

the Jātakas, whether they can at once be assigned to the period of the older Buddhism. The systematised commercial law, as we find it in Manu, the rules relating to loans at interest, the institute of experts in sea-borne trade, the duties upon river-borne and sea-borne merchandise, all this presupposes a stage of economical development which appears to me to be centuries later than the stage of culture depicted in the Jātakas.¹

It should not, however, be said that we have here the first beginnings of commercial transactions; undoubtedly, the statements contained in the Jātakas relate to oversea trade as well as to brisk inland trade. When in describing a caravan passing through sandy deserts, its march is compared with a journey through the sea (samuddagamanasadisam eva gamanam hoti. I. 107), when it is narrated that one entrusts the lead to a "land tax-collector" (thalaniyamaka) who directs the caravan with the help of astronomy, we find clearly expressed here acquaintance with navigation and the knowledge of the

¹ The opposite view is taken by Dahlmann in his book on the Mahābhārata. According to him, there is "an extraordinary agreement between the culture-period represented in the Jātakas and the Pali canon and that of the Mahābhārata"; "the blossoming of economical life," as described here, is, in his opinion, "in full agreement with the picture of culture in Manu." Jos. Dahlmann, *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, Berlin, 1895, pp. 166, 180.

starry heavens required for this. (Also another thing which the Indians employed, like the sea-faring Phœnicians and Babylonians of ancient times, for finding the direction during navigation, we find mentioned in the Jâtakas, namely, "direction-giving crows") (*disākāka*); they showed the navigators, when they lost sight of the land, as they flew towards the land, in what direction the coast was to be found. On the high seas such a "compass" could not surely be of much use to the sailors—for this reason it is narrated of the merchants in the Kâsi kingdom who have a *disākāka* on board their ship, that they suffer shipwreck in mid-ocean (III. 267)—

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but it is very useful for navigation along the coast.

This, and not navigation in the open sea, is, I think, throughout meant when the Jâtakas speak of oversea trade. The disappearance of the coast after several days' navigation is especially brought into prominence and stated as a cause of shipwreck. ("Five hundred tradesmen"—so it is said in the Paṇḍara Jâtaka (V. 75)—"went on a sea-veyage and suffered shipwreck on the ocean, as on the seventeenth day no land was to be seen; all on board, not one excepted, became the food of the fish." On the whole, we shall do well if we accept a bit cautiously this supposition of an extensive oversea trade. If there

really was regular trade¹ between India and countries like the Babylonian kingdom—whose name exists in the form *Bāveruratt̥ha* (III. 126)²—we should certainly have heard occasionally from the Jātakas of the products of this land, of its inhabitants and their customs. The existence of the mere name shows that the city was known by name in the age to which our source relates; probably, Indian sailors went to Babylon and spread reports on their return home about the city and its wonders, so that from that time onward in every story in which the ship-wrecked played a part, the name of the city of *Bāvern* appeared, the mention of which served to make the listeners expect something wonderful. But oversea trade is not so frequently mentioned in the Jātakas that one can talk of a *Samuddavāṇija* as a typical figure.

The plentifulness of great navigable waterways in Northern India allows us to assume an early development of internal maritime trade; still I have found it mentioned in only one place in the Jātakas. In the sale of a ship's cargo mentioned in the Cullakasetṭhi Jātaka (I. 126), the question is of wares unloaded at a port in the neighbourhood of Benares. The hero

¹ Cf. Dahlmann, *Das Mahābhārata*, p. 179.

² To the category of the quoted passages (I. 107; III. 126, 267; V. 75) belongs further the designation of a narrative (IV. 158) as *Samuddavāṇija Jātaka*.

of the narrative, a youth of good but poor family, learns from a sailor

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friend that a big ship has arrived at the port. He hires for eight kahâpanas a vehicle and drives with great pomp to the port. Here he buys the ship's cargo on credit and gives his signet ring as security; then he erects a tent close to the ship and after he takes his seat within it, he gives an order that if tradesmen want to see him they should only be admitted after a threefold notice. On the news of the arrival of the ship about a hundred tradesmen from Benares come to buy the cargo. They are told: "You cannot buy wares any more, for a great merchant who lives at such and such a place has bought them by advancing a deposit." When they hear this, they go to the youth and are admitted by the servants to his presence after a threefold notice in the way mentioned above. Everyone of the hundred tradesmen pays one thousand in order to receive a portion of the ship's cargo and finally in order to buy off his partnership, they pay each one of them for the rest of his goods a further 1,000. Thus the youth returns to Benares with 2,00,000 in his possession.

In the culture-period depicted in the Jatakas, overland trade seems to have far

surpassed in importance sea-borne trade.) The tradesman who goes about the country with his caravan is in fact a typical figure in our narratives and, according to the statements in these, caravan traffic cannot have been small, either with regard to the distance traversed or with regard to wares carried. Big trade routes cross the land in all directions and carry on an exchange of goods between the several and (judged by their products and necessities) widely different parts of India; there was, especially, manifestly brisk trade between the eastern and the western parts. (We read in the *Apaṇṇaka Jâtaka* of a caravan-leader (*satthavâha*, I. 98) who goes from the east to the west with 500 wagon-loads and then returns. Tradesmen residing in Benares travel

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to Ujjani¹ in order to carry on trade) (II. 248). Also from trade relations between Kasmir and Gandhâra kingdoms, on the one side, and Videha land, on the other, we learn, as narrated in the *Gandhâra Jataka*, that the king of Videha inquires of the tradesmen about the health of his friend, the king of Kasmîra and Gandhâra (III. 365).

About the nature of the goods carried, the statements of the *Jâtakas* speak in a very

¹ = Skr. Ujjaini, the capital of Avanti.

uncertain voice. The narrator speaks mostly of five hundred wagons laden with valuable goods and leaves us to exercise our conjecture regarding the contents of these loads. Probably, the packages of the tradesmen contained cloths, for according to the *Tuṇḍila Jātaka* there were in the neighbourhood of Benares fields sown with cotton¹ (*kāppāsakhetta* III. 286) and this cotton was probably in Buddha's time chiefly used in the manufacture of goods in Benares.² On the other hand, cotton industry appears to have flourished in certain places in the west, as in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*; *Sivi cloth* (*Siveyyaka dussa* VIII. 1. 29) is praised as specially valuable.

Famous were also the horses of the west, above all, the steed of Sindh (*sindhava*. II. 288); according to the *Jātakas* the kings of the eastern lands were provided mainly with horses brought from the north or the west; we meet very often in our texts with horse-merchants

¹ Cotton is even now found in places to the west of Benares as far as Agra. Cf. Table 13 in Bartholomew's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893.

² In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (V. 26) it is said that the mortal remains of a world-ruler were covered with folds of new cloths and torn cotton, and the commentator adds as an explanation of the expression *viḥata kappasa*, "The cloth of Benares (*Kasikavattha*) on account of the fineness of its texture, absorbs no oil."

who come from the north (uttarâpathakâ pasavâñijâ) and sell their horses in Benares (I. 124 ; II. 31, 287).

The insecurity of the road made the business of a *sattavarâha* at that time very troublesome and dangerous. Organized bands of robbers—in the Sattigumba Jâtaka a village containing five hundred robbers is mentioned (coragâmakâ IV.

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“oldest among the robbers (corajetthaka II. 388)—lay in wait for the travelling tradesmen, especially in the forest, and forced them to employ armed men who for a salary led the caravans through the dangerous places.¹ Still the tradesmen were compensated for the troubles and dangers of caravan traffic by the great profit which, according to the Jâtakas, they made; in the Vaṇṇupatha Jâtaka it is stated that the caravan-leaders got twice or thrice their dues on the sale of their wares (bhaṇḍam vikkhittvâ dviguṇam catugguṇam bhogaṃ labhittvâ, I. 109).

¹ The business of these forest-guards (aṭaviârakkhika, II. 335) formed a profession by itself which was hereditary in the family and favoured an organisation similar to that of the guilds of tradesmen and manufacturers in this, that at the head of a number of forest-guard families there was a leader (ârakkhikajetthaka). As we have seen above, even Brâhmaṇas were driven into this profession according to the Dasabrâhmaṇa Jâtaka.

If, according to the details given, trade exhibits in the Jâtakas, if not that stage development which it shows in Manu, at least a high stage of growth, we should not be surprised at the mention of guilds (*seni*) in our text. It seems doubtful to me, however, whether from the few passages in which it is expressly mentioned, we can infer an organised guild life. Apart from the already-quoted passage from the Nigrodha Jâtaka, where it is said of the Royal storekeeper that he is worthy of the esteem of all guilds (*sabbasenāmaṃ vicāraṇārahaṃ bhaṇḍāgārikatthānaṃ* IV. 43), we find these also mentioned elsewhere (*sabbasenīyo* I. 267, 314) but without any statement which allows any inference concerning their constitution or organisation. The *paccuppanavaratthu* of the Uraga Jâtaka gives some indication of a more developed guildhood; mention is here made of a "guild quarrel" between two ministers in the service of the king and at the head of the guilds (*senipamukha*). For the older period, the period depicted in the Jâtakas themselves, we can only speak with certainty of the presence of professional unions among the trading classes.

