R. Achrekar
75 x 55 cm, water-colour
Collection: Artist

4 Hindu Girl, A. X. Trindade
55 x 75 cm, oil on canvas, 1929
Collection: Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay

5 Landscape, Shivaji Tupe
water-colour
Collection: Artist

6 After Fishing, K. B. Chudekar
37.5 x 26.5 cm, water-colour, 1926
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

7 The Message, J. M. Ahivasi
62 x 77 cm, tempera
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

8 Triumph of Devotion, G. H. Nagarkar
98 x 64 cm, water-colour, 1927
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

9 A Portrait, G. S. Haldankar
50 x 75 cm, water-colour, 1945 (?)
Collection: Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay

10 Bhaikhala Bridge, P. A. Dhond
37.5 x 27.5 cm, water-colour, 1958
Collection: Artist

11 Fantasy, R. G. Chimulkar
37 x 63 cm, water-colour, 1930 (?)
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

12 A museum in the Sir J. J. School of Art before the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India was built

13 The building of the Sir J. J. School of Art when it was first built in 1878

14 A painting class in the Sir J. J. School of Art

15 Reay Art Workshop: wrought iron atelier, Sir J. J. School of Art

16 Reay Art Workshop: wood-carving atelier, Sir J. J. School of Art

17 Reay Art Workshop: metal-work atelier, Sir J. J. School of Art

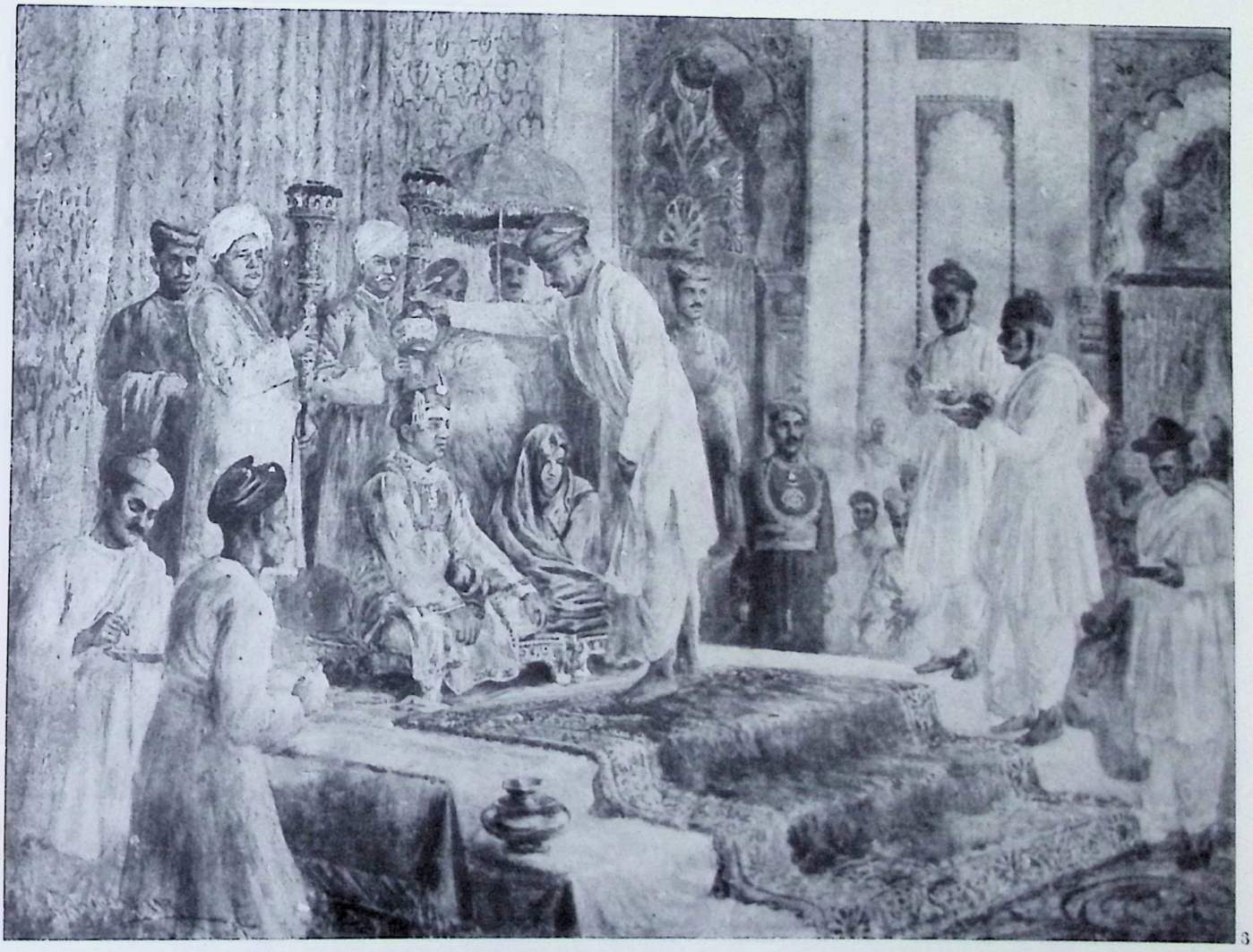
18 Bombay Room in India Art Exhibition, 1902-1903



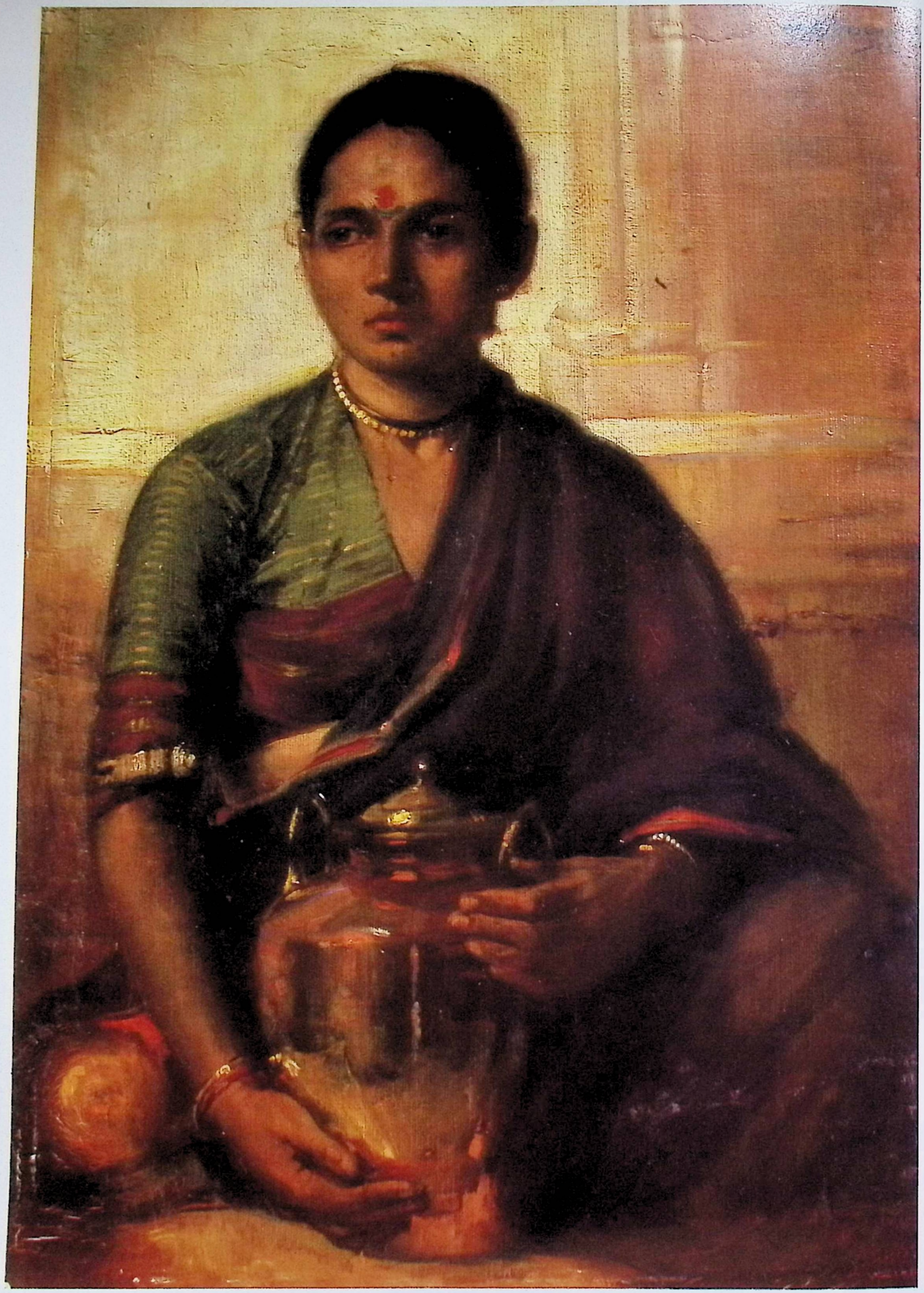
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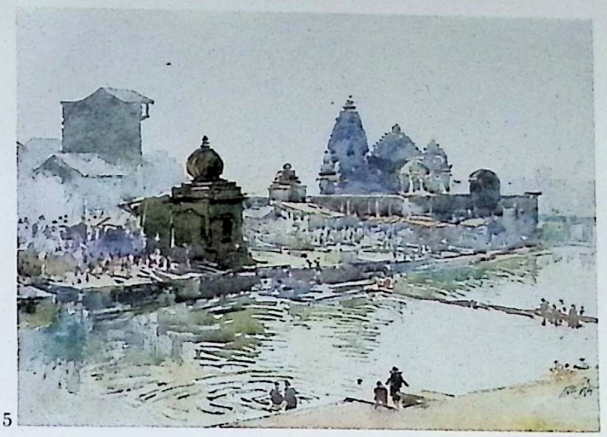
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his time, and by sheer intuitive knowledge and aesthetic judgement, he developed an innovative rendering technique which was similar to that of the nineteenth century English painter, John Constable, as well as the French painter, Alfred Sisley. Another style of painting consisted of applying several coats of transparent water-colours to obtain a mystic effect. Nagarkar and Chimulkar were masters of this technique. They painted large-paintings in this style, the visual effect of which was striking. Shukla, Fernandes and Bhonsale were also great masters but were not as effective as Nagarkar and Chimulkar. Ahivasi, another imaginative artist, attempted to portray the poetry that infused traditional Rajput painting in his work. He preferred to work in the traditional tempera technique rather than in water-colour.

Most of the painters of later years sought their inspiration from European masters and studied original works whenever the opportunity presented itself. Around 1930, an exhibition of original water-colour paintings of the members of the British Colonial Art Society, London, was held at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The works of Russian water-colourists were displayed in the lounge of a Russian passenger ship docked in Bombay. These paintings revealed the real magic of the water-colour medium. For the first time, Bombay artists were confronted with large water-colour paintings featuring landscapes, portraits, flowers, people and festivals. Indian artists proficient in their work picked up the salient points, whereas mediocre painters merely imitated the styles without much success.

Portrait Painting

The art of portraiture was another area in which the artists from Bombay and other cities in Maharashtra made an indelible impression. Interestingly, the Bombay School was not much affected by the Bengal Revivalist Movement despite of Abanindranath Tagore's receiving an award for his Indian Style painting entitled "Last hours of Shah Jahan." In fact, despite the efforts of Principals Griffiths, Greenwood and Burns to encourage Indian styles of painting, illusionistic realism prevailed and continued for three decades of the twentieth century. Gladstone Solomon, Principal, Bombay School of Art succeeded in persuading his students to adopt the "Indian technique" but not for long; the art of portraiture in the European Style continued.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century several painters from the Bombay School started painting portraits of Indian Rajas and Maharajas. Most of them displayed their works in the Bombay Art Society's annual exhibition. These works were evaluated by future patrons. The outstanding portrait painters of this period were Pestonji Bomanji, Pithawala, Muller, Agaskar, Taskar, Lalkaka, Haldankar and Trindade.

Of this group of painters Trindade was the one with a distinctive classical approach. Hailing from Goa, he possessed a Mediterranean outlook on life. His Roman Catholic parentage also influenced his style. His work showed a perceptiveness which imparted depth to his portraiture. The purity of tones and freshness of light were reminiscent of the Spanish painters, Goya and Velazquez.

Trindade's counterpart in water-colour was Haldankar. A truly talented figure, he infused his portraits with a lyrical beauty that cannot be described. Another artist of this generation, Baburao Painter of Kolhapur, was a self-made artist endowed with great genius. Like Leonardo da Vinci he was multi-faceted and showed an aptitude for painting, sculpture, film production, photography, and mechanical engineering. He evolved his own style of

19 [illegible]mic Station II, [illegible]rao Sadwelkar
100 x 100 cm, oil on canvas, 1973
Collection: Artist

20 Untitled, N. S. Bendre
100 x 90 cm, oil on canvas, 198[illegible]
Collection: Jehangir Nicolson Museum, National Centre for the Performing Arts, Bombay

21 A Portrait, Gopal Deuskar
oil on canvas

22 Maihari, G. M. Solegaonkar
61.5 x 62 cm, oil on canvas, 1935
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

23 A Mohomeddan Pilgrim, S. L. Haldankar
66 x 87 cm, oil on canvas, 1925
Collection: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay

24 Horses, M. F. Husain
107 x 156 cm, oil on canvas
Private Collection

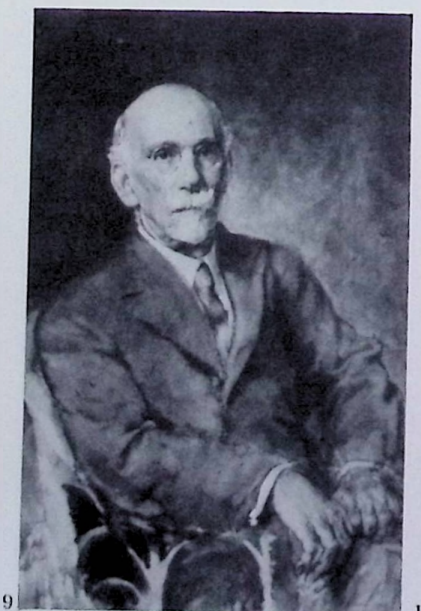
25 Flowers, K. H. Ara
51.25 x 70 cm, water-colour, 1953
Collection: Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay

26 Untitled, S. H. Raza
101 x 101 cm, oil on canvas
Collection: Saryu and Vinod Doshi, Bombay

27 Tragedy, K. K. Hebbar
75 x 75 cm, oil on canvas, 198
Collection: Artist

28 Untitled, V. S. Gaitonde
43 x 38 cm, water-colour, 1952
Collection: Jehangir Nicolson Museum, National Centre for the Performing Arts, Bombay

29 Untitled, B. Prabha
oil on canvas
Collection: Artist



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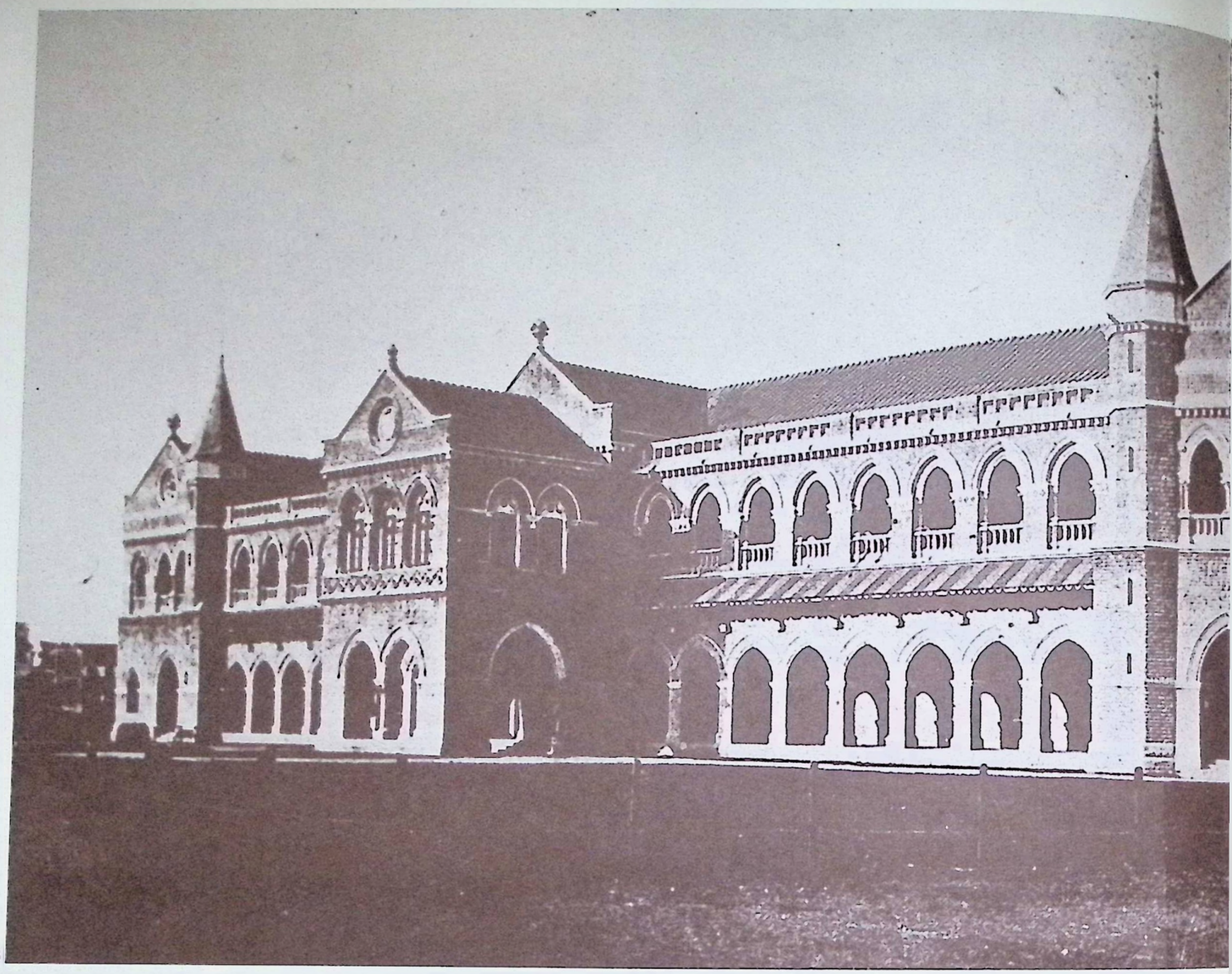


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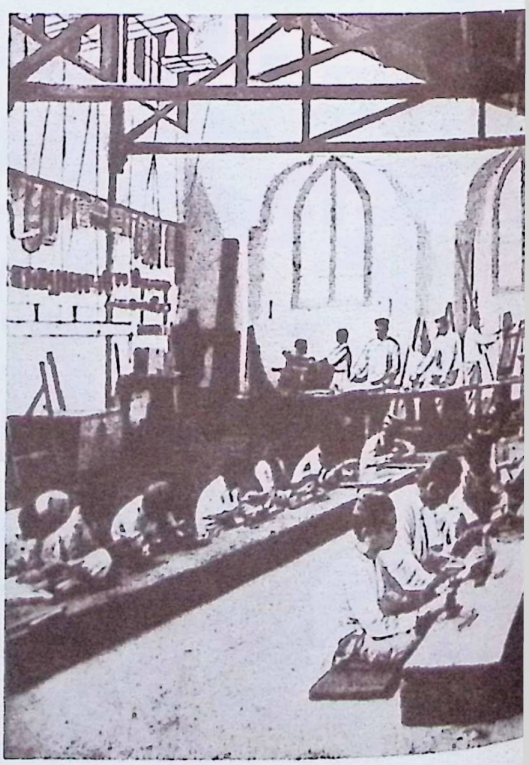
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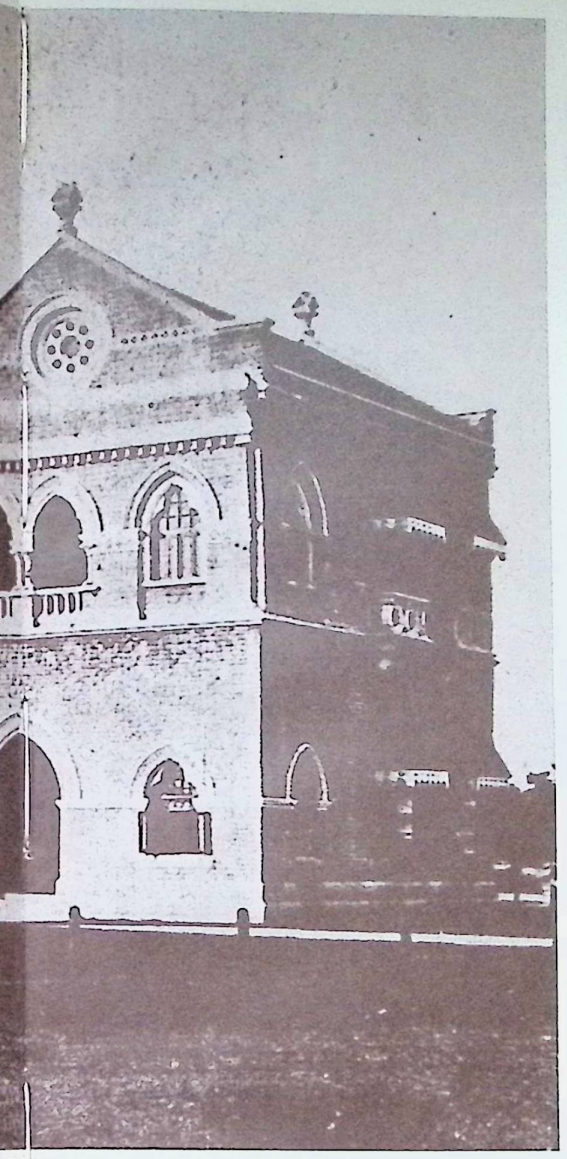
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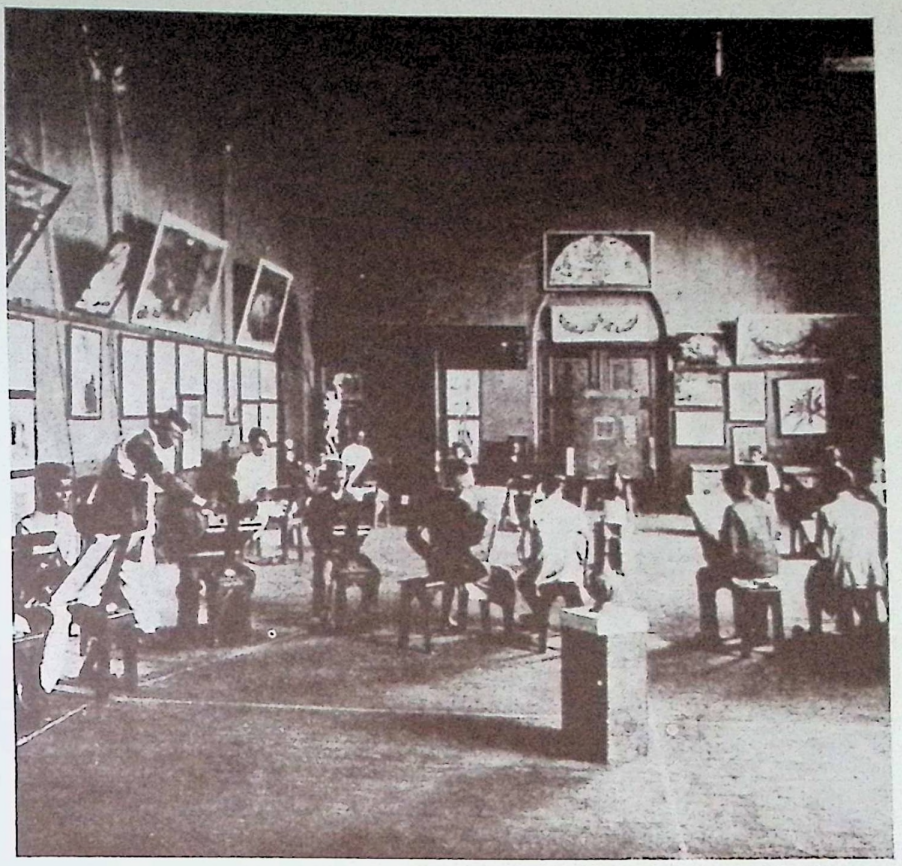


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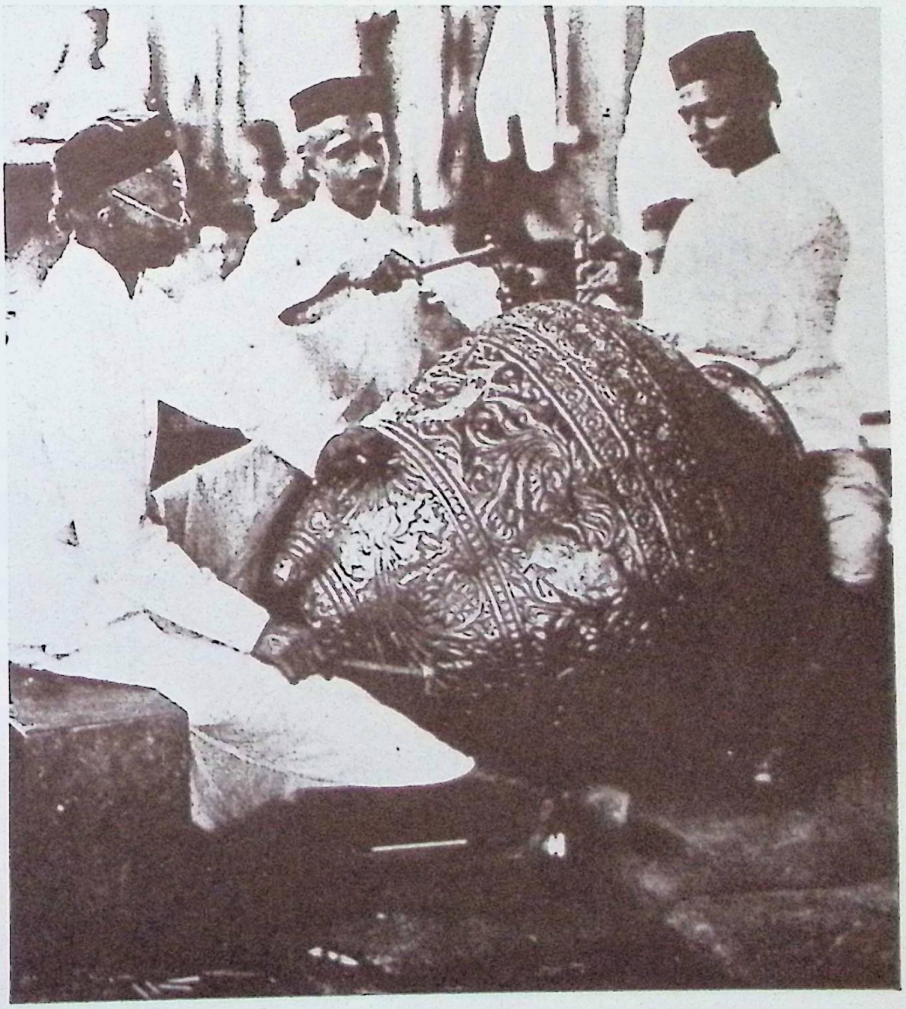
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30 Woman with Ankh, A. M. Davierwalla
Metal sculpture, 1965
Collection: Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay

31 Destitute, V. P. Karmarkar
45 cm (height), plaster of Paris
Collection: Artist

32 Rain Cloud, Pilloo Pochkhanawala
150 x 60 cm, mild steel and aluminium alloy, 1983-84
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. Kamlesh Jhaveri

33 Machine Mate, Prafulla Dahanukar
123 x 136 cm, wood and aluminium, 1982
Collection: Saryu and Vinod Doshi, Bombay

34 Figure, B. Vithal
gun metal, 1985
Collection: Artist

portraiture observing European paintings in the collections of the museums in Aundh, Bombay and Baroda. He preferred the romantic approach of the pre-Raphaelite painters of nineteenth century England.

The next group of portrait painters comprised Bhonsule, Mali, Bendre, Gurjar, Deuskar, Nageshkar, Adurkar, Achrekar, Chavda and S. M. Pandit. Only Bhonsule, Deuskar and Achrekar displayed some breadth of vision. Bhonsule's portrait of Gladstone Solomon still remains a landmark in the art of portraiture in India. Deuskar painted several portraits in the courts of the princely states. His work appears to be the most methodical and his paintings of the late Bal Gandharva in Bal Gandharva Theatre, Pune are particularly noteworthy. Achrekar, after returning from England in 1934 received a special commission to paint a life-size portrait of the Viceroy. His painting of the famous Round Table Conference was placed in the Assembly Hall at Delhi. Portrait painters who exhibited their work from 1950 to 1960 were Gajanan Haldankar, Madhav Satwalekar, S. B. Palsikar, Ravindra Mestry, Baburao Sadwelkar, G. N. Jadhav and Sambhaji Kadam. All of them received laurels for their portraits but only Madhav Satwalekar and Ravindra Mestry continued to practice portraiture professionally.

Despite the inherent difficulties of portrait-painting, today there are several young Maharashtrian artists who specialise in this form.

Revivalism

Gladstone Solomon, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, contributed significantly towards the development of contemporary art in Maharashtra. He was an enthusiastic artist, a good organiser, a fine critic and above all a lover of traditional Indian art. The movement for the revival of Indian art was first launched by E. B. Havell when he joined the Calcutta School of Art as the Principal in 1896. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Sister Nevedita and Aurobindo joined him in the attempt to stir the conscience of the Indian art students. They fought hard to expose the ignorance of English critics such as John Ruskin, Monier Williams, George Birdwood, Vincent Smith and Roger Fry who severely condemned traditional Indian art as, "meaningless fragments of colours and flowing of line." They wrote several valuable books to rationalise the aesthetic significance of the traditional arts and crafts of India.

It took nearly twenty years for this movement to reach Bombay. Had Gladstone Solomon not been the governing authority of the Bombay School, the wave of revivalism would have perhaps escaped the imagination of art teachers in the Bombay School. A good writer and a narrator, Solomon tried to record the form, structure and concept of Indian art. He wrote six books and published numerous essays.

His writings reveal a perceptive mind which attempts to fathom the mystery and lyricism in the images of Indian art. He showed great admiration for Indian art and its pictorial values.

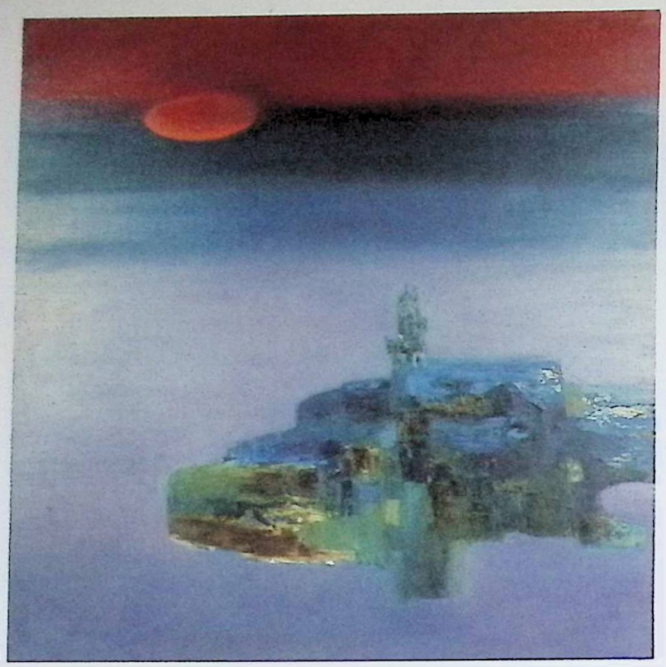
The Modern Movement

The efforts of Solomon made the Bombay School the focal point of the art activities of the nation. Under Solomon's guidance the Bombay School executed in 1923 a prestigious and exciting assignment known as "The Indian Room" which was to be England's first viewing of "Modern Indian Art." It was generally recognised and accepted "that the true work of the modern Indian artist is to revive the ancient and national methods of artistic expression and to revitalise and restore them."

In order to give practical training in mural decoration the niches of the school building were painted. Thereafter he planned a huge 33x12 ft. mural on the wall of the central hall of the painting section. Entitled "The Re-establishment of the Goddess Art," it was painted on canvas and pasted on the wall, the technique of which was called marouflage. This painting still exists in the school building.

Similarly, the mural paintings at the Imperial Secretariat, Delhi were executed under his supervision. The paintings were in a wide dome, over a broad cornice and narrow frieze. The total area measured about 1500 square feet. The murals depicted arts such as Music, Drama, Dancing, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture as well as eight *apsaras* (winged figures) representing the famous periods of Indian art. The paintings were done by Bhonsule, Fernandes, Nagarkar, Ahivasi, Gadgil, Joshi, Mohite and others. The team also included two women artists, Miss Davar and Miss Bamboat. This project gave the Bombay School of Art tremendous popularity and it was considered the major art school in Asia. In the sphere of thematic Indian-style paintings, artists such as Nagarkar, Bhonsule, Ahivasi and Chimulkar were far superior to the artists of the Bengal School, for they were not purely imitative of traditional miniatures.

In 1936, Charles Gerrard became the Director of the Bombay Art School. He gave a new direction to painting and sculpture by exposing students and teachers to modern techniques in pictorial design, application of colours and textural aspects. Students were encouraged to use thick impasto of colour and to apply colours with a palette knife. Revivalism, so tenderly nurtured by Solomon, slowly started to fade and a new band of "young Turks" (as the painters came to be called) were driven to accept post-impressionism



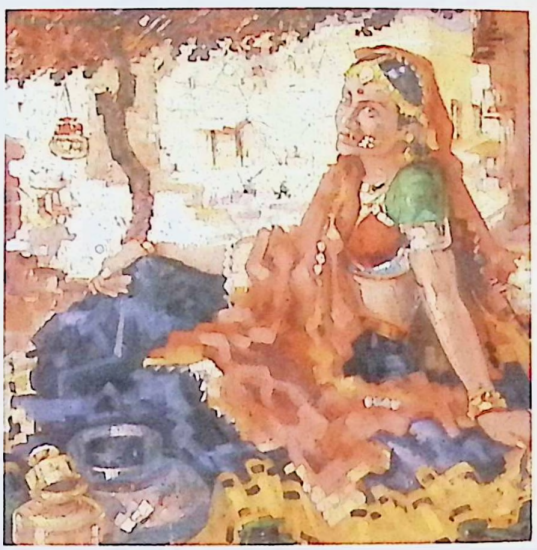
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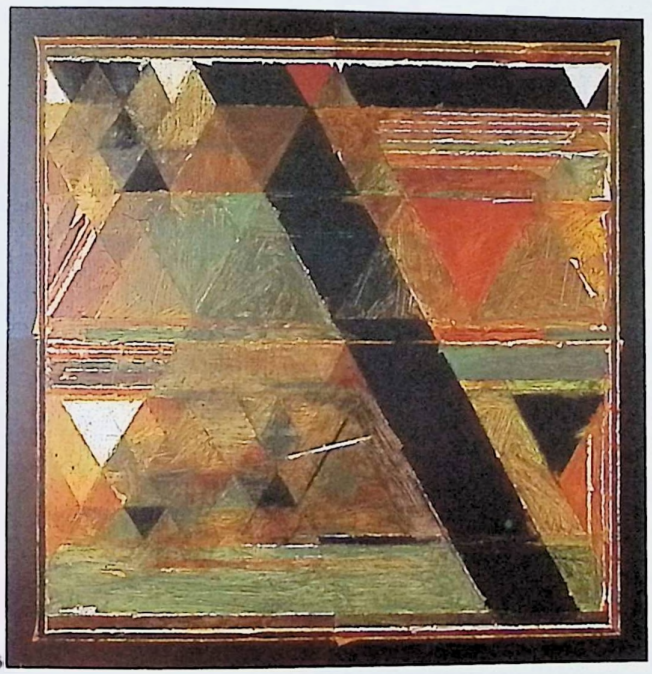
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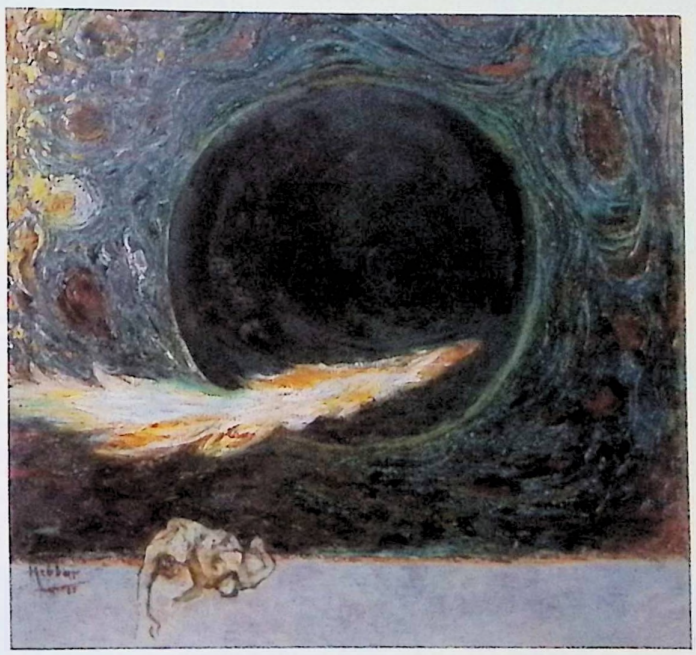
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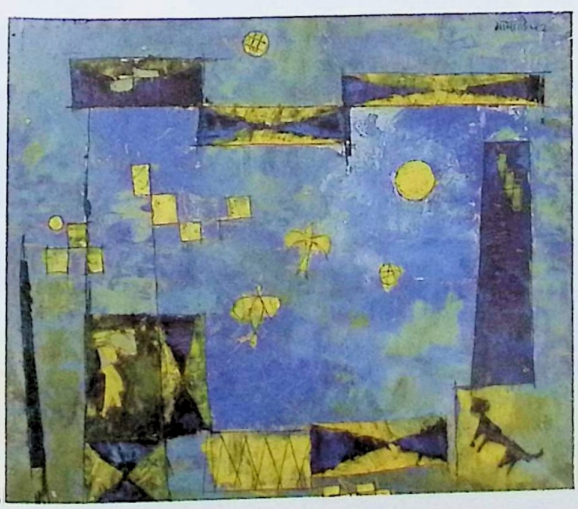
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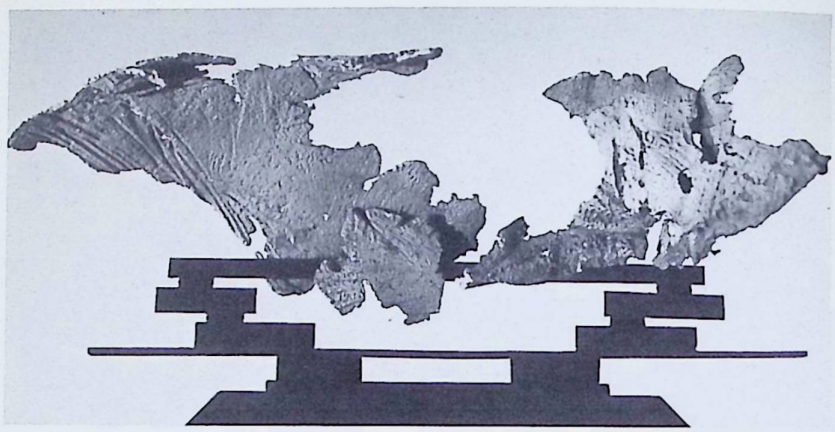
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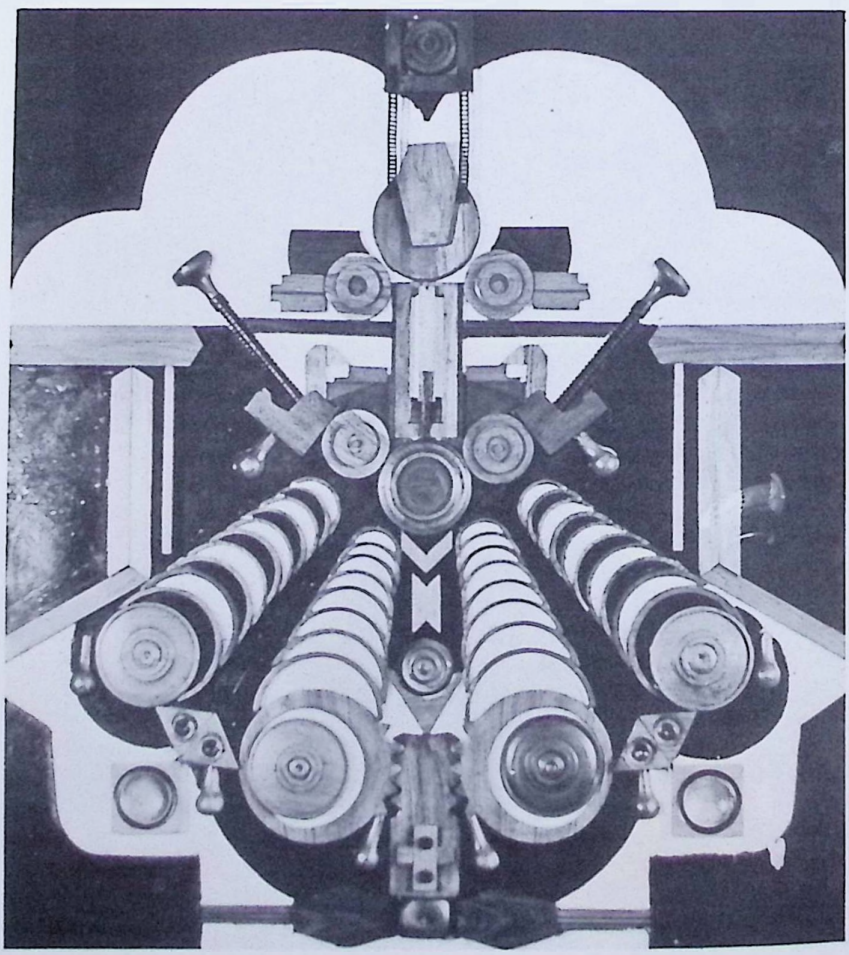
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and expressionism. P. T. Reddy, Clement Baptista, Bhople, Moghul and A. Majeed were the forerunners. The most successful artist among them was K. K. Hebbar.

Amrita Sher-Gil

1937 was a significant year in the art-world of Bombay. That year's Gold Medal was awarded to Amrita Sher-Gil, a relatively unknown artist. Born in Budapest (Hungary) of a Sikh father and a Hungarian mother, she studied art in Paris and was influenced by the paintings of Cezanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh. However, after an exposure to Indian art she evolved her own style which made a tremendous impact on many contemporary painters. Her prize-winning painting entitled "Group of Young Girls" harmoniously combined the best aspects of Indian and European painting. Amrita died in December 1941 at the age of twenty-eight.

In 1939, Professor Walter Langhammer, the Art Director of the Times of India, won the Gold Medal of the Bombay Art Society for his portrait of Mrs. Shirin Vimadalal. Professor Langhammer, a prolific painter, displayed forceful and accurate drawing, bright colours and expressionistic rendering. His brush strokes and pigments applied with a palette knife were shockingly free and the colours had both vitality and depth. His paintings inaugurated a new idiom.



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The Progressive Group

The art scene in Bombay changed drastically after Independence. The first Indian Director of the Bombay School of Art, V. S. Adurkar, was appointed in 1946. The School of Art ceased to remain the guiding force for young artists. Young independent artists like Ara, Husain, Bendre, Almelkar—who had no connection with the Art School—came to the fore with the encouragement and patronage of European promoters such as Langhammer, R. V. Leyden and E. Schlesinger. The artists' meeting place, the Artists Aid Fund Centre (earlier known as Bombay Art Society Salon), became a centre of activity and a new group of artists known as the Progressive Group emerged in 1948. Husain, Ara, Raza, Souza, Gade and Bakre were the leading members of this group. They rebelled against spiritless "Indianisation." However, there had been no positive manifesto as such. "Theoretically, the Progressive Artists Group," says P. R. Ramachandra Rao, "stands for an (inchoate) internationalism. Having proclaimed itself against artistic chauvinism, it professes allegiance only to the basic laws of art, to formal architecture, plastic coordination and linear and chromatic harmonies..." About the outcome Ramachandra Rao adds, "In its new-born freedom from content and technique, the emergent painting is esoteric to the point of anarchy: it essays no formal system except what springs from its own institution; it is retrospective in the limited context of its catholic aesthetic references; and it is, more significantly a strident adventure, sustained by its own challenging impulses."

Every member of this Progressive Group was inspired by some modern painter in Europe—Van Gogh, Gauguin, Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso, Braque and Rouault.

Raza, Souza and Bakre went to Europe, and the group, after a few exhibitions, gradually dissolved.

Individual Styles

In the late 1940s and early 1950s several young artists made a great impact with their individual styles of painting. K. K. Hebbar experimented with events and objects from everyday life, organising them into unusual compositions. He developed the textural aspect of colour. His efforts were recognised and acclaimed. So were those of Raza whose expressionistic landscapes found acceptance. Shankar Palsikar developed a new "Indianised" pictorial composition with a strange mystic approach. Artists like Almelkar and Raiba, restructured decorative elements of Indian art and evolved new systems of rendering. During the 1950s other modern painters who strove hard to evolve their own pictorial idioms and received recognition were Mohan Samant, Gade, Baburao Sadwelkar and Har Krishan Lall. Samant's esoteric content with a non-structural approach of composition created a new order in pictorial art. Gade developed architectonic arrangements with vibrating texture while Baburao Sadwelkar turned to modern poetry (T. S. Eliot, Rilke, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence) and scientific achievements for conquering space as sources for his thematic images. Har Krishan Lall painted landscapes in a bold expressionistic style. Gaitonde worked as a recluse and was strongly influenced by the paintings of Paul Klee. His paintings, though abstract, were often charged with strong vibrating colours and superb textural values.

The Bombay Group

After the Progressive Group followed the Bombay Group which included Hebbar, Ara, Chavda, Mohan Samant, D. G. Kulkarni, Laxman Pai, Baburao Sadwelkar and Har Krishan Lall. From 1957 to 1962 these artists presented six big exhibitions which were received extremely well. Like the late Dr. Homi Bhabha, other connoisseurs considered these exhibitions significant.

Other Centres

In the pre-Independence period, artists of the Bombay School showed proficiency in drawing, rendering techniques and workmanship. But with emphasis on

abstract expressionism and other modern "isms", these qualities gradually diminished. Artists in other centres, however, exhibited remarkable improvement in their technical skills. Artists not connected with any group or movement, but who made singnificant contributions were Hazarnis, Solegaonkar and Jehangir Sabavala.

Currently, some young artists in Bombay work with zeal though they have not yet been able to establish their personal style. Among those who have shown individuality and new imagery are Prabhakar Barve, Laxman Shresta, Gieve Patel, Gopal Adivarekar and Gulzar Gawali. Artists like Prabhakar Kolte, Deepak Shinde, Vijay Shinde and others have yet to develop consistency in their thematic content and organisational structure in their pictorial images.

The most popular among the practising women artists is B. Prabha who is consistent and prolific in her work. The elongated figures of the Koli women in her paintings have a rare charm. Prafulla Dahanukar, Nalini Malani, Meera Devidayal, Suruchi Chand, Lalita Lajmi, Hema Joshi, Vijoo Sadwelkar are among the other prominent artists of Maharashtra. In the earlier generation, two women artists—Ambika Dhurandhar and Angela Trindade (daughters of the renowned artists Dhurandhar and Trindade)—worked continuously for a while, but their work could not rise to the height of their illustrious fathers.

Sculpture

Rao Bahadur Mhatre, trained in the Bombay School of Art, was the first renowned sculptor to master the realistic (Western) style of sculpture. He enjoyed patronage from princely states and hence executed innumerable monumental statues all over the country. Though he handled all the mediums, he excelled in marble: the marble statue of Queen Victoria in Ahmedabad is an excellent example of his expertise in this art form. V. P. Karmarkar, who came after Mhatre was equally accomplished. Karmarkar was given the challenging work of casting a large equestrian statue of Shivaji in Pune. It is said that he cast the statue in one piece—a tremendous task. Besides commissioned projects from princely states he created many works, purely for his own pleasure, several of which are on display at his bungalow in the coastal village of Sasawane.