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powers we learn no details, whose existence, however, indicates in itself an organisation of different branches of trade. Thus we read of the leader of the *caravan drivers* (satthavâhajetthaka, II. 295); if we add to this the hereditary character of this profession—which is sufficiently indicated by such expressions as “family of caravan-drivers” (satthavâhakula, I. 98, 107; II. 200) and “son of a caravan-driver” (satthavâhaputta, I. 99, 194; II. 335), who on his own account, again, is a caravan-driver—then we have in my opinion two criteria which point to the existence of a close order of caravan-drivers. From the criterion of hereditariness alone, it seems somewhat bold to infer a compactness and a certain organisation of the branch of trade in question; mention is made of the hereditary character of the profession of a grain merchant (dhañña vâñjakula, III. 198); the business of a green-grocer was also hereditary in the family (pañnikakula, I. 312).

In individual branches of the tradesmen's profession, their small stability may be the reason why we don't read anything of a close organisation; thus, nowhere is mention made of an organisation of sea-faring traders. Also the more frequently-mentioned tradesmen who cry out their wares in the streets of the city—a pedlar

dealing in pots and pans (kacchapatavâñija—I. 111) sells his goods with the cry “Buy water-pots, buy waterpots”—or go about the land (II. 109) with a donkey on which they place their wares, can hardly have enjoyed the privilege which the membership of a guild conferred.

In general, the details cited only prove indistinct traces of professional unions within the trading classes, only the first beginnings of a guildhood. With the gradual development of trade relations, the significance and inner compactness of the guilds deepened, and being similar to the castes on account of the traditional orga-

nisation and the hereditariness of membership, they gradually got, in course of time, as certain rules and customs with reference to marriage and inter-dining were developed, the appearance of real castes, especially, the Brâhmaṇa caste, till they finally became the modern trading classes.

But even to-day we don't find in the trading class such a strict caste organisation as in other departments of economic life: the greater flexibility which the trading profession demands by its very nature, in contrast with other professions, the changes to which it is subject, seem to have stood in the way of a strict schematic organisation of this professional branch.

More sharply pronounced appear in our text the divisions within the manufacturing classes according to the individual branches of the profession. Here appear circumstances which greatly favour a combination and organisation of particular unions. For manufacture, the hereditariness of the profession, which for trade was originally nothing more than a mere custom, was of essential importance; under the direction of his father the son is introduced to the technicalities of the profession which he is to adopt, from his early youth, and the manual skill, the talent for a particular handicraft, is inherited and increases from generation to generation. The taking up of a profession other than the ancestral one was manifestly unheard of among the manufacturers; not a single exception to the rule do we find mentioned anywhere in our source. "Son of a smith" (*kammāraputta*, is in the Pali texts (*Sutta Nipāta*, verse 83; *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta*, iv. 14) used as a synonym for a smith. Along with the families of smiths we find also other families of artisans in the *Jātakas*; the hereditary character of the manufacture of pots is exhibited in the *Kacchapa Jātaka*, where it is said of the *Bodhisatta* that he was reborn in a potter family (*Kumbhakāra-kula*, II. 79) and maintained his wife and child

by manufacturing pots.. Similarly it is said in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka: "The Bodhisatta was re-born in a potter family in a village lying in front of the gate of Benares; when he grew up, he became a householder

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and receiving from his wife a present of a son and a daughter, he maintained his wife and children by manufacturing pots." With a stone-grinder family also we become acquainted in our text: the Bodhisatta born in it understands his handicraft thoroughly when he grows up, as mentioned in the Babbu Jātaka.

More even than ^(Bamiley) the hereditariness of the profession there was another factor which contributed to the organisation of particular branches of trade,¹ namely, the local union and isolation which the different handicrafts, according to the Jātakas, undoubtedly experienced. (In the city, fixed streets were the place of residence of fixed tradesmen; for example, ivory-carvers (dantakāra) had a street to themselves.) It is narrated how a man

¹ For the supposition of a local union of different branches of trade the Jātakas give no ground. A passage in the Mricchakatika of Sūdraka allows the conclusion that the Śeṭṭhis lived in a special part of the town by themselves; as in the second act the Vasantasenā asks her escort Madanikā whether she knows the name of her (Vasantasenā's) beloved one, Madanikā replies evasively, in a joking spirit, "He lives in the quarters of the big tradesmen" (śeṭṭhicattare paḍivasadi).

reaches Benares and going about the town comes to the ivory-carvers' street and sees how ivory things are made by them in various forms (*dantakâravithim patvâ dantakâre dantavikatiyo kurumâne disvâ*, I. 320). In another passage also the street of the ivory-carvers is mentioned: A poor man who lives in Benares sees how in the street of the ivory-carvers, ivory rings, etc., are made (*dantakâravithiyam dantavaliyâdam karonte disvâ*) and asks, "Will you buy tusks from me if I bring some?" As they answer in the affirmative, he kills elephants, takes out the tusks and maintains his livelihood by their sale.

Some trades were followed not inside but outside the town, although mostly in its proximity, and in villages which were occupied by members of one and the same profession. Such

tradesmen's villages are often mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of Benares: "Not far from Benares"—so it is said in the *Alinacitta Jâtaka* (II. 18)—"lay a carpenters' village" (*vaḍḍhakigâma*). There lived five hundred carpenters. They proceeded by river to a forest, prepared the wood for use as material for the construction of houses, constructed various kinds of one-storeyed, two-storeyed buildings, etc., and made sign-posts with all pieces of wood, beginning

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with posts. Then they take the wood to the shore, put it on board the ship and go down stream to the city. Here they make houses for everyone who desires it, take the money, and return home and make new materials with it.

Such a village in the neighbourhood of Benares and occupied only by carpenters, occurs again in the Jâtakas (II. 405; IV. 159); in the last passage it is said that a thousand families lived in the big village (*kulasahassanivâso mahâvaddhakîgâmo*).

The potters also seem to have lived outside the town in a village by themselves; at least mention is made of one potter family who lives in a village in front of the gate of Benares (*Bârânasinagarassa dvâragâme kumbhakârakula*, III. 376).

More wonderful than these manufacturers' villages in the immediate neighbourhood of a big city which could find an easy market for their products and also could have their needs, such as clothes, implements, supplied, from the City, is the existence of such professional villages in the middle of the flat country. We read in the Sâci Jâtaka of two smiths' villages lying side by side, of which one consists of a thousand huts (*sahassakuṭiko kammâragâmo* III. 281). From the neighbouring villages, people go to this village in order

to provide themselves with axes, hatchets, ploughshares, spikes and other implements. When one reflects what a difficulty such a local isolation creates in the economical relations, one will see in these manufacturing villages not a phenomenon of secondary importance, but a highly important factor and one that is characteristic of the physiognomy of the social life of that time. The power of traditional customs which suit the spirit of the

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Indian people inclined to schematism, has created and maintained here a new impetus which is stronger than the practical need which obviously points to a variety of professions within the same common life. However much the origin of professional communities may have to be traced, as we have to do in the case of the Russian village communities, to the close relationship of the villagers with one another and to the equal right of all in the common property,¹ on the Indian soil, the maintenance of such a remarkable institution seems to have been due principally to the inborn tendency towards organisation, classification, schematism in the minds of the Indians. As the Brâhmanas worked together in villages in which foreign, especially, lower, elements were not tolerated, so, following their example, social

¹ Cf. Senart, *Les castes dans l'Inde*, pp. 197, 229.

groups, united by community of profession, separated themselves from one another and helped to create the manifoldness of modern caste-life.)

As with the guilds of tradesmen, so can we also in the case of the manufacturers, infer from the institution of the elders (jetthakas) the presence of a certain organisation. Such elders stand at the head of the smiths (kammâ-rajettthaka or jetthakakammâra),¹ garland-makers (mâlakârajettthaka III. 405), and carpenters (vaddhaki IV. 161). It appears that the number of manufacturers combined into a guild having a common leader could not exceed a certain figure ; at least, it is said, in the last-named passage of the Samuddavâñja Jâtaka, that in a village inhabited by a thousand carpenter families, every five hundred families had a head (kulasahassee pañcannam pañcannam kulasatânam jetthakâ dve vaddhaki ahesum). Whether the elder had either by law or by custom any recognised authority over the members of his

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union, is not mentioned ; his office seems to have been an honorary one which was held by specially skilled manufactures and not always by the oldest in point

¹ *Kammâra* is used of blacksmiths as well as of silversmiths, (Dhammapada 43) and, as here, of goldsmiths. The latter are called in other places (I. 182 ; V. 438) *suvañnakâra*.

of age. The elder seems to have occupied a peculiar position in the royal court. "The senior among the hundred smiths"—so it is said in the *Sûci Jâtaka* (III. 281)—"was a favourite of the king, blessed with wealth and property." In another place it is narrated that a prince asks a *kammârajetthaka* to come to him and commissions him to make a female figure out of a quantity of gold (V. 282).

The three conditions mentioned: local division of different kinds of work, hereditary character of branches of profession and the existence of an elder: seem to me to indicate clearly an organisation of handicraft which can be compared in many respects with our corporations in the Middle Ages. Also in these tradesmen's corporations of ancient India the principle finds application, which has already been mentioned in connexion with the guilds of tradesmen: the more in the course of centuries the caste theory—even in Buddhist lands—obtained currency, the greater the exclusiveness of, and respect for, the leading castes, the more did the manufacturers' corporations become incorporated in the caste-order. After the example set by nobility and the Brahmanical caste, they surrounded themselves with limitations by which a common bed and a common table were forbidden with members of castes

who on account of the lowness of their race occupied a lower stage of human society than they themselves. That many of the manufacturers mentioned above occupied a comparatively low social position admits of no doubt and was, in my opinion, the chief reason why they separated themselves from the rest of the population and thereby had in ancient times the appearance of being something akin to a caste: the corporations of the manufacturers fall—partly, at any rate—undoubtedly under the category of the despised castes which will be treated of in a later chapter. \

CHAPTER XI.