Other sculptors in the same milieu were Goregaonkar, Talim, Phadke and Jog; all of them were known for executing monumental works. Phadke's statue of Lokmanya Tilak at Chowpatty in Bombay is a landmark as is Goregaonkar's "Rani of Jhansi" in Pune. R. P. Kamat tried to bring into his work the simplification which he saw in the work of Jacob Epstine. However, he did not continue in that style; Pansare was the first sculptor who began to explore that dimension. Pansare introduced architectural sculpture and his best work is seen on the New India Assurance Building in Bombay. Sculptors Davierwala and Piloo Pochkhanawala have made great contributions and have inspired many young artists.

D. G. Kulkarni and Warkhedi each have their own unsophisticated and inimitable styles. B. Vithal has a rare gift for applying new media; which he handles with ease and imagination. Sonavadekar shows a reasonably competent style.

Several young sculptors are attempting sculptural images which could be termed as "creative" but have yet to attain a maturity of concept and refinement in rendering.

Contemporary Art Scene

The art-world of Bombay began changing very fast after Independence. One of the factors that contributed to this was the construction of the Jehangir Art Gallery in 1952. It encouraged artists from all over the country to exhibit their work there. Thereafter, other art galleries such as the Taj, Chemould, Cymroza, Pundole and Bajaj have provided a good venue for the artists. Hundreds of art exhibitions take place in Bombay every year giving patrons and connoisseurs a wide spectrum of art objects.

The Revivalist movement in Bengal failed to produce great works. Nor could the Bombay School resist the overpowering influence of modern European art. And today, more than three decades after Independence, Indian artists are still at crossroads, groping to find an identity. A trend of "internationalism" prevails in many Eastern countries in the field of visual arts. Abstract and non-figurative paintings of today do not contain images which could project any particular culture, much less a national identity.

The artists of Maharashtra have always been active and have shown, on many occasions, the capacity to rise to great heights. Contemporary artists are engaged in the struggle to create a fusion of the best values of visual arts of the East and the West. Maharashtra has produced artists of various attributes: they are good craftsmen, hardworking, realistic in thinking and not inclined to be decorative and sentimental. Though they honestly followed the dictums of "Indianisation" under the directives of their British mentors, they never freely accepted that sentimental lyricism. Against this situation, it would be interesting to see what kind of art emerges in the next few decades. It is difficult to foretell future developments, but there can be little doubt that art-forms in India need a conducive background to flourish and express themselves creatively.

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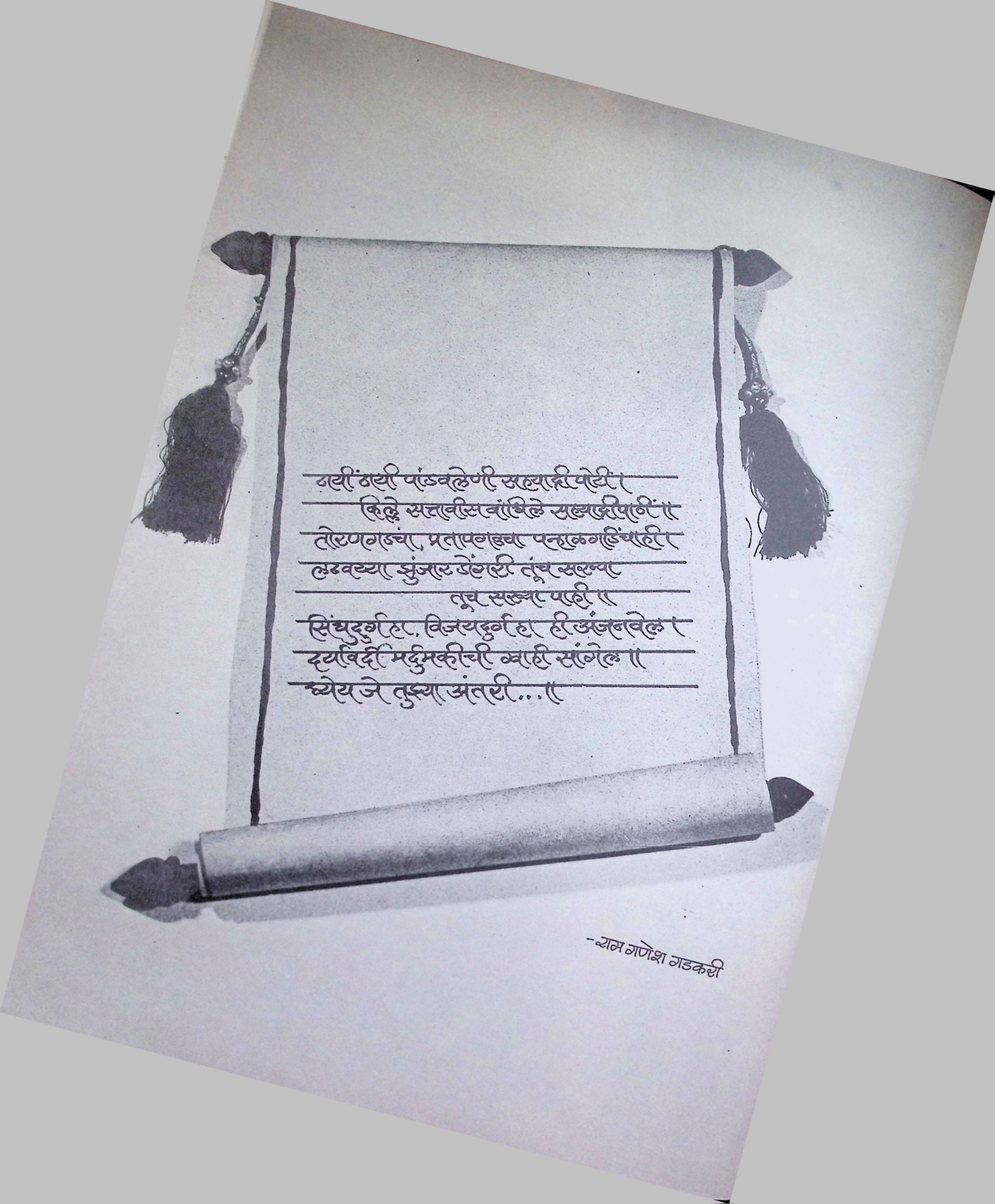
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Historical Monuments

ऐतिहासिक स्मारक


यायी यायी पांडवलेणी सह्याद्रि पोटी।
किल्ले सत्तावीस बांधिले सह्याद्रिपाठी॥
तोरणगडचा, प्रतापगडचा पन्हाळगडिंचही।
लढवय्या झुंजार डेंगरी तूंच सख्या
तूच सख्या पाही॥
सिंधुदुर्गहा, विजयदुर्गहा ही अंजनवेल।
दर्यावर्दी मर्दुमकीची ग्वाही सांगेल॥
ध्येय जे तुझ्या अंतरी...॥
- राम गणेश गडकरी



Rock-cut Temples

Karl Khandalavala

The rock-cut cave temples and monastic dwellings in Maharashtra are amongst the greatest creations of Indian architecture and sculpture. No other area in India has such a large number of them—there are over one thousand excavated shrines, large and small, completed and uncompleted. Excavated sometime during the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., these Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain temples contain superb examples of sculpture and, occasionally, even paintings. The world-famous murals of Ajanta were executed in the late fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D.

Ancient Tradition

The earliest rock-cut dwellings in India are those of the Barabar Hills, near Gaya in Bihar, donated by the great Emperor Ashoka to the Ajivika ascetics. The surface of the inside walls are polished to a mirror-like finish, an exclusive characteristic of Mauryan architecture and sculpture, first derived through the media of Achamenid art after the disintegration of the Persian empire in A.D. 330 and the dispersal of skilled Persian and Perso-Greek artisans. Curiously, the rock-cut caves of Maharashtra do not bear the characteristic Mauryan polish which was limited to Mauryan architecture and sculpture in northern India and which ceased to exist after the Mauryan age.

The only instance in the Mauryan period of sculptural art as an integral part of an architectural design is to be found in the frieze above the entrance doorway of the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar Hills. It depicts a stupa with elephants on either side, paying homage. This typically Buddhist motif indicates that this cave, with its highly polished walls, was also a gift of Ashoka, but to a Buddhist order. Several factors contributed to the creation of rock-cut *chaityas* and *viharas* and their development, century after century, and their widespread expansion not only in the Konkan but also in the Deccan area of Maharashtra.

The sixth century B.C. was an age in which great thinkers such as the Buddha, Mahavira and Makhaliputta Gosala independently sought to unravel the mystery of existence. Mahavira sought the path to salvation through asceticism, the Buddha through the path of righteous conduct while the Ajivika exclaimed, "What do we really know?" Although the Vedic hymns and the expositions from the *Upanishads* remained the core of religious beliefs in India, the Buddha's creed spread because of its simplicity and the fact that man had no longer to approach his god through priestly intervention and sacrifices. To carry his message, the Buddha formed the *sangha* (the brotherhood of monks). The objective was not so much to proselytise as to bring peace to mankind and show a noble path of conduct. While bands of monks could wander far and wide during most of the seasons of the year, spreading the gospel of the Buddha, their activities came to a halt during the long rainy months. During these times the monks lived together in retreat, in various parts of the country. This system had many advantages such as collective discussion and community meditation. Thus arose the concept of the *vihara* as a dwelling hall to be closely followed by the adjunct of a *chaitya* for congregational worship of monks and lay followers.

Though Buddhism had made some headway in the two and a half centuries that followed the death of the Buddha in *c.* B.C. 483, its spectacular distribution throughout the country was due to the patronage extended to it by Emperor Ashoka. Tissa Moggaliputta is said to have presided over the third Buddhist Council at the Mauryan capital of Pataliputra, under the patronage of Ashoka, when it was decided to send out missionaries to various regions, including Aparanta (north Konkan) and the Deccan. *Yavana* (foreign) monks, Dhammarakita and Mahadhammarakita, were sent—the former to Aparanta and the latter to the Deccan—

to preach the gospel of the Buddha. Such were the beginnings of Buddhism in Maharashtra. In the second century B.C., during the rule of the Sungas in northern India and that of the Andhras in the Deccan and the Konkan, arose the concept of providing "retreat" during the rainy season in rock-cut dwellings and shrines for congregational worship. The trap rock of the low hills of the Sahyadri Range was ideally suited to this purpose. The technique of rock-cut cave construction must have been known to the early Buddhist monk-orders in Maharashtra for the Barabar caves were excellent examples of such constructions. Again, the art of sculptural representation in stone was already known in the Mauryan age and also during the Sunga period when the Buddhist stupas with their sculptured gateways and railings were built at Bharhut and at Sanchi in the second century B.C. In the beginning, the technique of the wood-carver was employed for architectural and sculptural works in stone, for the Indian artisans were not yet fully attuned to the concept of working in stone.

Caves in Western India

Bhaja

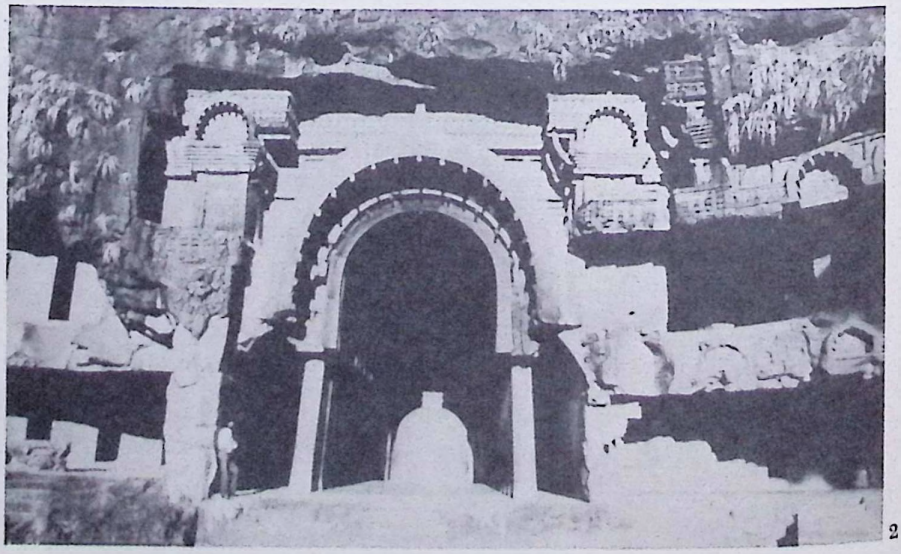
The earliest example of a rock-cut shrine occurs at Bhaja. Executed *c.* the second century B.C., it reveals an integration of architectural and sculptural concepts.

The shrine, consisting of a *chaitya* and a *vihara,* was under the supervision of monks from northern India who must already have had some experience in building wooden apsidal-form *chaityas* as well as stupa railings and gateways in stone sculpture with figures and narrative panels thereon. That Bhaja is later than Bharhut is evident. No doubt a monk architect, known as a *navakarmika,* from northern India must have accompanied the Buddhist monks sent to western India in order to design the rock-cut retreats. The actual cutting into the rock and fashioning of the pillars and roof of the apsidal *chaitya* must have been executed chiefly by local craftsmen as it would not have been feasible to bring a large number of stone-masons all the way down south. That architects attempted to translate wooden concepts into stone is evident in the sloping stone pillars in imitation of the wooden pillars supporting wooden roofs. The sloping wooden pillars were meant to counteract the thrust or expansion of the wooden roof and this technical feature, though only relevant to wooden architecture, was copied in rock architecture because the architect was unfamiliar with the new medium and did not realise that there would be no question of expansion and contraction in a rock-cut edifice. The extent of the slope of the stone pillars is thus an indication of the date of the shrine—the steeper the angle, the earlier the date. Finally, the pillars have no slope at all, as at the great cathedral cave of Karle belonging to the first century A.D. Apparently, the monk-architect had come to realise that sloping pillars were not necessary from a structural point of view in rock-cut apsidal *chaityas.* It is likely that the *navakarmikas* initially brought along a few stone-cutters with whom the local carpenters, who had hitherto worked only in wood, must have learnt the technique of fashioning rock-cut dwellings, pillars and barrel-vaulted roofings in the trap rock of the Sahyadri hills. In course of time the need for stone-masons from the north must have disappeared entirely but *navakarmikas* from monastic congregations in the north probably continued to come and supervise the construction of the rock-cut *viharas* and *chaityas* of western India, both in the Konkan and the Deccan.

In Ashoka's time dissensions in the Buddhist *sangha* had resulted in different orders of



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1 Surya, Bhaja Cave (*vihara*) *c.* 2nd century B.C.

2 Facade of Bhaja Cave (*chaitya*) *c.* 2nd century B.C.

3 Indra, Bhaja Cave (*vihara*) *c.* 2nd century B.C.



3

monks. Sometimes, the differences were so sharp that we cannot conceive of a rock-cut monastery made by the Mahasanghikas, for instance, being available to the monks of Theravada who regarded the Mahasanghikas as heretics. In all the early caves the principles of *Hinayana* worship prevailed as images of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form do not occur. The Buddha is represented by symbols such as his sandals or the Bo-tree under which he attained enlightenment. The stone-sculptors at Bhaja appear to be artisans from northern India who came with the supervising *navakarmikas* because the style of the few sculptures at Bhaja, which are the very earliest in western India, is distinctly related to that of the Sunga art of Bharhut and Sanchi Stupa No. 2 as can be seen from their somewhat flattened bodies and somewhat flattened rounded faces, following the wood-carver's technique. So also the headdresses, including the turban, are similar to those seen in Sunga sculpture and Sunga terracotta. The same phenomenon is to be seen in the very earliest sculptures, few in number though they be, of the Krishna Valley stupa complexes in Andhra Pradesh.

At Bhaja there are two striking sculptures, one of Indra on his elephant Airavata, and another of Surya riding in his chariot with his attendants and driving it over the bodies of monstrous demons. These are located on the side walls of the verandah of a *vihara*. On either side of the cave openings are *dvarapalas* (door-guardians) also in the manner of Sunga sculpture in low relief. That local artisans must, in the beginning, have learnt to sculpt in stone from the northern sculptors seems certain, but thereafter the sculptures of other rock-cut caves in western India appear to be the work of local artisans who had mastered the art. There were, perhaps, some skilled *yavana* artisans amongst those of local origin. The practice of bringing sculptors who worked in stone from northern India seems to have continued even after Bhaja because, when we come to the great Karle *chaitya*, we find that the splendid, large full-bodied women of the *mithuna* couples are clearly derived from the sculpture of the Satrapal *cum* early Kushana period of Mathura.

The *chaitya* at Bhaja is extremely simple with plain pillars having no ornamental bases nor any capitals. But there is an object of worship inside, a stupa. The vaulted roofing has wooden ribs which have survived to this day and reveal the hand of a designer of wooden structures. Bhaja also has a rock-cut cave where numerous small stupas commemorate those elder monks of the order who passed away.

Ajanta No. 10

A somewhat similar simple *chaitya* occurs in the Deccan area at Ajanta. The wall paintings there are of a later date, the second century A.D., while those on the pillars are of the fifth century A.D.

Kondane

After Bhaja, several rock-cut dwellings and *chaityas* were constructed in the region of the western Ghats. Among these, the most important are the Buddhist cave dwellings and *chaityas* at Kondane, Bedsa, Nasik, Junnar and Pitalkhora culminating in the great cathedral cave of Karle, the date of which can be fixed with reasonable certainty. Its construction appears to have covered a period of about sixty years from *c.* A.D. 40 to *c.* A.D. 100. Though many varying dates have been given for the Karle *chaitya,* the inscriptional evidence and the historical data, including that famed unknown mariner's log, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,* compiled sometime before A.D. 71, support the above dating.

Kondane is remarkable for the fact that it bears an inscription—now barely visible—which names the sculptor, who carved the *yaksha* which is situated to the side of the *chaitya* cave, as Balaka, pupil of Kanha. Kanha's name as sculptor also appears in the inscription on the Pitalkhora *yaksha* now in the National Museum, New Delhi. It is indeed rare to find an artist's name inscribed on a sculpture fashioned by him. If Kanha, who was the *guru* of the sculptor Balaka of the Kondane *yaksha,* was the same person as the Kanha who fashioned the Pitalkhora *yaksha,* it would indicate that the activities of the sculptors belonging to a guild or a family of artisans encompassed widely separated areas.

Bedsa

Bedsa is important for its large animal pillar capitals with riders. The horses of the Bedsa pillar capitals are the work of a *yavana* sculptor, for they certainly portray an equine type which an Indian sculptor would not have fashioned but which would be natural to an Asiatic Greek. The term *yavana* is of wide import and usually indicates a foreigner, whether he be a Persian, a Scythian, an Asiatic Greek or a Parthian. *Yavana* colonies must have been established at more than one place along the western coast-line being inhabited by *yavana* traders involved in the lucrative exchange of goods from various parts of West Asia, including the emporium of Alexandria. These merchants sold Indian spices and pearls to be sent to Rome and other West-Asiatic cities. Several of these *yavanas* may well have been converted to the Buddhist faith for they visited the rock-cut monasteries of western India and gave generous donations to them—there are as many as seven separate donations made by them at Karle. We know from literary and other sources that stalwart *yavanas,* probably Scythians, were also employed as city and palace guards and as cavalry troopers and grooms because of their skill in horsemanship. A striking sculptural feature of the early Pitalkhora rock-cut monastery in the Deccan, not very far from Ajanta, belonging to the first century B.C. is the presence of *yavana dvarapalas.* Their faces, physique and costumes leave no doubt that they are foreigners. The sculpturing of *yavana dvarapalas* is significant insofar as it indicates a good relationship between the Buddhist monk orders of western India and the entire *yavana* trade community as well as with *yavanas* employed in Indian market towns and cities.



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4 Facade of Bedsa Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century B.C.

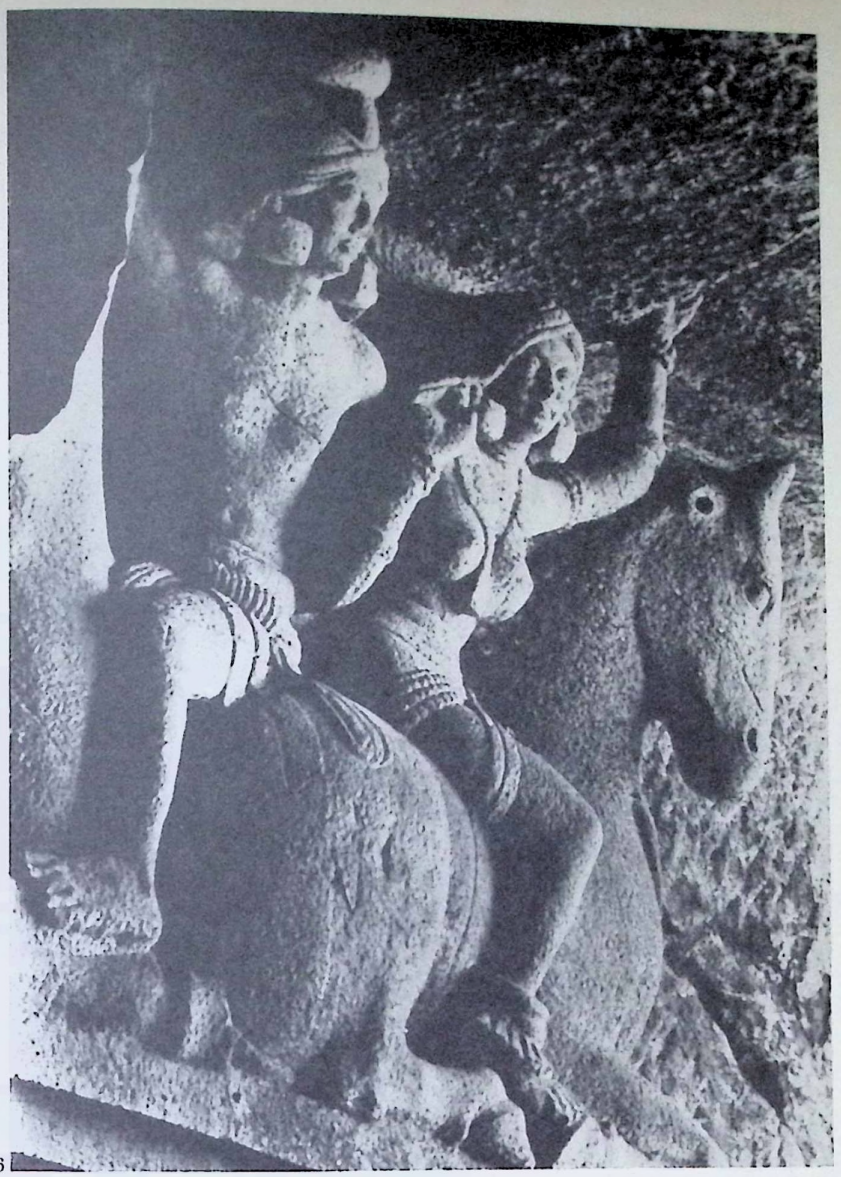
5 Inscribed *yaksha* on the facade, Kondane Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D.

6 Animal riders, Bedsa Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century B.C.

7 Facade of Kondane Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D.

8 *Yaksha* on the facade, Pitalkhora Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century B.C.

9 Map depicting rock-cut caves on the western Ghats of India



6

Trade routes

All these rock-cut Buddhist monasteries, though situated in hilly areas, were so positioned that they were close to the main trade routes such as the mountain passes known as the Nana Ghat, the Thal Ghat and the present Bhor Ghat along which foreign goods brought into the flourishing west coast ports of Kalyan and Sopara were taken to the interior regions by bullock carts. The strategic situation of the rock-cut Buddhist monasteries enabled the monks to have easy access to various necessities of life from traders plying along the routes. Even though the lives of the monks were simple and, for the most part, they obtained their meals by begging as ordained by the Buddha, begging for food was not always possible during the rainy season.

Circumstances necessitated the storage of a certain amount of food grains as well as other staples such as oil and medicines. Moreover, some rock-cut monasteries, such as Karle, received entire villages for their support and, accordingly, any surplus of agricultural products could easily be bartered with traders for essential supplies or even sold for money.

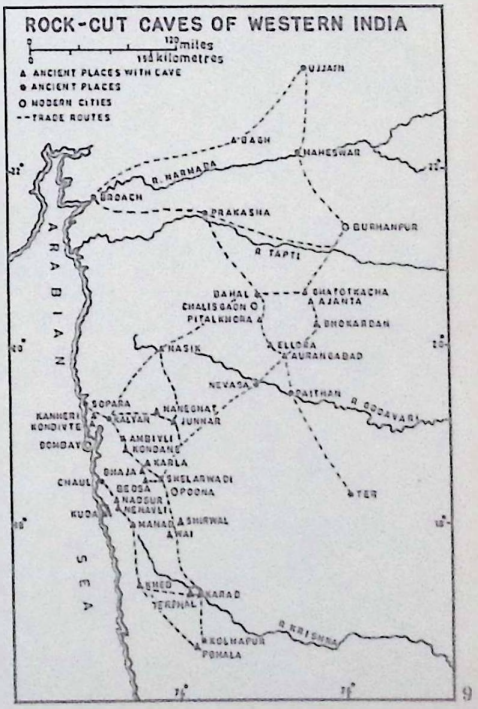
In course of time these rock-cut dwellings were used not only for the retreat period but throughout the year. The *chaityas* were visited by numerous lay devotees from nearby areas and also by scores of traders passing through who offered many donations to these monasteries. A certain number of monks must have lived in these rock-cut monasteries perennially. The existence of several cisterns within these monasteries shows the care taken to provide an adequate supply of water, while many cells in *viharas* have rock-cut beds, probably for the repose of superiors and elders of the order and the sick. There is even a refectory at Kanheri which could also have been used as a lecture hall.



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Karle

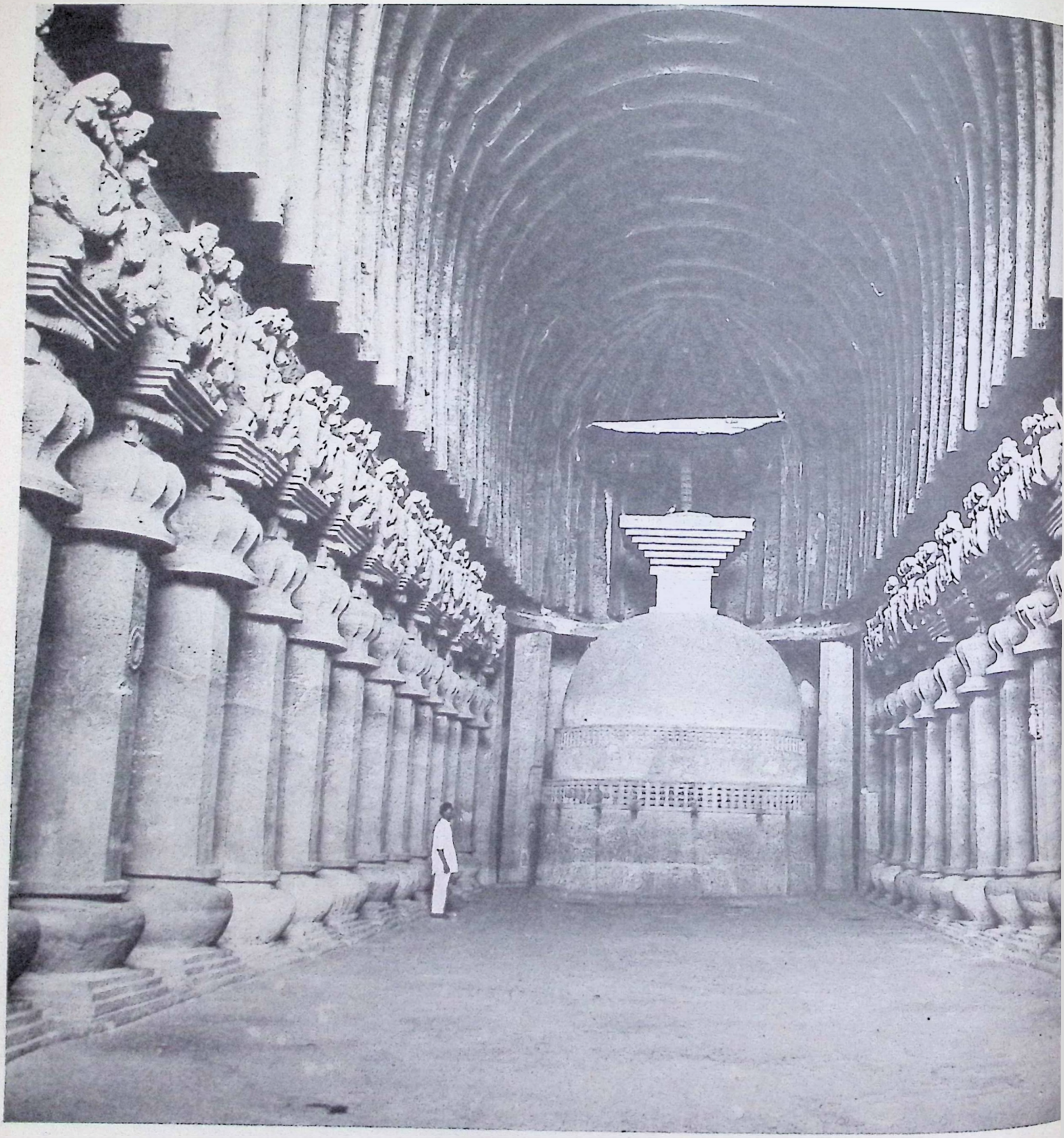
The sculpture of Karle, both of the *mithuna* couples and the pillar capitals with the elephant and horse riders, is of the high order. This sculptural tradition, which commenced in the early *chaityas* of the Konkan, was carried on at the extensive monastic establishment of Kanheri near Bombay for at least three hundred years from the late second century A.D. It is seen at its grandest in the Brahmanical rock-cut sculpture of the renowned mid-fifth century A.D. cave temple at Elephanta undertaken under the patronage of the Konkan Mauryas, a local independent and powerful dynasty which ruled the region from *c.* A.D. 533 to *c.* A.D. 620 or a little later, until they were defeated by Pulakesin II, the Chalukyan ruler of Badami.

In the realm of Buddhist rock-cut architecture, Karle is indeed the finest Buddhist cathedral cave in India, nobler in its proportions and grandeur than even the great *chaityas* of Ajanta and the Vishvakarma *chaitya* of Ellora.

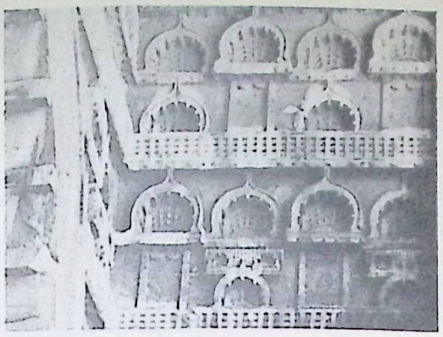
10 Interior view, Karle Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century A.D.

11 *Kudus*, detail from the verandah, Karle Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century A.D.

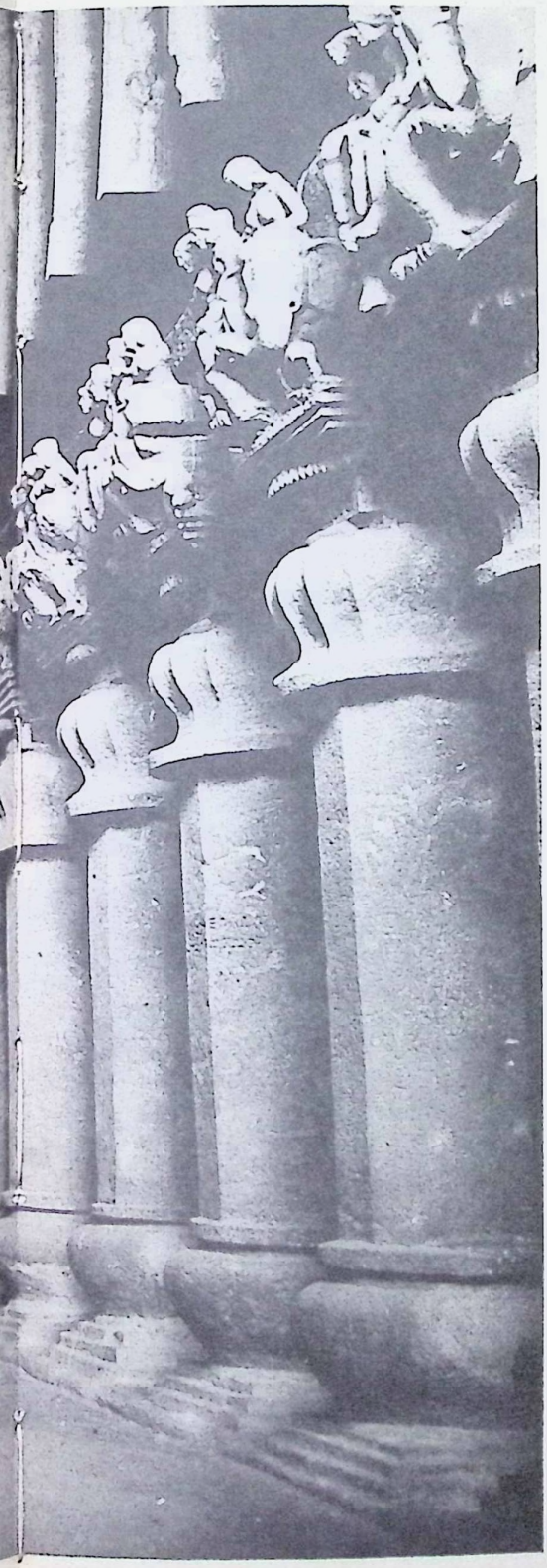
12 *Mithuna* couple, detail from the verandah, Karle Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 1st century A.D.

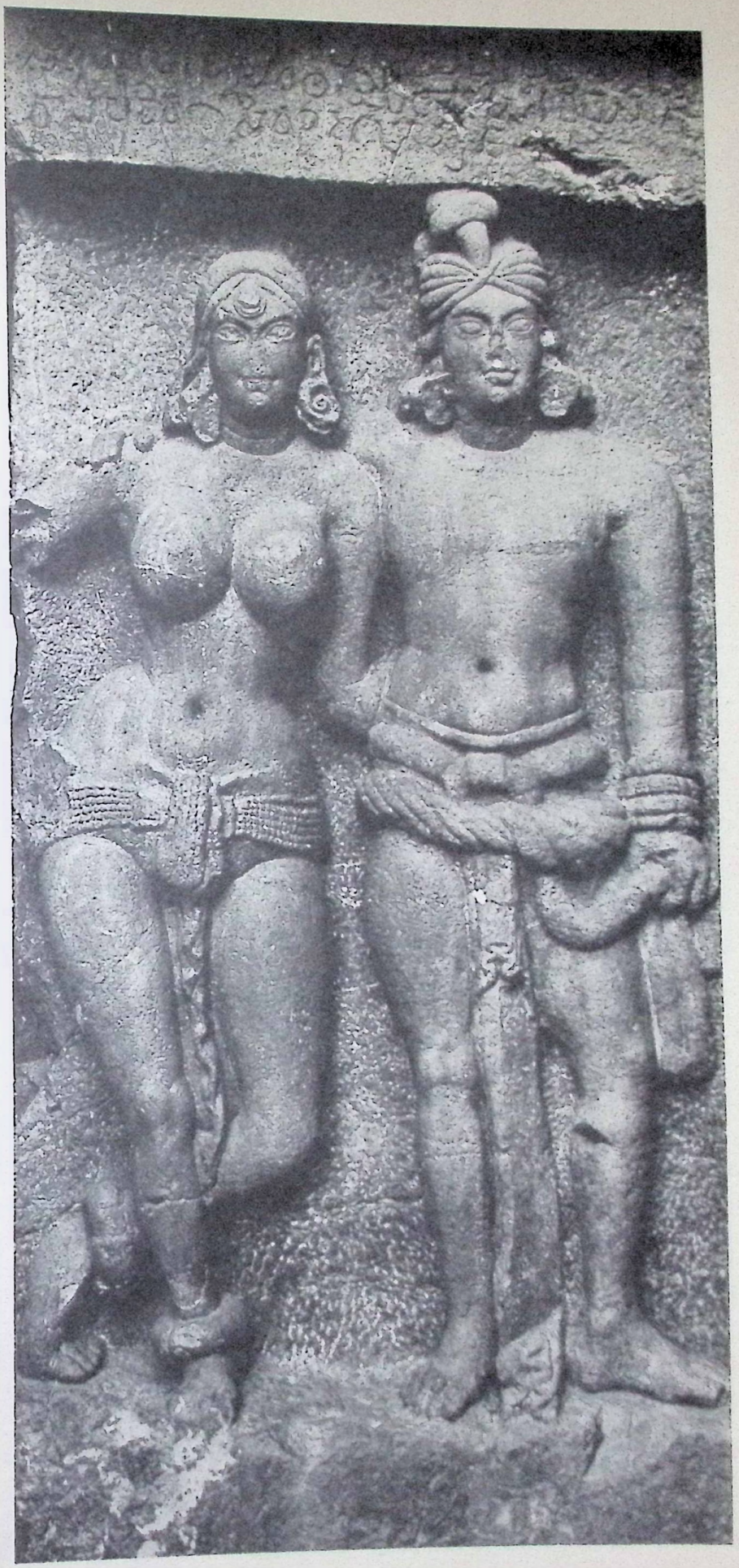


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Kanheri

The *chaitya* of the extensive monastic establishment of Kanheri near Bombay, imitates that of Karle somewhat and dates from the late second century A.D. on the basis of inscriptional evidence. Though not so grand as Karle it has a very interesting feature: *mithuna* couples consisting of two pairs in each of the two recesses of the verandah of the *chaitya*. These are more in the later Kushana tradition than in the Satrapal *cum* early Kushana style seen at Karle. But, as first pointed out by Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, there is some foreign influence, especially of Parthian origin, in the faces and hair styles of these Kanheri *mithuna* couples. The lion-headed earrings show similarities to those featured in Gandhara sculpture. Perhaps a stone sculptor from the north was responsible for the carving of these couples. Kanheri, with more than a hundred caves, appears to have been a large monastic rock-cut dwelling establishment with a *chaitya* as well as a monastic teaching institution of the Buddhist doctrine as suggested by Shrimati Shobana Gokhale. The Kanheri caves were thrice—twice in 1009 and once in 1021—visited by a group of Parsis from Iran. Their Pahelvi inscriptions appear on the facade of the same cave giving the date and names of those who were in the party on each occasion. Evidently the Kanheri Monastery must have been a famous monastery even in the eleventh century.

The sculpture in Kanheri absorbed not only Kushana influence in its *mithuna* couples but, later on, in the fifth century, we find the influence of Gupta sculpture, apparently from Sarnath, also present and this presupposes the presence of a *navakarmika* or sculptor of the Sarnath School.

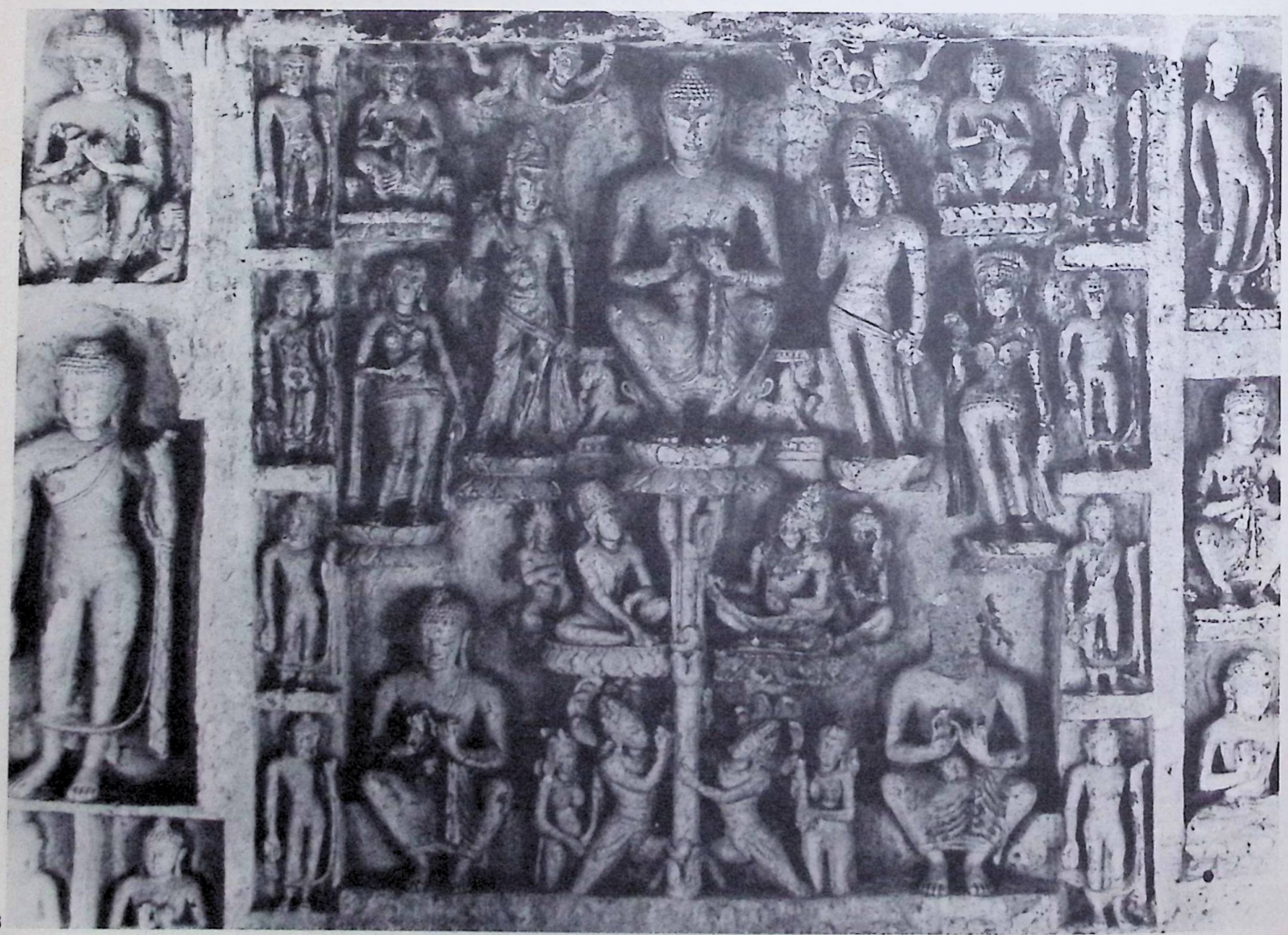
Towards the end of the fifth century we observe a new experiment in Kanheri, the carving of the two great Buddha figures in the verandah of the *chaitya*. Each is 22 ft. high and serves as a progenitor of the great figures of Elephanta, though the latter is a Brahmanical shrine. In this connection we must remember the mighty but somewhat unfinished Parel Shiva and the recent discovery by Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar of a much smaller Shiva image and a *matrika* (mother goddess), both again somewhat unfinished, also from Shivadi in the Parel area. Obviously, there was a workshop at Parel where the loose sculptures found at Elephanta, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, were sculpted. The Parel workshop had been in our contemplation for long as the home of the guild of the great Parel Shiva and sculptures of the Elephanta cave temple. The recent discovery of Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar of the Shivadi workshop at Parel affords striking corroboration to our theory.

13 Miracle of Shravasti, Kanheri Cave No. 90
c. 5th century A.D.

14 Ashtamurti Shiva, Shivadi workshop
c. mid-6th century A.D.
Baradeviche Temple, Parel, Bombay

15 Facade of Kanheri Cave No. 3 (*chaitya*)
c. 2nd century A.D.

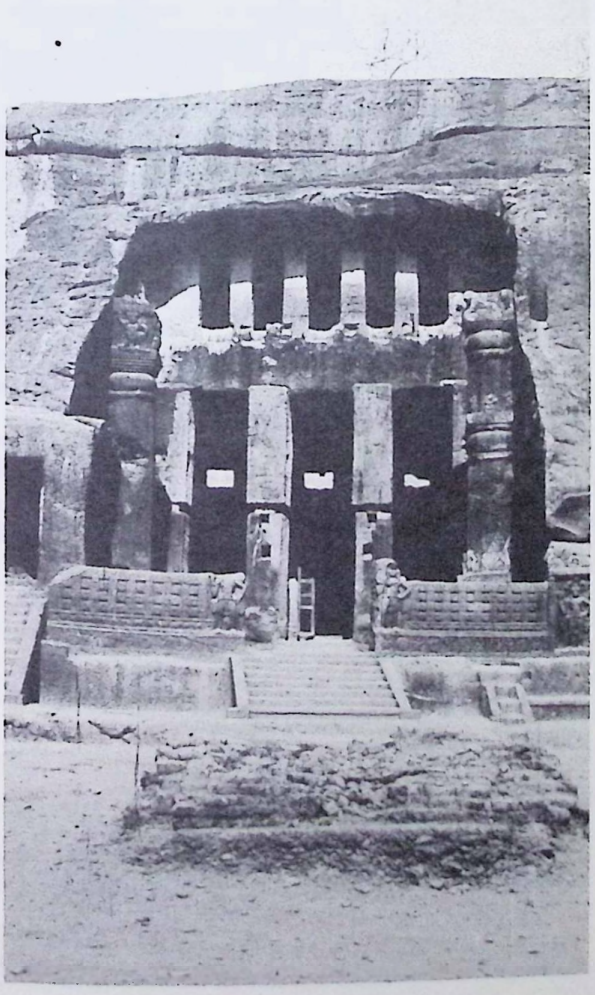
16 Colossal Buddha, verandah of Kanheri Cave (*chaitya*)
c. 500 A.D.