CASTELESS PROFESSIONS.

But from these despised and shunned portions of the population the guilds of tradesmen and most of the manufacturers with which we have had hitherto to do, are far removed. Between these there is a multiform and chaotic society which resists more or less every attempt at classification and about which there can be no talk of an organisation according to castes in that age. To this belong the great number of manufacturers standing outside their corporation and exclusively in the service of the king—namely, contractors and artists, the wandering dancers and musicians who move from village to village, showing their skill, and the tramps who consider every means good which helps them to earn their livelihood, and further, the herdsmen, huntsmen and fishermen living in the country, in the forest and in mountains, and finally, the mass of labourers and slaves.

In the lawbooks we find the rule that the kings could make the artisans work one day in the month for him ;¹ the Jâtakas know

¹ Manu VII. 138 ; X. 120.

nothing of this; on the other hand, artisans are mentioned who seem to have worked only for him. In the Kusa Jâtaka there appear three distinct artisans in the pay of the king in the following order: a court potter (râjakumbhakâra V. 290)—we meet with one in the Cullakasetthi Jâtaka (I. 121), where it is described how he seeks on horseback to burn pots for the royal court—a basketmaker (râjupatthâka nalakâra V. 291) in the king's service and a court gardener (râjamâlakâra V. 292). The designation of these as "court purveyors" seems to me to refer to a special position which raises them above their otherwise low or even despised rank and makes improbable their being members of a corporation, in

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the same way as in the case of the barber working in the royal court whose occupation as barber ranked certainly among the lowest professions. This court barber was no unimportant person in the king's court, he sometimes even stands in friendly intercourse with his employer.¹ "Friend," (samma kappaka I. 137) so addresses the king in the Makhâdeva Jâtaka his barber, while asking the latter to inform him if he finds any grey

¹ Upâli, the barber of the Sakyas, seems in the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka (VII. I. 4) to be a personal friend of the Sakyas. Cf.

Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 138, Note.

hair on his head. The many small personal services for which people wanted him—as such there are mentioned in the introduction to the Sigāla Jātaka (II. 5), shaving the beard, curling the hair, placing the dice-board in position, etc.—seem to have made him indispensable for the king, the royal ladies, the princes and princesses. Also the position of a court barber is sometimes described as highly lucrative: in the Makhādeva Jātaka it is narrated that the Videha king when he renounces worldly life gives a village to his barber which brought him 100,000 (*satasahassutṭhānaṃ gāmaṃ* I. 138).

Even the king's cook (*rañño sūda* V. 292) does not hold an insignificant position in the royal household, at least not in that of a king who was such a "gourmand" as King Bhojanasuddhika,¹ whose dinners cost, according to the description in the Dūta Jātaka (II. 319), 100,000 every time and consisted of a hundred different dishes. Still in the Kusa Jātaka, the occupation of a cook is described as one to be practised by slaves or hired labourers (*dāsakammakarehi kattabbam* V. 293).

A special office in the royal court was that of the estimator (*agghakāraka* I. 124;

¹ Literally, "one who is very particular, scrupulous with regard to eating." Cf. the expression used in the Upasāḷha Jātaka (II. 54) of a Brāhmaṇa, namely, *susānasuddhika*, which signifies something like "scrupulous, superstitious with regard to the cremation ground."

agghâpanikatthâna. I. 126) whose work consisted in estimating the value of elephants, horses, precious stones, gold, etc., and in paying the owners of wares their proper price. In the Suppâraka Jâtaka

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the work of an estimator was given to a blind fisherman who exchanges his work for service in the Court. He determines as valuer the things which are most heavily taxed. Thus he knows by merely touching with the hand that a carriage which should serve the king as a State carriage is built with the wood of a perforated tree or that a costly garment is eaten by mice at one place; he receives, however, from the king only eight kahâpanas for every valuation. Not willing to accept a payment which according to him is suitable for a barber (imassa dâyo nahâpitadâyo. IV. 138), he leaves the service of the king and returns to his fisherman's village.

Besides the men who had to look to the daily needs of the king and his Court, a whole army of skilled men of every kind surrounded the person of the king in the courts of the powerful princes of that time. Thus, we come across musicians (gandhabba I. 384; II. 250), dancers and singers (nâtaka IV. 324; naccagitâdisu kusalâ, II. 227); elephant tamers (hattâcariya, II. 221) and archers (dhanuggaha, II. 87; V.

128). Whilst, moreover, these skilled men in ancient India, as we shall see, were of little respectability and the arts practised by them were mostly unprofitable, the artists in the service of the king did not seem to have been from the pecuniary point of view in a bad way. An archer demands from the king an annual salary of 100,000 (*ekasamvaccharena satasahassam*, II. 87). The king agrees to this; on the other hand, the old archers (*porāṇakadhanuggaha*) consider the salary too high. Still better paid is another *dhanuggaha*; he receives daily 1,000 (*devasikaṃ sahasam labhitvā rājānam upatthahi*, V. 128) and incurs in this way the displeasure of the rest of the king's servants. These figures, though, as everywhere in Indian sources, bad as a statistical material, point to a respectable and lucrative profession. Probably the archer was entitled to high salaries, as he could render the king valuable services, whether in hunting or in war.

About the salaries of the other Court artists there are found in the Jātakas only a few general statements.

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An old musician (*gandhabba*) informs the king that his pupil wants to serve him and adds, "Fix the nature of the salary" (*deyyadhammam assa jānātha*, II. 250), to which the king replies, "He shall get one-half of

your salary." To this, the pupil, however, does not agree; he demands equal salary, as he knows his art quite as well as his teacher. A musical tournament ordered by the king ends the matter in this way, that the vanquished scholar at a sign from the king was belaboured with stones and clubs and killed, whilst the teacher receives much money from the king and the residents.

Similarly in the Upâhâna Jâtaka mention is made of a pupil of an elephant tamer (*hatthâ-cariya*, II. 221) who demands the same salary as his teacher. The king announces by beat of drum, "To-morrow a teacher and his pupil will both exhibit their skill in elephant-taming; who wants to see must come to the palace." The night before the performance, the teacher instructs the elephant to commit all kinds of mistakes, so that when given the order "Go forward," it goes backwards, and when ordered to go backwards, it goes forward, etc. The consequence is, that next day, as the elephant does the reverse of what it is ordered to do by the pupil, the angry crowd kills him by throwing stones and beating him with sticks.

That many of the artists mentioned here, especially, the archers, belong as much to the class of "Court people" as, for example, the executioner or the gate-keeper, I do not consider impossible.

Like the latter, they were paid by the king; like these they were attached to the king's service which they could not quit against the wish of their master. Whoever among them—like the court barber in the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka—wants to lead the homeless life, must get the permission of the king (rājānam pabbajjam anujānāpetva, III. 452). But they are distinguished from the rājabhoggas or rājāññas, by which I understand only the “royal officers,” by their purely private character. They hold no public position and their work is confined to personal service which they render to the king and his family.

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On account of the comparatively great respectability and the high salary which the Court artists enjoyed, the effort of most of the artists was to get into the king's service; as, however, this fell to the lot of only a very few, others tried to serve under rich private persons. Very often we meet with artists in the service of young tradesmen whom they help, along with other parasites, to squander their paternal property: jumpers, runners, singers, dancers, etc., receive each one of them 1,000 from the squandering and pleasure-seeking setthi's son (laṅghanadhāvanagītanaccādīni karontānam sahaṣṣam dadamāno, II. 431) and make him in a short time a beggar. In contrast with these parasitic

artists, there were many who earned their bread with difficulty by catering for the amusement of people at festivities. We read of a dancer (*nāṭa* III. 507) who lives in a village not far from Benares and goes with his wife into the town, where he gets money through dancing and singing which accompanies his lyre (*vīṇā*). As, however, such festivities, in spite of their frequency, formed only an occasional break in their daily life, the dancers led at other times a thoroughly miserable life, as did the dancing family (*nāṭakakula*, II. 167) in the *Ucchitṭha-bhatta Jātaka* in which the Bodhisatta was re-born. This family maintained itself by begging and even the Bodhisatta had no other way of earning a livelihood than through alms.

It seems to me that by this *nāṭa* or *nāṭaka* we are not to understand actors, as in later times, for in our text dramatic performances are nowhere described. A sort of pantomime which is performed by two dancers is no doubt described; probably, in this we are to look for a fore-runner of the later Indian drama. "At that time there were"—so it is narrated in the *Suruci Jātaka* (IV. 324)—"two skilled dancers, named 'Dull ear' and 'White ear'; they tried to make the king laugh. One of these, 'Dull ear,' set up at the gate of the palace a big tree called *Atula*, threw

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a ball of rope and climbed, after attaching the rope to a branch of the tree, the Atulamba tree with the help of the rope. The tree of Vessavaṇa¹ is also called Atulamba. Now the servants of Vessavaṇa arrested him, hacked his body to pieces and let these pieces fall. The other dancers joined the pieces together and sprinkled them with water, upon which the dancer revived and danced in a garment of flowers. The other dancer, 'White ear' set up a funeral pyre and went with his followers into the fire. When he disappeared and the funeral pyre was burnt out, people sprinkled water upon the ashes. On this, the dancer rose with his followers and danced, decked in a garment of flowers."