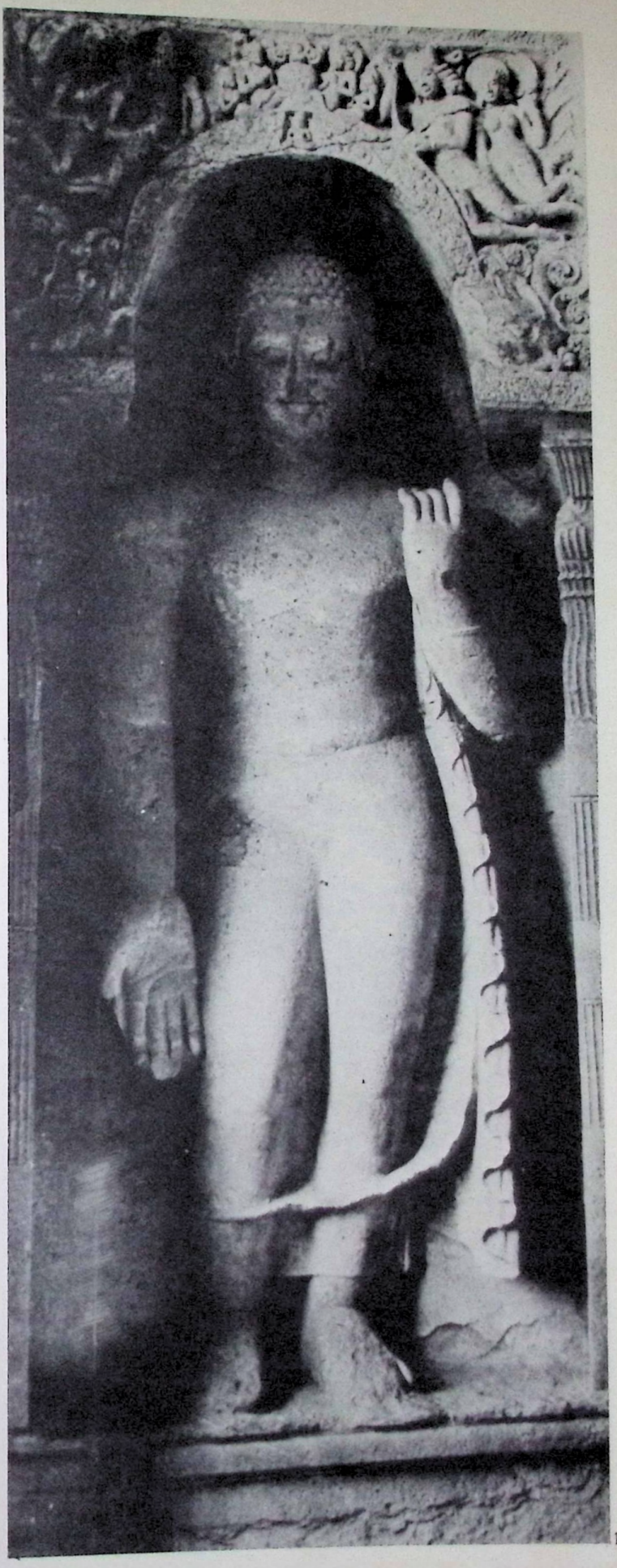
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16

Elephanta

The continuous tradition of Buddhist rock-cut dwellings and *chaityas* from the second century B.C., contributed to the excavations of shrines of other faiths also in western India such as the magnificent rock-cut temple of mid-sixth century A.D. at Elephanta of the Shaiva faith; the somewhat later rock-cut Shaiva shrine of Mandapeshwar with its fine Nataraja; and of Jogeshwari, where a Lakulisha panel is easily recognisable. In fact, all these three Shaiva shrines belong to the Pashupata faith prevalent all over India, and particularly in western India at this point of time. No doubt the Konkan Mauryas, who were devout Pashupatas, patronised these three Shaiva rock-cut shrines. This premise is supported by inscriptional evidence from:

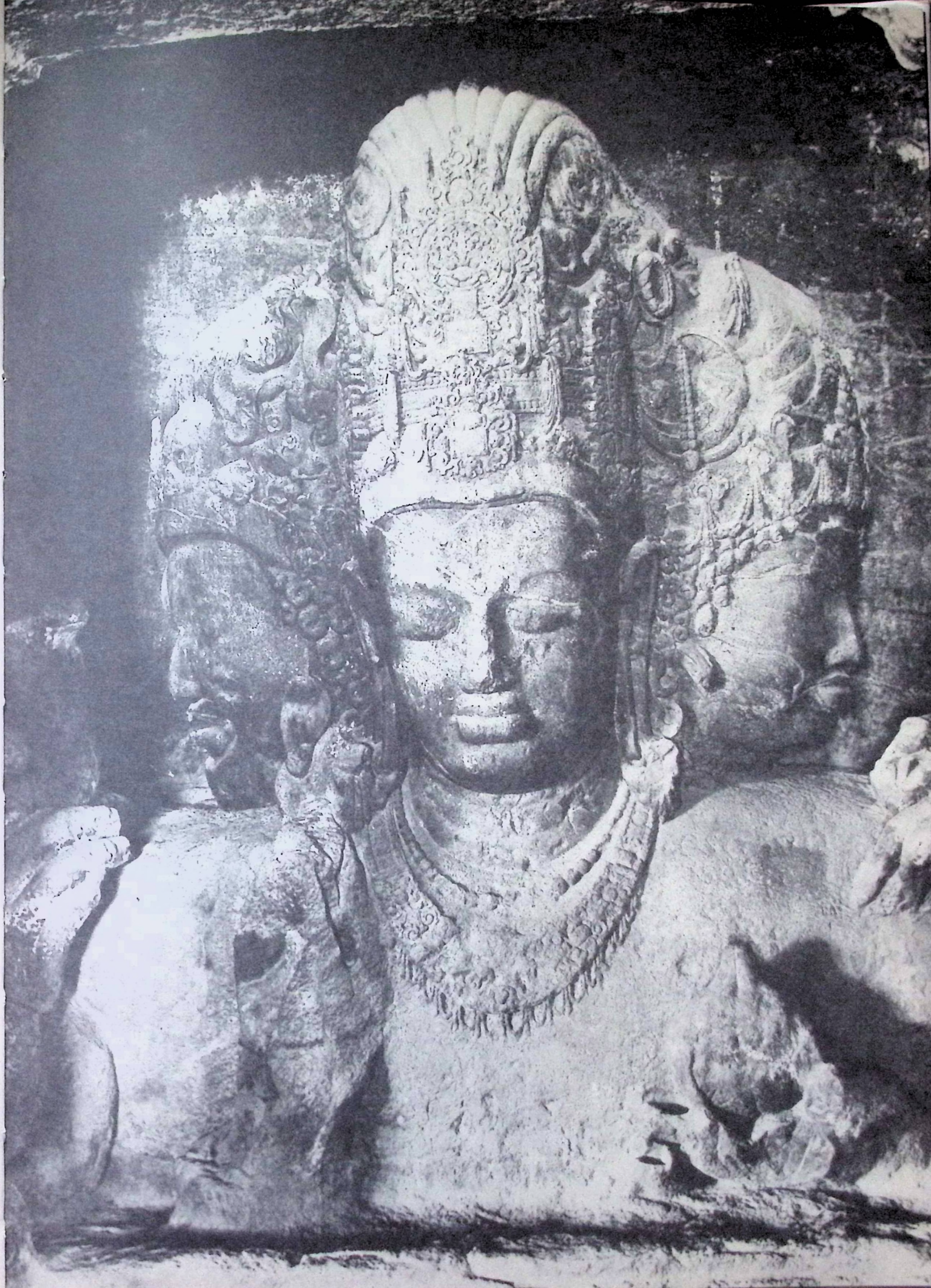
(i) the Traikutaka, copper-plate inscription of Kanheri A.D. 494; (ii) the Matvan plates of the Traikutaka ruler Madhyasena of A.D. 504; (iii) the Matvan plates of Traikutaka ruler Vikramasena, still described as "Lord of Aparanta" *(Aparanta di desapati)* of A.D. 533, where the substitution of the word *Kalachhurinam* for "Traikutakanam" is an obvious forgery, as conclusively shown by the late Dr. Mirashi. For no feudatory could ever be described as "Maharaja" and also as "Overlord of the Aparanta" if he was a feudatory *(mahasamanta)* of the Kalachuris; (iv) the Abhona plates of the Kalachuri Sankaragana of A.D. 597 where a laudatory phrase, not uncommon in *prashastis* and inscriptions of some rulers, boastfully proclaims wide sovereignty from the eastern to the western ocean and other lands, which in fact was non-existent. On the basis of this declaration, entirely without foundation, the theory of the supremacy of the Kalachuri dynasty over the north Konkan Mauryas has been built and the assertion made that the Konkan Mauryas were feudatories of the Kalachuris and hence had neither the means nor the regal position to build a great shrine like Elephanta. Accordingly, it is contended that the Elephanta shrine must have been built by the Kalachuris or, even if built by the Mauryas, it was with Kalachuri funds, Kalachuri patronage and Kalachuri genius because of their devotion to Shiva as Pashupata. The belief that Elephanta must be a Kalachuri monument is totally unconvincing for the premise that Sankaragana or any of his ancestors including Krishnaraja, were ever overlords of Aparanta (north Konkan) lacks support.

In fact, the Kanheri plates of A.D. 494 and the Matvan plates show that the power, domination and rule of the Traikutakas lasted till at least A.D. 533. Thereafter, the Meguti inscription of Pulakesin II of A.D. 634 informs us that his father, Kirtivarman, (A.D. 566-598) had fought the Konkan Mauryas, but quite evidently, could gain no foothold in the north Konkan and Mauryan sovereignty remained paramount over that region. It was not till much later that Pulakesin II used all his might and a huge navy of hundreds of ships to overpower the Maurya rulers of the northern Konkan and captured their capital of Puri which is none other than Elephanta (the Gharapuri of today), famous as "the Goddess of Fortune of the western ocean." Hence, Sankaragana's claim in the Abhona plates was no more than the usual extravagant phraseology often found in laudatory inscriptions to suggest a non-existent *Digvijaya* conquest of a supposed *chakravartin*. In fact, in A.D. 597 Sankaragana could never have exercised sovereignty over the northern Konkan, because even the mighty Chalukyan ruler, Kirtivarman, had not succeeded in overthrowing the Mauryas. Furthermore, the Kalachuri ruler, Buddhasena, the successor of Sankaragana, was routed by Kirtivarman's brother, Mangaleshvara, in A.D. 602. Not a single Kalachuri grant has been found in north Konkan and Dr. Spink's now well-known theory of Kalachuri over-lordship of north Konkan rests on unfounded assumptions and incorrect analysis of the inscriptional evidence. The inscriptional evidence establishes the supremacy of the Mauryas in north Konkan from shortly after A.D. 533 to about A.D. 620 to 625 – a likely date for Pulakesin II's capture of Puri (Elephanta), the capital and administrative headquarters of the Mauryas. Pulakesin came to the throne only in A.D. 610-611.

There can be no doubt that sometime between A.D. 533 to 566, the magnificent shrine of Elephanta was built, greatly enhancing the glory of the Mauryas, and no doubt attracting the attention of Kirtivarman who attempted unsuccessfully, to humble their pride and annex their territory. The Meguti inscription indicates that Kirtivarman did vanquish the Kadambas but not the Mauryas even though it uses grandiloquent phraseology that Kirtivarman was the "night of doom" to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. The inscription states only that the Kadambas were annihilated. It is not difficult to interpret that the Mauryas were not vanquished. If Kirtivarman had annihilated the Mauryas there would have been no occasion for Pulakesin to use all his military and naval power to attack Puri and defeat the Mauryas who must have been at the height of their power around A.D. 620 to 625.

There is no mention of the Kalachuris in the Meguti inscription and if the Kalachuris had ever been the overlords of the Mauryas, then Pulakesin II would have been the first to proudly claim that the suzerains of the Mauryas had not dared to challenge firstly, the might of Kirtivarman and secondly, of himself, but had watched helplessly as the Chalukyas warred against their Mauryan tributaries and, in the second conflict, completely uprooted them. It would indeed be strange if the Kalachuris were the overlords of the Mauryas and did not raise a finger to help their feudatories against Kirtivarman or save them from the devastating onslaught of Pulakesin II. Unless the Konkan Mauryas

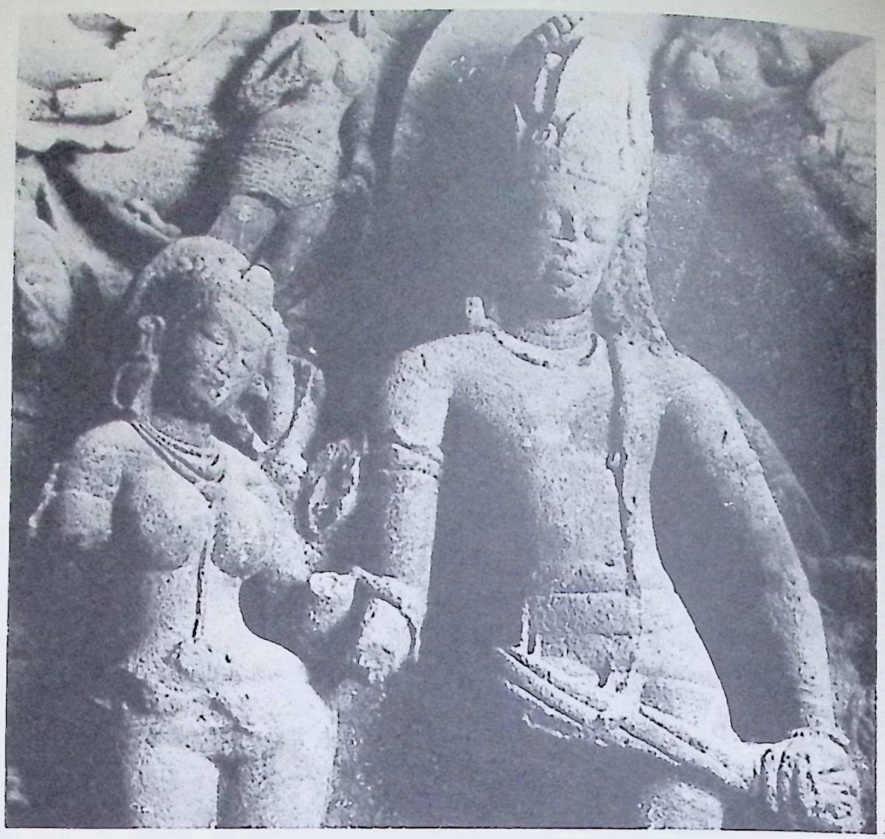
17 Maheshamurti, Elephanta Cave
mid-6th century A.D.



were a mighty force, Pulakesin II would not have needed hundreds of ships to capture the island capital of Puri (Elephanta). The Mirashi-Spink theory that Elephanta is a Kalachuri monument must be regarded as the outcome of a number of unwarranted assumptions, contrary to inscriptional evidence when properly analysed and contrary to historical data and probabilities. The Kalachuris were nowhere in the picture and the mistaken assumption made first by Dr. Mirashi but considerably remedied by him later in his accurate interpretation of the second Matvan plates of A.D. 533, was then elaborated by Dr. Walter Spink who incorrectly interpreted the second Matvan plate with even more assumptions which have no basis. Often overlooked is that the finding of some coins of the Kalachuri king, Krishnaraja, (*c.* A.D. 550-575) in a few places in north Konkan does not establish Kalachuri supremacy. Coins are often circulated through trading relationships or pilgrimages and such distribution cannot accurately indicate conquest. Furthermore, even if the Kalachuris had a foothold in Nasik or elsewhere on the plateau above the passes of the Sahyadri Range it would by no means follow that they were overlords of north Konkan which lies between the Sahyadri Range and the Arabian Sea. This domain of the Konkan Mauryas, from *c.* A.D. 533 to A.D. 620-625, was never conquered by any ruler till Pulakesin subdued Puri in *c.* A.D. 620-625. Even though the sculpture to the left of the north entrance of the main Elephanta cave is not Lakulisha but Shiva as Mahayogi, the mere presence of a Lakulisha sculpture would not warrant the conclusion that Elephanta was a shrine excavated under Kalachuri patronage through the Konkan Mauryas who were their supposed tributaries. The inscriptional evidence that the Kalachuris were great devotees of Shiva as Pashupata can lead to no conclusion whatsoever with regard to Elephanta. The Mauryas and many other dynasties were all, undoubtedly, equally devout worshippers of Shiva as Pashupata in view of the widespread prevalence of the cult, particularly in western India at this period.

Elephanta is still known as Gharapuri and is referred to as "Sripuri" in an inscription on a copper pot found there of the twelfth century A.D. There can be little doubt that the Puri of Pulakesin II's Meguti inscription is Elephanta, the capital city and administration headquarters of the Konkan Maurya dynasty. Significantly, one landing place at Elephanta is still called Mora (Maurya) *bunder*.

Certain influences from Kanheri are quite evident at Elephanta not only in the size of the sculptures emulating the two great standing Buddhas of Kanheri, but also in the iconography of Shiva. The motif of Shiva Mahayogi, seated on a lotus upheld by two Nagas, does not belong to Shaiva but to Buddhist iconography and is seen at Kanheri where the Naga kings, Nanda and Upananda, uphold the



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18 Kalyansundaramurti, Elephanta Cave mid-6th century A.D.

19 Shiva-Gangadhara, Elephanta Cave mid-6th century A.D.

20 Shiva-Nataraja, Elephanta Cave mid-6th century A.D.

golden lotus on which the Buddha sat after the miracle of Shravasti and preached a sermon. In the Shaiva iconography of *Shiva Purana*, though the Nagas are present, Shiva is not seated on a lotus which is clearly a borrowing from Kanheri Buddhist sculpture of the late fifth century A.D. Thus, it becomes clear that Kanheri is earlier than Elephanta as far as its fifth century sculptures are concerned. As to the suggestion that several hundred coins, which incidentally, are not the regular coins of the Kalachuri ruler Krishnaraja, were minted at Elephanta for paying the workmen of this supposed Kalachuri cave temple one can only remark that there is no substance for it. All the coins were found, strangely enough, on the seashore. They could be coins from a stranded boat or pilgrim boat, for many pilgrims must have visited Elephanta from various parts of the country. Coins of the Satraps, for instance, have also been found at Elephanta, but that circumstance can lead to no conclusion.



Significantly enough, apart from Elephanta, Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar — the disputed group — there is not a single Kalachuri temple in north Konkan, in the accepted Kalachuri style of the areas where the Kalachuris indisputably ruled outside north Konkan. Conversely, there is not a single shrine or sculpture even remotely approaching the art of Elephanta or that of Mandapeshwar or Jogeshwari, in either architectural or sculptural grandeur, anywhere in the areas where the Kalachuris admittedly held sway.

This circumstance tells its own story: that the great Brahmanical shrine of Elephanta and the lesser shrines of Mandapeshwar and Jogeshwari were all the creations of local sculptors and architects and were the outcome of genius fostered under the most liberal patronage of the Mauryan rulers of the north Konkan who possessed a unique artistic vision. The glory of Elephanta rests with this local but powerful dynasty of the north Konkan in Maharashtra.

Another theory, fostered first by the late Dr. Sivaramamurti, is that Elephanta is a Vakataka monument. Stylistically, the sculpture of Elephanta, when analysed, is in a very different idiom from that of Ajanta. One factor which must be borne in mind, and the existence of which has no doubt been responsible for Sivaramamurti's fallacious conclusion, is that all the early sculptural creations of Maharashtra of the fifth to the ninth century, be they at Elephanta, Ajanta, Ellora or Aurangabad and be they of the Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jain faith, have certain common features. But a deeper stylistic analysis soon reveals that the Vakataka sculptors of Ajanta were certainly not the sculptors of Elephanta, who were members of the local Konkan guild apparently based at Shivadi in Parel, on the island of Bombay then not joined to the mainland.

Dr. Spink's elaboration of Sivaramamurti's theory that displaced Vakataka craftsmen came to the northern Konkan and carried out the work on Elephanta, is founded on a serious misconception of what happened in the Vakataka domain. Again, it takes no note of the stylistic differences that exist in the sculptures of Elephanta and Ajanta. With more than six centuries of unbroken tradition of a sculptural art of a high order in the northern Konkan, it did not become necessary for craftsmen from the Vakataka domain to come to north Konkan for creating the glories of Elephanta. There is nothing at Ajanta to compare with such a magnificent creation as the Mahesamurti of Elephanta or with the Gangadhara, the Ardhanari, the Andhakamurti, the Nataraja and the shrine *dvarapalas* thereof. But some Vakataka influence did penetrate into the Rameshvara cave at Ellora (Cave No. 21) though not due to any displaced craftsmen from Ajanta having to seek work at Ellora.

Ajanta

This brings us to the famous rock-cut shrines, sculpture and the superb wall paintings of Ajanta caves, Nos. 16, 17, 1 and 2, also a heritage of Maharashtra in the Deccan area, a little earlier than Elephanta.

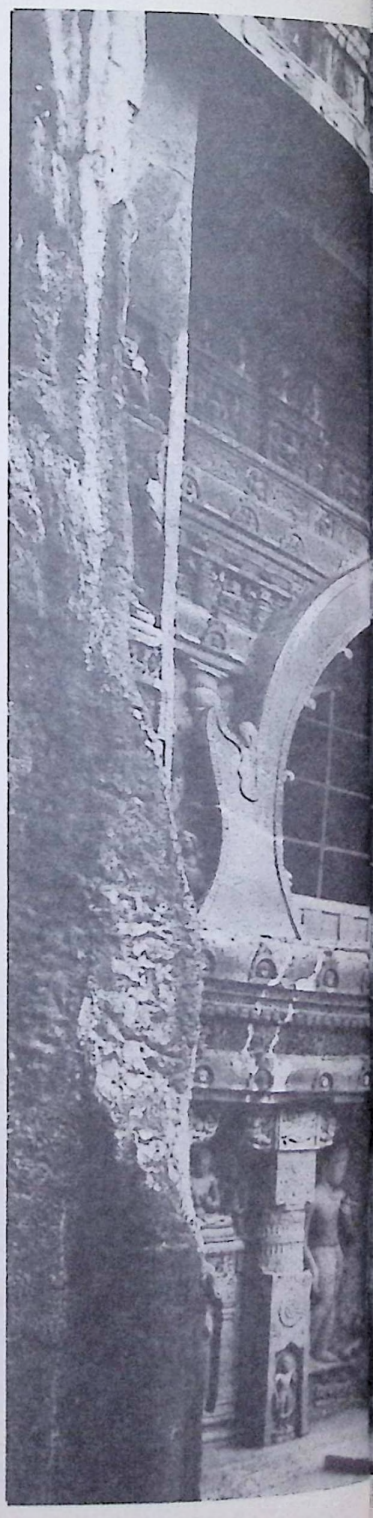
The rock-cut caves of Ajanta belong to the Buddhist faith right from the earliest caves (Nos. 9 and 10) of the second and first century B.C. upto Nos. 16, 17 and 19 of the period *c.* A.D. 485 to 500. Nos. 1, 2 and 26 belong most probably to the period A.D. 520 to A.D. 540. The chronology of the Ajanta caves is controversial but the inscription in Cave No. 16, if properly interpreted, would indicate that it was a donation of the Vakataka minister Varahadeva in his old age and that on its completion, which must have taken fifteen years at the very least, he had the record of his donation inscribed therein. It is all too obvious that the painters of the Ajanta caves were not Buddhist monks as is so often erroneously stated, though a monk or two who happened to be a painter may have painted some part of a cave working alongside the professional artists who no doubt belonged to guilds under the patronage of the Vakataka rulers and must have decorated many a wooden palace and other buildings with paintings of secular themes. It is quite clear that the painted Buddhist *Jataka* stories of the Ajanta caves depict the court life of the Vakatakas: palaces and city gateways, processions, men and women of high estate clad in the manner of that period, dancers and musicians, hunters and attendants of the royal court. The setting of these beautiful paintings are splendid sculptural *viharas,* but many of them had suffered from the ravages of time even before their discovery in the last century. They have also suffered in the past from well-intentioned but incompetent efforts at conservation as well as an unlimited influx of visitors and the intensity of the artificial lights. All this is being remedied.

The paintings at Ajanta are always praised greatly because of their masterly line but their remarkable plasticity should never be overlooked. It was achieved by various devices without shading though some shading is to be seen in the two later caves, Nos. 1 and 2.

Some strange notions prevail amongst several writers to the effect that all the caves were completed in a very short span of years but this is largely due to erroneous assumptions and a failure to understand how Indian guild craftsmen worked. In the Balasiri cave at Nasik we have clear inscriptional evidence of how this cave, nowhere so elaborate as the Ajanta *viharas,* took twenty years to complete. Even making allowances for royal guilds working constantly at Ajanta consisting of a very considerable number of stone-masons and painters under the direction of Buddhist *navakarmikas,* each of the caves (Nos. 16, 17, 19, 1, 2 and 26) must have taken a minimum of fifteen years to complete and the work of all these caves could never have been carried on simultaneously. Cave No. 17 was commenced probably about A.D. 400, after Cave No. 16 had been five years or more in the making. It is a donation of an unknown feudatory of the Vakataka ruler, Harisena, who desired to emulate the pious donation of the notable minister, Varahadeva, and who received encouragement from him as well as from king Harisena. They, no doubt, offered the assistance of stone-masons, sculptors and painters from the royal guilds. Stylistically, there are close resemblances between the paintings of the caves, Nos. 16 and 17, which can be noted despite considerable damage to many of the murals of Cave No. 16. These similarities assist us in arriving at a satisfactory chronology of the Ajanta caves of the Vakataka period. The stylistic features of the Ajanta paintings are, to our mind, far more important for being taken into consideration for dating the caves than architectural and sculptural features which can be misleading. Cave No. 17 must have been completed about A.D. 510 by which date Varahadeva had already commissioned another donation, namely a *vihara* at Ghatotkacha about eleven miles from Ajanta which remained to be painted.

At this stage we have to fall back on Dandin's *Dashakumaracharita* which as the late Dr. Mirashi has convincingly shown, deals with historical facts in the form of a literary composition. Our own interpretation of the *Dashakumaracharita* leads us to the conclusion that in *c.* A.D. 510 or at a slightly later date the Vakataka ruler who had succeeded Harisena and was given to evil ways was defeated by a confederacy of feudatories but due to the wise minister, who can be none other than Varahadeva, in his very old age, the fortunes of the son of the defeated Vakataka ruler were restored by *c.* A.D. 520. It is after *c.* A.D. 520 that two more great Buddhist caves, Nos. 1 and 2, were excavated and brilliantly painted by the artists of the royal Vakataka guilds who could once more be made available to the donors of these Buddhist *viharas.* They were not the artists of the caves, Nos. 16 and 17, but their descendants or pupils for there is a generation gap between the art of Nos. 16 and 17 and that of Nos. 1 and 2 in every aspect: composition, treatment of figures, animals or architecture. Yet, clearly the artists of the caves, Nos. 1 and 2, belong to the very guilds that painted Nos. 16 and 17. They introduced certain innovations such as shading, a greater degree of stylisation and a more frequent and prominent use of the device of setting a face against a mass of black hair to portray greater plasticity.

Though Dandin's *Dashakumaracharita* disguises names it is evident that its core consists of Vakataka history. In the time of Dandin, who lived only a century and a half after the Vakataka supremacy had ended, the facts of history must have been well known and transmitted authentically by a not very old tradition. Several features of the Ajanta-



21 Facade of Ajanta Cave No. 19 (*chaitya*) late 5th century A.D.

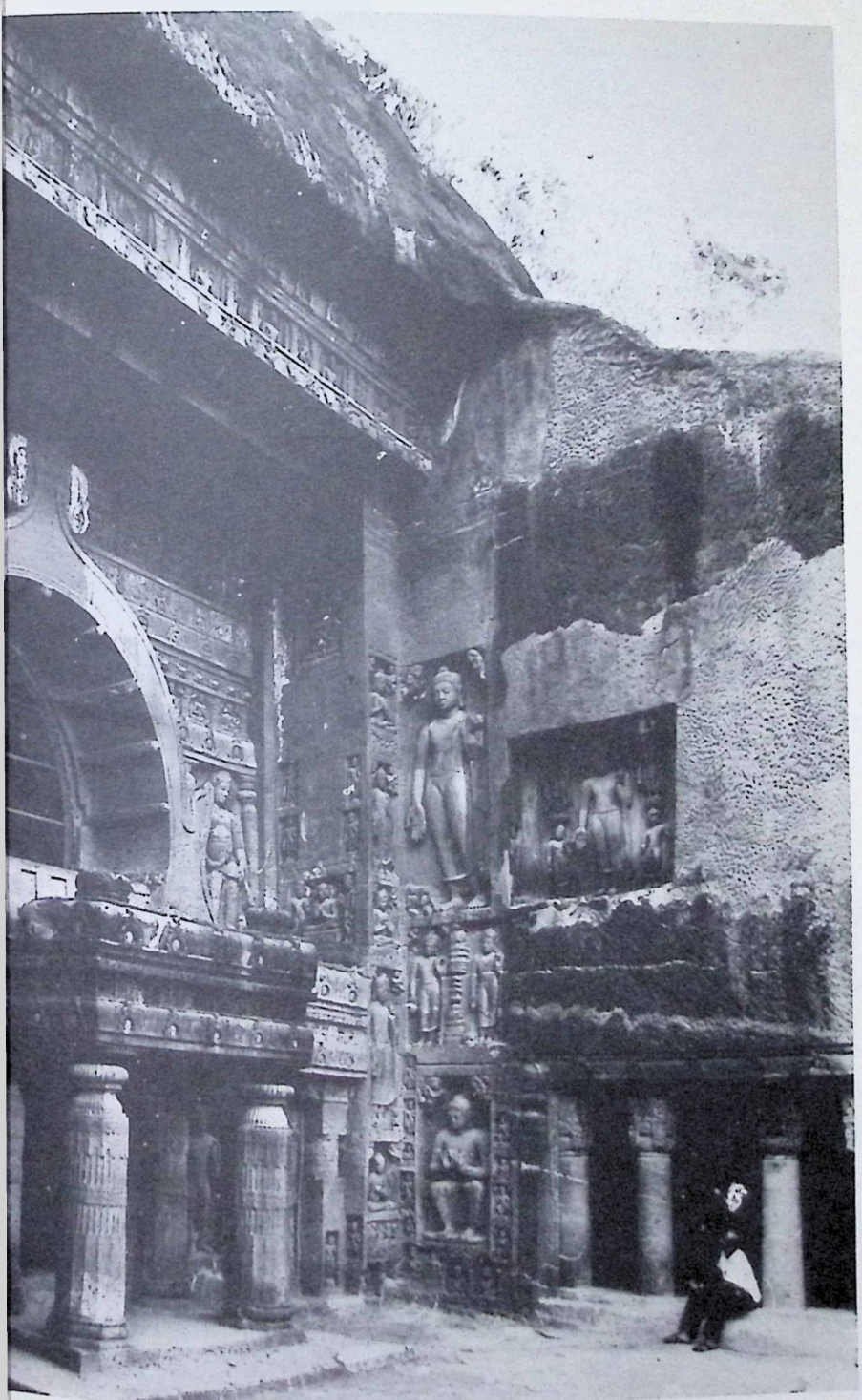
Ghatotkacha complex support Dandin's observations. The *Dashakumaracharita*, if correctly interpreted, and taken in conjunction with the following circumstantial evidence:

(a) the unfinished *vihara* of Ghatotkacha, which is devoid of any paintings, was commissioned without doubt by Varahadeva after the work on Cave No. 16 had progressed considerably;

(b) the similarity in architecture between the Ghatotkacha cave and the later Cave No. 1;

(c) the inscriptions in Nos. 16 and 17 at Ajanta as well as at Ghatotkacha and;

(d) the technique showing more elaborate features in the paintings of Nos. 1 and 2 as against those of Nos. 16 and 17 yields the following conclusions:



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(1) That Harisena the great Vakataka ruler of the Basim branch whose regnal dates are, in our opinion, correctly accepted by many scholars as *c.* A.D. 475-510 had as his Chief Minister one Varahadeva who, it appears, had also served awhile under Harisena's father, Devasena, whose minister was Varahadeva's father, Hastibhoja.

(2) That Varahadeva, on a correct interpretation of his inscription in Cave No. 16, very late in his life, due to his single-minded devotion to the Buddha, was the patron of the *vihara* cave, No. 16, for the monastic order for whom it was excavated and that its commencement could be no earlier than *c.* A.D. 480-485 and its completion at least not earlier than A.D. 495-500.

(3) That the guilds of architects, sculptors and painters who worked on Cave No. 16 were the royal Vakataka guild or guilds patronised by the Vakataka rulers and hence easily accessible to Varahadeva. These guilds had, no doubt, already carried out much work on Vakataka palaces, assembly halls and other buildings including murals thereon. This becomes quite evident from the paintings themselves of the caves, Nos. 16 and 17. The theory that the paintings of Ajanta were the work of painter-monks can never be given serious consideration. Maybe on a few occasions, very limited in number, a monk who happened to be versed in the art of painting undertook a painting of a figure here or there in conjunction with the professional guild painters. One such monk-painter may have come from Gandhara.

(4) That while the *vihara* cave, No. 16, was being excavated, sculptured and painted, a feudatory of Harisena, no doubt seeking to emulate the minister Varahadeva in piety, appears to have commenced the excavation and decoration of the *vihara* cave, No. 17, for some Buddhist monastic order no doubt with the blessings of the pious Varahadeva himself and the fullest cooperation of Harisena in the way of making available to his feudatory the skill of the Vakataka guilds of architects, sculptors and painters. These guilds must have consisted of numerous artisans and all could not have been commissioned on the work of the *vihara* cave, No. 16, then in progress. The name of the feudatory is not obtainable from his inscription in the *vihara* cave, No. 17.

(5) Even when the *vihara* caves, Nos. 16 and 17, were being constructed and decorated, Varahadeva in his pious zeal commenced yet another donation, namely a *vihara* cave at Ghatotkacha about eleven miles distant from the site of Ajanta. Though this *vihara* cave was not completely finished and was never painted with murals it is of high importance in formulating a correct chronology of the Vakataka period caves of Ajanta and for corroborating the account given by Dandin.

The reason why the Ghatotkacha *vihara* remained unfinished and was never painted with murals can be gleaned from Dandin's account of how after the death of the great Vakataka king (none other than Harisena) his weakling and characterless successor, due to his evil ways and being unmindful of the advice of the wise, old and trusted counsellor of his father, was driven from his throne by treacherous feudatories. This tragic event in Vakataka history no doubt led to the stoppage of work at Ghatotkacha. The overthrow of the dynasty appears to have occurred about *c.* A.D. 510 after the work in the *vihara* cave, No. 16, and also in the *vihara* cave, No. 17, had been completed. If Cave No. 17 was commenced about five years after the commencement of Cave No. 16 in *c.* A.D. 485 or 490 then the *vihara* cave, No. 17, could only have been completed at the earliest by *c.* A.D. 505 or A.D. 510 as neither of these two *vihara* caves, even with the aid of fairly numerous artisans from the Vakataka guilds, could have been completed in less than fifteen years each. Western writers, who have no idea of how slowly Indian artisans work even today, cannot understand the mentality of these artisans and are therefore, not in a position to realise that the impossibly short periods often allotted for the completion of *vihara* caves—such as at Bagh, Ajanta and Ghatotkacha—are widely off the mark.

(6) From Dandin we can gather there was a hiatus in Vakataka rule of the Basim branch, but the indomitable spirit of the old counsellor (who can be no other than Varahadeva) finally succeeded in restoring the family fortunes with the help of other kings. Dandin's narration is destructive of various theories put forward by some scholars that all the Vakataka *vihara* caves, Nos. 16, 17, 1 and 2, were completed by A.D. 485 within a period of about fifteen years. The shifting of the commencement of Harisena's reign to dates earlier than *c.* A.D. 475 is unwarranted.

(7) Though there was a hiatus in Vakataka supremacy round about A.D. 510 leading to stoppage of work at Ghatotkacha, which was under Varahadeva's patronage, it does not follow that the Vakataka guilds were suddenly

22 Interior view of stupa, Ajanta Cave No. 26 (*chaitya*) first half of 6th century A.D.

23 Interior shrine—antechamber, Ajanta Cave No. 2 first half of 6th century A.D.

24 A Bodhisattva, Ajanta Cave No. 1 first half of 6th century A.D.

25 Flying *apsaras*, Ajanta Cave No. 17 late 5th century A.D.

26 General view of Ajanta Caves

27 Painted ceiling at Ajanta

28 Bodhisattva-Padmapani, Ajanta Cave No. 1 first half of 6th century A.D.

29 Mahajanaka-Jataka, Ajanta Cave No. 1 first half of 6th century A.D.



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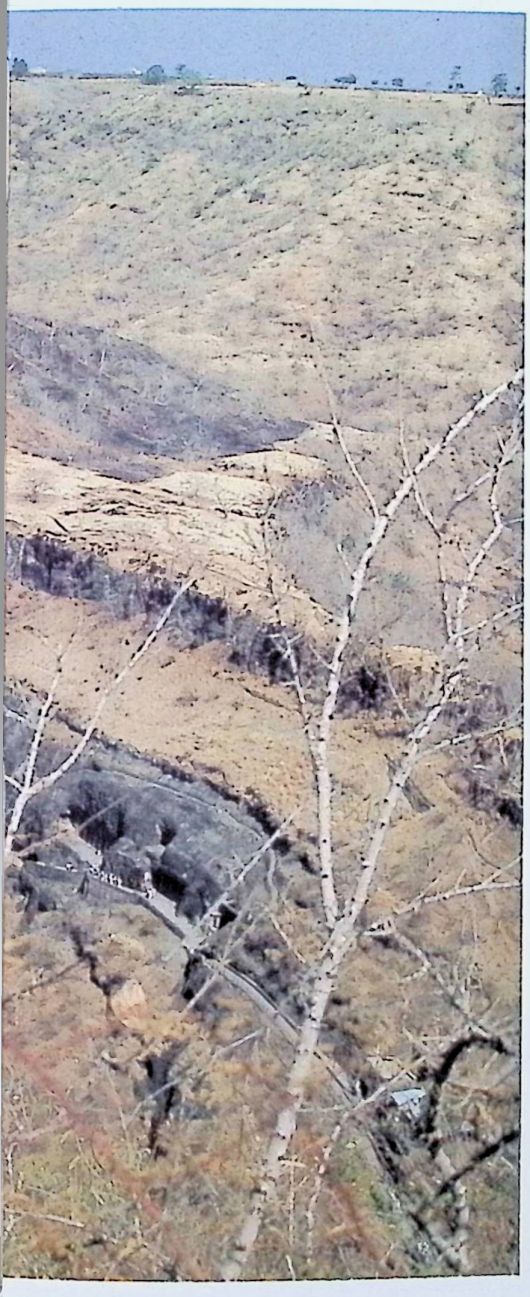


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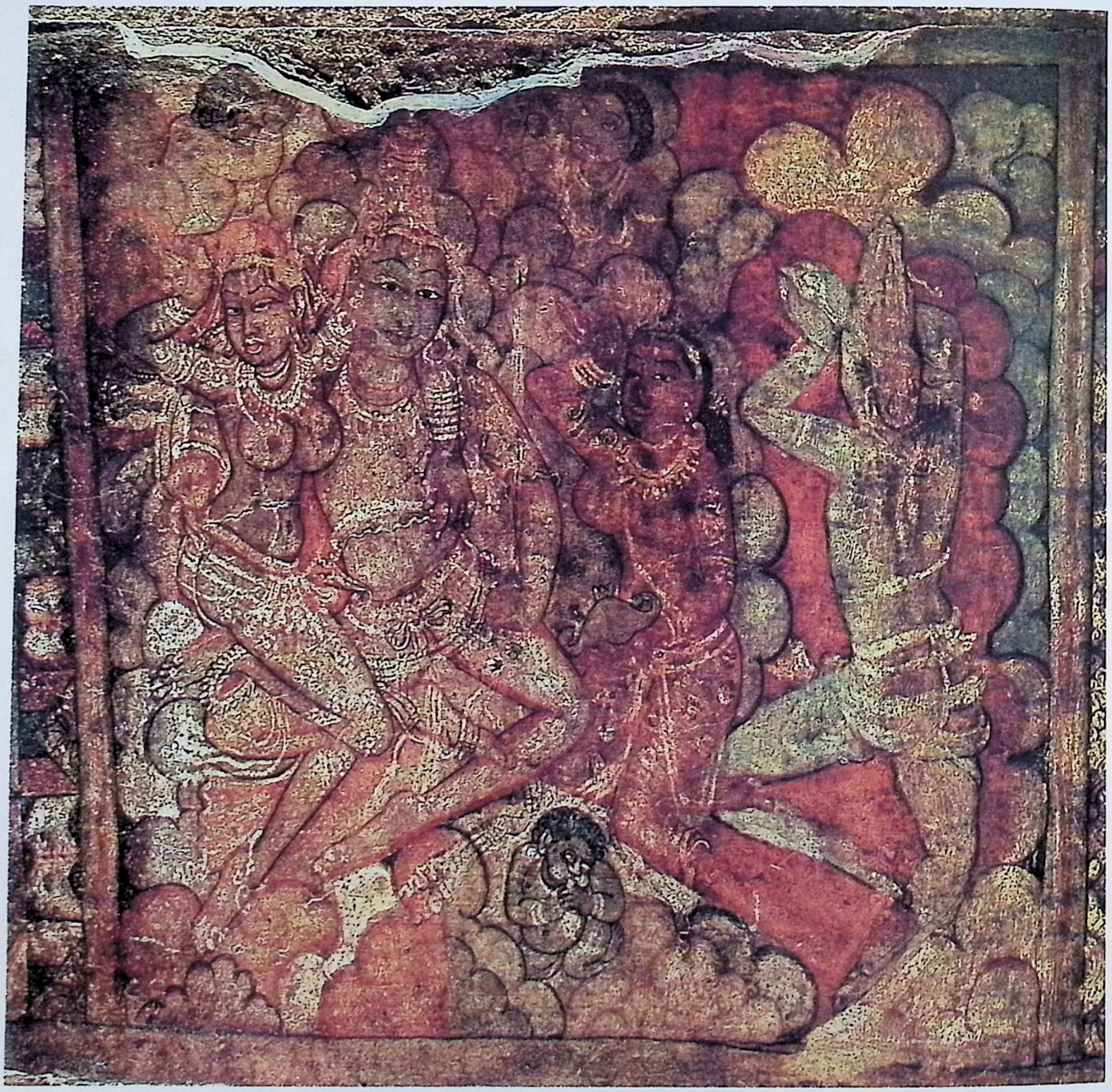
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30 Detail of painted ceiling, Kailasa Temple, Ellora, Rang Mahal, western porch
c. 8th-9th century A.D.

31 Painting in Ellora Cave No. 32
c. 8th-9th century A.D.

32 General view of Kailasa Temple, Ellora
8th century A.D.

disbanded. Even under the interim rulers of the Vakataka domain these guilds must still have been employed on various projects, probably of wooden construction, which no longer exist. They may have even continued doing some finishing work on the *vihara* caves, Nos. 16 and 17. But the work on the Ghatotkacha cave of Varahadeva seems to have been abandoned, at least to a considerable extent.

(8) When the fortunes of the Vakataka royal house were restored which we estimate was near about A.D. 520, after an interregnum of about ten years of the rule of the usurpers, the aged minister Varahadeva or his successor or maybe some other similar pious-minded patrons, appear to have recommenced Varahadeva's beneficient activities at Ajanta for some Buddhist monk orders. Thus caves, Nos. 1 and 2, came to be excavated. It was probably not thought worthwhile to complete the Ghatotkacha cave and have it painted because of its situation which may not then have been regarded as suitable by the monk-order for which it was originally intended. Or there may have been some other reason for this decision. Anyway it is certain that under the restored fortunes of the Vakatakas, the *vihara* cave, No. 1, of Ajanta and a little later the *vihara* cave, No. 2, were excavated, sculpted and painted for some Buddhist monk-communities probably by a descendant or successor of Varahadeva following the example of his illustrious predecessor.

It is thus clear that there was an interregnum in the political ascendency of the Basim branch of the Vakatakas and a restoration to power after about a decade or so and this is reflected indirectly at Ajanta itself where one can sense a gap of about fifteen to twenty years between the completion of Caves 16 and 17 and the commencement of Caves 1 and 2. Change in style is a phenomenon which is bound to occur with the passing of time even in one and the same guild. We may therefore suggest the commencement of Caves 1 and 2 between A.D. 520 and 525, that is about fifteen to twenty years after the completion of Caves 16 and 17. Caves 1 and 2 must have been completed about A.D. 540 to 545. These dates however are only approximations.

Even after the Vakataka sovereignty came to an end, work on Ajanta seems to have continued even though we have no painted caves later than Cave No. 2 which is the last of the painted *viharas* in Ajanta and somewhat later than the *vihara* cave, No. 1.

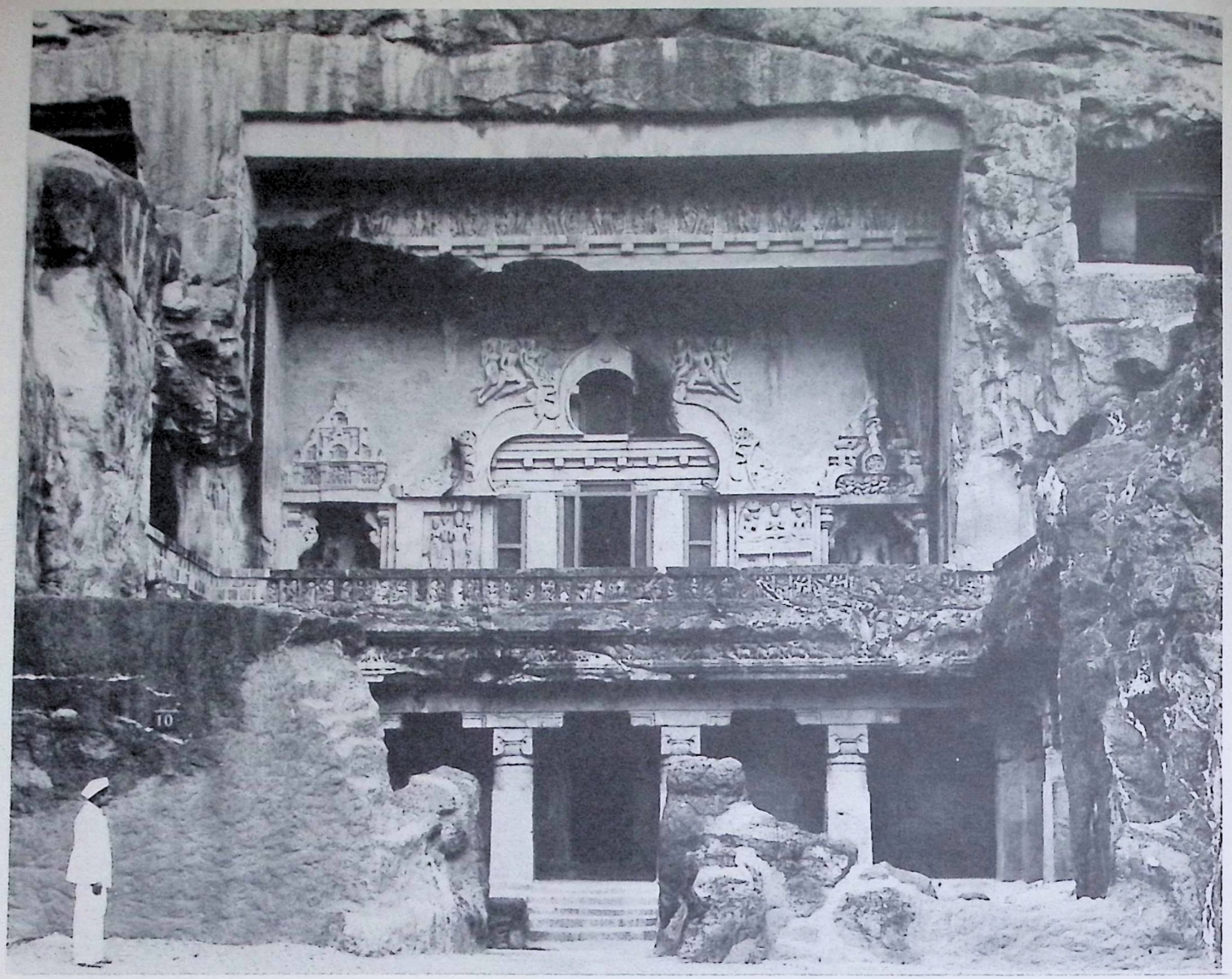
Ajanta unfolds on its walls the life of great courts mingling with an unending stream of human activity along with tales of piety and the Buddhist faith. It is not a vision of God but a vision of life itself in its varied manifestations. From our survey of the cave dwellings and the cave temples situated in the present Maharashtra, be it the Konkan or the Deccan, we can conclude that the stone carvers, stone sculptors and painters of these great monuments were sons of the soil. Though the Vakataka guilds worked in the Deccan area and not in the Konkan and so also the Konkan guilds did not work in the Deccan, a certain unity in style, though limited, can be discerned in the rock-cut creations of the Konkan and the Deccan, indicating some form of guild relationships though these may not be easy to define. The rock-cut monuments of the Konkan and those of the Deccan are equally a glorious heritage of the Maharashtra of today.



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Ellora

The last important group of cave temples which we may take note of are those of Ellora. The earliest of them is a Brahmanical excavation, namely Cave No. 21, known as the Rameshwara cave. The late Vakataka



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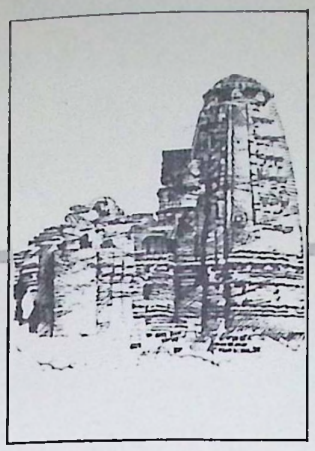
33 Facade of Vishvakarma Cave No. 10, Ellora
c. 7th century A.D.

influence of Ajanta is noticeable herein and it probably belongs to the late sixth century after the work in caves 1 and 2 of Ajanta had been completed by *c.* A.D. 550. The *Saptamatrika* group of this cave in particular evinces the influence of Ajanta wall paintings.

Ellora is renowned for its great Kailasanatha rock temple — a Rashtrakuta masterpiece both architecturally and sculpturally of the eighth century A.D. Ellora is a site of Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain rock-cut shrines though of different periods. But the work there appears to have been done without any religious animosities or any attempt to destroy the handiwork of one faith by the adherents of another. In fact, it has rarely been noted by scholars that the superb sculptures of the *Dashavatara* cave (Cave No. 15) are on the first floor of a storied excavation which originally was commenced as a Buddhist *vihara* like the Buddhist storied excavations of *Do Thal* and *Teen Thal,* but was for some reason abandoned and later utilised for the great Brahmanical sculpture gallery known today as the *Dashavatara* cave of the eighth century A.D. The Buddhist *chaitya* at Ellora is an innovation in *chaitya* architecture indicating a progression of ideas since the last days of Ajanta. A cave of singular interest is the *Dhumar Lena,* popularly known as the *Sita ka Makni* (Cave No. 29). Its interest lies in the fact that it has been excavated in imitation of the great cave of Elephanta. It is however, much later — being, in all probability, an eighth century excavation. The sculpture though impressive is nowhere comparable in sheer sculptural merit to that of Elephanta. A few writers who thought that this cave preceded that of Elephanta were obviously misled; this viewpoint is no longer regarded as acceptable. In the Jain caves also, though of the ninth century, there are sculptural achievements which are indeed praiseworthy as for instance the sculptures of Matanga and Siddayika in the main Jain cave as also that of Bahubali.

There are also ninth century paintings at Ellora both in the Kailasanatha shrine and in the Jain cave, No. 32.