If the dances described here are more than a creation of the narrator's fancy, jugglery must have reached in ancient India a comparatively high stage, as their explanation can only be sought in mirrors which give the spectator the illusion of a person climbing the rope or going into the fire. That the concave mirror, this most important instrument in modern magic, was known in ancient India, is in itself undoubtedly highly improbable. Still a passage in Śaṅkara's commentary on the Vedānta,²

¹ Skr. Vaiśravaṇa, patronymic of Kuberā.

² Quoted by Deussen, *System des Vedānta*, p. 322.

where reference is made, to jugglery exactly similar to the first trick in our text, presupposes likewise the use of a mirror: "The highest God"—so runs the passage—"is only as much different from the acting and enjoying individual called *Vijñānātman*, created by ignorance, as the magician climbing a rope with shield and sword is different from the same magician really standing on the ground."

It is in an illusion of the spectator that probably the trick of the sword-eater consists, of whom it is narrated in the
 [P. 190.] Dasanṇaka Jātaka that he swallows a sword thirty-three feet long and having a sharp edge.

We make the acquaintance of a special kind of dancers in the "jumpers," the *laṅghananāṭaka* of the Dubbaka Jātaka, namely, an acrobat who knows how to jump over a number of lances sunk in the ground and placed one behind the other. The Boddhisatta who is born in an acrobat family, learns from a *nāṭaka* the art of jumping and tours with his teacher exhibiting his art. "His teacher, however"—so it is said further (I. 430)—"knew how to jump over four lances, not over five." Now one day he appeared in a village and placed, while he was drunk, five lances on the ground, one behind the other, with the intention of jumping over them. Then the

Bodhisatta said, "You don't know the art of jumping over five lances, my teacher; take away one lance, for if you try to leap over the five lances, you will be pierced by the fifth lance and die." "You don't know what I can do," answered the teacher in a drunken fit, and leaps, without paying heed to his pupil's words, over the four but is fixed by the fifth, as the *madhuka*¹ flower is fixed on its stem, and falls to the ground crying loudly."

In the same category of touring jugglers who exhibit their art in the court of princes or in festivities for the entertainment of the people, the snake charmers (*ahigunṭhika*) of our text are to be placed. Of such an *ahigunṭhika* it is said in the Sālaka Jātaka (II. 267), that he has trained an ape to which he has given an antidote² and which he then allows to play with a snake and that in this way he earns a livelihood. Another snake charmer has likewise

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¹ *Bassia latifolia*.

² *Osadha*=Skr. *aushadha*, herb, medicine. It appears that in ancient times the snake tamers used to make themselves and the animals which they allowed to play with the snakes proof against snake-bite through some plant juice. On the other hand, the practice, so common among Indian snake-charmers to-day, of extracting the poison teeth, was introduced later. This is only mentioned in the *paṭṭuppannavatthu*, namely, in the introduction to the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka*, where the monks whose pride Buddha curbs, are compared to snakes whose teeth have been extracted (*uddhatadāthā viya sappā* II. 259).

trained an ape; when a festival (ussava) is announced, he keeps it in the house of a grain merchant, travels seven days and then lets his snakes play (ahim kilâpento). (III. 198).

At such exhibitions and popular festivals in ancient India, music was not wanting: either the dancers themselves made singing and playing on the lute accompany their dances or there came professional musicians to the festivals, in order to practise their art for money. Instruments, mostly very primitive, on which in India even to-day jugglers play as an accompaniment of their dances and skilful performances,¹ were to some extent in existence at that time: besides the lute (vîṇâ), we find the drum (bheri) and the conch (saṅkha) mentioned in our text. A drummer (bherivâdaka I. 283), who, as mentioned in the Bheri Jâtaka, lives in a village, goes with his son to the city, as he hears that in Benares a festival (nakkhatta) is announced, in order to play here on the drum in the circle of those who take part in the festival; he acquires by his play a good deal of money. The same is said in somewhat different words in the Saṅkhadhamana Jâtaka of a conch-blower (saṅkhadhamaka, I. 284).

¹ Cf. Schlagintweit, *Indien in Wort und Bild*, 2nd Edn., Vol. II., p. 174.

As there were drummers and conch-blowers in the king's service—edicts of the king, announcements of public sports, execution, etc., were made known in the city by beat of drum or by the blowing of the conch—and others who played on their instruments at popular festivals; so we find, along with the already-mentioned court musicians, also some who were employed by private persons on festive occasions. Tradesmen of Benares who come to Ujjenî on a business tour make an appointment and come to a place of amusement, carrying with them garlands, perfumery, ointment, food and drink. Then they fetch a musician and that the best (jettha-

[P. 192.] gandhabba) in Ujjenî (te tam
pakkosâpetvâ attano gandha-
bbam kâresum II. 249). As the tradesmen,
accustomed to the performance of the court
musicians of Benares, are not satisfied with his
work, he returns the reward paid him and travels
with them to Benares. Here he becomes the
pupil of the old court musician and meets with
a sorry end in the way already described.

That in these artists, as described in the Jâtakas, we have something similar to castelike organisation, is obviously highly improbable. And still these professions in course of time developed into castes: in Manu we find *nata* mentioned among the mixed castes, the forerunners

of the modern *naṭas* or *naṭakas* who wander in the villages of Hindustan as jugglers, buffoons, actors, acrobats, snakecharmers and exhibit their skill for money or for presents.¹ A tendency towards organisation, towards combination based upon a common profession, as we, I believe, can assume, is present in ancient times even among these classes of Indian people; as proof of this we have the oft-mentioned circumstance that professions were hereditary in artist families: we have already made the acquaintance of a dancer family (*naṭakakula*), of a drummer or conch-blower family (*bherivāḍakakula* I. 283; *saṅkhadhamakakula*, I. 284); the son of an elephant-tamer (*hatthācariya*, II. 221) practises the art of his father, and the son of an acrobat learns the art of jumping (*laṅghanasippam sikkhitvā* I. 430). To this add that these professions were very little respectable and that in consequence, people compelled men who earned their livelihood by the practice of these, probably to live outside the city; thus it is said of a dancer, as well as of a drummer who goes to Benares for a festival, that he lives in a village not far from Benares. Nevertheless, these artists, at any rate, in ancient times, lacked all essential conditions for the formation of a caste: neither the feeling of race-community—a factor

¹ Nesfield, *Caste System* p. 6.

which is of great importance in the formation of the despised castes—nor the need of external organisation could cause them to be formed into a close corporation; rather compelled by their profession to restless wandering, necessity made them seek such other means of earning money as opportunity offered.

Often the life of such touring people was spent in the manner, described in the Tittira Jātaka (III. 541):

“He has (as porter of the tradesmen) wandered in Kālinga kingdom, he has engaged in trade, stick in hand, he walks over the country road.¹ With dancers he has wandered with hunters; with sticks he has fought with the crowd.

“He has caught birds, he has measured (corn) with the *ālha* measure, he has (at a dice-game, with regard to false players) removed the dice, he has transgressed² the moral laws, he has staunched the blood of (the punished),³ his

¹ *Saṅkupatha*? lit., “a path studded with nails.”

² *Samyamo abbhatto* is explained by the commentator with the words: *jīvikavuttim nissāya pabbajanteṇ'eva sīlasamyamo atikkanto*, “inasmuch as for earning a livelihood he embraced the homeless condition, he transgressed the moral prescriptions.”

³ *Abbūhitam pupphakam aḍḍharattam*. The commentator adds by way of explanation. “To earn a livelihood he brought criminals whose hands and feet were chopped, to a hall and returning at about

hands are burnt by taking hot food (during begging)."

Here is given us in a brief form the picture of the life of an Indian tramp and of the sphere in which his destiny unfolded itself: dancers, hunters, club-fighters, players—this is the society in which the adventurous period of his life is spent. Finally, after trying all possible occupations he earns his living by begging as a fraudulent ascetic (*duṭṭha-tāpasa*).

Although more settled than these wandering occupations, the rural professions of

[P. 194.] herdsmen, huntsmen, fishermen do not seem in ancient

times to have come under the organisation of caste, as, on account of their work, they inclined more towards a solitary life. Only when we see them in great number in the town or united into a village community can we suppose the existence of organisations similar, for example, to those of the artisans. In a sea-port town (*paṭṭanagāma*. IV. 137) the son of an elder among the fishermen after the death of his father steps into his shoes. He becomes blind, however, later, and takes to the service

midnight, he stopped the blood flowing out of the wounds with *kuṇḍaka* (the red powder, which is found in the rice corn under the husk) and smoke."

of the king, as he cannot any more follow the occupation of a fisherman, although he, as mentioned in the passage of the Suppāraka Jātaka in question, "was the elder among the fishermen."

Noteworthy as an example of the fact that the thorough-going division of work characteristic of the social life of India of to-day is a factor of ancient origin, is the circumstance that the different designations of fishermen appear to coincide with the names of modern fishermen castes and point to this, that even at that time there were special branches in the profession of fishermen whose work was so precisely defined. Thus, the fishermen with nets and baskets (*jālakuminādini khipitvā macche gaṇhanti*, I. 427) were called *Kevattas*¹ (II. 178, 124); the angling fishermen were called *bālisika* (I. 482; III. 52) on account of their fishing pole (*balisa*).

Also among hunters we find this moment of division of work which surely must have become important in the later development of the castes: the huntsman pursuing the deer is called *migaluddaka* (III. 49, 184) or simply, *lud-daka*; a bird-hunter (*sakunāluddaka*, II. 161) we come across in the Kakkara Jātaka, nay,

¹ = Skr. *kaivarta*, by which, as we saw above, in the Brahmanical system, a certain mixed caste is understood. *Keicat* is even in these days a name of a class of fishermen. Cf. Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 9.

even a quail-catcher (*yattakaluddaka*, I. 208) is represented. In the *Kurungamiga Jātaka* (I. 173) a *gāmaṇḍasiattakaluddaka* is mentioned, i.e., a hunter living in the village who prepares an ambush in tall trees under which he has noticed traces of the deer and from there kills the animal.

Much less than in the case of the casteless professions hitherto treated, is mention made of an external co-ordination or any organisation whatever in the case of the serving classes, as they were composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work. He who suffered shipwreck in the struggle with the waves of life and was rendered poor must have been forced even at that time—whatever might be his descent—to win his bread by service. We read of a poor *gahapati* who supports himself and his mother by working as a hired labourer (*bhatim katvā* III. 325); he complains that he earns only one or half a *māsaka*¹ and that his mother can with difficulty be supported. The three *Brāhmaṇa* daughters of the *Suvaṇṇahamsa Jātaka* have, as their supporter is dead, to serve in other families and pass their days in trouble (*paresam bhatim*

¹ = Skt. *māshaka*, a coin of small value.

katvâ kicchena jîvantj, I. 475). Of course, these members of the aristocratic castes formed a small fragment of the serving classes; the majority was formed by the classes of the population in whom the profession of a hired labourer was as much hereditary as the poverty connected with it. The Bodhisatta, re-born in a poor family (daliddakula), as described in the Kummâsapinda Jâtaka, works, when he is grown-up, for money at a *setthi's* and maintains his livelihood in this way (III. 409; similarly, III. 444). The payment which falls to the lot of the day-labourers seems, according to the Jâtakas, to be so miserable as to be hardly sufficient to enable them to eke out their livelihood. As the *gahapati* through his paid works earns no more than one or half a *māsaka*, so also it is said of a *bhataka* who supports himself by carrying water (udakabhatim katvâ III. 446) that he has saved half a *māsaka*. With such a low pay and owing to the impossibility of gaining access to any higher profession, the possibility seems to be wholly excluded—and in this it has a certain resemblance with a caste—of the Indian hired labourer emerging out of his miserable position: born and bred in poverty, he bore his sad lot as a nature-necessity in order to leave it to his children as a legacy.

Those day-labourers enjoyed a comparatively favourable position who were in the service of one and the same employer for a long time or permanently. Every big land-owner, every rich tradesman had, according to the Jâtakas, along with his slaves, a number of day-labourers in his service. One's own people (*attano purisâ*), the bondsmen, to whom in the Sâlikedâra Jâtaka (IV. 277) the Brâhmaṇa gives a portion of the rice fields for guarding, are contrasted with the *bhataka* who gets a salary (*bhati*) for watching and who is held responsible for any damage and has to pay a compensation according to the appraisement of the owner (*brâhmaṇo sâlim agghâpetvâ mayham iṇaṃ karissati*). In the house of the pious Brâhmaṇa Dhammapâla even the slaves and labourers (*dâsakammakârâ* IV. 50) give alms; they obey the moral prescriptions and observe the fasts. That in the Visayha Jâtaka the slaves and day-labourers (*dâsakammakâraporisa*) are reckoned among the property of a setthi has already been mentioned (p. 262). Of another setthi, it is narrated in the introduction to the Mayhaka Jâtaka, that at the sight of a begging monk whom he sees coming with a full alms pot from his house, he cannot restrain his thoughts: "If my slaves or labourers (*dâsâ vâ kammakârâ vâ* III. 300) had received

this food, they would have done more difficult work ; alas, this is really a loss for me."

According to the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka, these labourers were taken care of in the house of their master ; they did not, however, live there but went to their lodgings in the evening (*sabbe attano attano vasanaṭṭhānāni gatā* III. 445). Probably these were, like the residences of poor people generally, outside the city. The already-mentioned water-carrier lived with a poor woman who likewise supports herself by carrying water, at the northern gate of Benares. "Living by the side of the gate" signified apparently something like "poor, lowly." "I am the daughter of one living by the side of the gate" (*dhītā dvāra-vasinō* V. 441), says the poor girl in the Kuṇḍala Jātaka to the

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king in reply to his question whose daughter she is.

If now the position of these hired labourers was in no respect enviable, they still enjoyed a certain freedom, as they in all probability could change their masters when they liked. On the other hand, the slaves (*dāsa*) had absolutely no freedom ; they were, just like the cow, devoid of any rights and were absolutely at the mercy of their masters.

In Manu (VIII. 415), seven kinds of slaves are enumerated : those who are captured in the field (during war) (*dhvajāhṛita*), those who

serve in return for maintenance (*bhaktadāsa*) those that are born in the house (*grihaja*), those that are bought (*krīta*), those that are received as gifts (*datrima*) those that are inherited from the father (*paitrika*) and those that are made slaves by way of punishment (*daṇḍadāsa*). If we exclude the *bhaktadāsa* as not belonging properly to the class of bondsmen and also the *daṇḍadāsa*, there remain four classes which reduce to the three mentioned in the Vinaya Piṭaka (*Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*, *Saṅghādisesa* I. 2. 1), as we can put "those that are born in the house" and "those inherited from father" on one side and "those acquired by gift or purchase" on the other. Here these classes are distinguished : those that are born in the house, those that are bought with money and those that are captured in a war (*dāso nāma antojāto dhanakkito karamarānito*). That the *daṇḍadāsa* mentioned by Manu in the last sentence is not mentioned here, must seem strange, as we have in the Jātakas an example of a slave robbed of his freedom as a punishment. The village superintendent (*gāmabhojaka*) of the *Kulāvaka* Jātaka, who has spoken ill of the inhabitants of the village before the king, is condemned to lose not only his property but also his freedom : the king makes him the slave of the village inhabitants (*taṇ ca tesaṇ ñeva dāsam*

katvâ I. 200). We also find "those that are acquired by purchase" and "those that are born in the house" represented in our text. A Brâhmana is sent by his careless wife who pretends to be unable to do household work, to beg money that she may have a female slave (dâsî). The Brâhmana begs 700 *kahāpanas*,

[P. 198.] a sum which he considers sufficient for buying a female

or male slave (alam me ettakam dhanam dâsi-dâsamûlâya III. 343). The fraudulent slave Katâhaka who deserts his master and whom we already know (p. 170), is "a slave born in the house"; he is born on the same day as the son of his master, a setthi of Benares, and is educated along with him. Of slaves captured in war, from which class in the oldest times the slaves were probably exclusively recruited, no mention is made in the Jâtakas; at least in the passages of our source which tell us of wars between neighbouring kings, no mention is made of prisoners of war; only of robbers (*paccantavâsino corâ*) it is mentioned in the Cullanârada Jâtaka that they plunder a village and capture its inhabitants and make them slaves (*karamare gahetvâ* IV. 220).

Owing to the complete absence of legal rights of the slaves, their work differed with the individual temperament of their master.

Sometimes in our source the relation in which the slaves stood to their master is represented as a familiar one and their treatment as quite humane. The family of the Brâhmaṇa agriculturist in the Uruga Jâtaka consists of six members ; the Brâhmaṇa, his wife, his son, his daughter, his daughter-in-law and the female slave. "They all"—so it is said further (III. 162)—"lived together in harmony and amity." As, however, the son of the Brâhmaṇa dies and is burnt without a tear and without a moan, Sakka, disquieted by such conduct and forced to quit his heavenly seat, asks the slave, "My daughter, in what relation did you stand to this." "He was my master !" "Surely, he has at times molested and oppressed you and therefore you are glad at his death and do not weep." "O lord, don't speak so, never saw anybody like him ; patient, loving, sympathetic was the son of my master and loved me as a child reared on the breast." To a similar familiar relationship between the female slave and the master, the Nānacchanda Jâtaka (II. 428) also points ; the *purohita* whom the king asks to demand a favour, asks, besides the members of his household, also the slave Puṇṇā¹ what her desire is. And the

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¹ Probably, a shortened form of *puṇṇamamanathā*, "one whose desire is fulfilled, the contented."

slave desires, humble as she is, a mortar, a pestle and a sieve.¹

All the same, the examples quoted do not justify our inferring a specially favourable position for the slaves of ancient India; other passages of our text speak clearly of the miserable lot of the bondsmen who frequently had to put up with thrashing, imprisonment and bad food. For this reason, the slave *Katāhaka*, who has learnt to read and write along with the son of the family and who is otherwise clever and knows the art of speaking, discharges the duties of a store-keeper (*bhaṇḍāgārika*), but is afraid lest he should lose one day this office. "Not always," he reflects within himself, "will one care to let me have the office of a store-keeper; one good day some defect will be noticed in me and then people will thrash me, lock me up, brand me and give me the food of a slave to eat" (*tāletvā bandhitvā lakkhaṇena anketvā dāsaparibhogena pi paribhuñjissanti* I. 451). A female slave, who is sent by her master to work at other people's place for money, is thrown into a corner of the house and struck with a stick, as she cannot bring any money back to the house (I. 402).

¹ *Udukkhalaṃsalaṃ c'eva suppaṇ ca.* II. 428. All the three implements the slave obviously used for crushing and winn wing rice. Also the slave *Rohini* of the *Rohini Jātaka* uses the mortar for pressing rice (*vihipaharaṇa*, I. 248).