With Ellora we come to the close of a great and unique achievement of cave architecture and sculpture in Maharashtra of all the three great religious creeds of India — an achievement unparalleled in any other part of the country.



Ancient Structures

A.P. Jamkhedkar

Almost half a century ago, Cousens, when studying the structural temples of the 'Dakhan', noted that built temples belonging to the period prior to that of the Yadavas (*c.* A.D. 1184-1310) were rarely encountered and he commented, "The earlier buildings are now, without exception, shaky and in a more or less dilapidated state. This is chiefly due to the material used in their construction—the amygdaloidal trap of the country, quarried, as a rule on the spot. Though a hard tough stone, it is full of flaws and minute cracks which render it very unsuitable for such parts as beams. The style of these buildings being trabeate, necessitating long beams in most cases, which were loaded with enormous masses of material above, the natural result has been that they have generally cracked through the middle."

In the time of the imperial Yadavas, dry masonry stone temples became popular in Maharashtra. Before the Yadavas the Chalukyas of Badami in the south and the Pratiharas in the north erected dry masonry stone temples and each evolved a distinctive regional style. The Rashtrakutas (*c.* A.D. 753-966) of Ellora, however, preferred to create their temples by cutting into the rock. This predilection resulted ultimately in the carving of the rock from top to bottom to give a temple its full shape. The Kailasa temple which was commissioned by Krishna I (A.D. 757-772) is a marvel; the temple created at Ellora is not merely a piece of architecture—it is a gigantic sculpture!

The desire to excavate rather than build a shrine did not result out of the fear of transgressing the thousand-year tradition of carving out caves but also stemmed from practical considerations such as the quality of rock available in the Deccan. The amygdaloidal trap found in the Deccan was not suitable for the type of construction which evolved in India during the time of the Guptas, which resulted in the loading of a trabeated structure with the help of sculpted architectural members which were fixed into each other without any cementing material. The trabeated structure, moreover, consisted of long beams made of rock. The surviving examples of temples built in this mode with trap rock have many times given way due to the heavy load of the pile above. Why and how the Yadavas brought about a change in this tradition it is difficult to say; but it is because of their efforts, more particularly of their Chief Minister, Hemadri, that the dry masonry style of architecture took roots in Maharashtra; and later prospered. The minister was popularly known as Hemadpant and that is why the temples built in the usual traditional dry masonry style are popularly known as Hemadpanti temples in Maharashtra, regardless of whether they were built before or after Hemadpant's time. These temples differ from the relatively modern, or post-Yadava temples, which are built of stone and brick with lime mortar as cementing material.

Pre-Yadava Structural Temples at Ramtek

The imperial Yadavas patronised and popularised the structural temples in Maharashtra, side by side with rock-cut architecture which continued during their regime and out-lived their period. Until a decade ago, the earliest Hemadpanti temple was believed to be the Shiva temple at Ambernath (Thane District) which was repaired in A.D. 1060 by the Shilahara king, Munmuniraja, who ruled the northern Konkan from his capital at Thane. But recent researches of the present author have proved that in the ancient land of Maharashtra (comprising Vidarbha, Ashmaka and Kuntala, roughly corresponding to the present Berar, western Maharashtra and northern Karnataka) had some of the earliest specimens of structural temples which can be compared with the specimens of architecture that flourished under the patronage of the Guptas and their feudatories on the one hand and the rock-cut caves at Ajanta on the other. Constructed *c.* A.D. 415-450, these temples are definitely anterior to the creation of the Mahayana caves of Ajanta executed in the times of Harisena (*c.* A.D. 465-485), the last illustrious king of the Vakataka dynasty.

And these are important from the point of view of the history of architecture in the Deccan. With the discovery of the seven Vakataka shrines at Ramtek (Nagpur District), however, the antiquity of the temple architecture has been pushed back by about six hundred years. Yet there still remains a gap of an equal number of years between the temples at Ramtek and the so-called Hemadpanti temples of the Yadava times.

This temple group at Ramtek, constructed within a span of 50 years, is important because it represents a variety of temple plans which reflect the genius of the architects at the Vakataka court. This group is also significant in that these temples exist within close proximity of the royal capital of the Vakatakas (modern Nagardhan, ancient Nandivardhana, 8 km. from Ramtek) and reveal a graph of development in the temple-plan.

The Trivikrama shrine seems to develop the plan a step further by the addition of a pavilion which is attached to the front of the sanctum-sanctorum. In contrast to the plain *mandapa* (open porch) of the Varsha shrine which lacks decoration on the exterior, this porch-like *mandapa* has a frieze of *ganas* (dwarfs) on the outer surface of the wall. The two different shrines of Narasimha show an advance over the earlier shrine of Trivikrama. To use a later term, these are *sandhara* (dark) shrines. Both the pavilions of each shrine are surrounded by complete walls. In other words there is a covered *Pradakshina-patha* (circumambulatory path) around the *cella* and a closed wall in front for the *mandapa*. The railing pattern on the exterior of the wall is similar to the one on the wall of the Trivikrama temple, but devoid of the *yaksha* figures. The *yakshas* now occupy a prominent position on the door jambs of the entrance to the shrine. The Bhogarama temple manifests a further development in its plan. Its two *cellas* set side by side with a narrow dividing passage have a common *antarala* (vestibule) and an open porch in the front.

From the decorative motifs as also other architectural constituents, all these temples are definitely of the Vakataka period. More certainty and weight to this assessment is given by an inscription of the time of Prabhavati Gupta, wife of Rudrasena II (*c.* A.D. 395-400) and mother of the illustrious Pravarasena II (*c.* A.D. 425-450), found on the wall of the Kevala Narasimha shrine. From the inscriptional evidence as well as the architectural style this whole development seems to have taken place *c.* A.D. 400-450. It is also significant, in view of the antiquity of this architectural movement, that one of the temples in this group, i.e. Guptarama, is a cave *cum* structural temple. The tradition of cave architecture of the Deccan, this shows, was still lingering in this area.

Around the fourth century A.D., a new movement in stone-built structures was evident in northern India. It received an impetus in the prosperous empire of the Guptas, and spread all over India with the armies of Samudragupta. Forest areas, Vindhyan and sub-Vindhyan regions registered their own reactions to this movement in the form of the temples at Eran, Nachna-Kuthara and Bhumara. Parallels to the monuments, but with their own nuances, are evident in the work of the architects under the patronage of the Vakataka kings at Paunar and Ramtek. Only the sculptured figures decorating the Vishnu temple at Paunar remain today and sufficiently express the grandeur of the monument. Those at Ramtek shrewdly blend elements drawn from early Buddhist architecture of the Deccan with those from the north and integrate the clever use of different raw materials such as the local trap rock and sandstone. The result was an evolution of a new temple form from the existing models. These temples form a bridge between the architectural traditions of the north and the south and are an independent expression of the Deccanese architect.

Early Brick Temples

Parallel to the tradition of stone temples and even prior to it is that of brick construction. The earliest amongst all ancient constructions and perhaps the more perishable are those of wood. The fact that the artists who cut the rock surface to create the celebrated caves were referred to as *selavaddhaki* (carpenters of the rock) shows clearly the prime rank occupied by the wooden tradition in Indian architecture. The early brick temples used wooden members for certain vital parts.

The earliest living evidence of such a brick temple, presently enshrining a twelfth century Trivikrama image of the later Chalukyan period, is at Ter. The moderately shaped shrine measures 26 ft. by 12 ft., is apsidal in plan and has a gable front with a *gavaksha* (window) similar to that in the Vishvakarma cave at Ellora. The temple is usually dated to the fifth century A.D. The earliest specimen of such an apsidal brick structure of similar proportions (9m. x 5m.) enshrining the remains of a brick stupa of moderate proportions (1.5 sq. m.) — is dated to the second century A.D. The surmise that the Brahmanical Trivikrama shrine was originally a similar structure enshrining a *chaityagriha* stupa has thus gained some ground.

Other specimens of a somewhat later (sixth century A.D.) period are the temples of Uttareshvara and Kaleshvara. Uttareshvara has a square plan and a tower which rises in tiers like a Dravidian spire. The *kudu* (*gavaksha*) and crocodile motif on the architectural members emphasize the southern character of the spire. The most striking feature of the shrine is its wooden doorway, now preserved in the Ter museum. On the lintel is preserved a group of divinities which include the Brahmanical triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. This door frame of the brick temple is important because it illustrates brick and wooden traditions of ancient architecture. The brick temple at Nagra, near Gondia (Bhandara District) is another important brick temple belonging to

1 Facade, Trivikrama Temple
c. 5th century A.D.
Ramtek Hill (Dist. Nagpur)

2 Trivikrama Image, Trivikrama Temple
c. 5th century A.D.
Ramtek (Dist. Nagpur)

3 Facade, Kevala Narasimha Temple
c. 415-430 A.D.
Ramtek Hill (Dist. Nagpur)

4 Detail of door-jambs, Kevala Narasimha Temple
Ramtek (Dist. Nagpur)

5 Sculpture, Bhogarama Temple
c. 5th century A.D.
Ramtek Hill (Dist. Nagpur)

6 Guptarama Temple
c. 5th century A.D.
Ramtek Hill (Dist. Nagpur)

7 Nagara Shrine, Panchayatana of Gondeshvara
c. 13th century A.D.
Sinnar (Dist. Nasik)

8 Trivikrama Temple
c. 3rd-5th century A.D.
Ter (Dist. Osmanabad)

9 *Bhuta Pranala* (brick temple)
c. 6th century A.D.
Nagra (Dist. Bhandara)

10 Mahadeva Temple
Jhodge (Dist. Nasik)

11 Wooden door-frame, Uttareshvara Temple
c. 6th century A.D.
Ter (Dist. Osmanabad)

12 Detail of Lintel, Uttareshvara Temple
c. 6th century A.D.
Ter (Dist. Osmanabad)

13 Nagara Tower, Vishnu Temple
Dhodambe (Dist. Nasik)

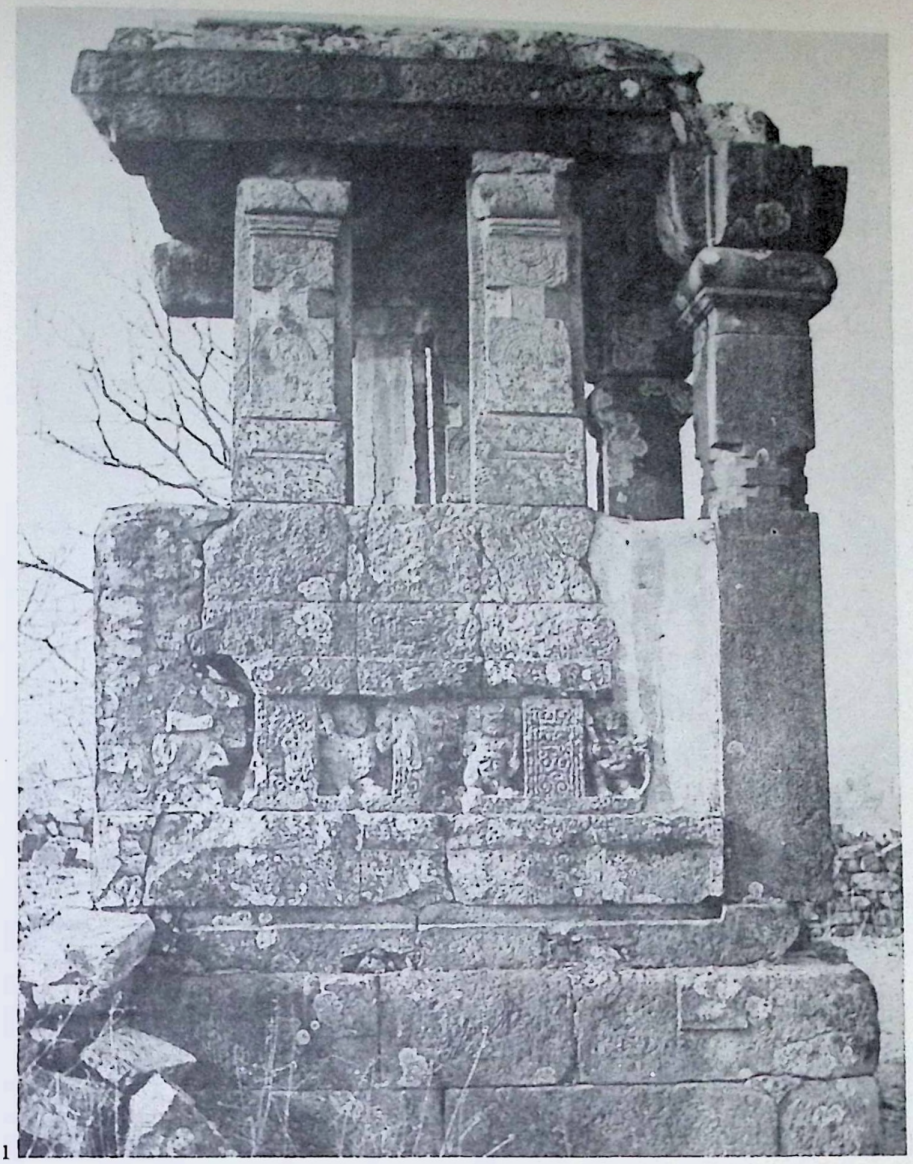
14 Kopeshvara Temple
Khidrapur (Dist. Kolhapur)

15 Temples
c. 11th century A.D.
Markandi (Dist. Chandrapur)

16 Gondeshvara Temple
Sinnar (Dist. Nasik)

17 Shiva Temple
c. 1060 A.D.
Ambernath (Dist. Thane)

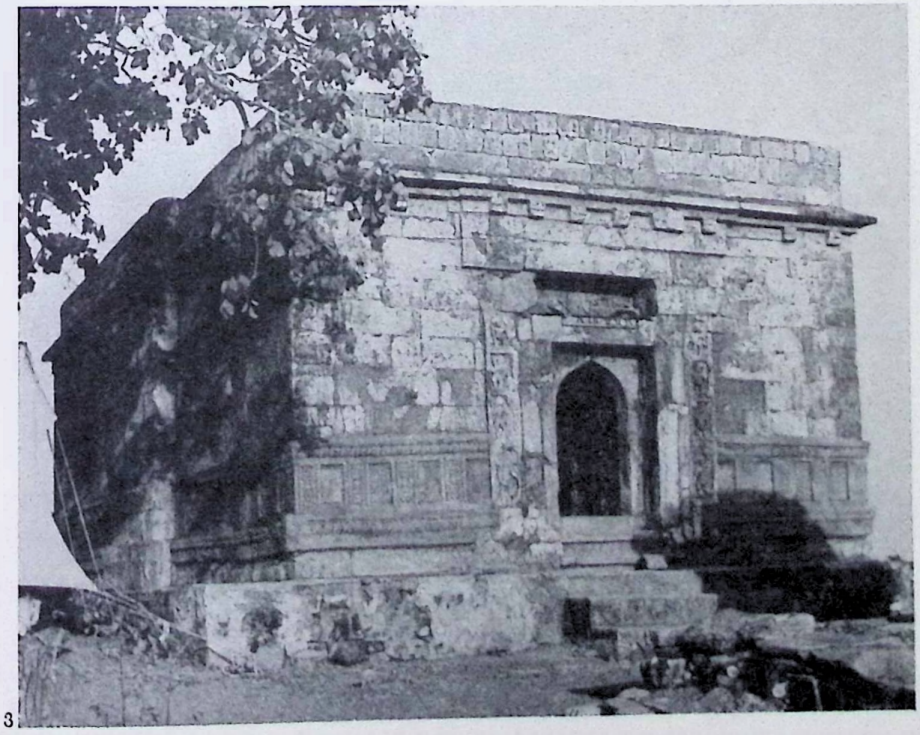
18 Hero Stones
Shilahara period
Eksar (Dist. Thane)



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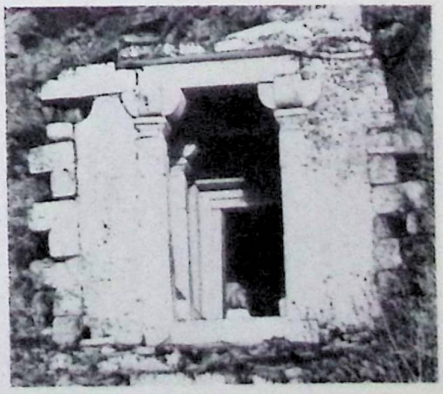
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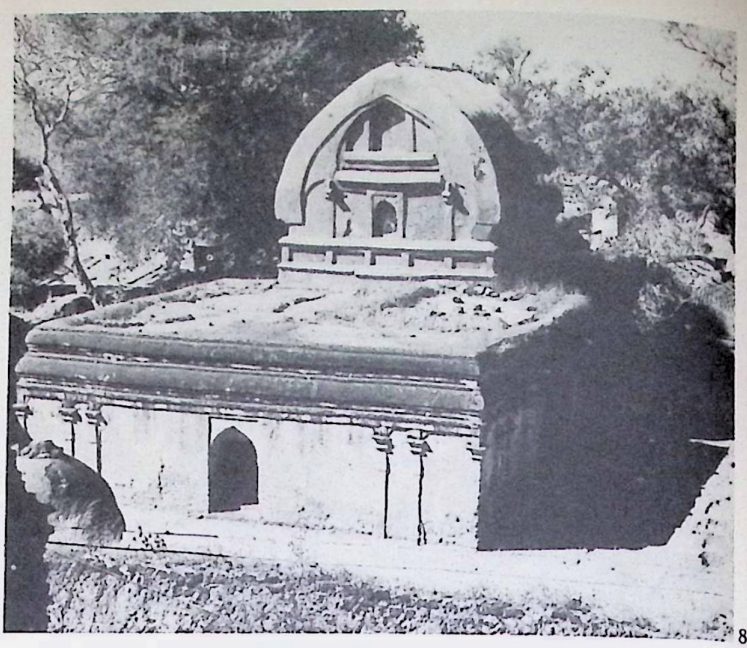
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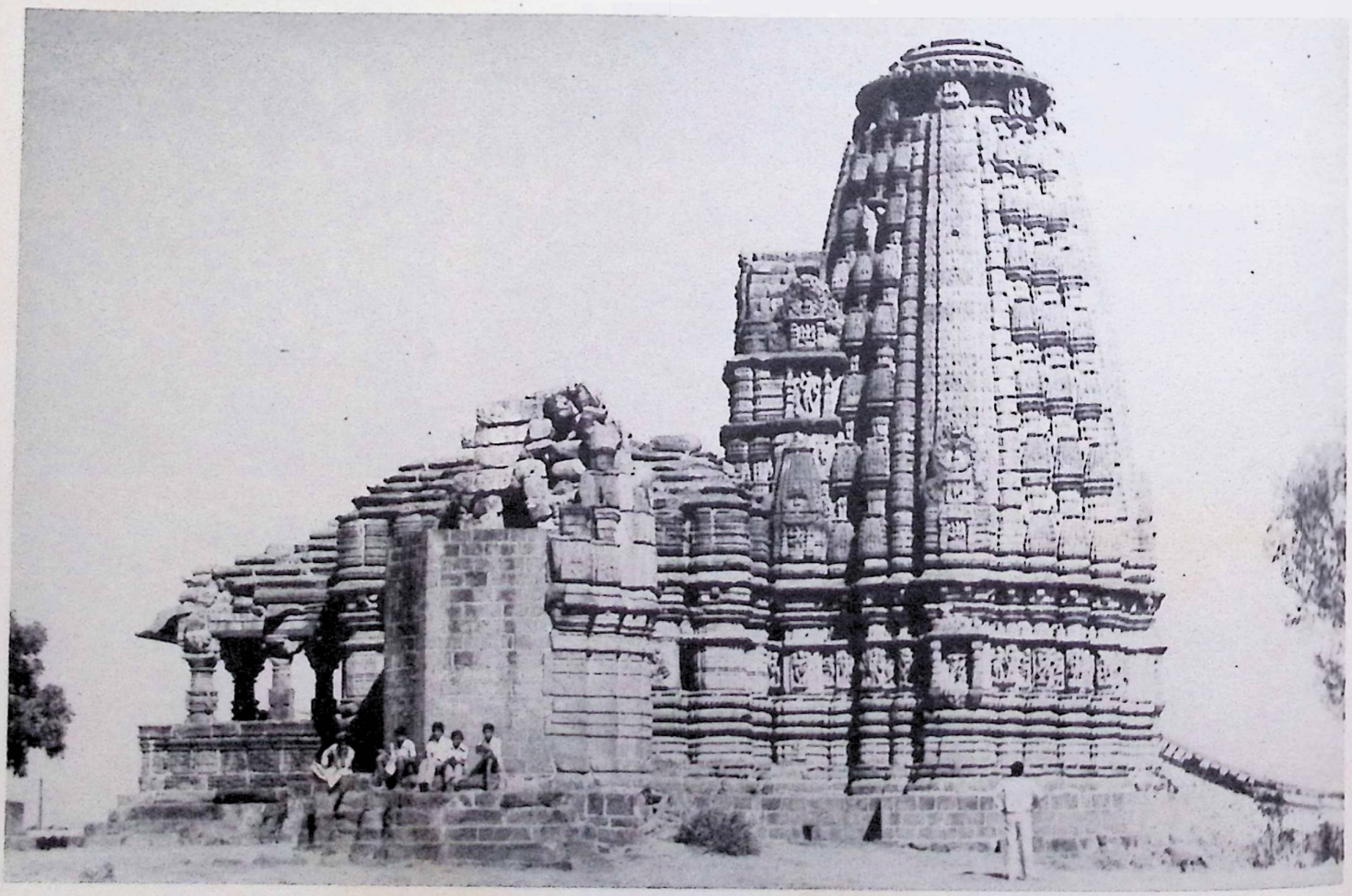
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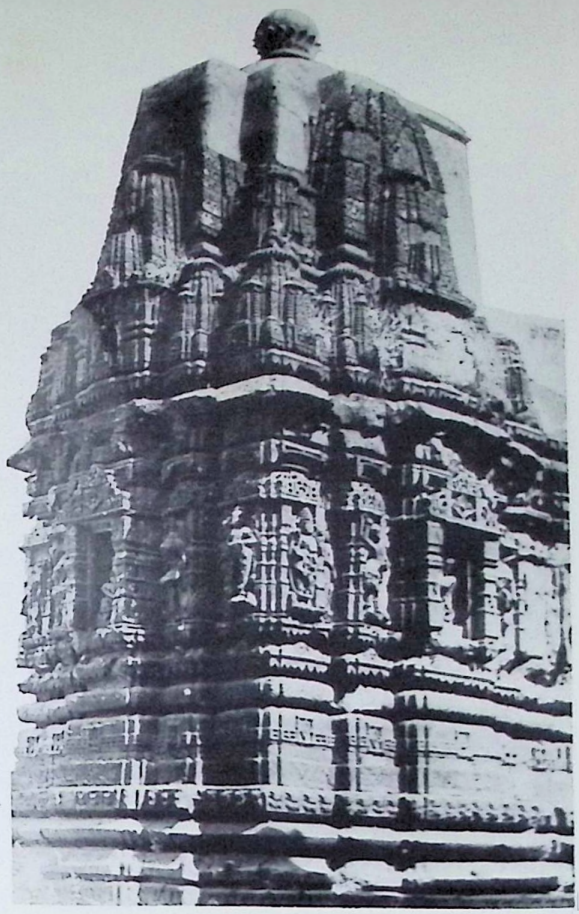
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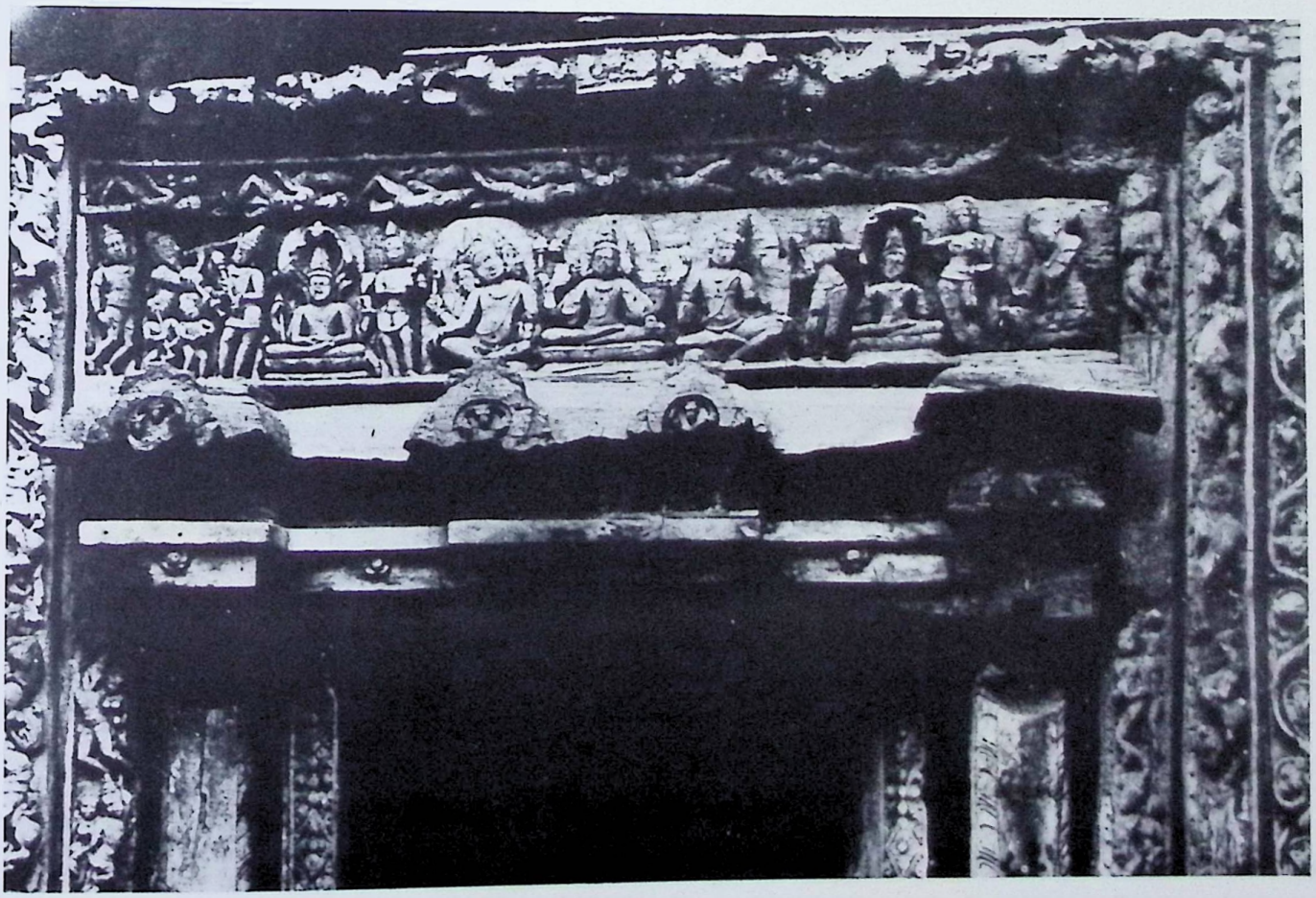
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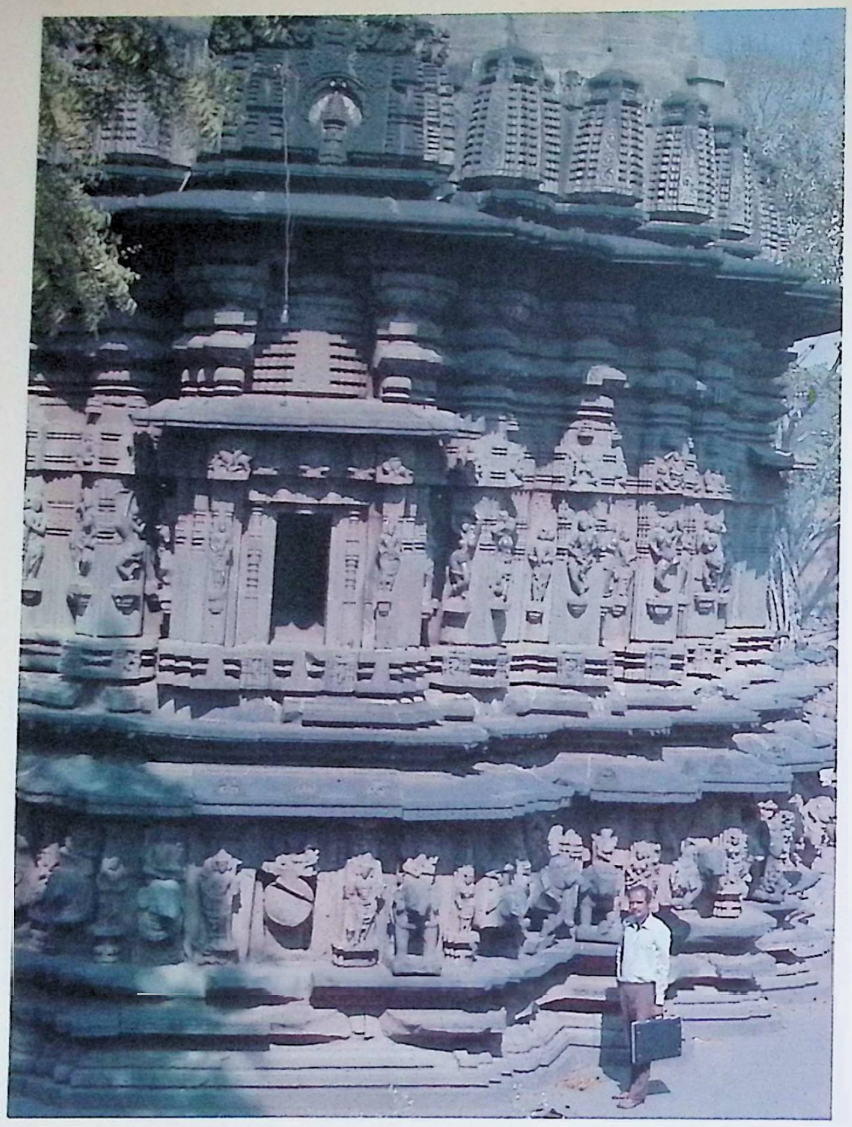
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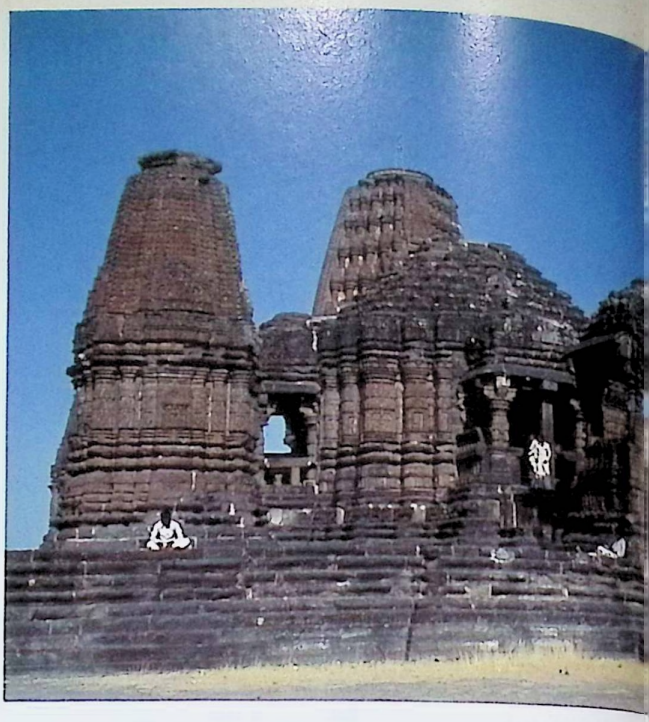
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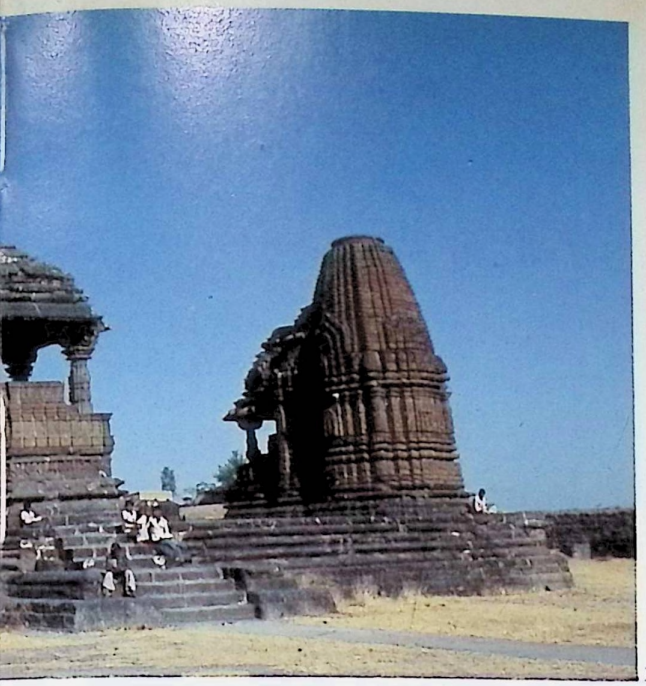
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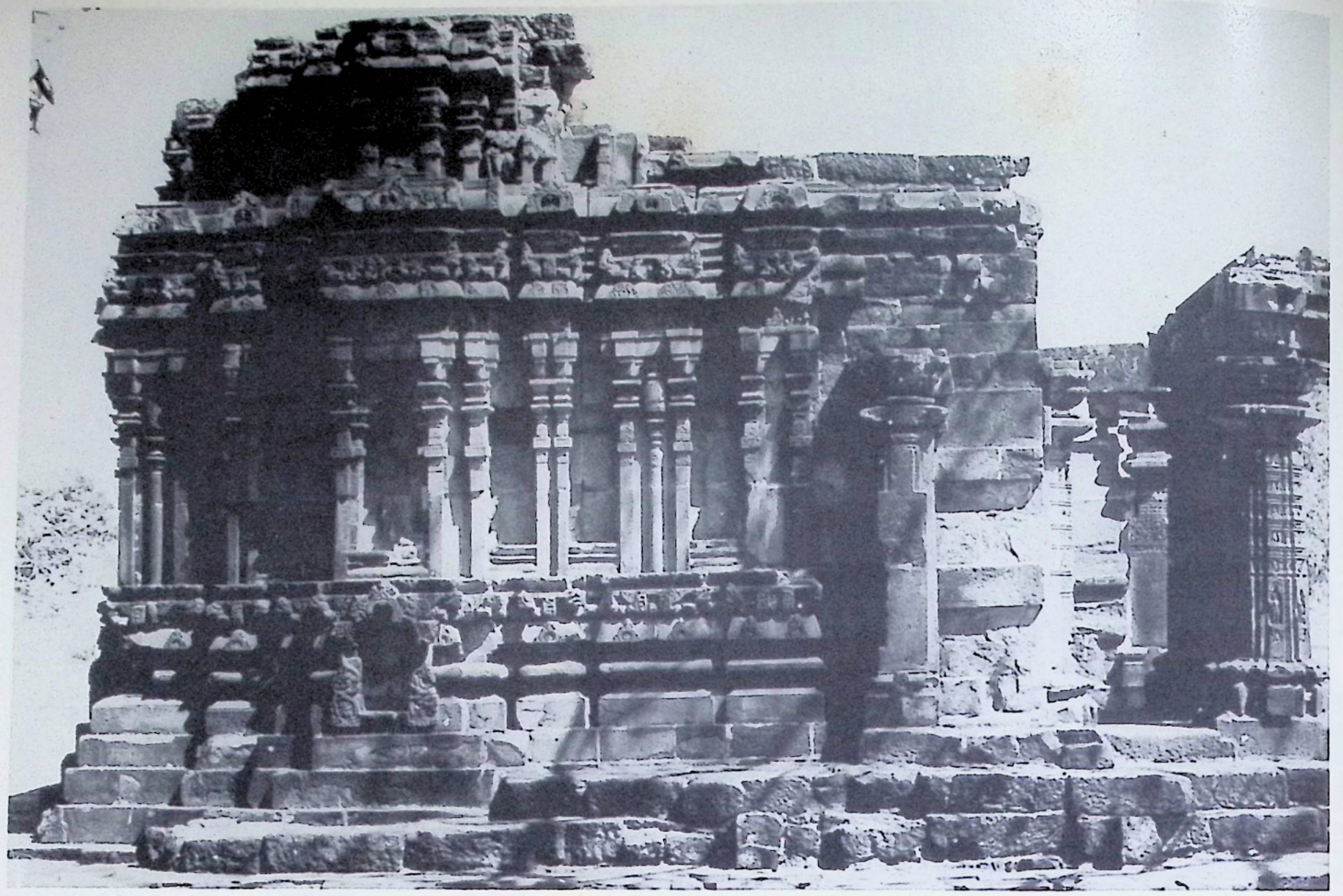
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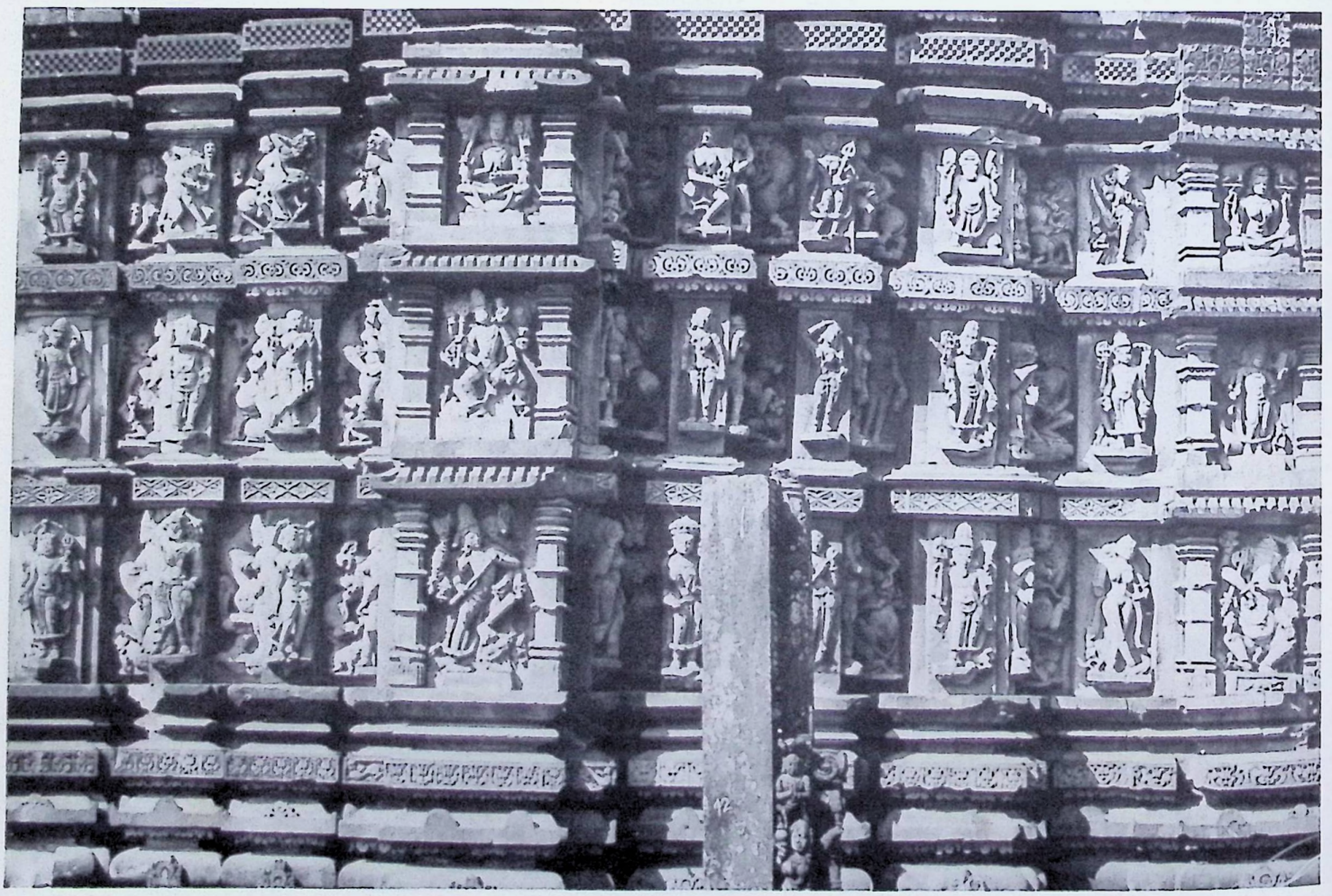
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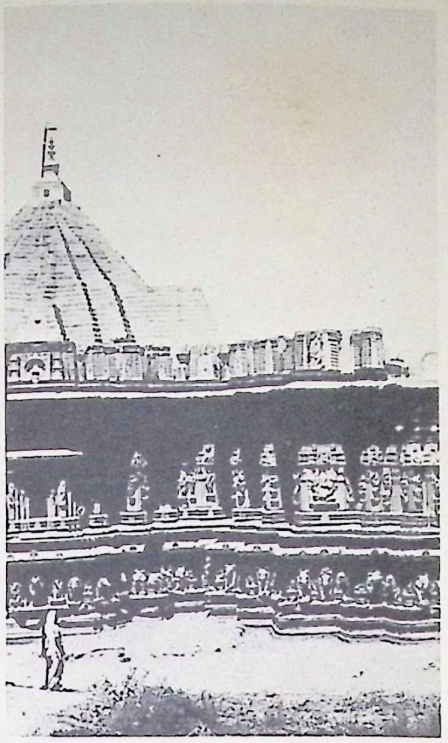
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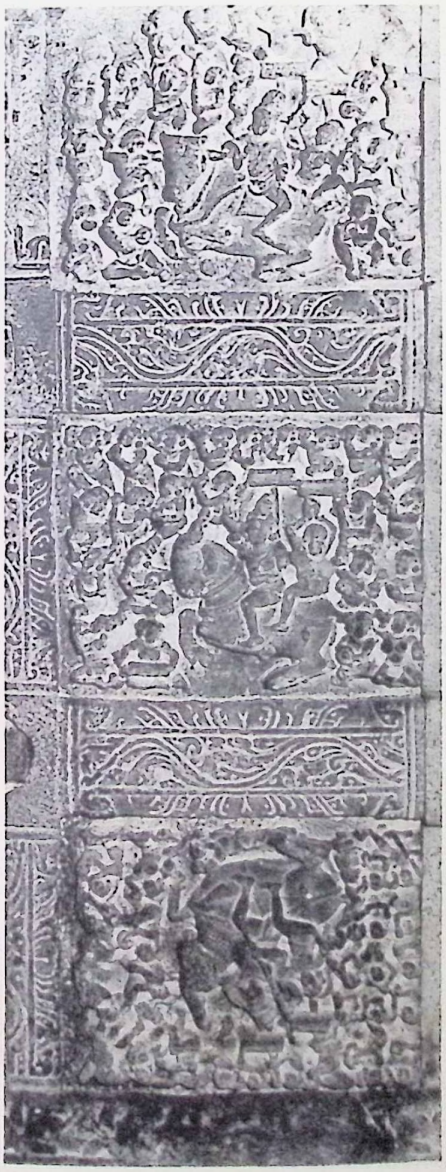
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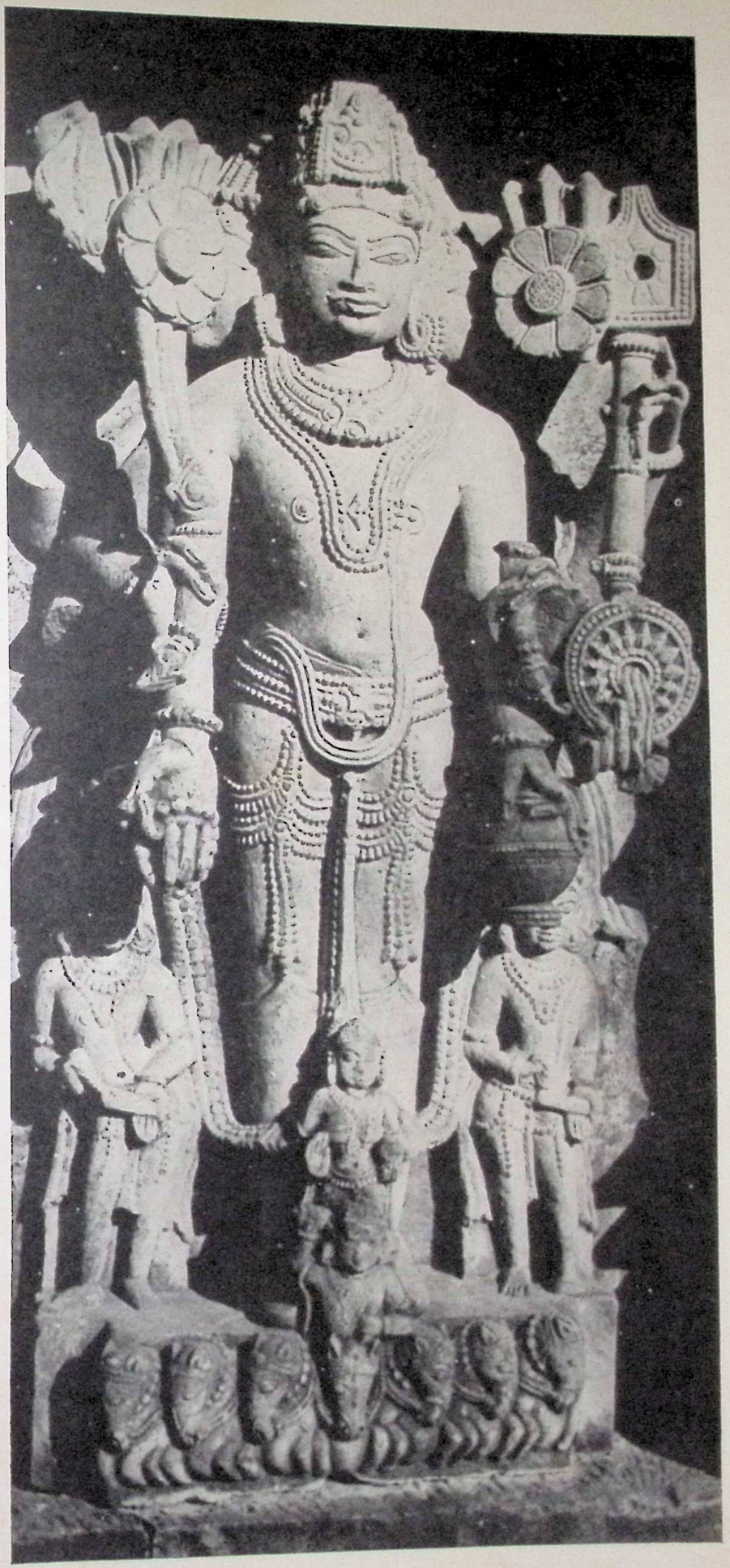
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the late fifth century A.D. The platform on which the temple was erected still remains and gives a clue to the plan of the main shrine. More fascinating is the decoration of the platform itself. To avoid monotony its outline is broken into projections and recesses which are decorated with a railing pattern which was popular at that time in central India. The *cella* probably enshrines a *linga* (phallic symbol) and the ablution water was carried out through an outlet fitted with a *bhuta* (demon face) in place of the usual *makara* (crocodile) head.

Post-Rashtrakuta Architecture

The Chalukyas were the kings who proclaimed themselves as the rulers of the three Maharashtrakas – Vidarbha, Ashmaka and Kuntala. The word Maharashtra as the name of the province does not occur prior to this record in any other dated inscription known to us. Though the Vakatakas were the pioneers in the building of structural stone temples, it was the Chalukyas who made them popular. They built several shrines in northern Karnataka – mainly at Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami. Most of the Chalukyan shrines are built in Nagara i.e., the north Indian style, while some show an affinity with Pallava shrines of the Dravidian order. The Chalukyas also commissioned temples to be carved out of rock as at Aihole and Ellora. Interestingly, all their structural creations are outside present-day Maharashtra while their rock-cut shrines are mostly within its boundaries. There is an inscriptional reference to a Jain shrine constructed at Alte in the Kolhapur District during the time of the Chalukya king, Ranagara, in A.D. 488. However, this shrine has remained untraced so far.