The work which the slaves had to do was naturally extremely manifold and differed with the social position of the master and the intelligence of the slave. Many might be employed, like the slave Kaṭāhaka, in higher employments, like those of the store-keeper, treasurer or private secretary; as a rule, however, the work of the slaves was of a lower nature. The slave Piṅgalā in the *Silāvimamsa Jātaka* (III. 101) before she can go to a rendezvous must wash the

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feet of her master; only when he is tranquillised does she sit on the door-sill and await his pleasure. With considerable detail the duties of a slave are described in the *Kaṭāhaka Jātaka*. The slave Kaṭāhaka who gives himself out as the son of his master and marries the daughter of a *Seṭṭhi* friendly to his master, hears that his master has gone to the country and is afraid that he may come to him. He resolves to meet him and propitiate him by doing a slave's work (*dāsakammaṃ katvā* I. 452). Everywhere he explains loudly how little respect other young people show to their parents, as they sit at the same table with them, instead of serving them; he himself would, when his elders took their meals, set before them the dishes, place the spittoons in their position, take particular care of their drink and stand behind them with a brush; up to the most common performances

he enumerates all services which a slave must render to his master (yâva sarîravalanjanakâle udakalasam âdâya paticchannatthânagamanâ sabbam dâsehi sâmikânam kattabbakiccam pakâsesi I. 453).

On account of the lowness of such services, the slave himself was considered of little worth by a master who treated him humanely. The female slave Punṇâ receives from her master, the *purohita*, who asks her what she wishes, the epithet *jammî* "the low, contemptible." "Son of a slave" (dâsiputtra) was a term of reproach; when in the Nigrodha Jâtaka (IV. 41) the *senâpati* is informed that his friend is there, he comes in angrily and cries, "Who is that friend? He is a despised son of a slave. Throw him out!" "Servant of a slave's son" (dâsiputtacetaka I. 225)—so addresses in the Nanda Jâtaka the bold slave his master.

In spite of their low status the slaves occupied in Indian society a different position from that of the despised castes who will occupy our attention in the next chapter. They could not, like the latter, be regarded as impure, because their work brought them constantly into close contact with their master whom they helped to dress and undress and assisted in the care of their body, whose food they prepared and whom they served at dinner. As they lived together with the families to which

they belonged, they lacked the local isolation and external combination of the despised castes; they were, in consequence of this, as little a "caste" as the slaves of the Greeks and Romans, in whom we find the same categories and similar relations, so far as conduct and legal position are concerned. Also the Indian slaves resembled those of the ancient classical ages in this, that under certain circumstances they could obtain freedom. We read of such "freed slaves" in the Sona-Nanda Jâtaka; as the rich Brâhmaṇa renounces the world, he disposes of his property and sets his slaves free (*dâsajanam bhujissam katvâ* V. 313). It is true, according to Manu (VIII. 414), a Sûdra, even when he is set free by his master, is not released from his condition of slavery: "for who can take away that which is in-born in him?" Still the view expressed here is only a consequence of the Brahmanical system which in practice did not have much importance. In reality, a slave set free—proof of this is not, however, to be got from the Jâtakas—probably either served as a day-labourer or adopted some other profession, for which he possessed the means or the skill.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DESPISED CASTES.

We have hitherto repeatedly moved in our accounts within the limits of a province which comprises, according to the Brahmanical theory, the aboriginal population and is enclosed by the barrier of non-Aryan birth and separated by this from the rest of the society. In vain do we look in the bright light which the Jâtakas throw upon the true life of ancient India for a line of demarcation separating the entire Aryan from the entire non-Aryan population ; if we leave out of account the occurrence of the word Śudda (=Skr.

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Śûdra) in theoretical discussions, nothing points to the real existence of a fourth caste, the Sûdra. Probably we have to suppose for the first period following the Aryan migration a separation of the dark-coloured aborigines from the bright-coloured conquerors : it is exhibited by the contrast between the *ârya varṇa* and *dâsa varṇa* in the Vedas. But already in very early times—and indeed, the further from the borders of the Arýan culture-sphere, the more pronouncedly—a mixture with the native population took place ; nay, it seems to me in no way certain, (in the lands lying

farthest east, especially, in the provinces in which Buddhism first made its appearance, in the Kosala and Magadha land, that the distinction between the Aryan conquerors and the conquered who were employed in slavish work was not abolished altogether: many of the non-Aryan stems seem to have preserved their political independence and to have come under the higher Aryan culture by adopting its language and customs. Under the influence of the Brahmanical theory we are extremely accustomed to see in the aborigines of ancient India a great mass, namely, the conquered Śūdras. Surely, this name, applicable in the Brahmanical system to all non-Aryan Indians, is taken from the name of one particular stem out of the innumerable aboriginal stems, which from the ethnical and cultural point of view were no less different from one another than the bearers of the new culture who spread from the north-west to the Gangetic plain.

(Among these numerous races some manifestly stood on a specially low culture-stage.) Just as the wild hunting races of the Himālaya must have distinguished themselves by their external appearance, by their undeveloped language, their customs relating to food, from the more advanced population of the plains, so their low position later prevented a mixture with the higher

developed Aryans and preserved their racial peculiarity up to this day. Even to-day they have not gone beyond the first beginnings of culture: incapable of lasting work, they lead a wandering life and feed mostly on animals,

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roots and fruits which Nature has given them freely¹; where they set up their residences among the cultivated population, they are compelled to live in isolation outside the city and maintain their livelihood by the meanest kinds of work. These are the races of whom it is said in Manu (X. 50) :

“Under well-known trees and in the cremation-ground, on mountains and in the woods should they live, recognised (by fixed marks) and living by work proper to them.”

{These races were and are even to-day looked upon by the Indians as castes, and indeed, they are classed in the Brahmanical theory with the lowest mixed castes. What gives them in fact in ancient times the appearance of a caste is their local isolation, their living together outside the rest of the society which avoids contact with them, on account of their low position, and their despised profession which is hereditary.} From the higher castes they are distinguished by this, that their isolation is not a voluntary one; the

¹ Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 6; Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, 5th Edn., p. 444.

barriers which surround them and which prevent their straying from their narrowly circumscribed profession as well as all mixture through marriage with those standing higher, are not erected by them but are forced upon them by their conquerors.

Of these low races we meet with a number even in the Jātakas. Above all, we meet with the Candāla, a race which we come across in great numbers even to-day in north-east India, the scene of our narratives, and in Bengal.¹ In the eyes of the Indians the Candāla has always been the symbol of lowness and subjection.

“But the residences of the Candālas”—so it is said in Manu (X. 51 sq.)—“should be outside the village, their dress should consist of garments of the dead: they must eat their food out of broken pots; black iron should be their ornament and always they must wander from place to place.”

A man who fulfils a religious duty should not seek intercourse with them; their business they should conduct among themselves and their marriages they must contract with their equals.

“Their food must be given them by somebody other than an Aryan in a broken vessel; at

¹ Schlagintweit, *Indien in Wort und Bild*, Vol. I, p. 216: “Over a million of these people are to the east of Calcutta running up to the borders of Burma.”

night they shall not go about in the villages or in the towns.

"In the day-time they may do the work assigned to them by order of the king; the corpse of anybody who has no relations, they must carry out of the house—such is the standing rule.

"Criminals they shall kill, according to the law, by order of the king; the clothes of the criminal, their beds or other ornamental articles they may keep to themselves."

(The contempt with which the authors of the lawbooks who were Brāhmanas looked upon the lower classes of people, and the attempt to confirm them in their low position by legal prescriptions may have caused them to select purposively dark colours for the sketch they made of the Caṇḍāla, whilst the Jātakas show that the reality was not far different from the priestly theory.)

(The Caṇḍālas of our text live outside the town (bahinagare, IV. 376) in a village (caṇḍālagāmaka, IV. 200, 390) by themselves.¹ Two Caṇḍāla brothers who know how to blow a Caṇḍāla flute must show their art outside the city gate; the one plays at the northern, the other at the eastern gate.

¹ The Caṇḍāla village placed in the Citta Sambhūta Jātaka in front of the gate of Ujjain and thus to the west of India, may have probably existed only in the imagination of the narrator who carried the narrow conditions of his home over to the whole of India.

For the despised position of the Candāla we have already given examples in an earlier chapter (p. 26 sq.); we have seen how the eating of the food left by them (candālucchitṭhabhatta) had as its consequence, for the members of the Brāhmaṇa caste, exclusion from their caste¹;

[P. 205.]

we have seen further how the wind which had touched the body of a Candāla was considered impure and how the very look of such a miserable creature sufficed to call up the feeling of impurity in those occupying a higher rank. "Contemptuous as a Candāla" has become a proverbial expression.) Into the mouth of the young lioness to whom a jackal had made a proposal of marriage the words are put: "This jackal is considered low and wretched among the four-footed animals, similar to a Candāla (hino patikuttho candālasadiso. II. 6); we are, however, esteemed members of the highest royal family. This one addresses me indecent and improper words; what shall I do with life after I have listened to such words? I will hold my breath and die." The name Candāla stands for a word of contempt by which

¹ That the food left by a Candāla is impure, is not a purely Brahmanical view. In the introduction to the Satadhamma Jātaka (II. 82), Buddha explains to the monks that for the followers of his doctrine the eating of food obtained in an unlawful manner is like eating the table leavings of a Candāla.

a Brâhmaṇa, for example, designates his adulterous wife (pâpacandâli IV. 246).