A similar phenomenon is repeated in the Rashtrakuta period. A large number of caves were excavated at Ellora under the patronage of Rashtrakuta kings such as Krishna. The activity of carving monasteries for Buddhist monks practically comes to a halt at this time and is replaced by that of Hindu temples. The Kailasa temple is the acme of this activity; but, there are hardly any structural temples. Although there is inscriptional mention of a sun temple at Mahadgrama (modern Mehrun,

19 Ayeshvara Temple
Sinnar (Dist. Nasik)

20 Wall Exterior,
Markandeshvara Temple
Markandi (Dist. Chandrapur)

21 Kopeshvara Temple
c. 13th century A.D.
Khidrapur (Dist. Kolhapur)

22 Ceiling of vestibule depicting regents of directions, Ayeshvara Temple
Sinnar (Dist. Nasik)

23 Hari-hara-pitamaharka,
wall of Markandeshvara Temple

24 Matsyendranatha, *Putala Barav*
c. 13th century A.D.
Sindkhedraja (Dist. Buldana)

25 *Putala Barav*
c. 13th century A.D.
Sindkhedraja (Dist. Buldana)

26 Hero-stones
c. 13th century A.D.
Balsane (Dist. Dhulia)



24



25



26

Jalgaon District) of Khandesh, no remains of it can be traced.

After the Rashtrakutas, smaller dynasties ruled in different regions of Maharashtra as feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyana (near Bijapur in Karnataka) in the twelfth century A.D. Thereafter, came the rule of the Imperial Yadavas. Another noteworthy dynasty, which ruled the Kolhapur-Miraj area, and the north and south Konkan, was that of the Shilaharas, whose three branches ruled from Thane, Balipattana (Kharepatan in the Sindhudurg District) and from Panhala (Kolhapur District).

The temple at Ambernath can claim the honour of being the earliest surviving post-Rashtrakuta temple. It was repaired in A.D. 1060 by one Munmuniraja Shilahara (c. A.D. 1045-1070) who also probably constructed it. This temple, dedicated to Shiva, is damaged but sufficient parts of the tower remain to indicate its architecture and stylistic affiliations.

The exterior of the shrine presents a beautiful play of light and shade because of the off-sets introduced on the outline of the hall as also of the *cella*. The off-sets on the main wall surface are decorated with beautiful figure sculptures related to many Vaishnava and Shaiva themes from the *Puranas*. The Vaishnava themes, in addition to the usual *avataras* (incarnations) such as Narasimha, include also some of the twenty-four forms of Vishnu. The Shaiva and related themes include Kali, Mahisamardhini, Ganesha, Nataraja, and certain rare forms such as Kalyanasundara, Lingodbhava and Yamantaka forms of Shiva. The interior of the shrine reveals lavishly carved surfaces.

This temple form follows the Bhumija *prasada* (temple) style which is supposed to have evolved in the Malwa region where we have a contemporary example in the Udayeshvara temple at Udaipur in Malwa. The Bhumija form was different from the Nagara variety of *prasada* from Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh which had a carvilinear *shikhara* tower decorated either with smaller tower replicas of varied sizes and placed at different levels but attached to the main tower (Shekhari variety) or the tower's body decorated with turret bands (Latina variety). The Bhumija had a series of uniform miniature towers arranged vertically and horizontally between the bands on the cardinal directions. These vertical bands could be three or five, and could consist of five, six or seven *kutas* (towers) which were referred to as *bhumis* (storeys). The shape of the *cella* could be *caturasra* (orthogonal), *ashtrabhadra* (octagonal), or *vritta* (circular). All these varieties are seen represented in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Though Malwa was the land of its origin, the Bhumija form was also very popular in Maharashtra. Almost all the structural temples which were built in the realm of the Shilaharas of north Konkan and the Yadavas are of the Bhumija variety, especially the orthogonal type. Medieval Maharashtrians regarded the Bhumija form of temples as their regional expression. Several examples of this form were commissioned through the centuries. Noteworthy among these are the temple No. 1 at Balsane (Dhulia District, eleventh century A.D.), the Mahadeva temple at Jhodge (Nasik District, twelfth century A.D.), the Gondeshvara temple at Sinnar (Nasik District, thirteenth century A.D.) the temples at Ratanwadi and Tahakari (Ahmednagar District), the one at Gursala, Shambhu Mahadeva and Amriteshvara at Shinganapur (all in the Satara District), the Vishnu Temple at Satgav and the Sakeshvara temple at Sakegaon (Buldana District, thirteenth century A.D.), the Shiva temple at Kokamthan (Ahmednagar District). The last has its tower built in brick and probably it was a part of the original structure.

Among these the Gondeshvara temple is remarkable because it is a *panchayatana* (five-shrined temple). The towers of the subsidiary shrines at Gondeshvara, however, are the Nagara Latina type and show that shrines with Nagara towers were current in Maharashtra in the Yadava period. Other examples of this form of architecture belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the Jain temples at Anjaneri, and the Hindu temples at Dhodambe (both located in the Nasik District) and the temples at Sangameshvara (Ratnagiri District).

Shilahara Temples at Khidrapur

The Shilahara temples at Khidrapur (Kolhapur District) are remarkable in that they differ from the remaining Deccanese shrines which are usually of Bhumija form, and that they evince a deep mark of influence of the later Chalukyan temples which are a class by themselves. This is revealed in the pillar order which comprises components as though turned on a lathe, the grilled windows in the *sabhamandapa* (closed hall) and the sculptures. The inscription in Kannada points towards the same conclusion.

Both the Jain and the Shiva shrine at present have a Maratha tower built over the *cella* but the Kopeshvara temple attracts attention because of its bigger dimensions, elaborate architectural scheme and richness of sculptural forms.

The open *mandapa* scheme has a striking resemblance to the Sun temple of Modhera in Gujarat.

Perhaps the eleventh century Ayeshvara temple at Sinnar has a better claim in the fold of specimens of Chalukyan architecture in Maharashtra. The pillars, the vestibule with the *dikpala* (regents of the directions) slab on the ceiling and the Dravidian form of the tower on the *cella* all indicate a Chalukyan origin. The sculpture in the edifice is superb enough to have still retained some flavour of the Rashtrakuta sculpture.

The temples at Mankandi (Chanda District) impress the visitor with their rich profusion of sculpture, their architectural similarity with Kalachuri monuments of central India and

their affinity with the monuments at Khajuraho which belong to the same cult.

The most attractive of them all is the Markanda Rishi temple. Like the temples at Khajuraho, it has a beautiful wall surface decorated in three registers depicting *apsaras* (heavenly damsels) in different moods, and a variety of griffins. The spaces in between are embellished with narrative panels from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The simple *ashishthana* socle is endowed with *amrabhanjikas* (women bending the bough of the mango tree)—a novel introduction.

The depiction of Vasus, Hariharapitamaharka, Subramanya, Vilakshana Sadashiva and the repetition of *dikpalas* along with their spouses on the wall surface of the hall are the iconographic and cultic details which take this temple group closer to the Khajuraho tradition.

Step-Wells and Memorial Stones

The trends observed in temple architecture prevail in other forms of architectural and sculptural expressions such as the step-wells and memorial stones. Both these forms occur in Maharashtra from the eighth century.

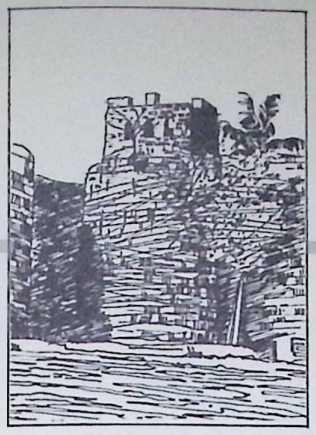
The development of temple sites into sacred places as well as the concept that a visit to them destroys sin, resulted in the transformation of many temple sites into centres of pilgrimage. Often fairs were held at these sacred sites. This necessitated the building of *kundas* (sacred tanks) and step-wells. The idea was not alien to ancient Maharashtra; there are some examples of old step-wells (Marathi *barav*, Sanskrit *dvaravati*) at Aihole (Dharwad District) and Kandhar (Nanded District). But the idea, it seems, took stronger roots during the Yadava period. There are several examples of such *kundas* or *baravs* from this period which are found at Khambpimpri (Ahmednagar District), Methi (Dhulia District), Hottal (Nanded District), Velapur (Solapur District), Gursala (Satara District). There are two such wells at Sindkhedraja—one of which is near the Nila Kanteshvara Temple. The other is locally known as *Putala Barav*, because of the sculptured figures on its walls. When the quarrying of the stone for erecting the temple was done, the resulting ditch was considered suitable for conversion into a step-well. Traces of such a pond are seen near the Gondeshvara Temple at Sinnar. Often these wells were provided with small shrines on the landings which broke the slope of the flight of steps, and were also adorned with images of water and other divinities. Such decorative sculptures often reveal the religious affiliations of the person who commissioned them. For example, the *Putala Barav* has a prominently placed image of Matsyendranath, propounder of the Nath cult, and indicates the preponderance of this Nath cult during the late Yadava period (thirteenth century A.D.).

Western India, especially Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa, was the land where the practice of erecting stone memorials for ancestors and heroes originated. The *govardhanas* (memorial stones) were erected in memory of heroes who died while fighting the cattle-lifters, while *paliyas* were mostly memorial stones erected in tribute to ancestors and *satis* who were held in esteem for evident reasons.

Maharashtra along with Karnataka has a tradition for what are known as *viragals*, literally hero-stones. The pastoral areas have stone slabs raised in memory of those heroes who defended their cattle. The other two types of stone are connected with heroes embracing death on the battlefield and their chaste wives accompanying them on the funeral pyres. Some stones commemorated religious suicide. The hero-stones from Bid (Kolhapur District), specimens of Shilahara hero-stones from the Town Hall Museum (Kolhapur) are good examples of the second category. The Eksar memorial stones from Borivli commemorate the sea battle fought by Shilahara sailors. A group of memorial stones from the Nirmal area of Sopara illustrates how saints, whether Shaiva or Buddhist, were commemorated by their lay devotees.

Formwise also, the memorial stones in Maharashtra have followed the traditions from Rajasthan and Gujarat. While some early Chalukya and Yadava period hero-stones are in the form of square pillars, many of the later period, like *paliyas*, are in the form of stone slabs. The square pillar provided more opportunity and space for depiction of tutelary divinities and seems generally to belong to an earlier period; while the slabs are usually covered with relief sculpture on one side only. The stone face of the latter is divided into three or four panels showing (i) the battle scene; (ii) the dead being consumed by fire, sometimes with his wife; (iii) the hero being carried by celestial damsels; (iv) the hero in his heavenly abode offering worship to the deity of choice —Shivalinga or Jina, Mahalakshmi or a stupa as the case may be.

The history of religious architecture in Maharashtra, in its early phases is dominated by the rock-cut architecture. Along with other regions, Maharashtra came under the influence of the Guptas, and this led to the development of structural stone architecture in Maharashtra. There are examples of wooden and brick architecture also. But a forceful attempt towards erecting structural temples was made only under the patronage of later Chalukyas, Yadavas and Shilaharas. After integrating certain features from the southern regions, temple-building in Maharashtra showed preference for the Bhumija form. The style prospered in Maharashtra. At the same time forms such as the Chalukyan and Kalachuri were not unwelcome. As in other spheres, Maharashtra has served as a region for integrating cultural forces and inspirations from surrounding regions; it is centripetal and not centrifugal. Maharashtra has been a cultural corridor between the north and the south.



Medieval Monuments

Shankar Menon

Man confronted by massif reacts with emotion, instinct and sensitivity. At Darjeeling's Tiger Hill at sunrise, as the clouds roll away from the dazzling mountain tops of the Himalayas, sea-shore chatter is stilled, the dawn cup of tea left nervelessly halfway to the lips. The Chinese landscape painter retreats into realisation of his total insignificance before awesome hills and valleys. The Maratha warrior, on the other hand, bends the terrain of stone and granite to his own will, flinging battlements and terraces across the Sahyadris, thrusting out his broad chest of defence in the establishment of a *Pad-Padshahi* against the conquerors from the steppes of Central Asia.

Medieval Indian history in the present area of Maharashtra saw the apotheosis of fort architecture and construction during the glories of Shivaji's Maratha empire. Yet, before 1646 when Shivaji began to assert himself by publishing his own seals at the age of 16 till his death in 1680, there was a substantial network of forts that had already been built in coastal and western Maharashtra. This state, by the grace of nature, had ideal terrain where the architectural extravagances of fort construction could be indulged. The geological outpouring of molten lava over the countryside had filled the river valleys of pre-history into plateaus and plains. Over the millennium, soft dry rocks were eroded by rain and rivers, but the resistance of the harder material gave the geography of Maharashtra a strange uneven shape of its own. The Ghats, the irregular rows of the Sahyadri mountains which begin where Bombay is now and chase each other into stupendous hills and valleys until they exhaust themselves in the golden sands of Goa, serve as excellent sites for the erection of forts. The ancient rulers of the peninsula realised this and made full use of the geographical features. The proximity of the sea-shore to the rocky hills made it particularly feasible for the forts to be constructed at the mouth of a creek or river so that anyone passing the vast stretch of open land could be either observed or impeded.

More than 350 such forts have been built in this part of Maharashtra on strong boulders or just off the coast, in the sea itself. The forts of Kanderi, Alibag, Revdanda, Janjira, Bankot, Anuangad, Jaigad, Ratnagiri, Deogad and Savaranadurg are examples of this kind.

Forts

Though the common people believe that most of these forts were built by Shivaji, this is not so. *Durga* in Sanskrit means difficult or impregnable and is the synonym for fort. It is possible that many inaccessible places in the Sahyadri hills gave rise to the idea of *durga* and, over a period of time, led to its modern construction. Allusions to forts are found in the *Vedas* and the *Shilpa Shastra*—the ancient treatise on architecture—describes how the Kashyapas developed the art of individual protection which was later transformed into the art of collective protection with the conception of ramparts and trenches and other methods of defence.

Shivneri, where Shivaji was born, is likely to have been in the possession of the Buddhists during the third century B.C., as evident from the inscriptions on the walls and its huge and impressive tanks. In fact, the basement of the temple of Shivabai rests on a Buddhist cave. Centuries later, there was a reaction against Buddhism and the influence of the Brahmanical cult of Shankaracharya is reflected in the architecture of that period. The representation of Ganapati at Redi fort as well as the broken images found in the cells of the same fort indicate that it must have been possessed by a Hindu king of the Brahmanical cult. Several other forts in western and coastal Maharashtra were probably built by the Hindu king of the

Kalachuri, Andhrabhritya Shilahara and Yadava dynasties; while forts such as Panhala and Satara were built by Bhoja II of the Shilahara family. It is after the Mohammedan conquest of the Deccan during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries that buildings of a distinctive style began to appear within these forts. The Mohammedan influence becomes clearly discernible in the construction of some of the buildings and courtyards of the historical forts. When Shivaji conquered these forts and repaired them they were recast in his own image as at Raigad, Purandar, Sinhagad, Vijayadurg. Those of Sindhudurg at Malwan and Sadjilkot were entirely built by Shivaji.

The history of forts in Maharashtra reveals that many of them existed before Shivaji but this great Maratha warrior made full use of these forts in his struggle to establish his vast empire; he owed his success to this network of forts. In their effort to establish a new kingdom of their own, the Mawlis of Shivaji found the fortresses which were situated amongst dangerous precipices most useful for their guerilla warfare: to hide, to attack the enemy and to retreat. Shivaji's tactics of war are now part of the lore and legend of Indian military history. The forts of Torna, Raigad, Pratapgad, Rangna, Purandar and Sinhagad were useful until the days of the Peshwas, when battlefields changed from the rugged forts to the huge plains.

In conformity with the physical features of the land, forts were located on the main military highways such as the Ankai-Tankai—situated on the route from Manmad to Ahmednagar—and Balvantgad which commanded the Thal pass. Jivadhan, Chandan and Hadsal were built overlooking the Nana pass and the fort at Ratnagiri broods over the difficult Konkan Desh area. The Azamtara presided over Satara City while that of Purandar near Sasvad, guarded the roads leading to Pune.

In the early period of Maratha history, there were about 350 forts. These have been broadly categorised into the following types: hill forts, sea forts and forts on plains. There is also a category of *gadhis* (small residential fortresses).

Hill Forts (Giridurg)

The natural contours of geography were utilised in the best possible manner wherever a sufficiently large area spread over a summit of the Sahyadri Range. Since such constructions were naturally inaccessible from all sides, no further fortifications were necessary. The forts of Sinhagad, Purandar (15 miles from Pune), Satara, Panhala and several others are examples of forts with natural defences. From a distance, these citadels look gigantic and impressive. And their creation was not devoid of architectural skill. The fort at Panhala, for instance, where the P.W.D. Rest House is presently located, looks like an ordinary fortified mount situated on the brow of the hill when seen from the bottom of the hill. Yet when viewed from the top, the intricate craftsmanship in the decorative motifs on the arcade of the "Teen Darwaza," on the front portion of the granary and on various parts of the "Char Darwaza" are evident. The huge four walls, the large ponds based on the concept of bathing *ghats* and the temples with *deepmalas* are all exquisite examples of architectural variety.

For purposes of fortification, the walls were often erected in rows. For example, at Panhala there are three rows of thick, strong walls. On any moonlit night, when the stars are very near, the battles of long ago echo only in the clatter of the *chowkidar's* stave as he potters about on the verandah outside.

The forts of Manohar, Manasantosh and Sinhagad were places of strategic importance that were not fit for habitation since they were located at a tremendous height. In Raigad, the fort was well protected with fortified walls on rock and villagers from the neighbouring areas could provide supplies. The forts were served by large beautifully designed wells, tanks and ponds.

Sea Forts (Jaladurg)

The local word for sea fort is *janjira*—a corruption of the Arabic word *jazirah*, meaning island. Such forts were often built on an island within close proximity to the mainland. Apart from the advantage of spotting the enemy from the water, the occupants of such a fort could easily escape to the mainland. Other sea forts were generally built on the rock-broken coast of the Arabian Sea with a creek or a river in the vicinity. The forts of Bankot, Gopalgad, Jaigad, Deogad, Ratnagiri, Vijayadurg and Alibag are in the first category while the forts of Arnala (in the Bassein Taluka), Janjira (at Colaba) and Sindhudurg (at Malwan) are of the second kind.

All the forts on the rocky Konkan coast command a huge expanse of marine view on one side and a similarly large region of plateaus on the other. Looming over a creek or the mouth of a river, they controlled maritime traffic and prevented enemy vessels from entering the creek or river by the use of guns on the fort. Strangely, huge ditches have been cut within the massive walls of the fort. Deep ditches cut out of solid rock at Vijayadurg and Redi helped to prevent the enemy from entering the *balle killa*, which was the innermost citadel. It also protected the palaces, temples and other residential sites inside the fort.

The second category of island forts were built a few yards away from the sea-shore so that, at low tide, many of them could be approached from the mainland without the help of ferry boats. Because they were tucked away almost within the village or on the shore, their occupants had an unimpeded view of the surrounding countryside and could easily observe enemy movements. The enemy only discovered the existence of these

1 *Minars* or *Stambhas*, Fort Raigad

2 *Zunzar Machi*, Fort Torna

3 Fort Shivneri (birth place of Shivaji Maharaj)

4 Fort Pratapgad

5 Fort Lohagad

6 Shiva Temple
18th century A.D.
Mahuli

7 Fort Vijayadurg (Marine)

8 Image of Shivaji
Stone
Fort Sindhudurg

9 Main gate of Fort Sindhudurg (Marine)

10 Plan of a typical *wada*

11 Facade of a typical *wada*

forts when it arrived within the firing range, by which time it was too late. The sea-level location gave the people in the forts a tremendous advantage. Shivaji realised the strategic importance of these forts when he tried to capture Janjira which belonged to *Siddhi* Johar and, as a counterbalance, built the Sindhudurg fort at Malwan and later strengthened the defences by adding Sarjekot—a small fortress some yards away. After Shivaji, the sites of Janjira and Arnala were used by pirates as safe retreats and as convenient bases for their nefarious operations.

Forts on the Plains

High protuberances were selected for building plain forts which were used mainly for residential purposes. Any river that went through the town was channelled for the use of the fort—the natural scenery of the banks adding to the beauty of the construction. River banks were in need of artificial protection for strategic value and this was achieved through the erection of strong thick walls with towers which sheltered the sentinels and allowed garrisons to fire at the enemy. They contained secret passages built of laterite stone which facilitated escape during crisis.

Forts lacking natural obstacles usually possessed deep moats filled with water supplied by springs, an adjacent river or a lake. The Banda fort is a good example except that no surviving building of architectural merit now exists within, apart from a few tombs of Bijapur kings. The fortress of Savantwadi in Ratnagiri is another superb example of a fort built on a plain. The ditch around the main structure is more than 150 ft. wide and 100-200 ft. deep. Its water source was the nearby Moti Talav.

The fort of Solapur, on the other hand, does not have the advantage of a river. Its architectural characteristics, however, are similar. The wall heights varied from 30-70 ft., depending upon the natural situation of the fort.

In the Redi Vijayadurg forts, the walls are as high as 60 ft. while those of Sindhudurg and Malwan are about 30 ft. The width of these defence walls is 15 ft. This not only protected garrisons from direct attack but provided a platform from which guns could be fired at a besieging army.

Tremendous expense in the building of huge walls was saved with the use of large solid

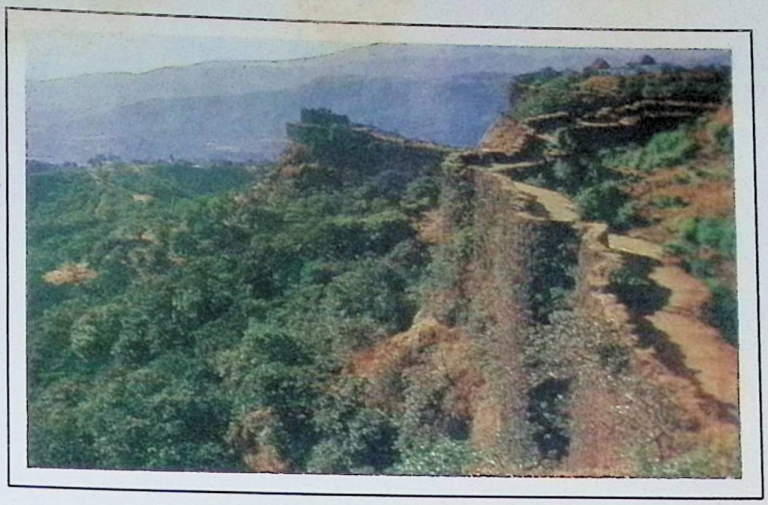


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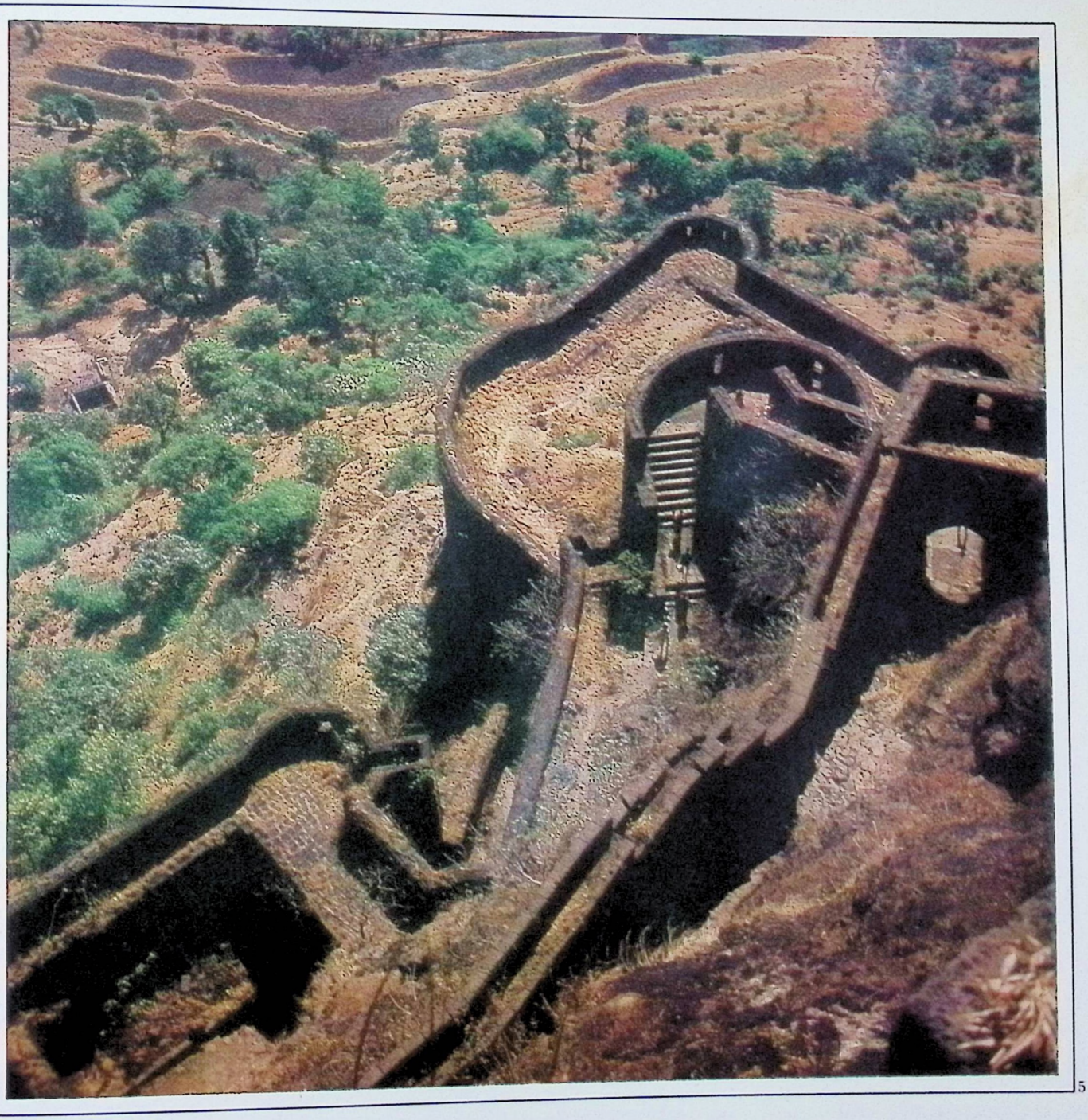




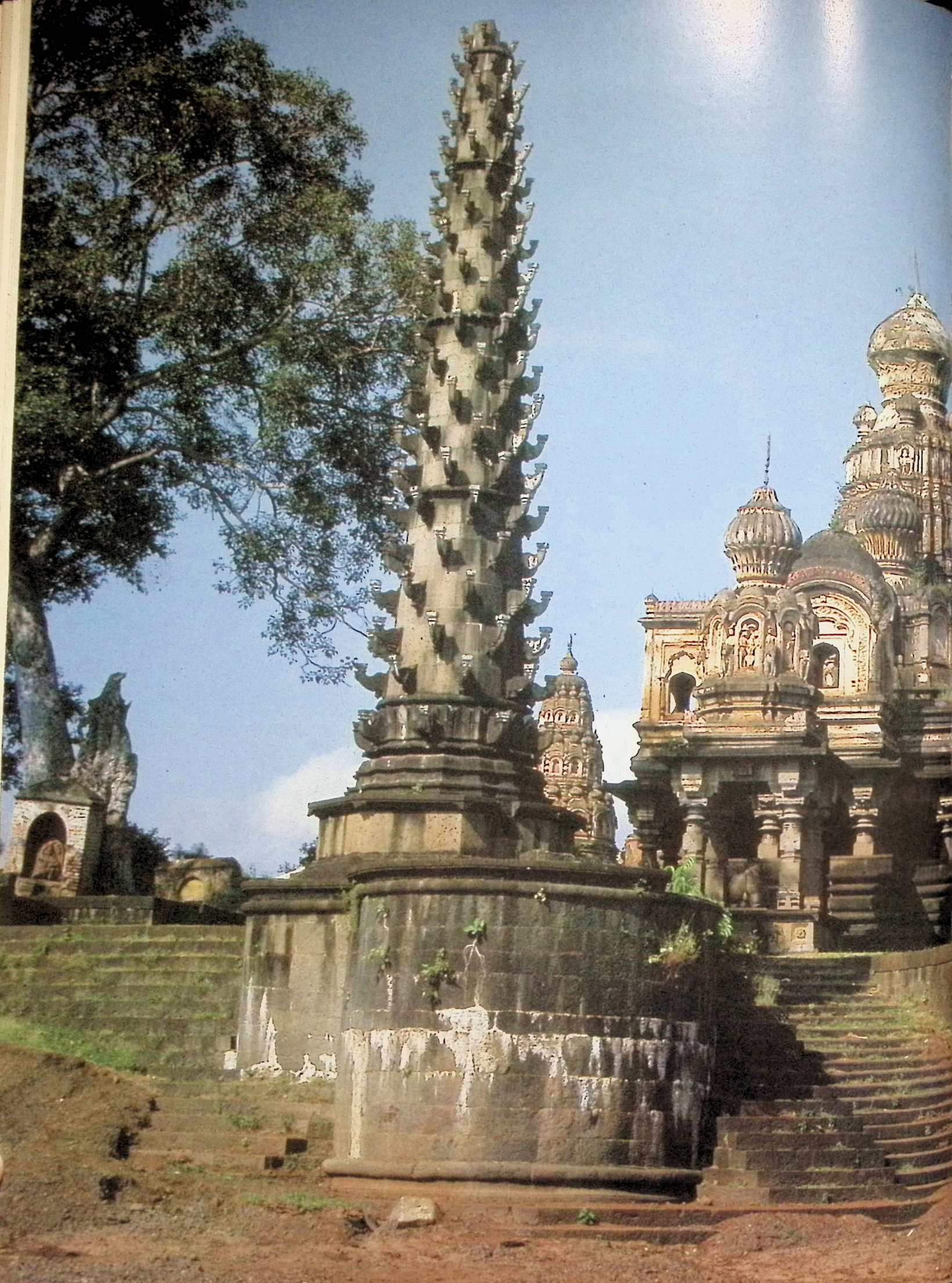
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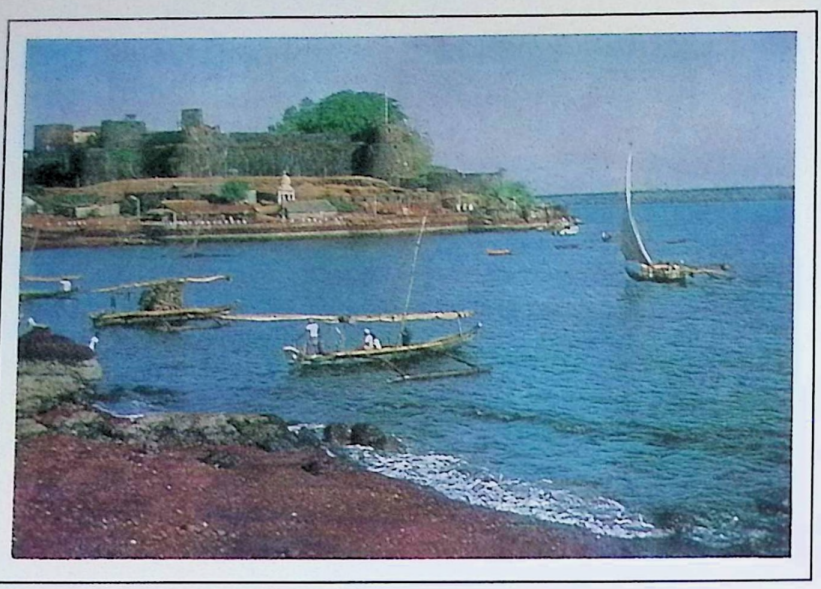


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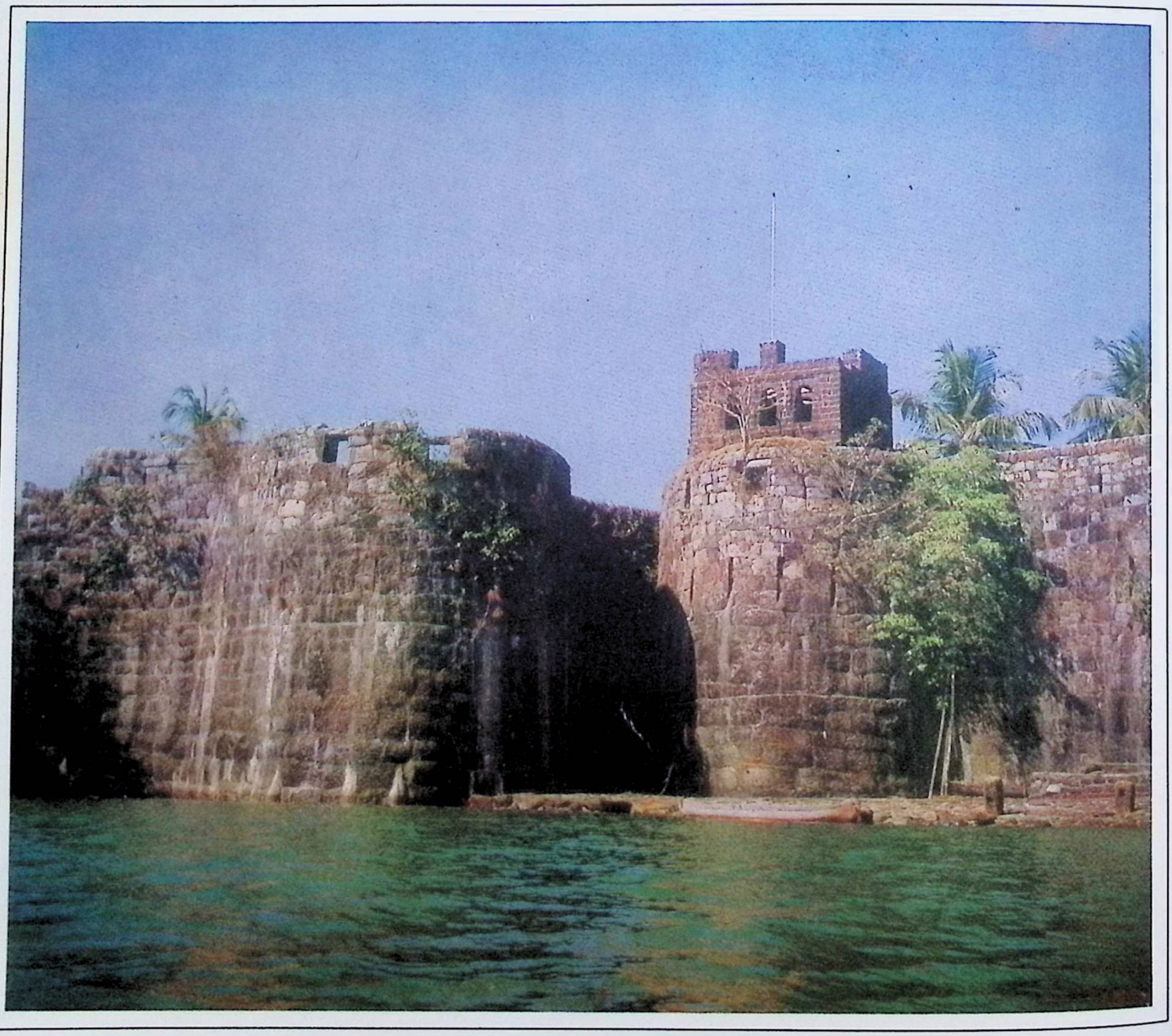




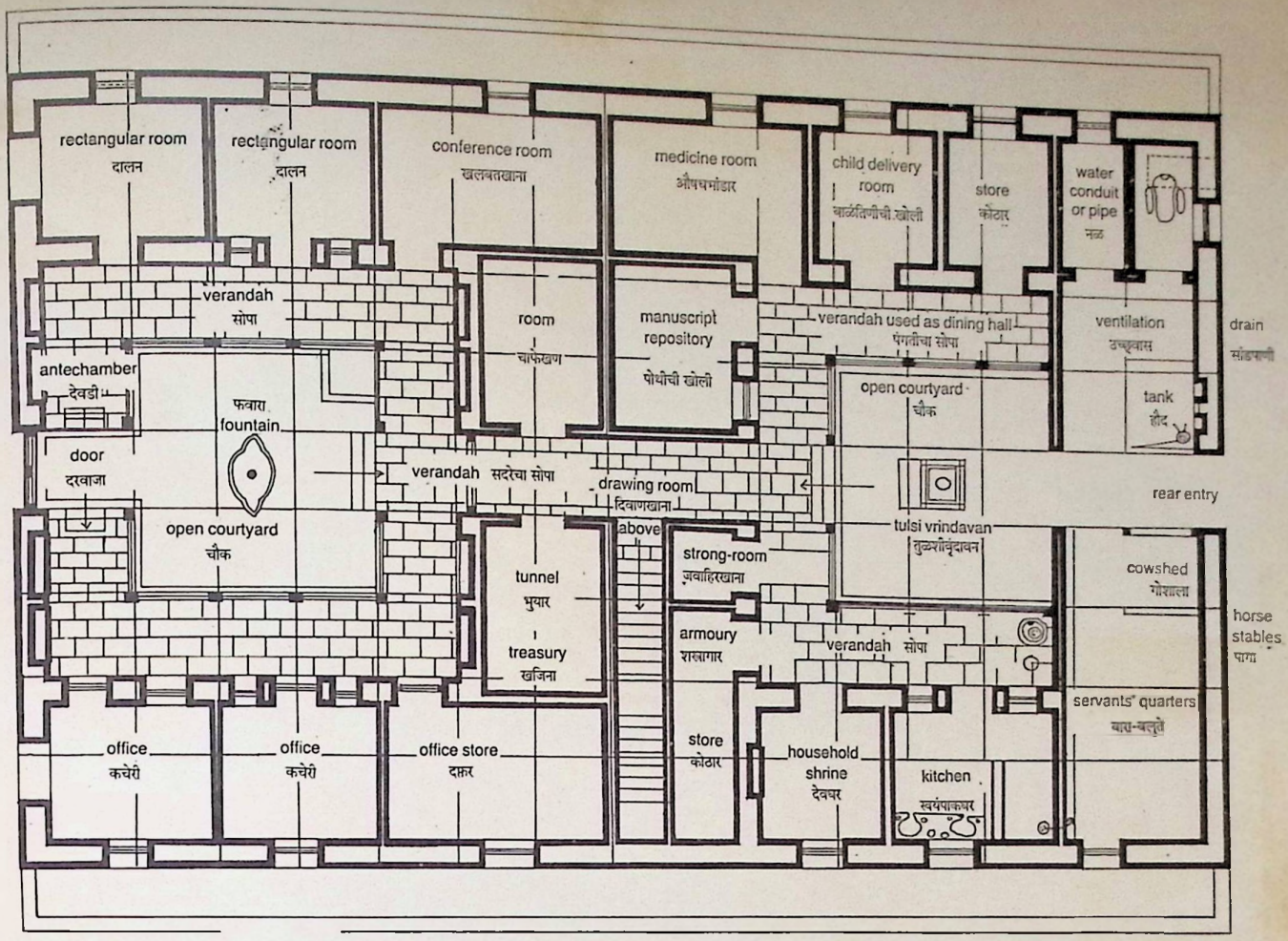
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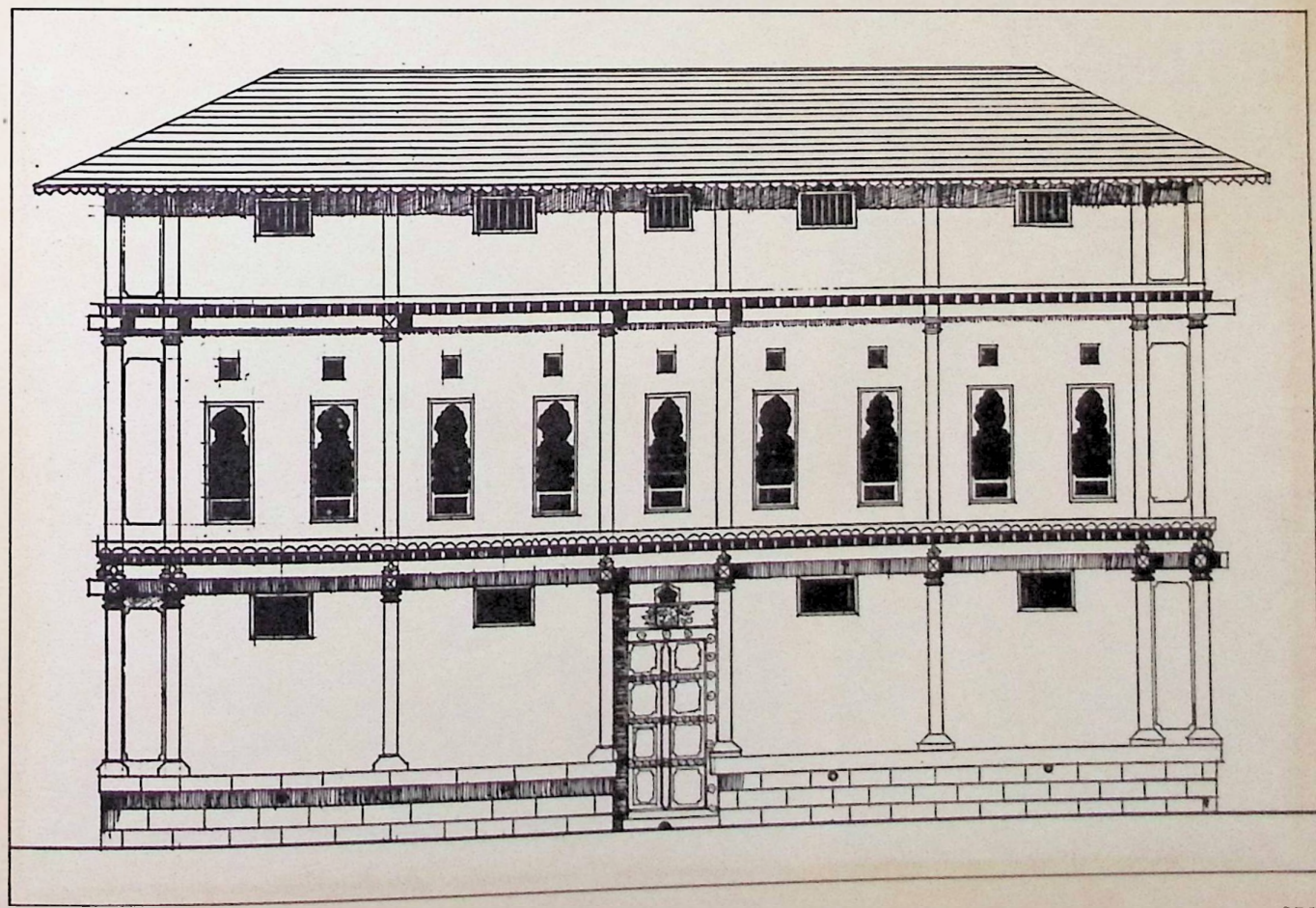
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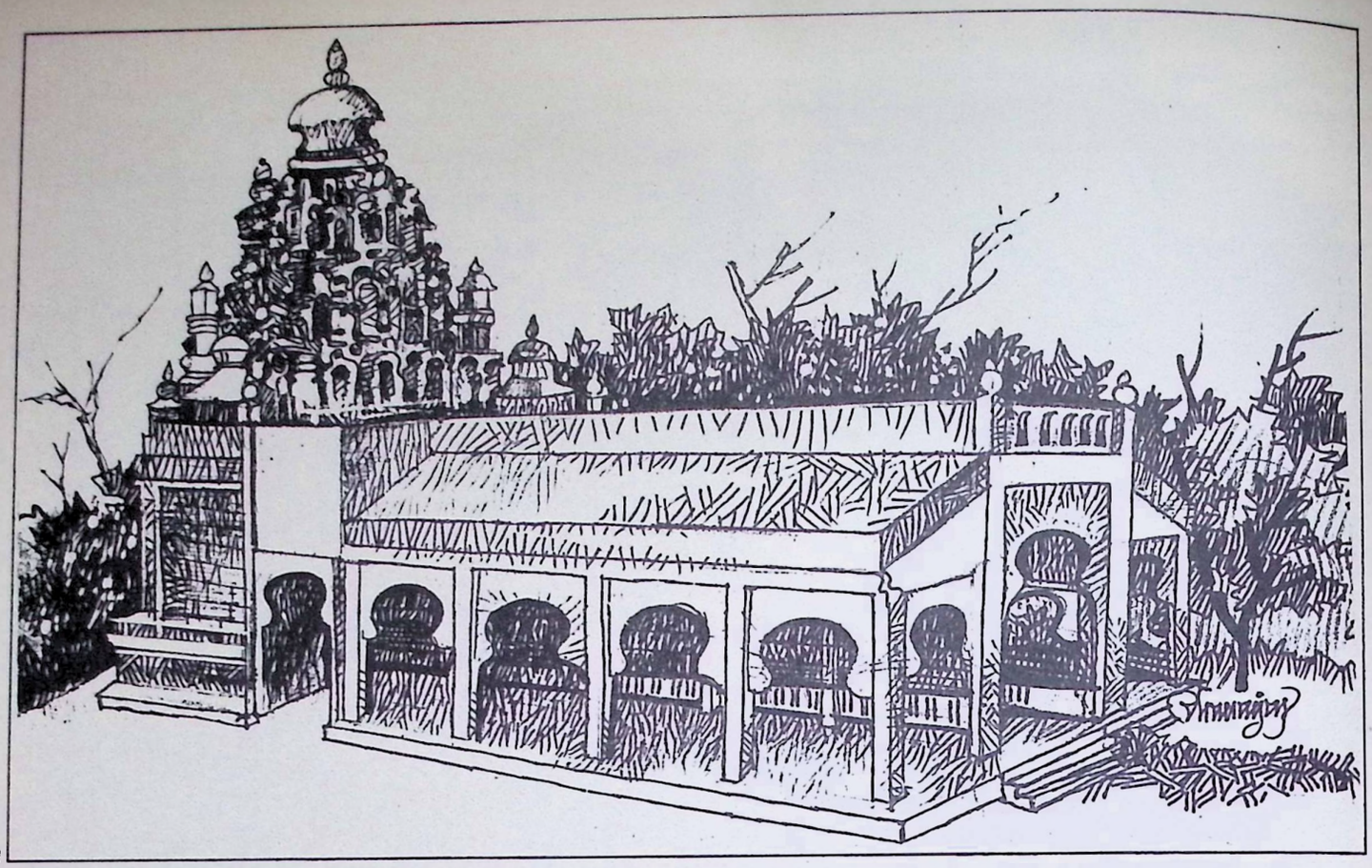
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rectangular room
दालन
rectangular room
दालन
conference room
खलबतखाना
medicine room
औषधभांडार
child delivery room
बाळंतिणीची खोली
store
कोठार
water conduit or pipe
नळ
verandah
सोपा
room
चाफेखण
manuscript repository
पोथींची खोली
verandah used as dining hall
पंगतीचा सोपा
ventilation
उच्छ्वास
drain
सांडपाणी
antechamber
देवडी
फवारा
fountain
open courtyard
चौक
tank
हौद
door
दरवाजा
verandah सदरेचा सोपा
drawing room
दिवाणखाना
rear entry
above
tulsi vrindavan
तुळशीवृंदावन
strong-room
जवाहिरखाना
cowshed
गोशाला
tunnel
भुयार
horse stables
घोडा
armoury
शस्त्रागार
treasury
खजिना
verandah सोपा
servants' quarters
बारा-बलुते
office
कचेरी
office
कचेरी
office store
दफ्तर
store
कोठार
household shrine
देवघर
kitchen
स्वयंपाकघर

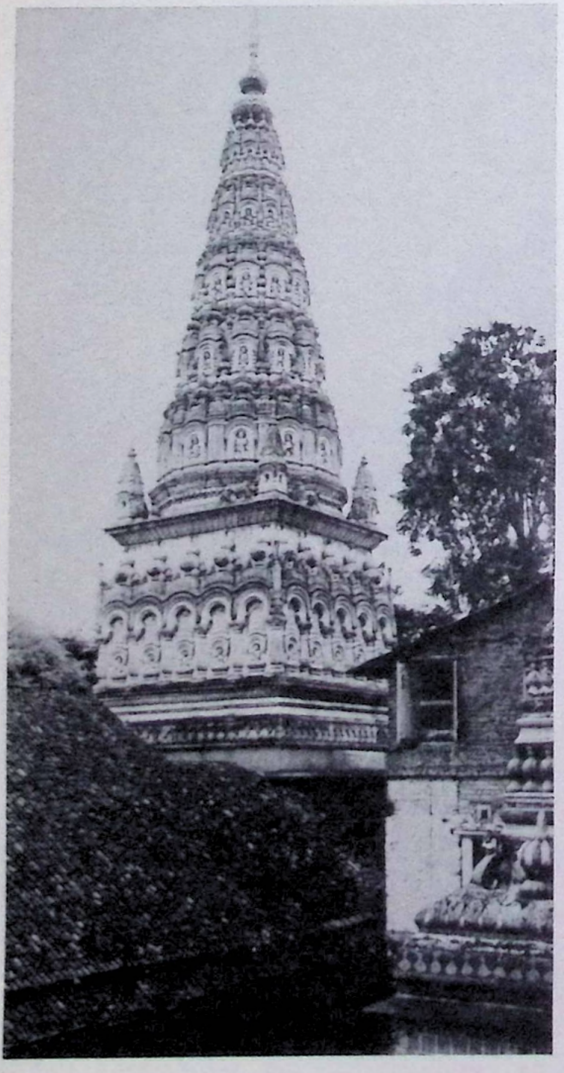
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11



12



13



14

12 Belbagh Temple
late 18th century A.D.
Belbagh, Pune

13 Rama Temple
18th century A.D.
Tulsi Bagh, Pune

14 Stucco figures on the shrine wall, Khandoba Temple
mid-18th century A.D.
Pali

masonry blocks. The external part of the wall was generally 3 ft. thick, so as to protect the sentries and soldiers in action. Such a parapet wall with embrasures is surprisingly absent at the Panhala fort.