{Of the "marks by order of the king" mentioned in Manu, we know nothing from our text. Still even according to the Jâtakas, the Candâlas appear to be known outwardly as such by their dress : "clad in a bad under-garment of a red colour round which a belt is tied : above this a dirty upper garment, an earthen pot in hand"—so in Mâtanga Jâtaka (IV. 379) the exterior of a Candâla is described. }

Also by their speech the Candâlas apparently were distinguished from the rest of the population. To their isolation, their complete separation, is to be ascribed the fact that in the midst of a population speaking an Aryan dialect they preserved even in linguistic matters their racial individuality. In the Citta-Sambhûta Jâtaka it is narrated how two Candâlas dressed as Brâhmaṇas go to Takkasilâ and study there ; later, however, as one of them, on the occasion of a

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Brâhmaṇavâcanaka, burns his face with a heated lamp, they forget themselves and are detected by their language (candâlabhâsâ IV. 391).

With the exception of the account of the two flute-players mentioned above, (the Jâtakas contain no detailed account of the professional work of the Candâla. According to the commentary on

the *Sīlavīmamsa Jātaka*, there are people who are engaged in carrying corpses (*chavachaddaka* III. 195); still it is doubtful whether this work which was also indicated for them in the Brahmanical theory, was in reality their only occupation, although their low stage of culture debarred them from practising any higher profession, even that of an artisan.

Along with the *Caṇḍālas* there are mentioned in the *Jātakas*, in the enumeration of the castes, the *Pukkusas*, who are the *Pukkasas* or *Pulkasas* of the Brahmanical system where they are called descendants of a *Nishāda* by a *Śūdra* wife. These *Pukkasas* were also most probably a non-Aryan caste occupying a very low position in society. According to the commentary on the *Sīlavīmamsa Jātaka*, by this are meant men who have for their profession the plucking of flowers (*pupphachaddaka* III. 195): as, however, in *Manu* the catching and killing of cave-dwelling animals is given as their work. I don't believe that the *Pukkusas* were a special professional class but a race that lived generally by hunting and only occasionally by dirty work, like cleaning temples and palaces.¹

¹ To these *Pukkusas* belonged manifestly also the elder *Sunṭa* before his adoption of monkhood, who says in the *Theragāthā* of himself: "Of low family am I, I was poor and needy. Low was the work which I did, namely, that of removing faded flowers (from temples and palaces). I was despised by men, held in low esteem and reproved." Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* p. 159, Remark.

(Undoubtedly we have to see in the Nesāda, the Nishāda or Naishāda of the Brahmanical caste-theory a non-Aryan race in a barbarous condition. They are regarded in the system as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa by a Sûdrā; their

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work consists, according to Manu (X. 48), in killing fish.

As, according to the Jātakas, the Nesādas lived by hunting, we can suppose that fishing and hunting formed their exclusive sources of earning.

Through this their professional work they fell into contempt, for the occupation of a fisherman or hunter which represents in itself the earliest and lowest stage of evolution of human culture, could not in India come to be held in respect, for this reason, that it necessarily presupposed the killing of a living being. (In various ways the despised position of the hunter is indicated in the Jātakas; it is narrated that a Brāhmaṇa youth adopts the occupation of a hunter when he cannot maintain himself by following any other art (II. 200). Also the words of the king, in which he asks the hunter in the Rohantamiga Jātaka (IV. 422) to give up his occupation and recommends other means of earning money, such as agriculture, trade, lending money, point to the despised position of the hunter. For the same reason, the son of the setthi also causes the *luddaka*, whom he keeps with him along

with his family and with whom he remains on friendly terms to the end of his life, to give up his profession (*luddakakammato apanetvā* III. 51).

We have enumerated above (p. 193 sq.) the occupation of hunters and fishermen among the professions which from their very nature resist a castelike organisation ; if, however, this in-itself despised profession is followed by an entire branch of a low race, then such a group, held together by unity of profession or race and separated from the rest of the population, takes the appearance of a caste and is regarded in all such cases as such by the Indians. This is the case also with the Nesâdas ; along with the Caṇḍâlas, Veṇas, Rathakâras and Pukkusas they are introduced in the Assalâyana Sutta¹ as a low caste. Despised and avoided, they must, like the Caṇḍâlas, live outside the town. A Nesâda lives not far from the town of Sakula in the Mahimsaka kingdom in a Nesâda village (*nagarato avidûre*

ekasmim nesâdagâmake V. 337) ; he sells the birds which he caught with a noose in the city and in this way maintains himself.

The Nesâda of the Mora Jâtaka also who is ordered by the king to catch a golden peacock

¹ Ed. Pischel, Chemnitz, 1880, pp. 13, 14. So also in the Suttavi-bhaṅga Pâcittiya II. 2.1, it is said : *hinā nâma jâti caṇḍâlejâti veṇajâti nesâdajâti rathakârajâti pukkusajâti, eṣā hinā nâma jâti.*

practises the profession of a hunter in a Nesâda village lying near Benares (Bârâṇasiyâ avidûre nesâdagâṃavâsî nesâdo II. 36). Likewise, in a village inhabited by members of his race and lying not far from Benares, lives the Nesâda of the Rohantamiga Jâtaka ; he captures a deer, while he sets up with a stick a sling fitted with leather straps.

Besides these wild peoples whom I might call "ethnic castes," as they were held together by a common race, we meet other groups reckoned likewise by the Indians among the despised castes, in which their mean work seems to have been the separating line which in course of time has stamped them into a caste ; they can be characterised, in contrast with the "ethnic castes," as "low professional castes." Originally these despised professional castes were nothing else than non-Aryan races who, although they stood on a higher culture-level than the hunting and fishing races, engaged in branches of profession the practice of which presupposed no acquaintance with metals and their employment and were therefore held in low esteem by the Aryans who worked with iron instruments. To this class belong such occupations as form even to-day the exclusive occupation of people standing on a low level, such as that of making

baskets from willows and bamboos, plaiting and weaving, the manufacture of leather and earthen vessels. Not a bias against handicraft in general ¹ but against a profession which they found was followed by low races, originally made the

[P. 209.] Aryans avoid such means of earning a livelihood and leave

them to the aboriginal races. Later the stain of impurity was attached to the occupation, even when, owing to the mixture of races, this ceased to be reserved for particular races, and in course of time this stain spread to all possible handicrafts and professions, the more so, as with advancing civilization the higher classes became exempted from manual occupations.

{ Such despised professional castes we have in the Venas and Rathakâras who are reckoned

¹ Senart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, p. 236: "Nowhere have the Aryans shown any great preference for handicraft. The Greeks and Romans left it to slaves or the middle class, to those that have been set free or the retainers. As the Aryans in India settled in villages where originally agriculture was followed, they were less inclined than in other countries to take to manual work. This must generally have fallen to the lot either of the primitive population or those portions of the population whom their bastard origin or their despised descent placed upon the same level. Opposed to the view stated here, of a disinclination of the Aryans for manual work, stands the fact that the age of Homeric and Hesiodic poetry showed no trace of a contempt of professional work. In Homer a number of occupations which were later followed professionally, fall completely to the share of free men, nay, even the aristocrats were not ashamed of them. Cf. K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten*, Vol. 4, 3rd Edn., p. 389 sq.

in the already-quoted passages of the Assalāyana Sutta and the Suttavibhaṅga among the low castes (*hinajāti*): these are the castes of the "bamboo worker" and "carriage-builder."

Precisely in the example of the Veṇas we can get, in my opinion, a view of the probable origin of the despised professional castes and a proof of the theory that originally they were nothing else than low races. For when the Aryans pushed to the Gangetic plains and found peoples unacquainted with agriculture or metal work occupied solely with bamboo work or similar things, nothing was more natural than that they should give them names after the material with which they worked. Thus they named those who worked with bamboo (*veṇu*) bamboo-workers (*veṇa* or *vaiṇa*). In a similar manner they must have named another race which possessed special skill in making carriages, carriage builders, after its principal industrial product.

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That these two branches of profession, the manufacture of bamboo products and the building of carriages, were assigned, even long after Buddha's time, to special races, seems to me to appear from the passage of the Suttavibhaṅga (*Pācittiya* II. 2.1) already quoted, where the Veṇas and Rathakāras, along with the Caṇḍālas, Nesādas and Pukkusas are called "castes" (*jāti*)

and are not enumerated among the low professions (*hīnasippa*) which are named as such after these in the following manner : the occupation of the basketmaker, the potter, the weaver, the cobbler, the barber (*hīnaṃ nāma sippaṃ* *nalakārasippaṃ kumbhakārasippaṃ pesakārasippaṃ cammakārasippaṃ nahāpitasippaṃ*). This distinction between castes (*jāti*) and occupations (*sippa*) has gradually been obliterated and in modern times has been almost wholly abolished.

Individual castes among the low professional ones already mentioned are even represented in the *Jātakas* ; such, for example, is the *Veṇa* which in the *Kusa Jātaka* (II. 306) is placed on the same level with the *Caṇḍāla* on account of its low character. The queen reproaches her daughter-in-law with the words : “ You are a *Veṇī* or a *Caṇḍālā*, a disgrace to your family : how can you, born in the house of *Madda*, bring your husband down to the rank of a slave ? ” The commentator explains *veṇī* by *tacchikā*,¹ “ widow of a carpenter,” and thus explains the despised caste of bamboo-workers by means of another low caste, namely, *tacchika* or “ carpenter.” All the artisans whose

¹ Skr. *takshakā*. In the commentary of Mahidhara on the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (I. 13) the *takshan* is called impure (*asuddha*) and of a low caste (*nīcajāti*).

occupation consists in working with wood, the carriage-builder (*rathakāra*), the joiner and the carpenter (*vaddaki*, *tacchika*), were considered low in the Buddhistic age, so that the guess hazarded above (p. 160), that their living in isolation in a village in front of the city gate is to be ascribed to the lowness of their profession, seems justified.) Always, however, as

their work is not conceivable without the use of implements, they will have attained even then¹ a higher place in the social scale, than, for instance, the bamboo-workers, who employed their material as they found it without working much upon it.