These wall-constructions were also used as stables for horses and elephants, as hidden *caches* for treasures and as places for hiding. They were equipped with underground tunnels.

The semi-circular towers, approximately 30-50 ft. in diameter, gave visual scope for all-round aiming and attack. Each door had about five loopholes and heavy guns were mounted on the towers. Since the towers had to be stronger than the other parts of the wall, large boulders of stone were fixed to secure the foundation and, wherever possible, natural rock itself was cut in a semi-circular shape to form the base for the towers. This can be seen particularly in the towers of the Malwan fort, where the semi-circular towers are cleverly linked together in a zigzag pattern, making it difficult to locate the main entrance of the fort.

A special feature of these forts was the parapet wall which was generally 5-6 ft. wide. Sometimes two to four loopholes in the wall were arranged together so that one person could manage them. Alternatively, 3-4 holes often had a common outlet which allowed several persons to fire through the same aperture.

An important aspect of the architecture of these forts was the entrance. Passage gates were generally provided on either side of the rows of strong walls. The Vijayadurg fort has three gates, Redi fort has five; but Sindhudurg and many others on the western coast only have one entrance. The main entrance, built with great skill at a convenient place between the two doors, was generally as steep as possible and completely hidden from view. The loopholes and embrasures in the towers were so arranged as to lock the whole passage leading from the main entrance. The width of the passage leading to the main entrance was barely 10 ft. and the door of the entrance was made of strong metal with spikes. This was to prevent elephants, often used for such purposes, from ramming these doors down.

The stones used in most of these structures were laterite or basalt and granite of medium quality. Slate was also employed. For Sindhudurg at Malwan only granite stone was used. Almost all the forts on the western coast are built in laterite. Since laterite is softer than metal, no fine moulding can be carved and, because of an inherent defect in the stone, most of these forts have suffered the ravages of time and weather.

Shivaji fortunately found the rocky island of Malwan full of granite, and therefore built his fortress at Sindhudurg with it. Blue basalt is used at Panhala and, because of this, the fort today is in a fairly good condition.

Classical Residential Architecture

During the Peshwa rule in the Maratha kingdom from the early eighteenth to nineteenth century, there was an exciting development in residential architecture. The wealthy Marathas indulged themselves with opulent and aesthetic surroundings. To compensate for missed opportunities of the earlier period, they constructed their *wadas* like show-pieces.

The word *wada* refers not only to royal palaces but also to the spacious manors of rich businessmen, bankers and *sahukars* who contributed substantially to the development of this style of architecture.

Although the wealth of the owner, site and material made a difference to its size and ornamentation, the basic characteristics remain the same. Later Maratha *wadas* do not differ from the earlier Maratha *wadas*. This indicates a continuity of tradition in construction techniques such as the system of quadrangles and the use of timber framework. Material used for construction in Maharashtra contributed a great deal towards transforming foreign influence into a Deccani style. The use of wood for carving and design, instead of stone, gave ceilings an enriched effect. Most of Maharashtra's *wadas* were built in Satara, Kolhapur, Pune, Wai and Nasik. Compared to Rajasthani *havelis*, the *wadas* are simpler in their style of architecture. There were no lawns and gardens as in the European manors; or terraces as found in Mughal architecture. These *wadas* were constructed around large and open courtyards, giving the appearance of a rectangular block from the outside. The surrounding protective walls, made of hewn stone and baked bricks, had bastions and gates. On the doors were huge shutters made of thick wooden planks with steel plates to prevent intrusion; these were opened only on special occasions. At the entrance on either side were guardrooms known as *devadis*, used as a place for storing lamps and weapons. These guardrooms were often decorated with paintings depicting Hanuman, Garuda, Dwarapala or other protective dieties from Hindu mythology. Sometimes, as at the Vishrambag *wada*, the guardrooms were situated outside.

In these buildings many gates were constructed for various purposes. The Mastani gateway at the Shaniwar *wada* was specifically built for the Muslim mistress of Peshwa Bajirao I which, besides flattering his mistress by reserving a gateway for her personal use, also served to avoid offending the religious sensibility of his Hindu household. Many of the gateways were decorated with frescoes.

The most striking *wadas* were those of *char-chowks* (four quadrangels) and *ath-chowks* (eight quadrangles). The courtyard was divided into several square areas and open spaces known as *chowks*.

The interior of the *wadas* contained halls which were decorated with paintings and carved ornamentation. The *wadas* were suit-

ably designed for the celebration of festivals, religious ceremonies and other functions.

The more affluent owners added to its richness by using glass lamps, *momdans* and chandeliers. The *arsa mahal* (mirrored hall) with its mirror-studded ceiling and walls was the most prestigious part of the house. Even the owners of modest means aspired to have mirrored walls either in a bedroom or a hall. Several *wadas* were equipped with a room or a hall known as the *asmani mahal,* which rose above the rest of the structure. The Shaniwar *wada* in Pune was seven storeys high and was therefore known as *sat-khandi.* Most *wadas* also had underground storage systems to store arms and ammunitions. One of the largest cellers is found in the Chandwad palace; it covers the entire foundation area.

Paintings depicting Indian epics and Puranic lore in the *puja*-room, on the walls of the *divan-khana,* the master-bedroom and the festival hall were a common feature of *wadas.* Ornamentation was not only for the beautification of the structure but also served a symbolic function and was executed in designated areas. The subtle variations in design, painting and ornamentation indicated whether the owner belonged to the Brahman community, the warrior Maratha community or the Sahukar merchant community. The fountain in the Shaniwar *wada,* Rasta *wada* and Chimanbag show Mughal influence and suggest that these structures are different from those generally meant for a Brahman ruler. Until about fifty years ago, the design and construction of the *wada* residential manors was still popular in Maharashtra.

Temples

With the permanent settlement of the Islamic rule in the Deccan in the thirteenth century, the classical tradition of religious architecture was submerged. The hostile political climate discouraged overt manifestation of Hindu religious paganism. New temples were not built and even the renovation of damaged temples did not receive consideration. Though the creative activities of the hereditary craftsmen were channelised in other areas, they were able to revert back to the ancient concepts when, three hundred years later, the Marathas asserted themselves and the Hindus could then unrestrainedly repair and rebuild old shrines and construct new ones. The tradition of temple architecture re-emerged and found articulation in Maratha temples.

The Maratha temples were based on the Yadava tradition that had prevailed prior to Islamic rule. But soon this style proved inadequate for expressing the needs and aspirations of the new patrons—the Maratha soldier-aristocrat. These intrepid fighters had galloped through various parts of India and had been exposed to diverse artistic traditions. Under their patronage there developed a distinctive idiom where influences from northern as well as southern India harmonised to give an eloquent expression to the new stylistic form.

The Maratha temple had a simple plan: a square sanctum sanctorum with a square portico and an arcaded timber hall known as the *sabhamandapa,* where the congregation could assemble to listen to *kirtans* (hymns sung in praise of the Supreme Being, accompanied by music).

The *sabhamandapa* was an open hall with elegant wooden pillars. The pillars conformed to the "cypress order" and they were joined by cusped arches. These pillars and the patterned ceiling gave an ornamented appearance to the temple interior.

The most striking feature of these temples is the *shikhara* (spire). It was a pyramidical structure with defined storeys. Every storey consisted of niches with alternating minarets. The niches contained images in them. The spire was surmounted by a bulbous dome. The design of the spire reveals its mixed ancestry: the tiered spire, studded with miniature shrines, owes its conception to the southern architectural tradition while the actual actual treatment of the miniature shrines as the pillared niches and the flanking minarets can be traced to northern India. The harmonising of southern architectural concepts with northern decorative devices evolved into a unique idiom that is different in spirit and expression from its antecedents. The strong rhythmic interplay of forms and the use of stucco rather than stone for the ornamentation of the spire is characteristic in these temples.

The Maratha temple is not complete without a *deepmala* (a pillar for lamps). Its graceful tapering form with projecting brackets for holding lamps provides an interesting accent to temple architecture. The *deepmalas* are often of constructed stone and sometimes of stucco.

Some of the important temples have large courtyards and are surrounded by thick walled enclosures. The inner surface of this protective wall is divided into arched cells wherein pilgrims could camp. These enclosures around temples situated on hill-tops give these holy places a fortified appearance.

Frequently temples are situated on river banks with broad paved *ghats* (steps) leading down to the water. This feature was an important element of temple architecture during the Maratha period and spacious platforms are found along river-banks at Wai, Toke and Nasik. On festival days pilgrims crowd on these *ghats,* adding to the gaiety and the celebration.

Devotees who could not build temples often donated money to build *deepmalas* in the temple enclosure or contributed towards the building and maintenance of the *ghats.* The austere grandeur of the Maratha temples are in keeping with the cultural and aesthetic values of the builders.

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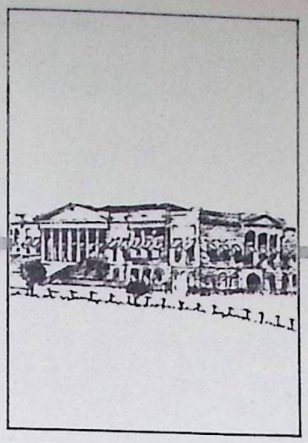
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Bombay

मुंबई

काय हो मुंबई बंदर उमदा कोव्यवधि फिरतात जहाजा
अजब कंपनी शहर त्याला लंकेची उपमा साजे ॥
गव्हर्नराचे रक्त मजेचे दिसते उमदा खूब मिरा ॥
तलेतलेचे रंगित बंगले ऐन इंग्रजी पहा तऱ्हा ॥
मर रस्त्यामध्ये उभे रिपर्ट लोक म्हणती सरा सरा ॥
रथगाड्यांची गर्दी होती का बाजुला मागें फिरा ॥
मोठे मोठे सावकार साहेब रथ फिरवीती सरा सरा ॥
नव रंडीचे माणुस पाहुन रथ म्हणती हा बरा बरा ॥
जिकडे तिकडे अशीच गर्दी रथ जाता घडघड वाजे ॥
अज कंपनी शहर लाजल लंकेची उपमा साजे ॥

– 'मुंबईचे वर्णन' त्या
श्री गोविंद गाडगावकर यांच्या पुस्तकातून



Perspective

P.M.Joshi and S.S.Rege

The name Bombay is derived from "Bombaim," a Portuguese corruption of the original name "Mumbai." Early Portuguese records refer to this port as "Mombaim" as well as "Bombaim." The term "Mumbai" is derived from "Mumba Ai" (mother Mumba)—a name of Mumba Devi, the patron goddess of the Koli (fishermen) community who were the first inhabitants of these islands. The shrine of the goddess was originally situated close to the spot now occupied by the Victoria Terminus. It was probably destroyed when Sultan Mubarak of Gujarat overran these islands in *c.* A.D. 1320. Rebuilt later, it stood there until about A.D. 1737. It was removed when the Bombay Government started to enlarge the fortifications of the Old Town and a new temple was erected at the present site at Bhuleshwar.

In the pre-historic period, Bombay appears to have formed a part of the main plan of India, but eventually became separated from it by volcanic erruption into a number of small islands. These formed a part of Aparanta (northern Deccan). From the Ratnagiri coast in the south, arrived the Bhandaris (toddy tappers).

Around 800 B.C. the Aryans invaded the Deccan. The inscriptions and the relics in the town of Surparaka (Sopara) near Bassein, denote that the Buddhist king, Ashoka, was the ruler of this kingdom during the third century B.C. After him came the Mauryas, the Satavahanas, the Kshatrapas and, thereafter, the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas. The Chalukya king, Mangalraj, founded his capital at Puri on the island of Elephanta in the Bombay harbour. During the rule of the succeeding Shilaharas, a temple at Walkeshwar was built at the site where Rama is said to have sojourned on his way to Lanka. The fame of the temple and the extraordinary sanctity attached to Shri Gundi (the Holy Rock) in the sea close by, attracted visitors from Malabar and other parts of western India, so much so that the place came to be called Malabar Point and the hill around it became Malabar Hill. This Walkeshwar temple was destroyed either by Sultan Mubarak or the Portuguese. Some remnants of Shri Gundi are still visible on the seashore of the Government House. Another temple built by the Shilaharas around the same time (A.D. 1060) at Ambernath, in the Thane District, still exists in a fair state of preservation and is an excellent specimen of the temple architecture of that period. After the Shilaharas came the Yadavas of Deogiri. Legend has it that Raja Bimba or Bhimadev, the scion of the Yadava family, founded the capital of his kingdom at Mahim, by bringing with him a small colony of people, building houses and temples and planting coconut trees. His numerous retainers and followers, who were chiefly Prabhus, Palshikar Brahmans and Panchkalshis, came with him and settled around Mahim. The temple of Prabhadevi, his family goddess, built by him there, was destroyed later during the Muhammedan invasion. The idol of the deity, hidden in a well nearby, was recovered and a new temple at the present site in Prabhadevi was built in 1714 by the members of the Prabhu community.

The Muhammedan rule lasted from 1348 to 1534. The only architectural legacy of this period is the shrine of the saint, Makhdum Fakih Ali Paru in Mahim, today worshipped by Konkani Mussalmans. The Portuguese came to India towards the end of the fifteenth century. In 1534 they forced Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat, to cede to the King of Portugal and his heirs the city of Bassein, its territories, islands and seas. The Bombay islands thus came into Christian possession. The Portuguese divided the islands into Manors, which were given as rewards or on nominal rentals to deserving persons who agreed to furnish military assistance to the King of Portugal in times of necessity. One Mestre Diogo was apparently the first tenant of such a manor. His successor was the famous physician and botanist,

Garcia da Orta who paid £85 as annual quit rent for the lease of the manor. The 'Quinta', or Manor House, built sometime in the sixteenth century, stood upon the site of the arsenal inside the Bombay Castle now within the Indian Naval Establishment, Angre, behind the Town Hall. Manor House contained the fine library of Garcia da Orta and around the house was "a delicate garden voiced to be the pleasantest in India." The house was partially burnt during the attacks of the Dutch and the English.

The Portuguese also granted land to various Christian religious orders. The Franciscans and the Jesuits built several churches, notable among which were Nossa Senhora da Esperanca on the Esplanade, demolished by the orders of the Government in 1760 and rebuilt sometime about 1830 at Bhuleshwar. The only sign of its former existence is the cross which stands in the *maidan*, popularly known as the Cross *Maidan*. Other important churches were the San Miguel, built probably in 1540 in Upper Mahim, and the Nossa Senhora de Salvacao constructed in 1596 at Dadar and known as Portuguese Church. A cross on Church Street indicates the location of the original church, Nossa Senhora da Gloria, in Mazgaon and the Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Bom Conselho was at Parel (on the site of the Haffkine Institute).

The Portuguese missionaries spent enormous sums on such constructions, far beyond the needs of the Christian population on the island. They took much advantage of the ignorance and poverty of the local people: they bestowed all sorts of favours and privileges on the converts and treated those who refused to be converted with disrespect. They forced people to labour and treated the workers like slaves. The Church executed the destruction of local temples and idols with vengeance.

Portuguese churches of these days have later undergone modifications and transformations, retaining only the original names. The historic monuments of Portuguese rule that are still intact today are the Bombay Castle Gateway with its stone carvings of Portuguese soldiers and a colossal ten-foot sundial with a grotesque sculpture inside the Castle.

By the marriage treaty between Charles II of Great Britain and Catherine Braganza of Portugal, the port and islands of Bombay were entrusted to the King of Great Britain and came into British possession in 1665.

At that time the revenues of Bombay were meagre—derived from coconut and date palms growing between the Esplanade and Malabar Hill and at Mahim, and also from paddy fields on the low-lying grounds. The rest of the island was swampy, barren and uncultivated. The population was merely 10,000, chiefly composed of "outcastes, fugitives and vagabonds," among whom were a small number of fisher-folk and husbandmen interspersed with Prabhus, Brahmans and Muhammadans. In 1668 Bombay was transferred, under a Royal Charter, to the East India Company at a farm rent of £10 per annum. The city was to be developed into a port and immigration was to be freely encouraged.

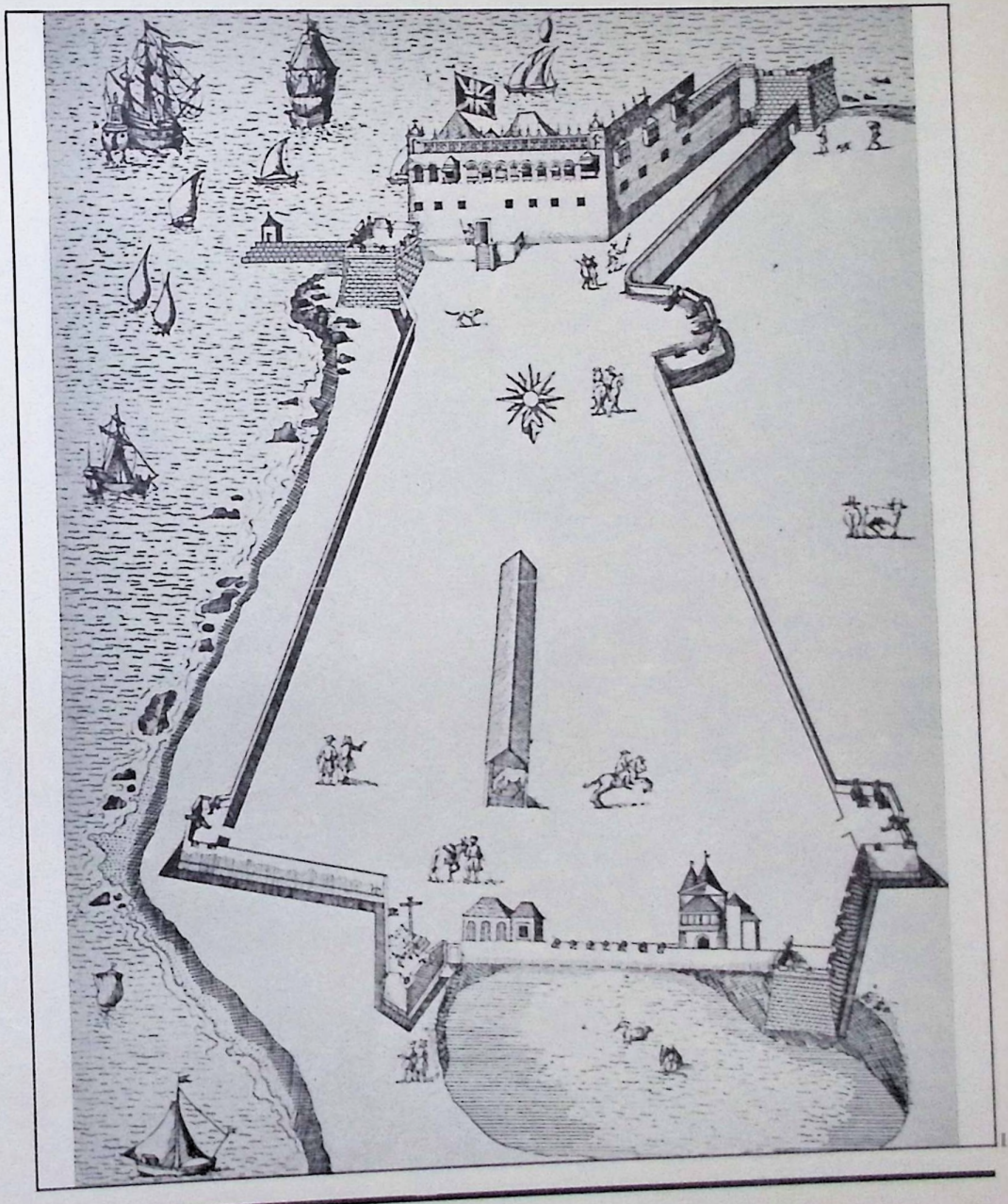
Under the Company, Sir George Oxenden, President of Surat, was appointed the first Governor of Bombay. When he died in July 1669, Gerald Aungier replaced him. This generous and wise governor may be said to be the real founder of modern Bombay. He strengthened its defences, settled the land revenue, established law courts, founded a mint and coined the first rupee, built a hospital, opened a printing press, created *panchayats* and secured freedom of trade and worship for all settlers of the island. By 1675 the population numbered 60,000 which was "more by 50,000 than the Portuguese ever had."

If Bombay was to become a centre of trade, it had to have industries and provide manufactured goods. For this purpose, Aungier encouraged the immigration of skilled workers, artisans and traders. His tolerant administration instilled confidence in people of different communities and the Parsis and the Banias of Gujarat, finding good scope for their talents, were drawn to Bombay. In 1673, Aungier granted a site on Malabar Hill to the Parsi settlers to build their Tower of Silence and thus removed a major handicap in their settlement and religious observance. He granted all religious privileges to the Bania, Nima Parakh, and invited his relatives to settle on the island. This was a farsighted gesture. For, it was these Parsis and Banias, who by the dint of their commercial and industrial acumen, gradually transformed the face of Bombay. Aungier died at Surat in June 1677. Though nothing of which he built in Bombay remains, much of what he planned for the city survives.

Aungier had resolved to make Bombay a place of safety for trade and shipping. He had therefore commenced to fortify the island by raising Martello towers, completing the main fortress and adding bastions at strategic points. He also strengthened the defence from the west and the north by building up Worli, Mahim and Sion forts. He proposed the enclosure of the town with a wall to secure it against invasions. This wall was to extend "from Mendham's Point on the west to Doongari Point on the east where a small Portuguese

1 His Majesty's citadel and the Fort of Bombay, (April, 1668)

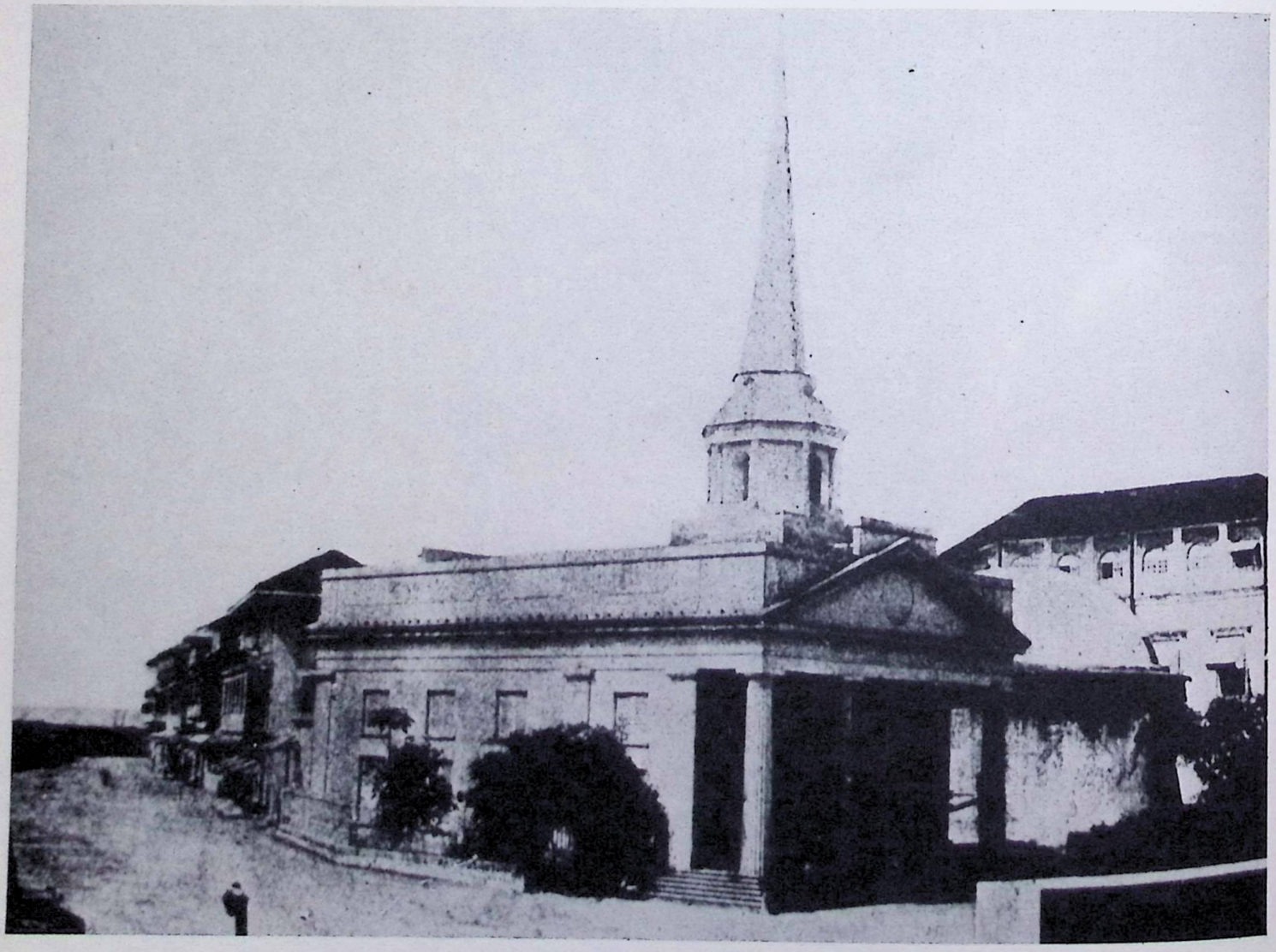
fort already existed." This plan eventually materialised in 1716 during the governorship of Sir Charles Boone. The fort, starting from a point to the east of the bungalow of the Director of the Royal Indian Marine, spanned Rampart Row (then known as the Rope-Walk) and, passing the Esplanade and Hornby Roads, turned eastwards and stopped at Mody Bay near Fort Street. These fortifications were further extended and strengthened in 1736; later, in 1739-43, a ditch was constructed around the ramparts and in the next two decades, bastions, ravelins and batteries were added. About 1769, the little Doongari Fort of the Portuguese, used till then as a prison for debtors and criminals, was demolished and a larger sturdier Fort George was built in its place. The remnants of its walls are still in existence at the rear of the St. George's Hospital. The fort covered an area of two miles north-south and about 3 to 4 miles east-west. It had three main gates: the Apollo Gate faced south and was located near St. Andrew's Church; the Church Gate, near the present Flora Fountain, which served as the main entrance to the city; and the Bazaar Gate which stood near the north end of Bazaar Gate Street and was mostly frequented by the natives and traders. The south side, within the fort, was occupied by public offices, European commercial firms and the European Quarters, while the north side was occupied by natives—their trading firms and residential houses. The 'Bombay Green' was in the centre. Towards the east were the Customs Houses, the Bunder, the Mint and also the Bombay Castle. The Banias had their houses and temples in the Bazaar Gate Street; the Parsis mainly lived in the



Parsi Bazaar Street and the Bohras occupied the Bora Bazaar Street. The houses in this native locality were virtually wall-to-wall constructions; sanitation was primitive and the water supply, from wells and open tanks, was not only scarce in proportion to the population but, in many cases, impure. The devastating fire in this part of the Fort District in 1803 was therefore a blessing in disguise for town planners and sanitary reformers. It destroyed 471 houses and did damage estimated at Rs. 40 *lakhs*. The Government then appointed a Town Committee which drew out a plan for rebuilding the town but, those landholders anxious to build on the old foundations, opposed the plan. Even today the area appears congested and vulnerable, with old buildings still stubbornly lining the Bazaar Gate Road.

In 1736, the dockyard was extended under the supervision of Lowji Nasserwanji Wadia, a Parsi shipbuilder from Surat. About the year 1770, the extension of the town was undertaken whereby crowded and insanitary houses were demolished, and the Esplanade enlarged and levelled. Every encouragement was given to the inhabitants to build their dwellings outside the Fort. The East India Company obtained Salsette and the adjoining islands in the harbour. The trade of Bombay was then mainly carried on by sea; 45 *bunders* and wharves surrounded the whole island where small and medium country crafts delivered and carried away goods of different kinds. The principal landing place, however, was near the present Old Customs House. The barracks, built by the Portuguese for their soldiers, were used partly to store goods and partly to house the "writers" of the Company. The front wing of the building appears to have been built in 1714, during Governor Aislabie's time. The Coat of Arms of the East India Company, the name of the Governor and the year, 1714—cut on the stone tablet placed above the entrance, which is now covered with a porch—reveals the age of the edifice. The building came to be used as the Customs House only after 1802 and was considerably improved and extended with an addition of an upper storey in 1895.

Another house close by which has survived the developments in Bombay during the last 250 years is the Admiralty



2 Rampart Row, West (formerly The Ropewalk, 1892)

3 The Cotton Market

House—now near the Cama Hall. It was owned by Governor Hornby, and was devoted to the use of the Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet in India from 1770 to 1795. From 1786 to 1879 the Mayor's Court, styled as High Court in 1862, occupied the premises. Later, the building was rented to the Great Western Hotel. A marble plaque at the entrance records this history with pride.

The Church Gate of the Fort derived its name on account of its vicinity to the first Anglican Church on the island—St. Thomas Cathedral. The church was commenced in 1715 and completed in 1718. It was inaugurated for service on Christmas Day, 1718. The church was built by the unstinted efforts of the Reverend Richard Cobbe who raised money by public contribution. The church, a simple but commodious structure, had a steeple which terminated in a kind of lantern. The belfry, halfway up the steeple, contained the bell gifted by Governor Boone which was cast in Bombay. In 1853 the Church of St. Thomas became the Cathedral. To commemorate the event, the tower was heightened and enlarged. The old belfry was replaced by the present tower, and a clock with four copper dial plates and double hands was fixed at the base of the upper tower. The Cathedral has monuments of historical interest around walls and artistic memorials in marble in the transept. A beautiful decorative fountain outside the west entrance is a gift of Sir Cawasji Jehangir Readymoney.

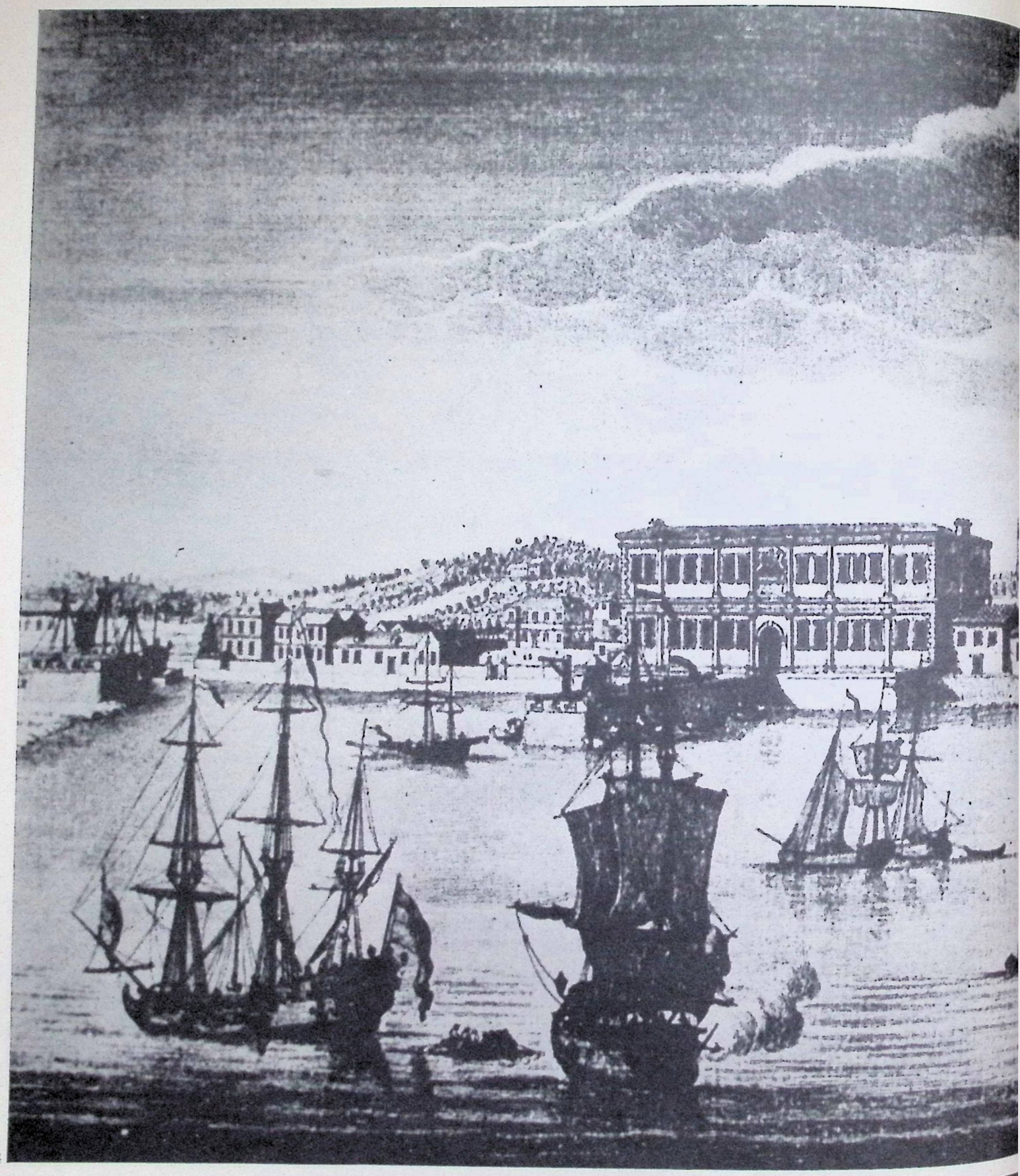
The Mint was situated towards the north of the Castle. The building, inspired by Greek architecture, was constructed in 1829 on land reclaimed from the sea under the Mody Bay Reclamation Scheme. Initially the mint worked on three steam engines and the coins were struck by means of hammer and anvil. The first Bombay rupee was coined in 1672 and it bore the arms of the East India Company.

The Town Hall was previously housed in several places, the last one being the central hall of the Hornby House. The proposal to build a separate building was mooted in 1793 but did not gain support of the government. Sir James Mackintosh, the chief Recorder of the Company, organised a meeting of the prominent citizens in

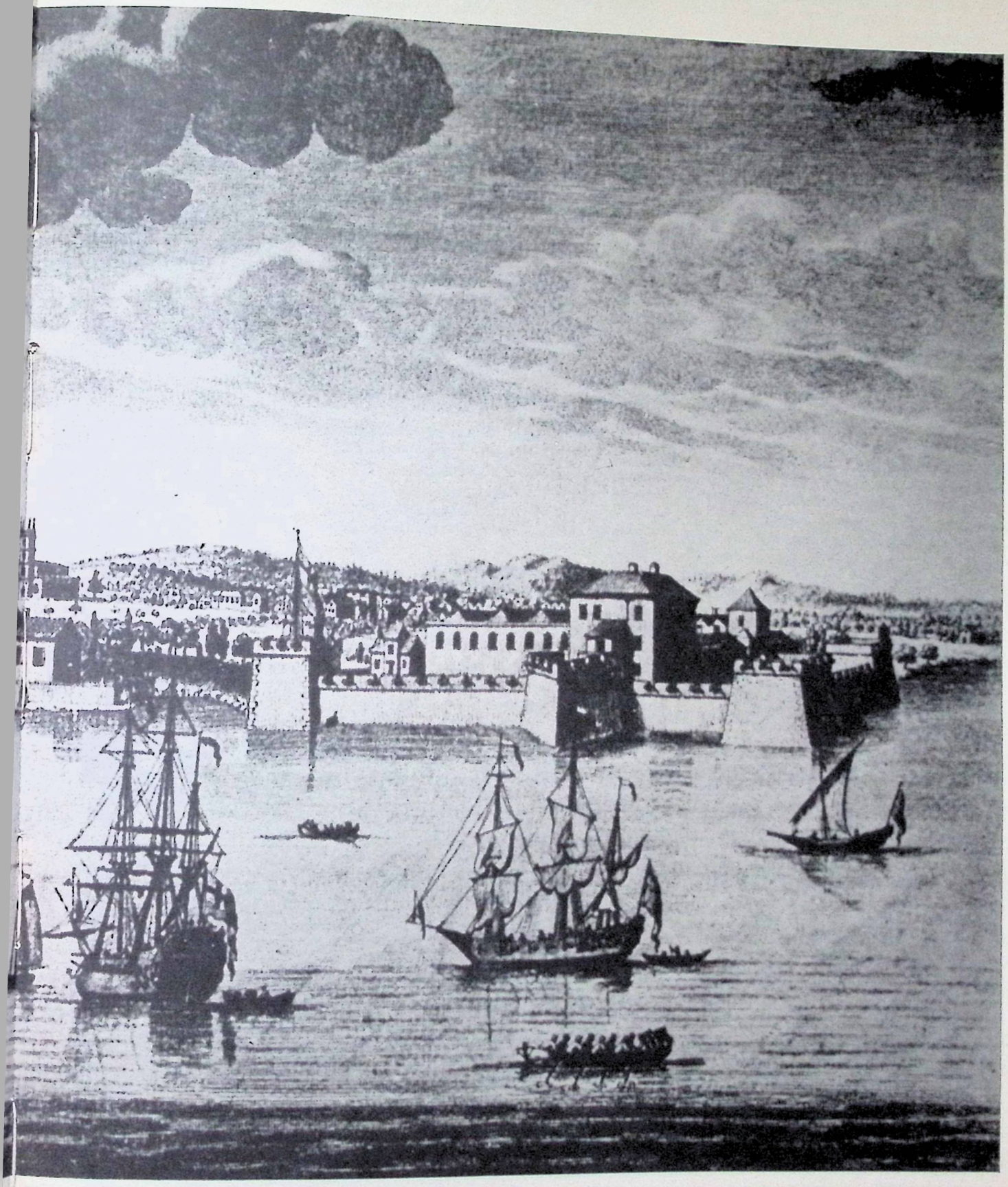


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4 The Harbour and the Fort of Old Bombay



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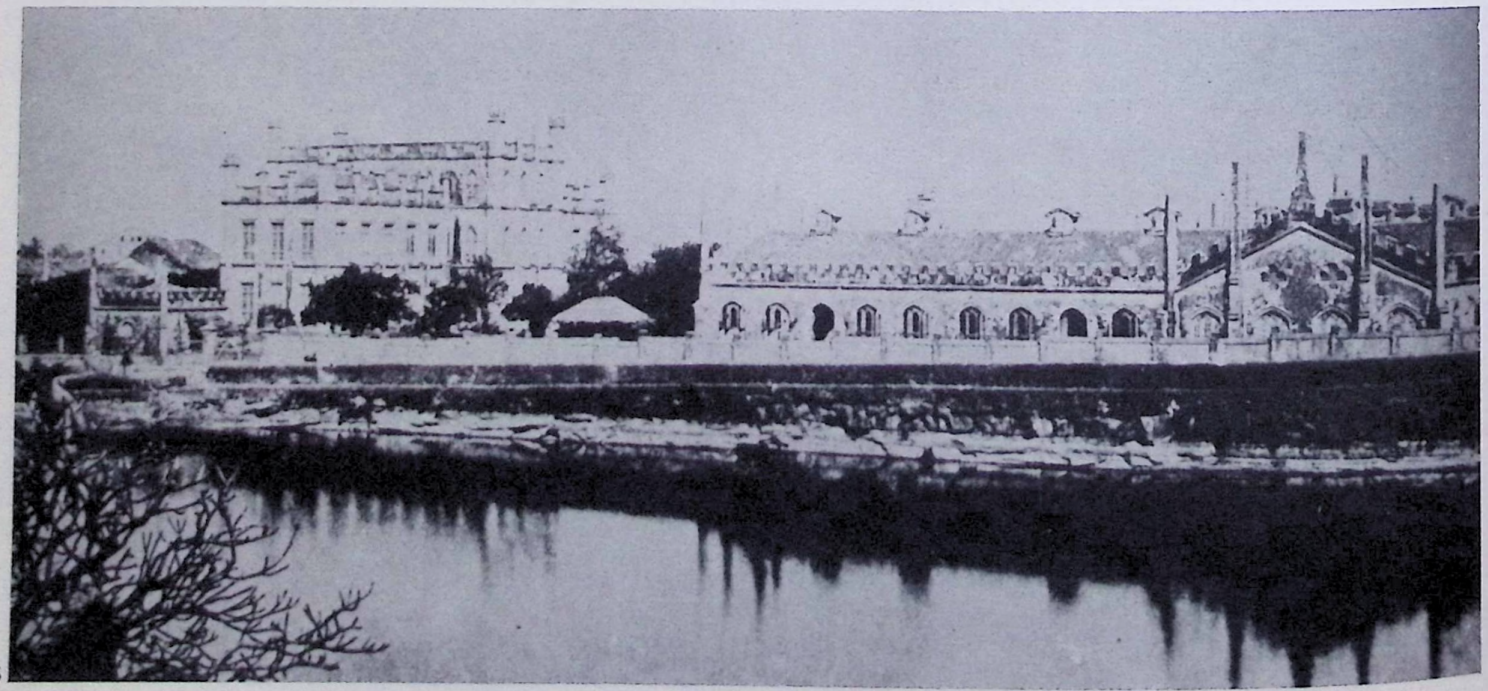
November, 1804 to discuss the founding of the 'Literary Society of Bombay'. His recommendation was accepted at once. He later proposed the construction of a building wherein the library and the museum could be established. The building was also to include a hall for public lectures, meetings and functions. His suggestion to raise the funds for the building by floating a lottery was accepted by the Company. The amount of money from three such lotteries was enough to make a beginning. But, within two years, the amount had been spent on the construction and a new lottery had to be floated in 1823, which failed to realise enough money. In 1826 the Government took charge of the project and, after negotiations, construction was resumed in 1829 and completed in 1833. The building is 260 feet long and 100 feet wide. The main entrance to the Central Town Hall is from the west, accessible by a flight of 30 wide stone steps. The building consists of a high basement and an upper storey. The broad portico and facade of the building are influenced by Greek revival architecture. The south-east wing contains the Darbar Hall, smaller in size, which was formerly used to hold levies of the Governor and the meetings of the Governor's Council. On some occasions the hall was used for holding matriculation and university examinations. The first convocation to confer degrees upon four graduates was held here under the Presidentship of Sir Bartle Frere on May 1st, 1862. Another historic event associated with the Hall is the reading of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 on November 1st by the Governor Lord Elphinstone from the topmost steps of the Town Hall amidst pomp and pageantry.

During the tenure of Lord Elphinstone, the Vihar Water Works were opened in 1861, which after the great water famine of 1824, gave to the town, for the first time, plenty of good water. The Elphinstone Reclamation Scheme also helped to expand the area of the islands.

Except these few imposing buildings, the Fort at that time was described as looking like "a large basket stuffed so full of goods that they threatened to tumble out of it." Sir Bartle Frere who assumed charge as the Governor of Bombay in April 1862, found the town "ill-built, ill-drained, very dirty and very unhealthy. Land for building was urgently required by the rapidly increasing population and space for more airy streets and houses." Lord Elphinstone and Sir George Clerk had appointed numerous committees to study the problem and the committees, one and all, had recommended the demolition of the high Fort walls as a primary step in that direction. Bartle Frere, concurring with this suggestion, ordered the removal of "the obsolete fortifications and the old ramparts and insanitary moat."

Sir Bartle was not contented with mere demolition; he was more interested in the creation of a new, attractive and well-planned Bombay. Bartle Frere picked up the reins where they had been left by Lord Elphinstone and urged on the chariot of improvement at head-long speed to the terror and indignation of the Government of India, who however, thanks to the broad basis on which all schemes for public improvements were then framed, were forced reluctantly to sanction them until the appearance of the city had been marvellously changed. The principal improvements were in the areas of

5 View of the J. J. Hospital and the Babula Tank (1864)



6 Colaba Causeway
(*c.* 1860)

reclamation, communications and public buildings. The reclamations were effected from Apollo Bunder to Colaba on the south-west, from Customs House to Sewree and from Colaba to the foot of Malabar Hill. These reclamations, in addition to gaining a vast area of land, resulted in the improvement of sanitary conditions in the city and made the life of the masses convenient and comfortable. In improving the communications systems, Bartle Frere built up and renovated 35 roads across the town with broad footpaths and bordered them with trees. He also gave directions to lay out gardens and planted enclosures at suitable spots. The notable amongst these are the Victoria Gardens, the University Gardens, the Elphinstone Circle Garden and the Northbrook Garden. While pulling down the fort walls, Bartle Frere planned to build a new town on the Esplanade with imposing public buildings of proper perspective and structural excellence. For this he invited several eminent international architects. Although all the buildings could not be completed during his tenure, he had scrupulously supervised their layout and details such as the use of stone and marble, as well as the size and shape of arches, domes, minarets and the sculptural work in each case. In course of time these plans resulted in a complex of magnificent public buildings in the western part of the Fort area. There was no scope to align the eastern part as it was already occupied, and the northern part—the Bazaar Gate area—was too crowded with no space for any new construction. The reclaimed area of the Mody Bay provided room for trading houses and shipping companies. In short, the whole of the Fort area, even after the improvements and modifications, remained as before, the business centre of the town of Bombay. The British officers, civil servants and proprietors of the business houses now shifted to the improved and widened airy environs of Colaba, away from the insanitary and polluted native town in the north.

The Defence Line, drawn 800 yards away from the Fort walls, had alienated the White Town within, from the Black Native Town outside. The native town then was a mass of thick vegetation interspersed with the thatched houses or low huts of the tillers of the soil. The characteristic trees of certain areas have been responsible for their place-names: for example, Borbhat in Girgaum was derived from Ber trees; Vadala and Vadali (which later became Varali or Worli) from the Banian Groves; Chinchpokli and Chinch Bandar from Tamarind trees; Babula Tank and Babulnath from Babul trees; Taddeo and Tadwadi from Brab Garden; Bhendi Bazaar from the Bhend tree; Phanaswadi from the Jackfruit tree; Ambewadi from mango groves, Kelewadi from the banana plantations. Most of the groves were natural and their produce was barely enough for the subsistence of the people. The insanitary conditions on the island sapped the energies of the people and many of them suffered from diseases and sickness.

The seven isles were pockets of land separated by stinking marshes and swamp lands "upon which the sea had so gained with the eruption that it almost divided the island in two and made the roads impassable." The obvious solution was to fuse the isles into an integral land mass by a massive series of reclamations. The first work of magnitude undertaken in this



6

direction was the construction of a vellard between Mahalaxmi and Worli. The advantages of breaching the onslaught of the sea were envisaged by the great Governor Hornby, who inspite of all opposition from the Directors of the East India Company, carried out the project. This piece of reclamation, so appropriately named Hornby Vellard—"the legacy of a man who defied the penny-pinching instincts of his superiors"—effectively welded the eastern and western shores of the island into one vast area and made 'the Flats' habitable and transport feasible.

With the sea shut out, the filling of all low-lying land was taken up so that it would be fit either for agriculture or for building houses. This was largely helped by the construction of roads which were, in effect, embanked causeways. The first of these was Bellassis Road, built in 1793 by the poor driven from Surat in that famine year out of funds raised by public subscription. A good deal later came Grant Road through surroundings which were practically open country. It was opened to the public in 1839. Clerk Road and Haines Road, across the Flats, were built in the 1860s. Ripon Road appeared in the 1880s. Foras Road perpetuates in its name this interesting phase of development by roadmaking. In addition to these internal roads, were the causeways: the Sion Causeway built by Governor Duncan in 1805 which has led to the gradual silting of the creek between Bombay and Trombay; the Lady Jamsetjee Causeway between Mahim and Bandra, built in 1845; and the Colaba Causeway which was commenced in 1835 and completed in 1838.

When, in 1804, the Defence Line cleared off an area of 800 yards from the Fort walls, the residential buildings thereupon were demolished and the affected persons were shifted to Government lands. The settlements at Khara Talao, Kumbharwada, Kamathipura, Khetwadi and eastern Bhuleshwar were put up at this time. The open area of Mandvi also soon came to be populated. Most of the residents were poor and the buildings that cropped up in the absence of control were unhygienic and ill-ventilated. The sea-faring Muslims were accommodated near the Fort while the Telugu and Kamathi Hindus closed up at Kumbharwada and Kamathipura. Other parts of the island came to be filled in with houses erected without any consideration—legal, material or environmental. Thus, *wadis* or oarts grew up at Girgaum, Thakurdwar, Phanaswadi, Mazgaon, Poibavdi, Parel and Mahim.

In 1829, the Government House was

7 The Queen's statue and the Central Telegraph building



7

shifted to Parel. Since then, the area from Byculla to Parel and Chinchpokli attracted the attention of the elite and they built palatial houses there. Many of these have been demolished in the last thirty years. Among those that still exist is the beautiful 'Sans Souci' mansion of the Sassoon family—now the Massina Hospital, Byculla. With the growth of industry and the provision of amenities, the town soon began to fill up and vegetation diminished. Roads were laid and dusty pathways were improved into cobbled streets and asphalt roads.

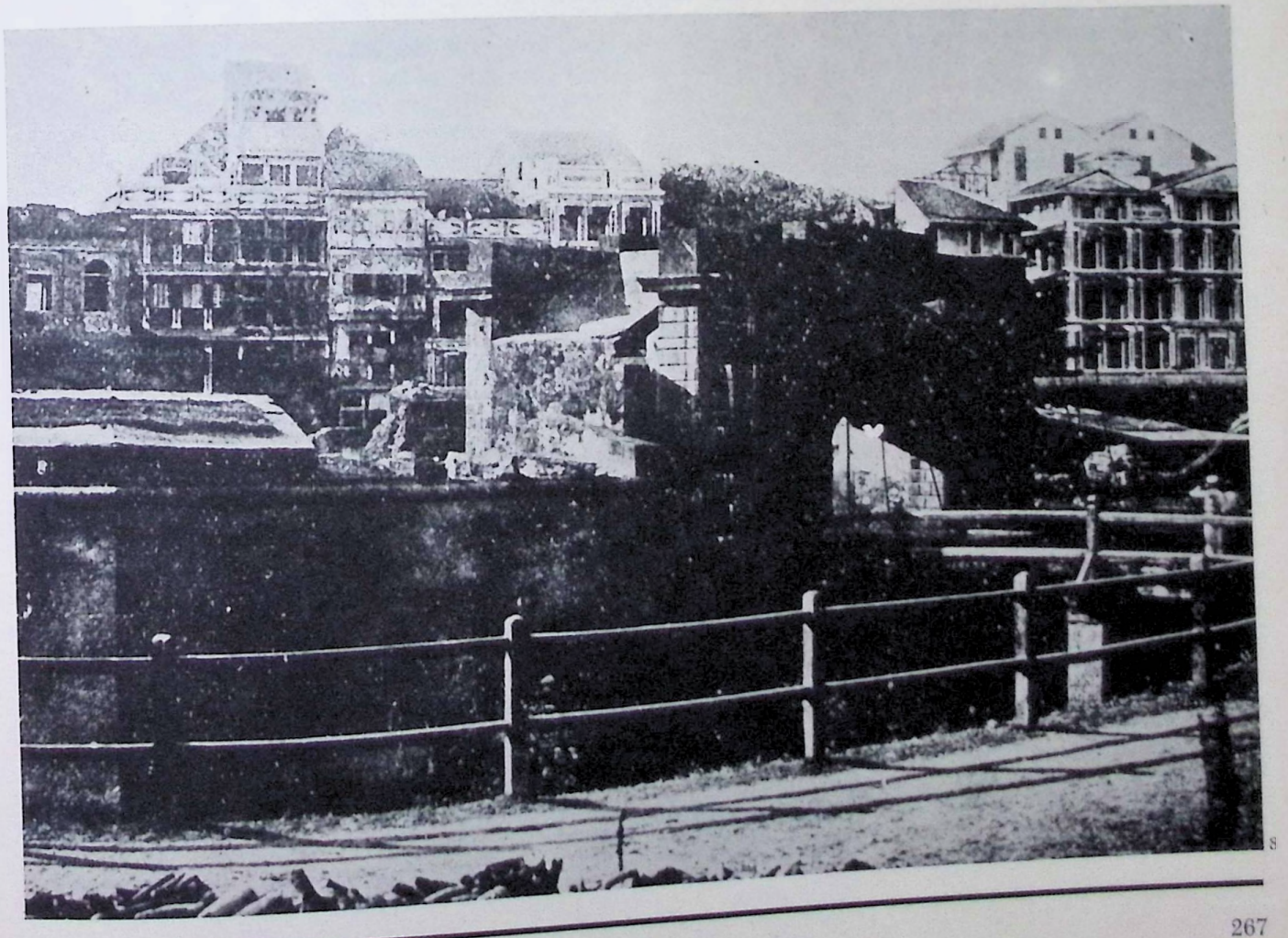
The Municipal Act was passed in 1872 and the first Municipal elections were held in July 1873, thus entrusting the civic administration to a Municipal Corporation of 64 members. Considerable progress was made thereafter in sanitation and communication. Bombay City received its water supply from Vihar Lake in 1860 which was later augmented by the Tulsi Lake. Tansa, Bombay's main source of water supply was available in 1892. The drainage problem was also soon tackled properly and systematically. The Bombay Gas Company was established in 1862 and in 1886 the main thoroughfares—Esplanade, Churchgate and Bhendi Bazaar—were brightened with gas lamps. Prior to that, kerosene lamps were used for street lighting. Electric power for illuminating the streets became available in 1908. Almost two decades later electric power was employed for domestic and industrial purposes.

Transport and Communications

At first, movement within the islands was done by horses and palanquins. In the late seventeenth century, when the islands were connected, bullock-carts known as *recklas* were initially used for transport.

The overland telegraph came to Bombay in 1864. The telegraph cables, operated by the Indian Radio and Cable Communication Co. Ltd., linked Bombay with England via Aden and Gibralter and with Africa via Seychelles. In 1853 the Bombay Government established inland telegraphic communications between Bombay and other parts of India. The Central Telegraph Office building was built in 1874 at Flora Fountain.

The Oriental Telephone Company, a private enterprise, was, in 1881, entrusted with the work of organising telephone service in Bombay; but, as it could not raise enough capital, the Bombay Telephone Company took over the project. In June 1883, this company established



144 stations in the city connecting most of the public offices with one another. The company erected a building for its central exchange at Home Street (Fort) in 1906. By this time the underground cable scheme had already commenced. In 1929 the company switched over from the manual to the automatic system.

The postal service in the earlier years was not a public venture. In 1787, the Court of Directors of the East India Company appointed a Postmaster in Bombay to organise regular communication with Fort St. George, Madras. Later, in 1794, a General Post Office for the Presidency was established. Messengers were employed to deliver letters throughout the town and collect a delivery fee of 4 *annas* upon all letters from Europe, but no postage was charged upon letters to and from subordinate stations in the Presidency. It was not until 1854 that the postage stamp was introduced. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, Meherwandaru Naoroji, more popularly known as Postwalla, privately undertook the postage of letters for the public at a fee of one *pice* per letter. He had maintained a staff of clerks for the benefit of those who could not write their own correspondence and distributed mail thoughout the Presidency.

Bhimji Paruck established the first printing press in 1674 by importing the machines through the East India Company. Around 1790, the Bombay Gazette Press and the Bombay Courier Press started functioning. But the first native press, the Bombay Samachar Press was opened in 1812 and published the first Gujarati calendar in 1814. The first Gujarati newspaper, the *Bombay Samachar* appeared in July, 1822. It is the oldest newspaper in India and still continues in its 163rd year. Around 1830 the Government opened a press for their own official publications which was taken over in 1848 by the Byculla Education Society with a monopoly over all government printing. By 1867 Bombay contained approximately 25 printing presses—the chief of which were the Times of India, the Bombay Gazette, the Byculla Education Society, Ganpat Krishnaji Press, the Imperial and the Oriental Presses, the Indu Prakash, the Jam-e-Jamshed, the Akbar-i-Soudagar, and the Darpan Press. By 1878 the number increased to 53 including the Government Central Press and 48 other vernacular presses. The Nirnayasagar Press, founded by Javaji Dadaji around 1869 attained international fame for its Devanagari typography and diacritical marks.

Enterprising Personalities

Ship-building was one of the first industries to be established in Bombay. In 1700, the East India Company constructed the Surat docks on the River Tapti. Their maintenance was entrusted to the Parsis, particularly to Lavji Nusserwanjee Wadia. Having served the East India Company for 35 years, Lavji was brought to Bombay to build the docks, the first in 1754, the second in 1762 and the third in 1765. For the next 40 years, the Wadia sons and grandsons maintained and enlarged these as the need arose. One of the family, Jamshedji Bomanji Wadia built battleships and frigates for the British Royal Navy, as well as merchant ships for the East India Company. The first ship launched for the Bombay Marines by the Wadia family was in 1735 and the last was in 1881.

Although Bombay was fortunate to be governed by a successive string of administrators, it is not the efforts of the government alone which went into the making of this great city. Indian communities who also loved the city ardently have, in equal measure, spent themselves and their wealth towards its advancement and embellishment.

Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, a merchant prince, was the first Indian to be knighted by his sovereign as well as the first on whom the dignity of a baronet was conferred. Such recognition was wholly due to his beneficent philanthropy and his unswerving loyalty to the Crown. He began his life in Bombay as an orphan, selling empty bottles from door to door. But, after a year, he migrated to China and within eight years, established himself as a keen and wealthy tradesman. Having suffered the pangs of poverty, Sir Jamsetji set out to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and the poor. He contributed liberally to raise the J. J. Hospital, the first of its kind in Bombay. He founded the J. J. School of Art, now recognised as one of the finest institutions of its kind in the country. He was the first Indian director of the G.I.P. Railway and his *bas-relief* appears on the central gable of Victoria Terminus. He built and endowed various hostelries, had wells sunk, tanks enlarged and bridges built in the villages of Gujarat for the poor. His greatest service to the country was the financing of the Poona Bund and Water Works, the first in India.

Framji Cawasji, a contemporary of Sir Jamsetji and owner of forty ships was a thriving trader of Indian goods with Burma and China. A member of the Board of Education, he contributed substantially to the spread of learning in the native community. The Dhobi Talao, as its name indicates, was a big tank, formerly, used for washing clothes. During the severe water-famine of 1822, Framji dug up two wells in that vicinity and, on the

emergence of good water, built the tank at a cost of Rs. 25,000.

Another great citizen of Bombay was Jagannath Shankarshet, endearingly known as "Nana" Shankarshet. A statesman of rare political sagacity and a social reformer of great constructive mind, he was the first Hindu gentleman to be honoured by Sir Bartle Frere with a non-official seat in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1863. He was connected with virtually every important venture and institution of his time. Along with Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy and Framji Cawasji, he started, in 1822, the Native Education Society through which the Elphinstone High School was born. He encouraged women's education and, against all orthodox opposition, gave room in his own *wada* for the girls' school started by Dr. Wilson, a Scottish missionary. Nana sponsored the educational activities of the Student's Library and Scientific Society which founded seven girls' schools for Maharashtrian and Gujarati pupils. One of these institutions, housed at the rear of his *wada*, was given free accommodation and the deficit in its budget paid by Nana. The school was named after him and still functions on the same premises. Nana was instrumental in the founding of the Grant Medical College and was responsible for promoting medical education in Marathi. Similarly, he introduced legal education in Marathi. Nana's temple, Nana Chowk, and the indispensable Sonapur exist as memorials to this great man.

Sir Cawasji Jehangir Readymoney was the descendant of a long line of Parsi bankers who deservedly earned the pseudonym of 'Readymoney' as much by their scrupulous integrity as by their success in trade. In 1857 he built, at a cost of Rs. 66,000, the noble civil hospital at Surat and, in 1863, he erected the Opthalmic Hospital at Byculla, spending Rs. 97,000. The beautiful Civil Engineering College at Pune and the European Strangers' Home at Bombay would never have been called into existence but for his munificence. The superb University Hall and the gothic Elphinstone College Building were founded by him. He also erected drinking fountains throughout Bombay. The beautiful fountain at the entrance of St. Thomas Cathedral, and another more embellished one inside the Crawford Market, exhibit his philanthropy and artistic taste. In 1860 he was appointed Income Tax Commissioner and, in 1872 he was knighted in appreciation of his generous charities. His adopted son and successor was also knighted in his own right in 1895. He was made a Baronet in 1908, the third Indian to be so honoured. He also ran a large business in cotton and donated liberally to charity and to education. He built the Sir Cawasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay and financed the Readymoney Wing at the Imperial Institute in London. He was elected a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1930 and attended the first and second Round Table Conferences.

Jamshedji Tata, who initiated Tata Mills, was also the innovator of the steel industry in this country. The firm of Tata Sons, founded in 1887, later developed into the House of Tatas, comprised of manifold industrial ventures, and is still a significant force in India. Jamshedji also took keen interest in the development of Bombay and was the first to initiate modern housing in the city. He persuaded the Municipality to reclaim the malarial swamps in Salsette and to allow him to build suburban villas in Bandra, Mahim and Juhu Tara. He was also the first to give Bombay a luxury hotel—the Taj Mahal—as well as give India her first scientific institution—the Institute of Science at Bangalore.

Jamshedji is remembered for three major contributions to Indian commerce and industry. It was his vision which bore fruit in the hydro-electric works at Lonavala and it was he who gave India her first scientific institution, the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. The House of Tatas founded later, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Tata Memorial Hospital for Cancer and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research.

When the Jama Masjid was shifted to its present site around 1837, it was almost entirely reconstructed by the devout Muhammed Ali Rogay, a Konkani Mussalman. Another notable member of this community was Muhammed Ibrahim Makheb connected with many academic institutions and possibly the first writer of a grammar of Marathi. Later in the century, Badruddin Tyabji presided over one of the sessions of the Indian National Congress. In appreciation of his good work, the Government appointed him as a judge of the Bombay High Court in 1895.

An upsurge of political interest among Indian intellectuals occurred around the middle of the nineteenth century. Those in Bombay formed the Bombay Association under the leadership of Dadabhai Naoroji. The first president of the Association was Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy and the two secretaries were Naoroji Furdoonji and Dr. Bhau Daji. Its successor, the Bombay Presidency Association was established in 1885, a few months before the founding of the Indian National Congress. The three Parsis most closely associated with the National Movement were Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Phirozshah Mehta and Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha. Dadabhai was elected President of the 1906 session of the

Indian National Congress during which he demanded 'Swaraj' for India. He was also elected to the Bombay Municipal Council and his writings in this connection awakened the people to many causes of social and civic reforms.

Phirozshah Mehta, influenced to a great extent by Dadabhai's ardent nationalism and sincere social work, was elected a member of the Town Council of Bombay and of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. In 1911 Lord Willingdon appointed him as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. He demanded "teaching universities" and suggested administrative reforms in the Senate. In 1913 Phirozshah founded the *Bombay Chronicle.*

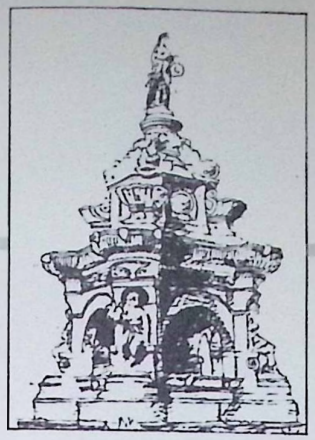
Many others contributed significantly towards the formation of Bombay. David Sassoon, from the small Bene-Israeli community, hailing from Baghdad, made his fortune in Bombay. He built a synagogue for his community and established schools for educating the masses, a reform school for juvenile delinquents at Matunga and the Sassoon Mechanics Institute for encouraging technical education.

From the Gujarati community, Premchand Roychand donated over Rs. four *lakhs* towards the building of the University Library and the famous clock-tower adjoining it. Gokuldas Tejpal built a hospital for the poor and a *pathshala* for imparting Sanskrit learning. Sir Mangaldas Nathoobai donated lavishly to the University for establishing scholarships at all levels of education. Meanwhile, Mulji Jetha created the largest market in the city for wholesale textiles and Varjivandas Madhavdas constructed the imposing Madhav Baug and included a trust fund for its expenses. Karsandas Mulji, a social reformer, wrote a number of articles in Gujarati exposing the loose behaviour of the Vallabh Panth *gurus* and attacking the implicit acceptance of such religious traditions. He condemned child-marriage, promoted widow-remarriage and sponsored female education. Another visionary tradesman was Damodardas Sukhadwalla. He donated liberally to educational activities and propagated social reform. To establish the first free public library in Bombay, he spent three *lakhs* and provided liberal funds for its management.

After Dr. Garcia da Orta, two doctors who took deep interest in the study of medicinal plants and pursued research to test their efficacy were Dr. Bhau Daji Lad and Dr. Sakharam Arjun Raut. Dr. Sakharam Arjun had written a book—perhaps the first of its kind, enumerating the various common and uncommon plants with their technical and common names, uses and places of origin. Dr. Bhau Daji, a doctor by profession, was involved in many social and educational ventures. He was the secretary of the Bombay Association at one time. Recognising the utility of a museum as a powerful medium of education, he sponsored the establishment of the Albert Museum in the Victoria Gardens. The garden there was not merely a place of recreation but a type of greenhouse for the cultivation and study of plants from all over the world. He had discovered an herbal cure for leprosy which he prescribed for many patients with good results. Unfortunately, the details thereof have been lost.

Amongst other contemporaries, V. N. Mandalik and K. T. Telang, both scholars of independent mind, need mention. Mandalik was a linguist specialised in Sindhi, Sanskrit, Persian and English. He was the Founder-Editor of the Anglo-Marathi weekly, *Native Opinion.* Mandalik had a fetish for systematic work and his name was a synonym for punctuality. K. T. Telang was a profound Sanskrit pandit and luminary of Law who translated the *Bhagwad Gita*—a project entrusted to him by the orientalist, Max Mueller. It is internationally recognised for its clarity and commendable perspicuity. His legal acumen was most useful in the drafting of the Bombay Municipal Act along with Phirozshah Mehta. Telang was connected with the Indian National Congress since its foundation in 1885. But later when he was appointed High Court Judge in 1889, he severed his connection with the political movement. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University in 1893 but he did not survive long to participate in the office.

Bombay has grown in age and in size but it has not lost its individuality and its peculiar culture; Bombay is a curious blend of contradictions. It has assimilated all that is new and good and yet it has not given up the old and the sound. There is the radar at the Sahar Airport, the Apsara at Trombay, the T.V. tower at Worli and the packaging contrivances in the Docks. And yet the oil lamp brightens the Prongs Lighthouse, the victorias ply in the streets, the fisherwoman brings her catch to your door and the *kulfiwalla* shouts himself hoarse at night in your lane. This is the Bombay which once raised the magnificent Gateway of India to welcome the British Sovereign and it is the same Bombay that gave a clarion call to the British to "quit India." Bombay is enigmatic but it is still stable and stubborn. Bombay may change in the years to come but it will always continue to remain one of the most memorable cities of the world.



Landmarks

Foy Nissen

No more enduring memorial to the British *Raj*'s response to the Indian environment may be found than in the architecture that the *Raj* raised and left behind. This is as true of the Indian subcontinent as a whole as it is of its component areas—geographical units large enough to encompass separate countries elsewhere in the world—and Maharashtra provides through its buildings and monuments a distinctive regional example and setting.

Already rich in archaeological and architectural monuments affording an imposing vista of man's history, Maharashtra happens to have caught in its architectural mirror the finest reflection of the British *Raj*'s cultural and commercial self-confidence in nineteenth century India. Economic power, reinforced with the guiding hand of Governor Sir Bartle Frere, saw to it that most of the best examples of the new architecture were located in Bombay. The result is an astonishing concentration of High Victorian Gothic expressed in public and private buildings of great splendour and considerable sophistication.

The sophistication was not confined to external features, though after the 1860s these began to incorporate the superlative craftsmanship of western India's traditional stone-masons and sculptors. It was a part of conscientious effort by British building engineers and architects to adapt and evolve an architecture suitable to their historical situation in an alien climate.

We may distinguish four basic formulations of this tradition of architectural adaptation to a climate which was frequently described as hostile and to an environment which, both in its teeming population and tropical flora and fauna, was felt by many British pioneers to contribute to a febrile, hothouse state of unmanageable disorder. The frequent description of congested Indian domestic urban settlements as 'The Black Town'—from which planners of cantonments and civil lines antiseptically distanced their town scapes—pre-eminently focussed this point of view.

Out of disorder therefore the requirements of power required order. Who else could give the lead when it came to a public expression of the spirit of each successive age of the British *Raj* but the military engineers and the Public Works Department (P.W.D.) architects in Government employ? The earliest formulation, apart from specialised military fortifications, crystallised an indigenous domestic structure into a standardised, permanent and up-graded dwelling known universally as a bungalow. A high plinth raised the ground level on which were erected the walls containing living or office quarters, the whole surrounded often on all four sides by a verandah overhung by a pitched roof which was thatched or, later, more often tiled. It was usually a single-storey dwelling but was often elaborated to rise to two. Regional styles developed and the bungalow became a more complex and often grand structure as occasion demanded. In western India one has now to scour the small-town mofussil to identify these remnants of a pioneer style. Few grand bungalows survive in developing Bombay—the graceful early nineteenth century Banquet Hall at Raj Bhavan on Malabar Hill is one—but mofussil settlements like Pune are still graced with nineteenth century cantonment and private bungalows of much charm.

As the empire progressed, building activity in India not surprisingly followed the inspiration of architectural currents in Britain and the classical idiom of the late eighteenth century and the early Regency period. In India the prime examples of this development are the many palatial public buildings of Calcutta. Remnants of this classical tradition, interlocked with regional versions of the bungalow, became a common feature of domestic British architecture all over British administered India. In Bombay few examples survive—the Government Mint, designed in 1820 by Major John Hawkins of the Royal Engineers and the aesthetically successful former Town Hall and present Central Library designed in 1833 by Colonel Thomas

Cowper. The former has purely Ionic detail whilst the latter presents an exterior with an extensive Doric facade. In 1863 the orientation of this imposing building was felicitously incorporated in the circular garden development that was to become Elphinstone (later re-named Horniman) Circle, affording a view from the Town Hall steps axially through the Circle to the Arabian Sea. The late eighteenth century private bungalow-mansion which became the old Government House on Apollo Street is another fine extant example. It is in dire need of restoration, as are Charles Forbes' house and several later eighteenth century town buildings which lend much charm to the urban back-street setting bounded by Military Square Lane, Forbes Street and Ropewalk Lane off K. Dubash Marg.

Early nineteenth century churches in India also reflect this classical inspiration and in Bombay the Georgian Style is evident in St. Andrew's Church, built in 1818 opposite the present Dockyard as well as in Christ's Church, Byculla completed in 1835. In 1825 Bishop Heber consecrated the Georgian St. James' Church at Thane as well as the oldest church in the Deccan, the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Ghorpuri in Pune. This Georgian structure has a charming interior, its light inside partially modified by double-glazing and its nostalgic ambience heightened by tattered regimental standards preserved on the walls. A Royal Engineer, Colonel Trotter, designed the stained-glass east window. The steeple was renewed in 1982.

The oldest British church in Bombay, St. Thomas' Cathedral readied for use in 1718, is a mixture of successive styles culminating in a Gothic tower in 1838 and a Gothic chancel inside which was part of an 1860 renovation by the Government architect, James Trubshawe. Few people know of the striving for quality which some of these renovations envisaged—one of Britain's most celebrated architectural designers, William Butterfield, was commissioned to design its chancel paving but financial stringencies allowed only a part of Butterfield's 1872 tiled paving design to be implemented. Another distinguished Victorian architect, Sir Gilbert Scott, designed the Gothic fountain in front of the Cathedral's entrance.

Mumbai, universally known as Bombay, established itself as the *urbs prima in Indis* of the nineteenth century *Raj* heyday. By the mid-1850s Bombay achieved this architecturally by making a technological, stylistic and revolutionary leap into the then contemporary present. This occurred after the first church in India built according to the neo-gothic principles adumbrated by the Ecclesiologists was constructed in Bombay, between 1847 and 1857; and when, by 1868, Bombay's first iron-frame, semi-prefabricated construction—the old Watson's Hotel, the Esplanade Mansions of today—was erected from a design by R. M. Ordish on a prime site overlooking the Esplanade. The church is St. John's Afghan Memorial Church in Colaba cantonment, still the landmark that it has been for over a century for those at sea. Views of it from within the city now reveal the insensitivity with which subsequent building development has dwarfed its scale.

This brings us to the high-water mark of British public architectural policy during the *Raj*—the grand era of Victorian Revival Gothic. It is to be encountered in numerous manifestations in the larger towns of western India but the finest collection of these buildings in the world is rightly identified in Bombay.

The Gothic Revival Style with its open balconies, staircases, galleries and verandahs acclimatised itself naturally in sub-tropical India and so survived functionally long after it had given way in England to less exotic domestic traditions.

Most of these buildings in western India were constructed by the P.W.D., a service instituted in 1854 to meet development demands. Construction was from local materials such as Deccan trap stone, blue Kurla basalt, red Bassein sandstone and Porbandar sandstone. The architects were Englishmen either in the service of the P.W.D. or Government or occasionally contracted from private practice. Although mostly resident in Bombay they were in touch with the latest currents of architectural thinking of the time in Britain and they imbued Bombay's later nineteenth century public buildings with the spirit of A.W.N. Pugin. Yet there was a conscious formal effort in their work to evolve a distinctive architectural synthesis combining *avant-garde* principles of Gothic Revivalism with their perception of the indigenous idiom of Hindu and Muslim architecture. The Mechanics' Institute, whose striking yet relatively small-scale neo-Gothic premises now house the David Sassoon Library, contributed to the intellectual climate by offering awards for architectural design which were advertised in *The Bombay Builder,* itself a reflection of the favourable local conditions for architectural practice at that time.

The impetus given by Governor Bartle Frere achieved significance in 1862 with the final dismantling of Bombay's Fort walls and bastions. The land thus cleared provided opportunities for development and the deployment of architects. It was no coincidence that by 1862 there was an amalgamation of the P.W.D. with the older military cadre of Royal Engineers, thus strengthening an all-India service. In the same year Frere also announced a plan for the construction of some fourteen public buildings, most of which constitute a priceless architectural legacy in fine, robustly constructed buildings which are the pride of Bombay today.

The architectural masterpiece of Bombay is universally acclaimed. It is Victoria Terminus, designed by F. W. Stevens and completed in 1878. It was conceived in the traditions of the great British architects of the period—Pugin,

1 Ballroom bungalow, Raj Bhavan
early 19th century A.D.

2 Town Hall
A.D. 1833

3 Government House
mid-18th century A.D.

4 Secretariat
A.D. 1874
Designer: Colonel Wilkins

5 Sketch of PWD Secretariat
A.D. 1872
Designer: Colonel Wilkins

6 Royal Alfred Sailors' Home
A.D. 1872
Architect: F. W. Stevens

7 B. B. & C. I. Railway Building
Designer: F. W. Stevens

8 Bombay Municipal Corporation
A.D. 1893
Architect: F. W. Stevens

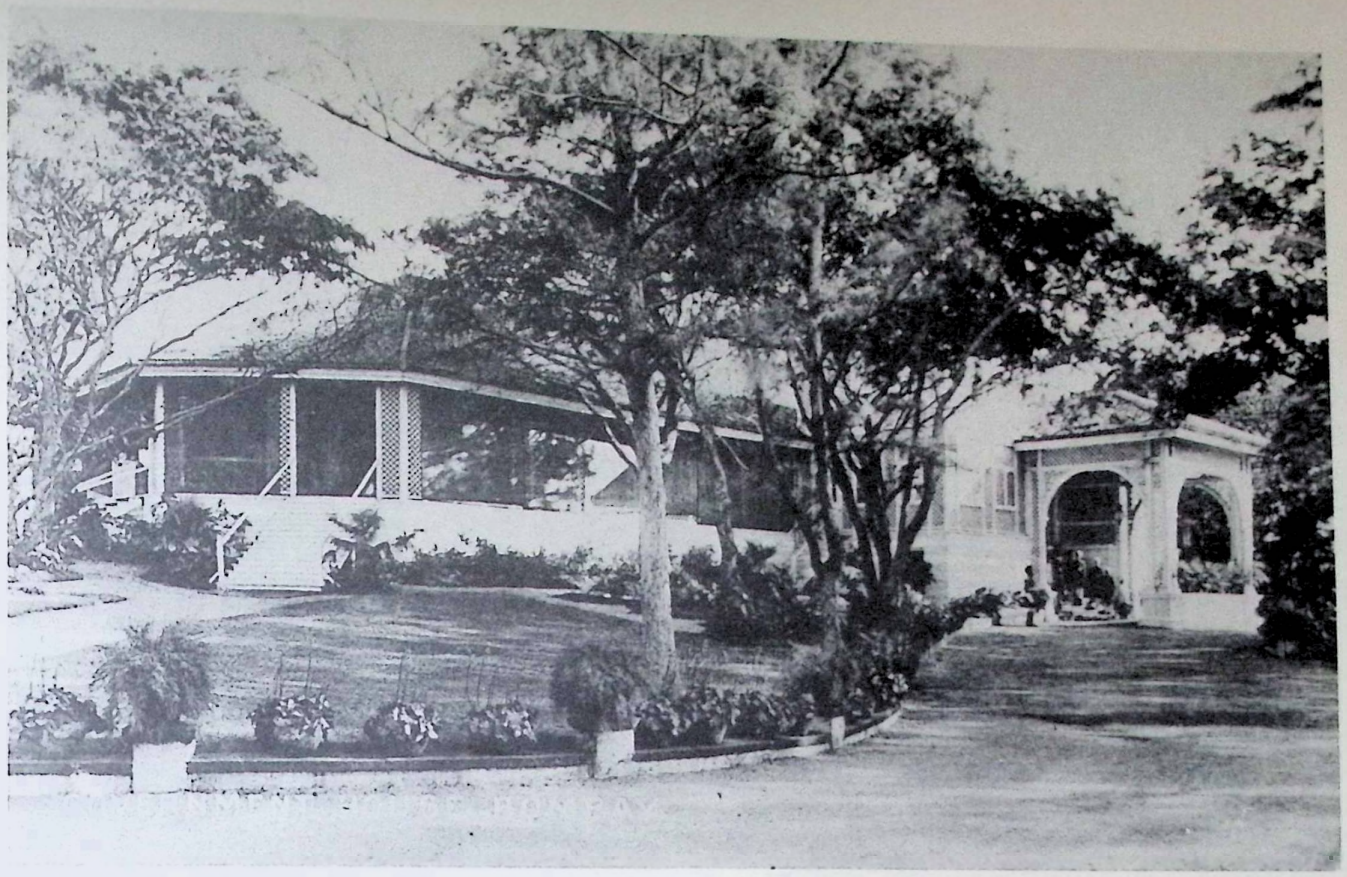
9 W. Langhammer's monsoon impression of Flora Fountain
c. A.D. 1940

10 The High Court
A.D. 1878
Rajabai Clock Tower
A.D. 1874
The New Stock Exchange
c. A.D. 1970

11 Gateway of India
A.D. 1911
Architect: George Wittet

12 The David Sassoon Library, Army and Navy Building and Esplanade Mansion

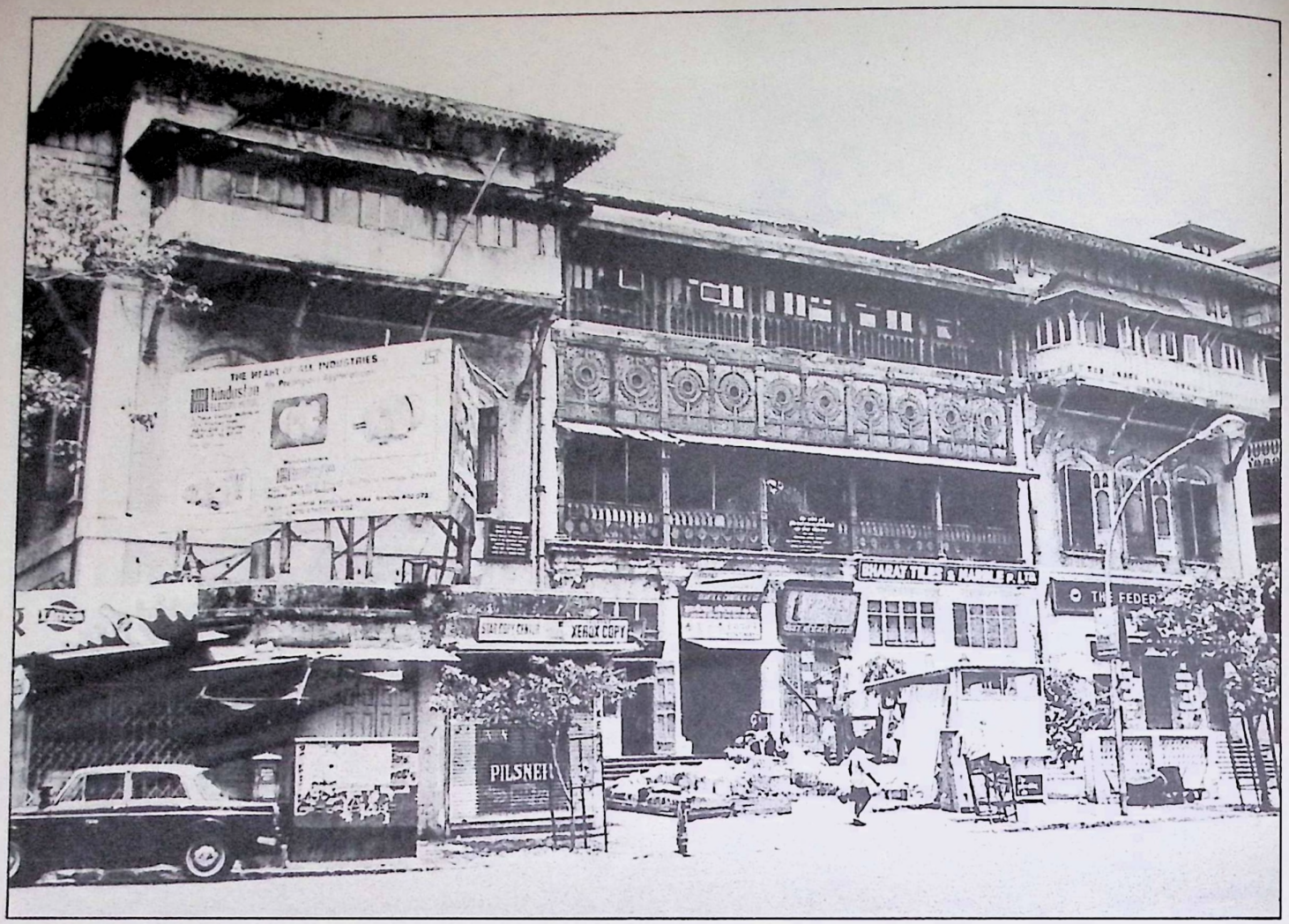
13 Victoria Terminus
A.D. 1878
Architect: F. W. Stevens



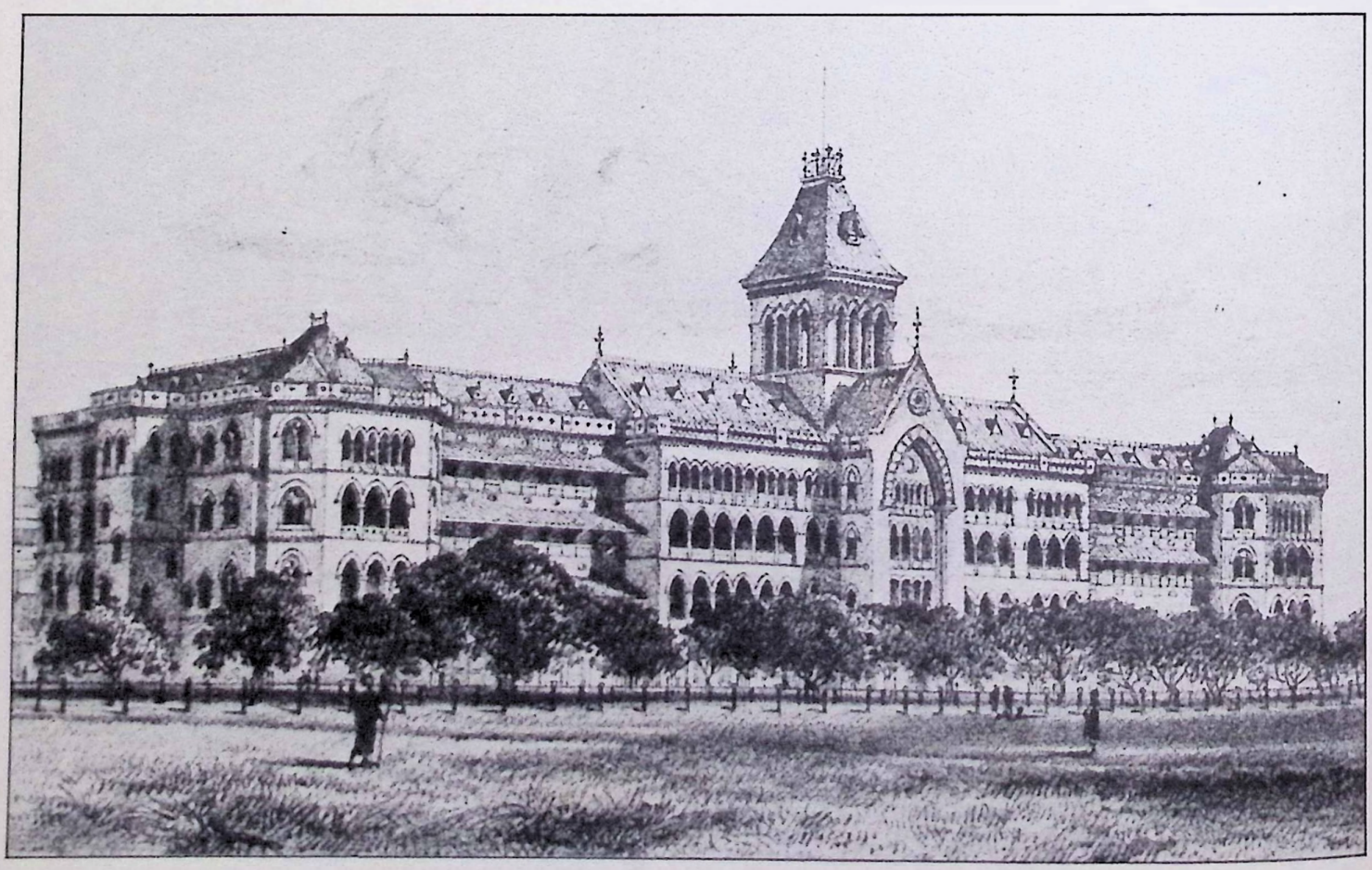
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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, BOMBAY
THE CENTRAL LIBRARY

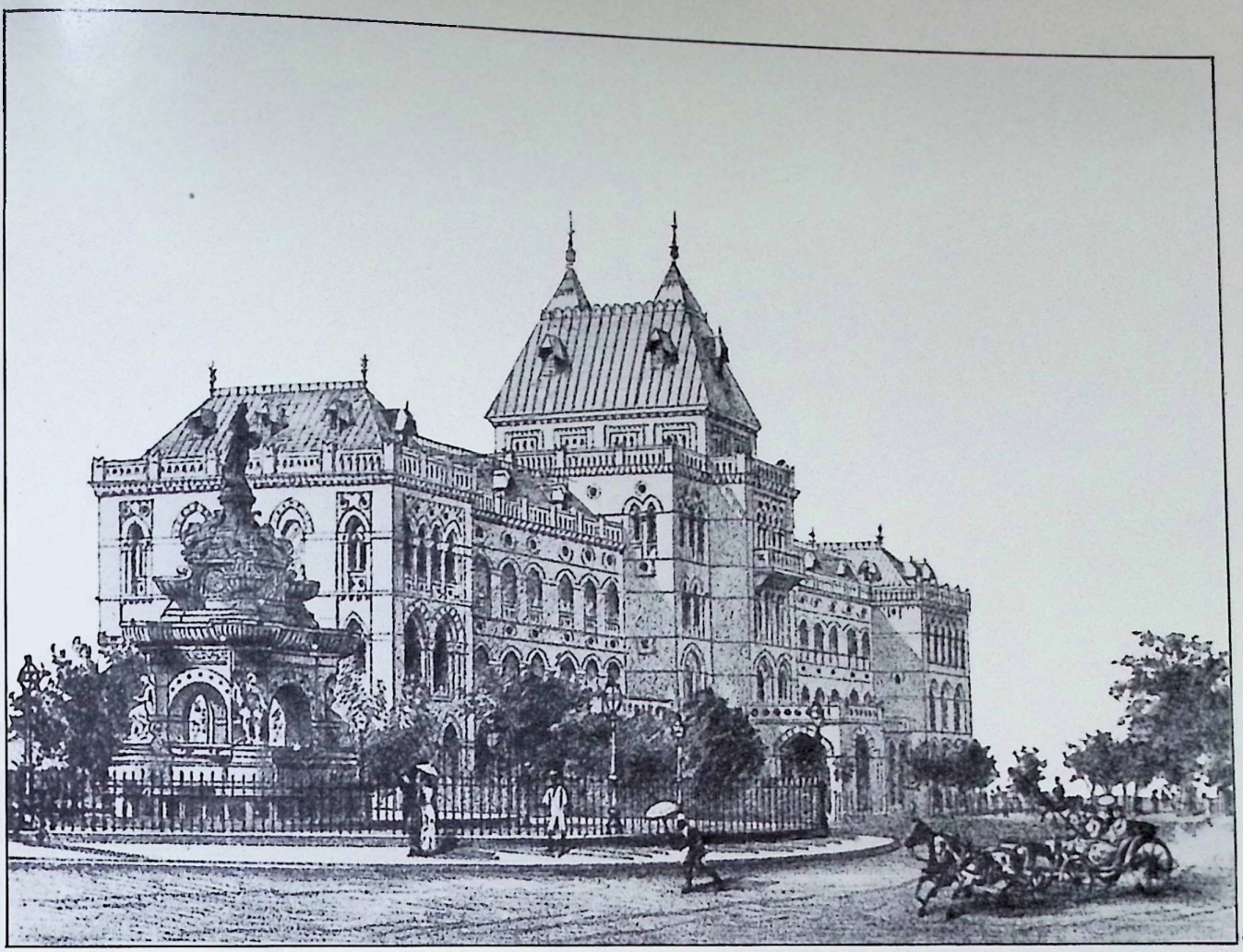
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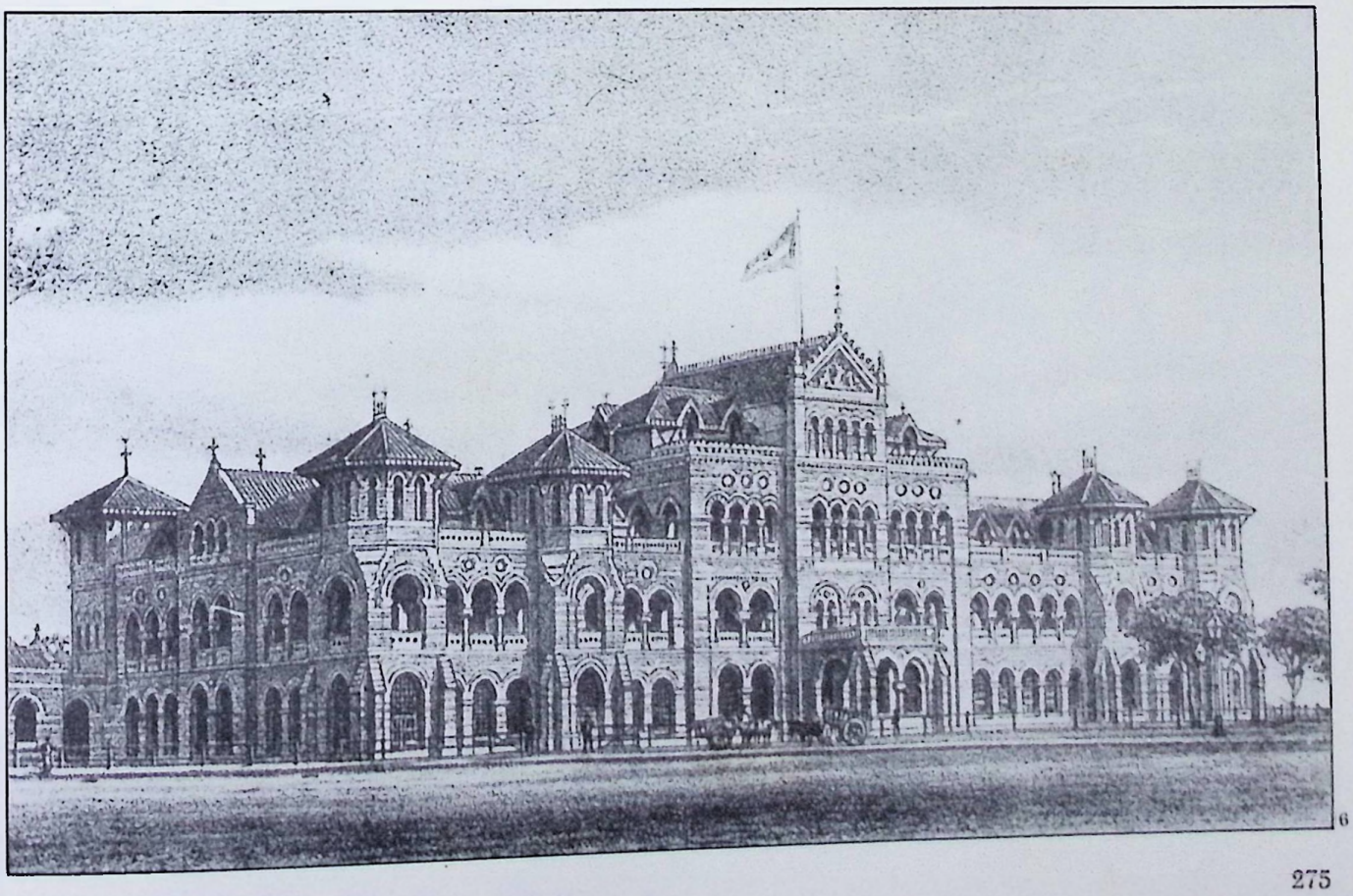
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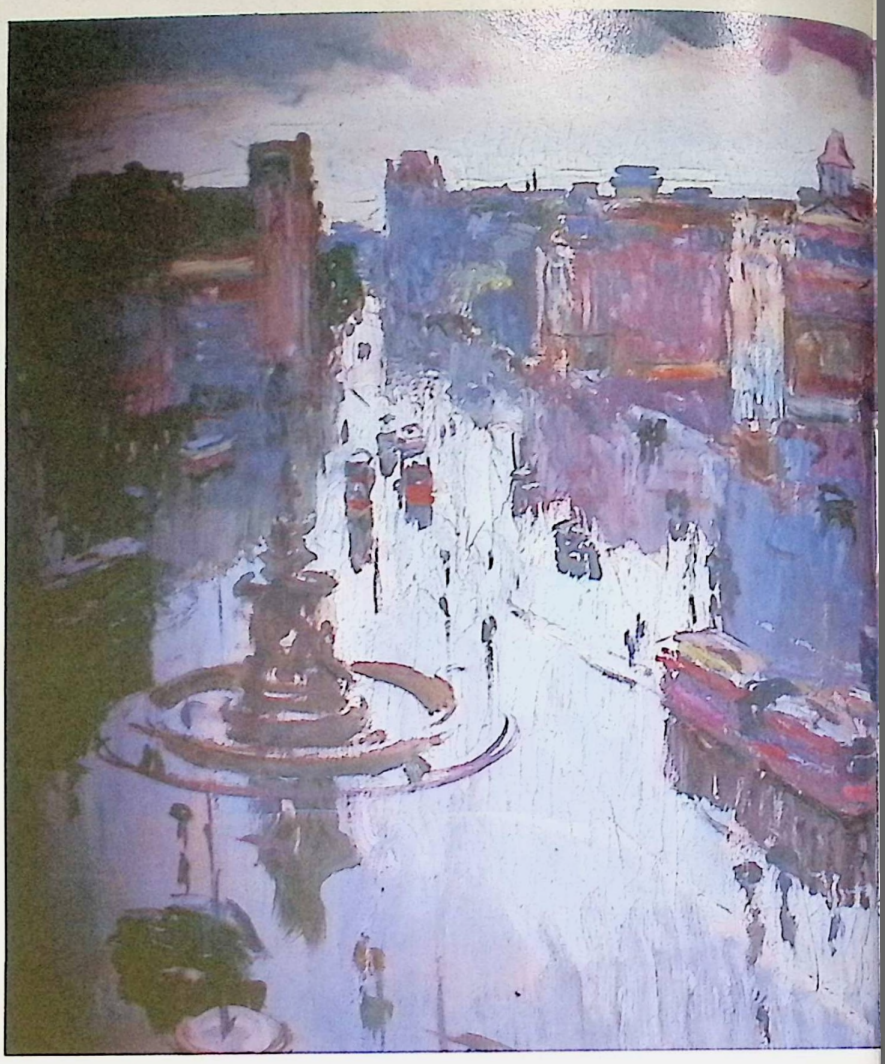
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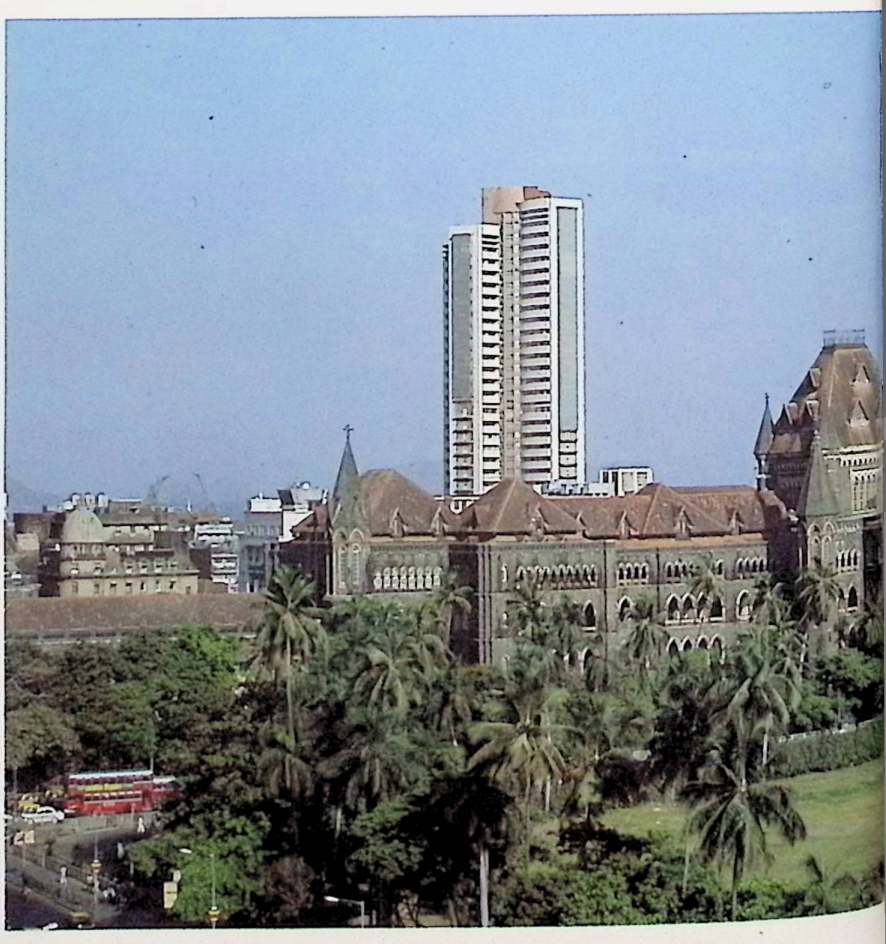
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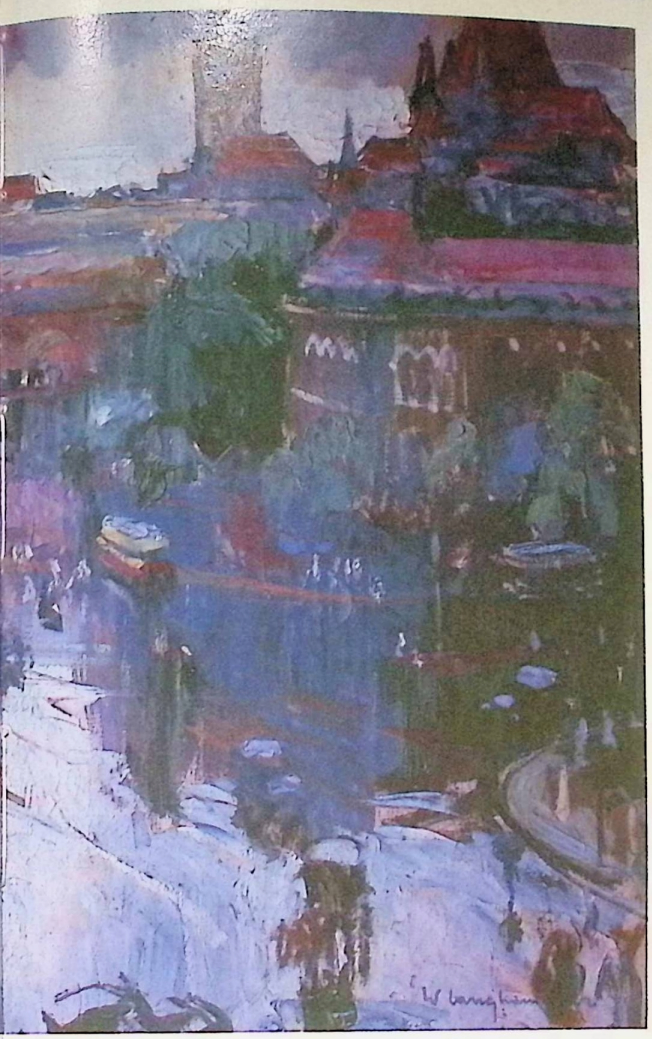
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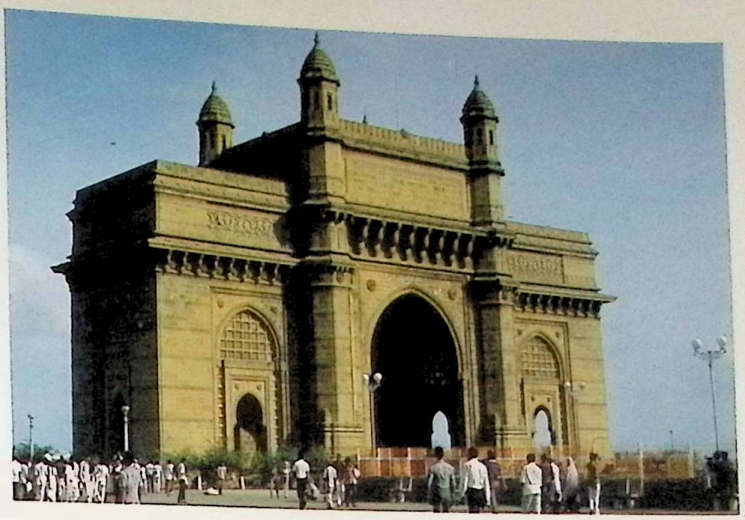


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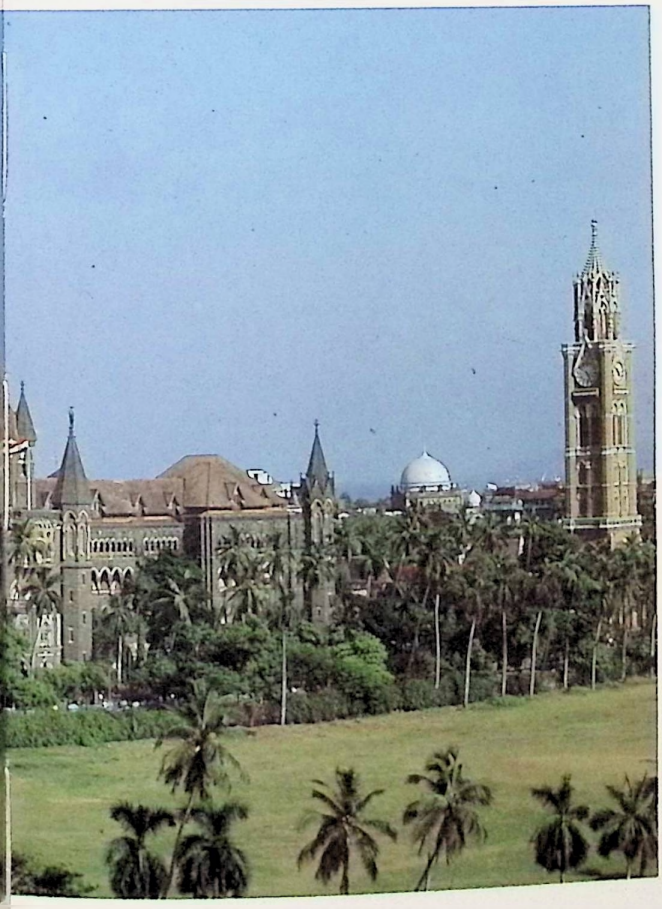


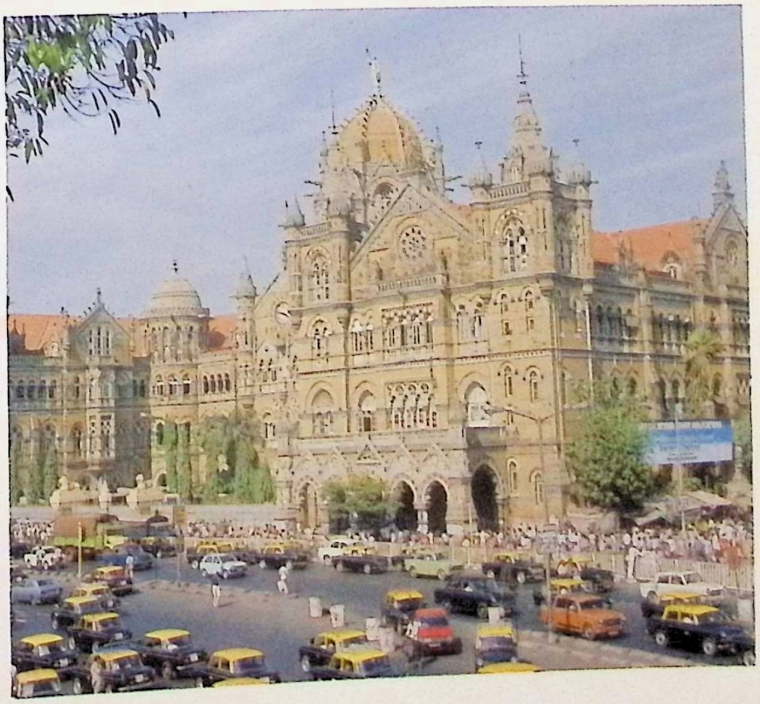


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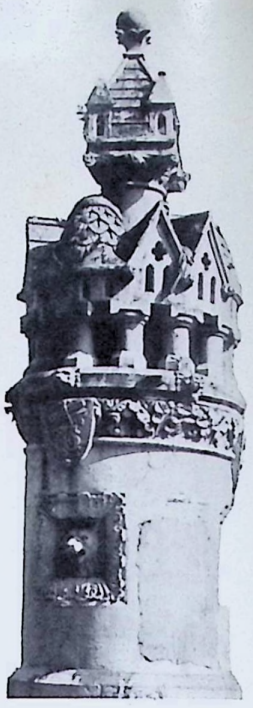




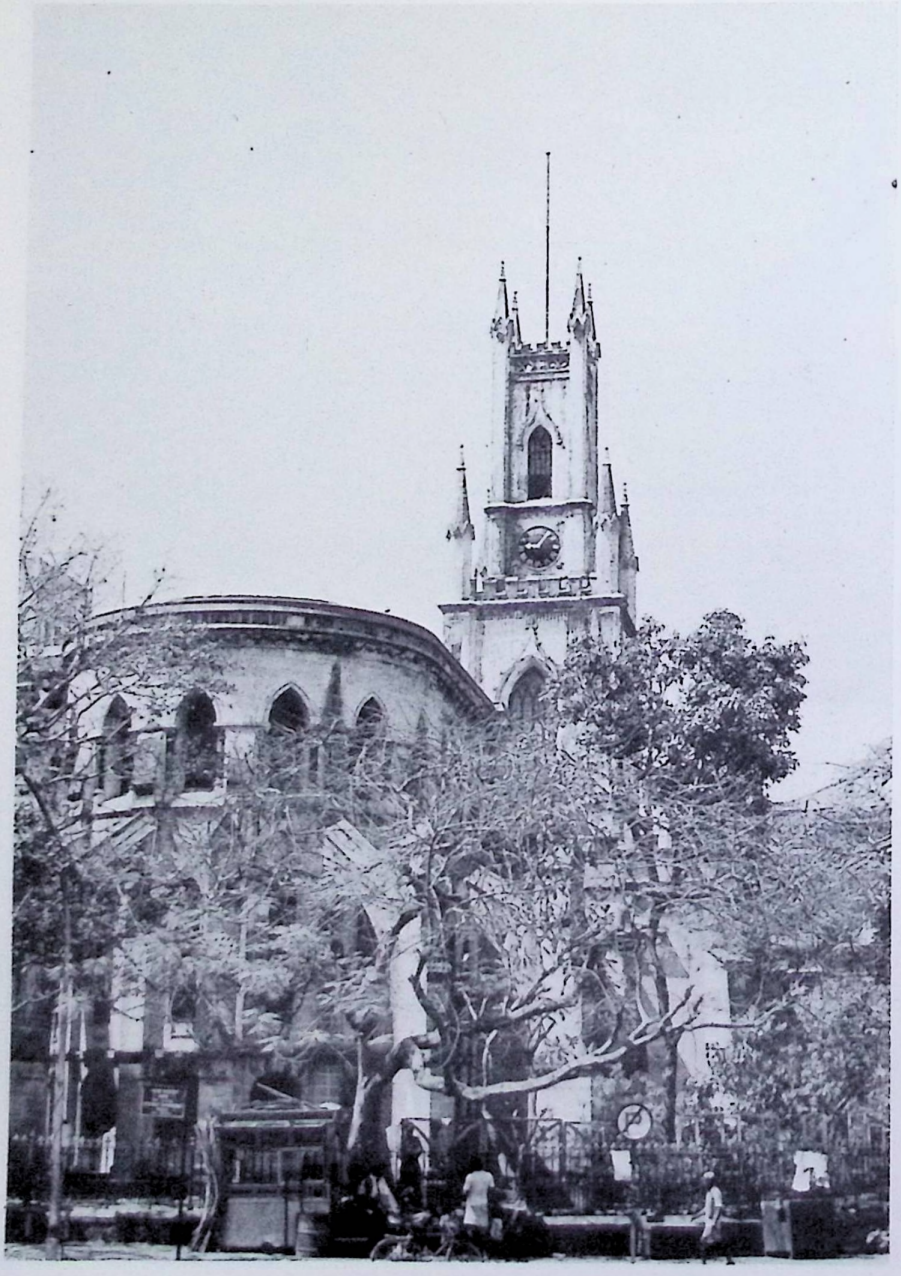
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15



16


In Memory of
KATHERINE KIRKPATRICK
Obiit 27 January 1758
Æt. 29
In Beauty's Mould by Nature chastely cast;
That here thy Relics, long rever'd in Earth,
Have slept without a Tribute to thy Worth,
Arraign nor conjugal, nor filial Love;
For pledg'd by each, the sacred Shrine will prove
That Memory clinging to a Comfort's Heart
That late, pays Homage to thy mortal Part
And with thy Image graven on his Soul
Wafts many a Sigh to Julia from the Pole
That the own Sons affecting Nature's Claim,
Join to commemorate a Mother's Name:
And hallowing with their Tears the votive Stone
Revere her Virtues and extoll their own.

17

14 River goddess
(sculpted by John
Lockwood Kipling)
Crawford Market fountain

15 Fountain at Kamatipura
Designer: probably
William Emerson and
J. L. Kipling

16 St. Thomas' Cathedral
A.D. 1718-1870s

17 Monument, St. Thomas'
Cathedral
Sculpted in London by
J. Bacon, Jr. A.D. 1800

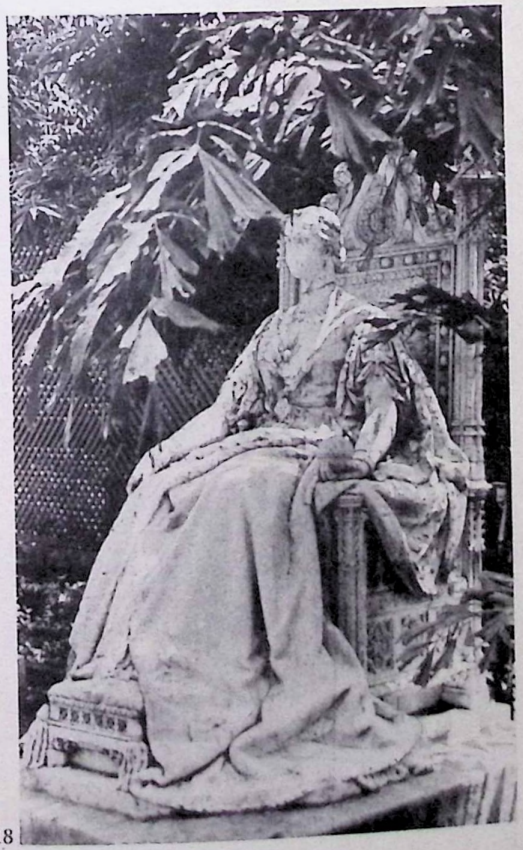
18 Queen Victoria
c. A.D. 1872
Sculpted in London by
Matthew Noble

19 Jagganath Shankarshet
Town Hall
Sculpted by Matthew Noble,
A.D. 1865

Burges, Butterfield, Scott and Street – and its symmetrical structure successfully culminates in a magnificent masonry dome, the whole embellished with locally adapted Gothic decoration and detailing which was admirably carried out by Indian stone-masons.

Stevens was also entrusted with designing the Bombay Municipal Corporation building, completed in 1893 opposite Victoria Terminus (V.T.). His towering, domed confrontation successfully exploits its triangular corner site and fully justified the nomination of F.W. Stevens for this challenging and sensitive commission.

No wonder, then, that the choice again rested on Stevens to design another headquarters building, on a prime site overlooking both the Oval *maidan* and the Esplanade, facing the Arabian Sea in sympathy with the orientation of several buildings in Bartle Frere's original development list. It was completed in 1899 to house the offices of the B.B. & C.I. Railway and after nationalisation became the headquarters of the Western Railway opposite Churchgate Station. Unlike V.T. it is not a railway terminus. Its multi-domed superstructure manages to suggest a delightful



18



19



20 Flora Fountain
Sculpted by James Forsythe and designed by R. Norman Shaw, A.D. 1865

indigenous playfulness lacking in Stevens' severely disciplined formulations for the Municipal Corporation building, for Victoria Terminus or for the more rugged former Alfred Sailors' Home constructed by 1872 on another crossroads site overlooking the Wellington Fountain.

Contending for prestigious recognition in Bartle Frere's Gothic facade are Sir George Gilbert Scott's University Senate building and his University Library crowned with the spectacular Rajabai Clock Tower. They were completed in 1874 and in 1878 from drawings prepared by the architect in England. The resonance of these two buildings from a distance is one of cultivated dignity and quiet authority but closer inspection reveals a tirade of spiral staircases, open Venetian verandahs and detailed, carved ornamentation of great virtuosity. Mukund Ramchandra supervised the carving, monitored by J. L. Kipling and students of Sir J. J. School of Art.

These outstanding examples of Victorian Revival Gothic architecture must be seen against a local background richly endowed in similar style, if not as distinguished. The conglomeration is nevertheless imposing and collectively asserts a character for the centre of south Bombay that is unique in India. The first Government building in Bombay of the period was the Old Secretariat designed by Colonel H. St. Clair Wilkins, a Royal Engineer, and completed in 1874. Its polychromatic local stone echoes thirteenth century Gothic from the European continent. Another Royal Engineer, General J. A. Fuller, designed the majestic High Court which was built in 1878, which, with the P.W.D. building also by Colonel Wilkins, constitutes a town-plan facade of astonishing ideological depth and aesthetic vision. At the time, west of the open space now known as the Oval *maidan* there was a vista open to the horizon across the Arabian Sea. This partly explains the orientation of these buildings and obviously enhanced their original impact. The revolutionary late-nineteenth century Gothic skyline of Bombay however persists as a reminder of the extra-ordinary dedication to an architectural ideal which pervaded the city's planning bonanza in the 1860s. Meanwhile, outside the Fort area, the 1860s saw the early flowering of the work of William Emerson, a pupil of the celebrated Victorian architect William Burges. The young Emerson came to Bombay on the errand of delivering Burges' design for the proposed Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy School of Art building. Although the design was not accepted nor built, it had a seminal influence amongst the contemporary architectural intelligentsia. Emerson stayed on in the congenial professional climate that Bombay offered him at the time.

His most public monument is the cool and airy Crawford Market (re-named after Mahatma Jyotirao Phule) which was built in 1869 incorporating cast-iron roof-supports and a heat-reducing structural roof-design. He also designed four churches—Ambroli Church (opposite the site of the recently demolished mansion which was once the home of Dr. John Wilson) and Emmanuel Church, Girgaum, both completed in 1869; St. Paul's Church, Kamatipura, completed in 1872 and the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Parel, 1884.

For architectural historians, Emmanuel Church provides the best of two local examples of church architecture which incorporate a built-in total immersion bath, in addition to a baptismal font.

So pervasive was the architectural idiom developed at this time that we find two local Jewish places of worship heavily endowed with a British neo-Gothic spirit. One is the Ohel David Synagogue built in Pune (1863) in red brick with a handsome campanile tower and the other, the Keneseth Eliyahoo Synagogue by G.E. Gostling in Forbes Street, Bombay, completed in 1884.

Nor was architectural mimicry confined to houses of worship, for in Bombay, in Perin Nariman Street, John Adams' design for the Bomanji Hormusji Wadia memorial fountain in 1880 is often mistaken for a Zoroastrian fire-temple.

John Adams, the Bombay Government's Architectural Executive Engineer, can be credited with more memorable achievements. His design for the Presidency (Esplanade) Magistrates Court in 1889 incorporates carved detail of great delicacy, eloquently sculpted by local carvers. The construction of an exterior lift shaft in 1984 has marred the exterior of this fine building. Adams was also the architect of that distinguished essay in domestic bungalow-form, the old Royal Yacht Club completed in 1881 as well as the Yacht Club Chambers, 1898, facing their once magnificent waterfront site at Apollo Bunder.

Sharing the harbour waterfront, but taking pride of place is the monument Bombay is perhaps most famous for, Government architect George Wittet's Gateway of India, completed in 1922 in the later Indo-Anglian Saracenic idiom of medieval Gujarat, but minus its planned subsidiary flanking structures.

The Indo-Anglian synthesis achieved its apotheosis of course in the fourth British formulation with the ordered classicism and conscious re-interpretation of indigenous traditions immortalised in New Delhi by Sir Edward Lutyens and his colleagues, Sir Herbert Baker, H. A. H. Medd and A. G. Shoosmith.

Western India was not favoured with examples of their work but their influence became widely prevalent in architectural practice.

Thus the last of the four *Raj* architectural legacies lingered on in the early, and indeed up to the mid-twentieth century. It received elegant expression in Bombay in the ordered facades of the Ballard Estate development and the monumental Customs House building by Claude Batley (1879-1956), another locally celebrated but otherwise underestimated British architect who worked and died in Bombay. The refined quality of his design

stands out and may be encountered in surprising corners of the city, much as the Agiary in New Marine Lines built in the 1940s and the Khushroo Baug with its smaller Agiary, off Colaba Causeway. Batley was responsible for several private architectural landmarks as well—Jinnah's house in Mount Pleasant Road is a unique example in its magnificent hillside setting, as is the smaller, perhaps more interesting bungalow built on Dahanukar Marg for Kasturbhai Lalbhai.

More intimately accessible are some of the monuments and statues which reflected the architectural 'humours' of the *Raj*. The historical sixteenth century figures above the gateway to the original Fort (now INS Ashwini behind the Central Library) are perhaps the earliest examples and may not be British but once Bombay was consolidated as a settlement, the eighteenth century fashion for statues and church memorials found full expression in Bombay and western India.

Many of the fine public statues of the earlier period in Bombay have suffered irreparable damage and displacement, a contingency the more disastrous in view of their intrinsic value, some representing the work of well-known monumental sculptors of the time. Such were the statue of Marquis Cornwalis produced in 1810 by John Bacon the younger, and Matthew Noble's celebrated version of Queen Victoria seated on a canopied throne, sculpted in 1872. It will be a salutory day for the conservation-minded when this statue and its canopy are reunited. Matthew Noble had made his mark in Bombay earlier in 1865 with the splendidly patriarchal seated figure of Jagganath Shankarshet, dramatically lit through an overhead skylight in the ground-floor entrance to the Asiatic Society of Bombay's premises.

One may still admire several of the portrait statues commissioned from Sir Francis Chantrey housed in the premises of the Asiatic Society of Bombay—those of Stephen Babington (1827), Mounstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm (both completed in 1833) and that of Sir Charles Forbes (1841). Amongst these are to be found a statue of John, Lord Elphinstone (1864) by John H. Foley who had been commissioned in 1865 to produce the statue of Manchojee Nusserwanjee.

The most striking early nineteenth century sculpted memorials are those by John Bacon the younger, a sculptor whose work was not overly admired by his contemporaries. One may still see several of his thoughtful compositions inside St. Thomas' Cathedral in the memorials to Katherine Kirkpatrick (1800), the virtuoso set-piece commemorating Captain G. Hardinge (1808) and the nostalgic memorial to Governor Jonathan Duncan (1817).

A representative of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood can also be counted amongst those who contributed to monumental art in Bombay. This was Thomas Woolner who, perhaps appropriately, produced a fine statue in 1872 of Sir Bartle Frere which is in the care of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

In 1877 J. E. Boehm completed the bronze-cast equestrian statue of Edward, Prince of Wales, once a celebrated landmark which still lends its name to a busy Bombay crossroads, one of the finest public statues gifted to the city of Bombay. The work of another late-Victorian sculptor, also cast in bronze, is still on view to the public. It is Sir Alfred Gilbert's monumental yet sensitive seated figure of Donald James Mackay, XIth Lord Reay, depicted in his ceremonial robe as Chancellor of Bombay University.

Materially, Bombay's post-1860 development ferment was a reflection of the city's sudden prosperity arising from fortunes amassed partly as a result of the 1860-1865 blocade of the American cotton trade. While it was fashionable to endow institutions of learning and medicine, it became equally acceptable to donate public services in the form of drinking-water supplies and ornamental water-displays all over the city. These gestures took the form of several fine fountains of which the most celebrated is Flora Fountain, designed in Britain by R. Norman Shaw and sculpted in fine Portland stone by James Forsythe. It has served as the hub of Bombay's 'Fort' area since 1869.

Few of Bombay's commuting citizens who pass by the Mulji Jetha fountain on P. D'Mello Road every day may be aware that it represents yet another attempt at cultural integration in an architectural idiom assayed by F. W. Stevens. Nor do the frenetic sellers and buyers in the wholesale fruit-yard of Mahatma Phule Market realise that they ignore another monumental fountain, designed by William Emerson and sculpted by John Lockwood Kipling.

The fountain bears Kipling's name but is more fascinating because of the presence, in Kamatipura, of an unfinished sculpted fountain which offers the student of this period of Bombay's architectural history an intriguing sequential palimpsest of the designer's imagination. The Kamatipura fountain must be an abandoned essay, an earlier draft of the Phule market fountain, not on the drawing board but wrought in stone, emblazoned with emblematic symbols of the designer's and sculptor's craft bearing the initials 'WE', 'KJ' and the name 'Arthur Travers Crawford'. The inference is obvious and exciting, the more so because Emerson was Burges' pupil. In a personal communication (1985), C. W. London has drawn attention to the way that the apex and finial detail of this fountain echoes W. Burges' 1857-1858 design for the Sabrina Fountain, Gloucester, which was never built.

Over a hundred years after the visionary development of Bombay's High Victorian era, its visible traces can still impose respect for architectural quality and professional, problem-solving invention. Moreover, underlying the material heritage of these resplendent buildings is their intellectual legacy and the fascination of tracing how the stylistic fusion the buildings display came about.

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Charisma

Behram Contractor

Cities are like people, they impress you either favourably or unfavourably the first time you encounter them, and the impression remains forever. Bori Bunder introduces most people to Bombay. I have purposely chosen the railway station and not the airport, for it is the trains that bring, from the interiors of India, new residents to the city—people in search of jobs, homes, security, the beginning of a new life.

Often have I thought of this preliminary encounter with Bombay. The new arrival is a little dazed and considerably nervous at the end of the long journey that took him first by a State Transport bus from his native village to Varanasi, then by the Kashi Express from Varanasi across the country and over the western Ghats to Bombay. Pushed, jostled, one hand protectively over his total capital carried in the *kurta* pocket, the other hand clutching a tin trunk, a bundle of clothes smelling of mustard oil, he emerges from the Victoria Terminus into the chaotic city he has often seen in his local cinema. He does not burst into a song; suddenly, reality hits him.

Most people who have settled in Bombay during the last half century will recall these scenes from the day of initiation: the Bombay Municipal Corporation towering over the street, the old Capitol Cinema across the square, the arcades of Dadabhoy Naoroji Road fading into the distance.

It may not be the best way to introduce the city to a prospective citizen, but it is the only way. Over the months, years, he will come to know the city better, learn to live in it, grow with it, to run it down, miss it when he occasionally returns to his village for a holiday.

I have always missed Bombay when I have been away, both the good aspects and the not so good. The early mornings with the sounds of clinking Aarey milk bottles in the kiosks at the street corners. The aroma of new bread being baked in the bakeries of Byculla and Mahim. The morning papers being pushed under the door, late as usual. The municipal sweepers casually sweeping the roads. The soft pad-pad of the water-carriers pulling their barrels of water from the Bhika Behram Well to the old offices in the Fort. The school buses stopping and starting amid a flutter of cheerful voices: the sounds of a city waking up.

Mornings are Bombay's best feature. The suburban trains, like sheep dogs, collect their passengers scattered around the city's periphery and pour them out at the Churchgate terminus. Of late, caught in the city rush, I have not had the time to enjoy the simple daybreak pleasures that Bombay can offer. But I am aware of them: matronly Gujarati housewives, thick bunches of house keys jangling on their hips, walking on Marine Drive. Nissim Ezekiel talking to the sea. The joggers panting away, wives and children of Russian and other East European officials and technicians slowly ambling the length of the marina, a retired old man, his work done for life, a transistor close to his ear, eyes half closed, listening to AIR *bhajans*. Elsewhere, in other parts of the city, others are taking their morning exercise. A solicitor on his regular constitutional walk on Malabar Hill, children out with their *ayahs* in the gardens (ah, the morning pleasures of growing up with a Malabar Hill garden), more joggers. And a group sitting along the Worli embankment, morning after morning, discussing. The idle discussions of retired people trying to solve the problems of the world.

A new day has begun in Bombay. Like thousands and millions of other similar days over the years. For over a half-century, I have watched Bombay grow and fill up, like a hospitable house welcoming in more and more people. I have seen the South Indians (*Madrasis*) arriving with their typewriters and Kanchipuram *saris*. Then, after the war and the partition, came the Sindhis. A strange people—that was my first impression of them—women wearing pyjamas. I do not know when exactly the Punjabis came; they seem to have sort of silently slipped in.

Suddenly, overnight, there were a whole lot of air-conditioned restaurants selling *tandoori* chicken and *samosas* which were not really *samosas* as Bombay knew them.

There have been others who always seem to have been a part of Bombay. The Gujaratis in their *pedhis* in Kalbadevi, lolling on white mattresses like at an All India Congress Committee session. A most discreet community, they have more money than anybody else and make a lesser display of wealth than anybody else. And the Parsis: doctors, lawyers, engineers and marble statues in almost every prominent corner of South Bombay.

Bombay was a Maharashtrian city long before it became the capital of Maharashtra, long before shop and street names were written in Marathi. The vast masses of citizens have always been Marathi-speaking, even though the language of the streets has been a sort of Bombay Hindi, the language of the bus conductors and taxi-drivers. The Marathi spoken in Bombay is a very urban Marathi. The difference is obvious when you hear the members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, who are city bred, and the members of the state legislatures, most of whom come from the districts (the mofussil, as the British would have said and we do not).

And Bombay is also the city of the Kolis, the fishermen, sometimes referred to as the "original citizens." It is a community often forgotten, except when one wants to purchase fish or organise a Republic Day float with folk-dancers.

Like all great cities of the world, Bombay has its own quarters for the different communities. The Kolis, naturally settled down next to their fishing vessels along the shores, near the Bassein shoreline (where the Portuguese, mistaking it for Bombay, built a fort), at Madh Island and the Versova beach, along the Mahim creek, and at Sassoon Dock, which truly is a fishing port. And they have remained here through the growth and development of Bombay from a group of fishing villages to the most prosperous city in India, in spite of the pressures of property developers and builders to occupy their lands. Their settlements are the last vestiges of the old Bombay (Mumbai) with their palm trees, fishing nets being mended on the sands, rows of fish hung in the sun, like yesterday's laundry, the smell of salt and brine.

The Kolis were always in Bombay, but the Parsis were the first to arrive. They built their fire-temples at Dhobi Talao, then they settled down around them, following the classic procedure of all human settlements. First, a place of worship, then the dwellings of the worshippers around it, then shops, places of work, schools. The pattern has not changed much since the arrival of the first Parsis; the two largest temples of the community, outside of Udvada, are still here, where old Parsi shops sell sandalwood and velvet caps and slippers, where tailors specialise in making the white ceremonial *duglis*. There is also a famous Parsi school as well as the Parsi Dairy Farm and the city's two oldest Irani restaurants.

Dhobi Talao also has a sizeable Goan community, along with the *Goa Times* press, shops selling pictures of the Madonna, dark and smelly Goan cheeroots, pickled sausages. At the head of a lane appropriately named Dukkar Gulley, is what has come to be known as the Red Church, with Sunday morning services overflowing into the adjoining streets. The Goan settlement extends to Chira Bazaar, Dabul and beyond, each section with its own little church and an identity separate enough to possess its own football team.

The first Maharashtrians came to stay in Girgaum. They set up *wadis* and built in them houses with wooden verandahs. From there they walked to work in the Fort. Their lifestyle has not changed much in three, four—possibly five—generations; they continue to live in the same houses, buy the same flowers in the morning for their *pujas*, go to the same grocers, and walk to work in the Fort, though where the outer city ends and the Fort begins is no longer clearly defined. Other Maharashtrians, settled in Shivaji Park, and still later groups had no place to build their *wadis* and have relocated into government housing colonies. The city, unfortunately, has become too big for everybody.

The bustle used to begin with the "zero number" tram, which used to run from Sassoon Dock to Museum. We always used to travel by trams; they were convenient, always available and cheap. For an anna you could go anywhere up to King's Circle, with change-overs for Tardeo and Gowalia Tank.

We would change trams at Museum, which was like a grand tram bazaar, then proceed through an almost empty Flora Fountain and complain about how crowded Bombay was becoming. There were no pavement hawkers on Hornby Road (the present Dadabhoy Naoroji Road), because you could buy foreign goods at the Army and Navy Stores. Whiteway and Laidlaw (presently the Khadi Emporium) had Anglo-Indian sales-girls, wearing stockings, who sold *sola* hats and tropical linen suits. In its cafeteria, after your shopping, you could have tea and cucumber sandwiches.

The Regal Cinema was the first air-conditioned cinema in the country, probably the first air-conditioned building of its size in the country. It was also the first cinema with an underground carpark, and always made it a point to advertise the fact. The Hindi cinemas sold song books of the current films, which people took into the dark auditoriums, lit their torches and followed the words, as the songs were being sung on the screen. And Raj Kapoor was a young actor, young and dandy.

At one stage there was a major controversy whether BEST buses should be allowed on Marine Drive and, when finally the will of the public transport prevailed over that of the private car-owners and the first "C" routes came out on Marine Drive, people used to travel on them for joy rides. Suraiya resided in a building on Marine Drive and the bus-stop

1 Mahatma Jyotiba Phule Market (Crawford Market)

2 Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

3 Marine Drive

4 Chor Bazaar, antique shop

5 *Dabawallas* (lunch-box distributors)

6 Kotachiwadi (an old section of Bombay)

7 A fruit stall

8 Chandi Bazaar (silver market)

9 Cinema posters and shop signs

10 *Banganga* (a sacred Hindu water tank)

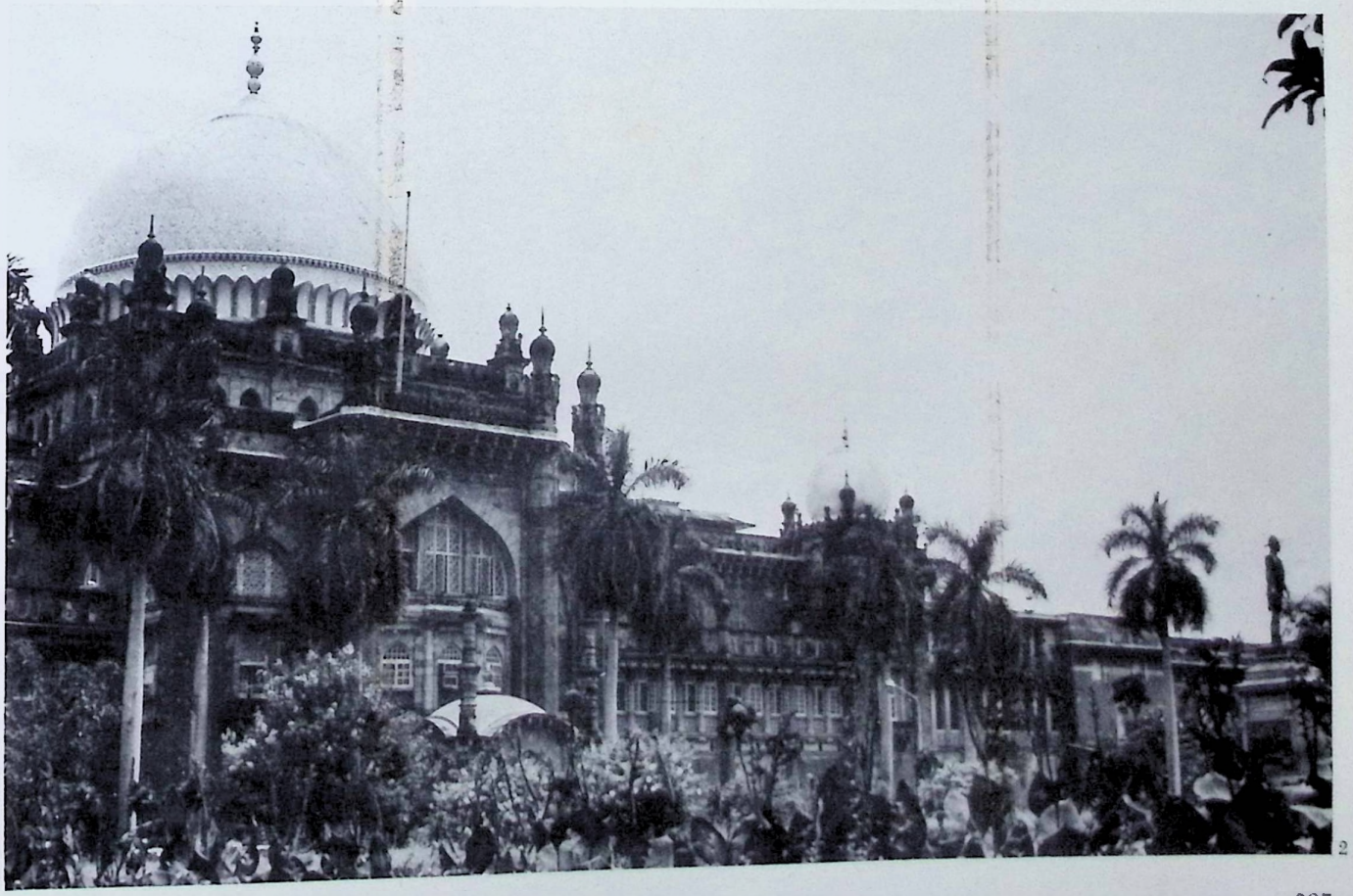
11 Coffee-shop at a five-star hotel

12 Bombay's maze of road and rail transport

13 The 'Queen's Necklace' by night

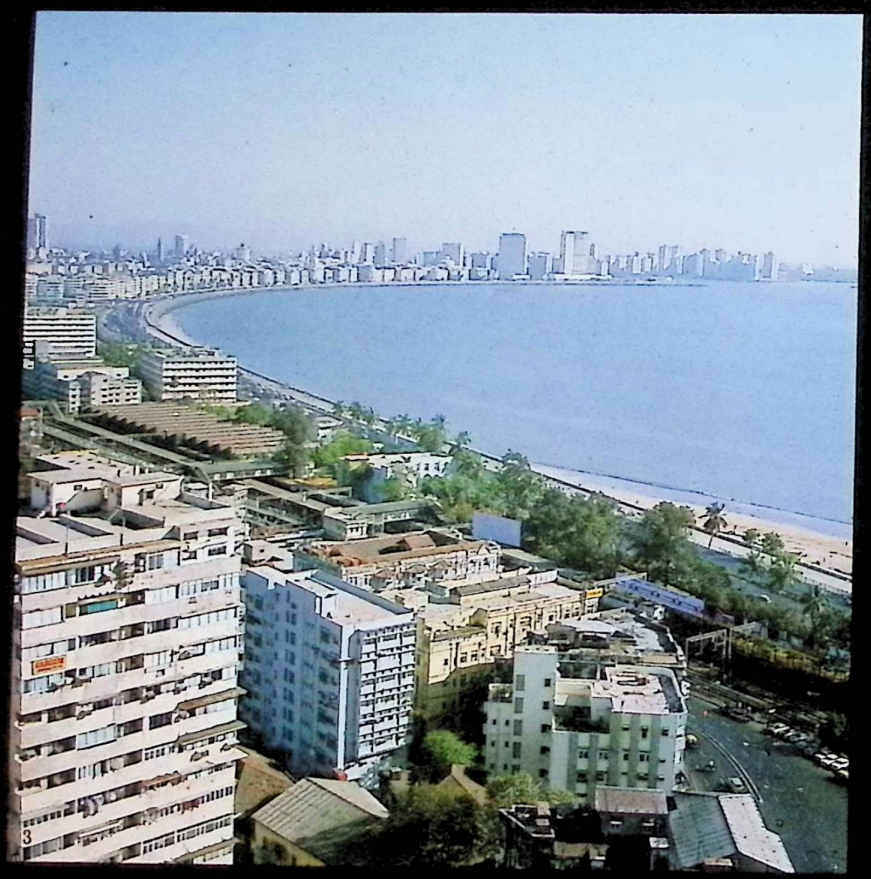


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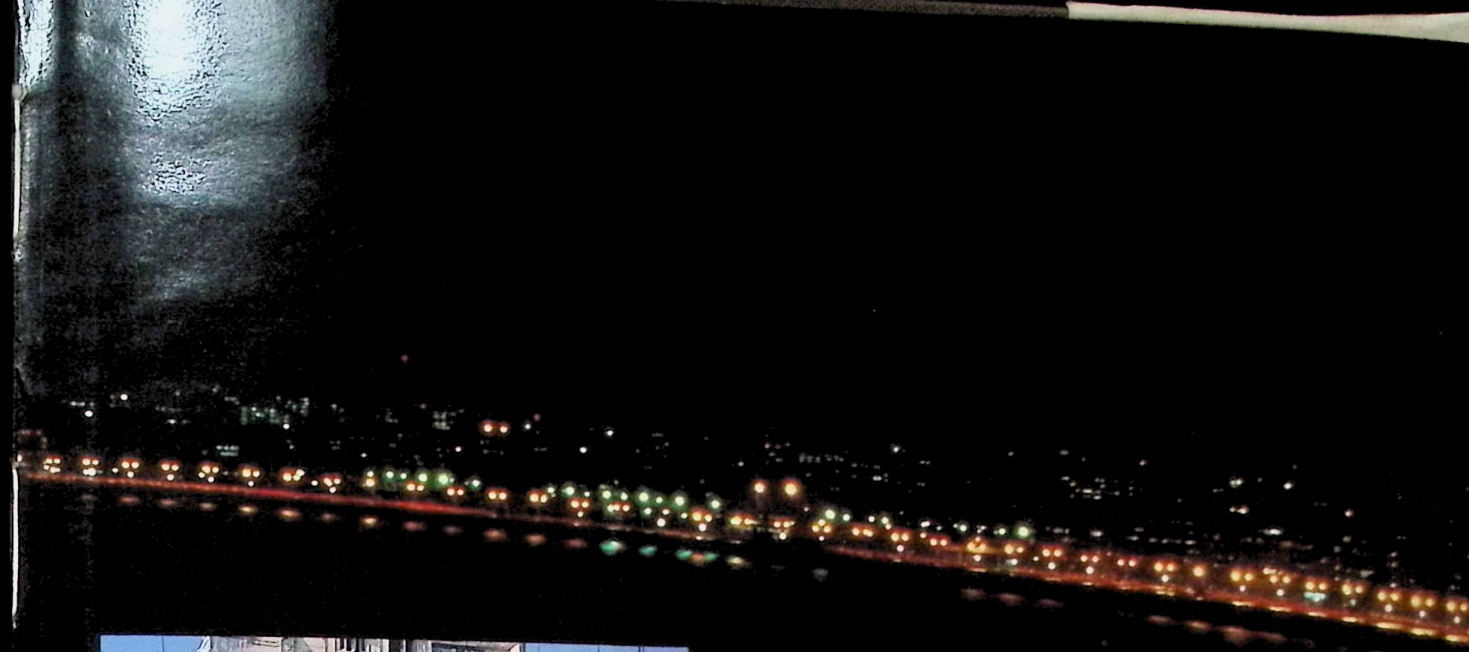









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शा. पुरुषोत्तमदास नेमाजी
शाभुलतानमल बख्तावरमल एन्ड सन्स



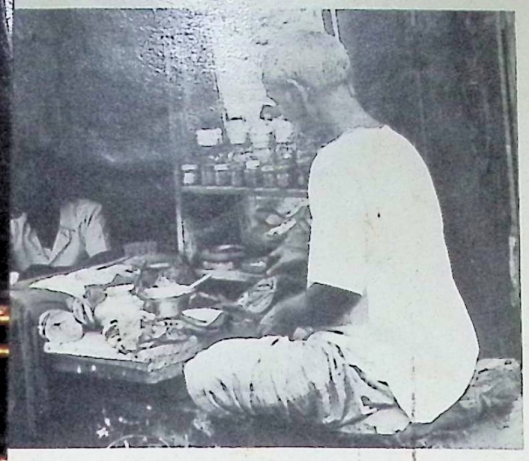

Vidhaata
KAAMCHOR
DISCO DANCER
Yeh To Kamaal Ho Gaya




10


11













18



19



20



21



22

14 *Panwalla*

15 Tender-coconut stall

16 Victoria-stand (horse-carriage stand)

17 A Parsi sandalwood shop

18 The Rajabai Tower

19 The Dadabhoy Naoroji Road

20 Textile mill

21 Basilica of our Lady of the Mount, Bandra

22 The Taj Mahal Hotel

23 The Bhikha Behram well (a spring sacred to the Parsi community)



23

under her house came to be known as Suraiya Stop. Victorias were everywhere, both horses and drivers thriving, and when we had to go to a wedding or to the railway station with our luggage, we would abandon the "zero number" tram and take the victoria.

People (more often people's servants in white coats and black caps) walked their dogs on Cuffe Parade and Nariman Point and the dreams of the Rahejas and the Makers were still under the Arabian Sea. Brabourne Stadium was still rising from the sea and Mr. A. S. D'Mello and Mr. A. F. S. Talyarkhan were standing on the rubble and surveying the ground which, for a few brief years, would be the centre of Indian cricket.

A few English were still around, remnants of the empire, working as young executives in British banks. They wore white shirts and trousers and blue ties, like little schoolboys . . . . what the young English executive wore, the young Indian executive copied. The P & O Ships would dock at Ballard Pier every Thursday morning (or was it Wednesday morning?), unloading pale-skinned transit passengers, who would make a quick tour of the city and go back thinking they had visited the mysterious Orient. Which was not quite incorrect, because Bombay was then the Gateway of India.

Bombay ended at King's Circle, where the tram lines terminated. Beyond were the salt pans.

Subsequently, the city has expanded and extended over the sea and into the Parsik Hills and beyond. In the last 50 years the city has grown around me, like a family, into children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren. And, to my mind, whatever town-planners and environmentalists may say, it is a growth for the better.

For there must be something to a city if every day so many extra people want to live, work and bring up their families in it. Bombay's problems will start when nobody wants to live in it and it starts shrinking. For the present, it is a dynamic, ever enlarging, bursting city. It is the way I would like it to be.

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