Akin to the *venas*, so far as their work is concerned, and treated as contemptuously as these, are the two artisans appearing in the *Takkāriya Jātaka* (IV. 251), namely, the basket-maker (*naḷakāra*) and the flute-maker (*veḷukāra*); the latter, the *veḷukāra* or *venukāra*, is, as we saw above (p. 86, Footnote), reckoned in the *Lalita Vistara* among the castes in which a Bodhisatta is not re-born.

As the work of the weaver (*pesakārasippa*) which represents a process similar to the twisting of bamboo and straw, so as to make

¹ Now-a-days the caste of joiner or Barhai occupies almost the same social rank as the agricultural caste Kurmi. Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 28.

mats and baskets,¹ was originally principally carried on by the aborigines, the weaver also occupied a low position in the society of ancient India: in the *Bhīmasena Jātaka*, the Brahmanical archer calls the work of a weaver (*tantavāya*) a miserable, low work (*lāmakakamma* I. 356).

(As the last of the despised professions the occupation of a barber (*nahāpitasippa*) is mentioned in the *Suttavibhaṅga*.) In this business, we do not look for the reason of its lowness to any ethnical relations: the duties connected with it and which are to some extent dirty show the barber *ipso facto* as occupying a low position and place him almost in the same line with the temple-cleaning *Pukkusas*.²)

In the introduction to the *Sigāla Jātaka*, it is narrated how the son of a barber living in Vesālī (*nahāpitaputta* II. 5)
 [P. 212.] falls in love with a Licchavi princess and explains to his father that he would die if he did not get her for wife. The father replies to him, "My son, don't fix your desires upon impossible things; you are the

¹ Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 22 sq.

² The modern barber or *nāpī* occupies a higher position, as he plays a great part in all family events, such as birth, marriage and funeral. He serves as a marriage negotiator among the respectable castes and in the marriage ceremony assists the *Brāhmaṇa* or takes up himself, probably among the lower castes who cannot pay a *Brāhmaṇa*, the office of the priest. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

son of a barber and of low caste (*hīnajacca*), the Licchavi princess is of high birth (*jāṭisampanna*) as the daughter of a Khattiya and no possible party for you. I will seek another girl for you who will suit you in caste and family."

A further example of the low esteem in which the barber was held is afforded by another instance: the mother of King Brahmadatta calls the ascetic Gaṅgamāla, a former barber, "the son of a filth-cleaning barber born of a low caste" (*hīnajacco malamajjano nahāpita-putto* II. 452) and adds the verse:

"Through asceticism they give up their bad occupation, through asceticism (they give up) their position as barber or potter; conquering through asceticism, you now call my son by his name Brahmadatta."

CONCLUSION

¶ We have come in the course of our remarks to the lowest rungs of the social ladder. Since the days of Bernardin de St. Pierre people have always complained of the lot of the despised classes of India and thrown the responsibility for their miserable position upon the priests; people speak very often even to-day of a demon which possessed the Indian people in consequence of the caste-organisation and

represent the caste as an artificial product of priestly selfishness. ¶ European travellers when they first gave us a knowledge of modern India, made the want of freedom and low position of the Parias and the rigid organi-

.. [P. 213.] sation of Indian society an object calling for expressions of pity, and ever since people became acquainted in Brahmanical literature with a one-sided representation of the social relations of ancient India, they believed, as they took the theory for the truth, to have found here the key to the origin and development of caste-life.

¶ The picture which we can draw from our popular sources of the social conditions which ruled in eastern India about Buddha's time, does not give occasion, in my opinion, for a highly sentimental view, nor does it justify the theory that the castes were invented by the priests for establishing and strengthening a hierarchical social organisation. (The political influence of the Brāhmaṇas greatly diminished, especially, in the eastern lands, as compared with the position and power of the ruling classes who, leaving out of account special cases, did not allow much scope for any Brahmanical desire for power ; even of an intellectual supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas no trace is to be found in the age) and the subject with which we have to do, for even in

the spiritual province, other classes, especially, the ruling princely families, challenged the premier position of the worldly Brāhmaṇa caste. As for the position of the lower classes, it was not better, but also not worse, than it would appear to be under similar conditions; aboriginal races standing at a low culture-stage are oppressed in all ages and times by their more highly cultured conquerors and employed in a slave's work: also similar contrasts between immense wealth on the one side and miserable poverty on the other we meet with wherever a more highly cultured race wants to use its superiority even in economical matters. *

(The social organisation of ancient India which appears to us very strange, nay, even monstrous, in the form in which we find it in the Brahmanical lawbooks in which it is made into an unalterable system, shows itself in reality as the necessary development of conditions imposed by ethnical and cultural distinctions.) Instead of the four strictly isolated castes of the Brahmanical system and the mixed castes arising from their combination, we notice a number of essentially distinct social groups which in the majority of cases cannot properly be called "castes," in which, however, we see the first germs and beginnings of an

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organisation of the modern type. A caste in the sense of their own theory only the Brâhmaṇas form; other groups, like the ruling class of Khattiyas, the class of royal officers, the leading middleclass families have particular characteristics in common with the *jāti* of the Brâhmaṇas; they cannot, however, lay any claim to the designation "caste," because they lack the essential characteristics of this; the same is true of the rest of the *jātis* which are sharply distinguished from the great mass of the people, such as the guilds of tradesmen and artisans, the lower professions, the despised and shunned races. All these *jātis*—and in this the Indian society of that time have their own peculiar, specifically Indian stamp—are hereditary and to go out of the circle fixed by birth is impossible, according to the rules.

[So far as they are described in the Jātakas, the social conditions remained probably unchanged even long after Buddha's time. When about two hundred years after Buddha's death the Greek messenger Megasthenes lived in the court of Candragupta in Pātaliputra, he manifestly found similar conditions. The Greek reports which are traceable to him contain a description of the Indian society of that time which, it is true, does not wholly agree with facts which we can gather from our

source, but can be brought much more into agreement with these than with the Brahmanical system.) They give the number of *jātis* or classes (γένη or μέρη) as seven; as the first γένος they mention the σοφισταί or φιλοσοφοί who, as we have seen, correspond to the Sāmaṇas and partly to the Brāhmaṇas of our source; the second γένος, the farmers or γεωργοί, can be placed in the same class with the *gahapāti* or *kuṭumbika* of the Pali Texts. By the herdsmen and hunters named in the third place, we have probably to understand

[P. 215.] the low non-Aryan races of the Jātakas, whilst the fourth

γένος, that of the τεχνίται or the γένος δημιουργιχόν, agrees with the artisans of our text. The remaining three γένη, the γένος of the warriors (πολεμισται), that of the supervisor (ἐπισχοποι or εφοροι) and that of the king's councillor (σύνβουλοι or σύνεδροι) belong to the category of *rājabhogga*, the officers in the king's employ. After the enumeration of the seven γένη the Greek sources point out as their characteristic feature the fact that they did not allow any inter-marriage and that it was not permissible to pass from one γένος to another or to follow the profession of two classes at one and the same time. ✓

(Later, in the course of centuries, the *jātis*, as we know them in the Jātakas, have experienced continuous changes under the most

divers influences :) the official theory of the Brâhmanas, ethnical and geographical influences, the tendency of the Indians to schematise, the placing of the concepts "profession" and "caste" side by side—all this has worked upon the *jâtis*, transformed them and made them resemble one another more and more, so far as their essence and organisation are concerned, until, finally, they became modern castes. (This process of transformation is in no way, as one hears it maintained so often to-day, broken by Buddhism, nay, not even retarded. (Buddha's doctrine does not aim at a transformation or improvement of the social conditions :) the worldly life and its forms are a matter of indifference to the virtuous Buddhist who renounces the world. He never raises the question whether the worldly life could be different from what it is but accepts it in its incompleteness and badness as something unchangeable. (The destiny of man, the external organisation of his earthly life is for the Buddhist a necessary consequence of his *karman*, his former deeds: wealth or poverty, high or low caste, the individual has deserved through his deeds in a former existence.) The human social order was for the Indians even of that time a reproduction of natural life and moved, according to their view, like this in eternally identical paths ; he who was

born a Caṇḍāla must—so long as he did not retire from human society and pass into asceticism—remain a Caṇḍāla during his life-time and bear the lot of such a one, just as everybody who expiates the sins of former existence by re-birth as low beast, has to live through the whole existence of such a beast till death makes him pass into another existence.

(The doctrine of *karman* and re-birth and the supposition of an unalterable social order are closely connected with each other and have exercised a mutual influence upon each other in their further development ; both dogmas are deeply rooted in the consciousness of the Indian people and rule their thoughts even to the present day) Even to-day they influence the organisation of social life and determine its forms : even the modern castes are, as little as the castes of ancient India, an artificial product ; on the other hand, they have grown out of the spirit of the Indian people whose stamp they bear.)

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ERRATA.

- At p. 121, for *balipīṭitā*, read *balipīṭitā*.
At p. 171, for *uparajja*, read *oparajja*.
At p. 182, footnote, for *Brahmana*, read *brahman*.
At p. 206, footnote, for *Angus*, read *Childers*.
At p. 209, for *arca*, read *arcā*.
At p. 218, footnote, for *Saraswati*, read *Sarāvati*.
At do. for *udicca*, read *udīcya*.
At p. 227, for *lakshaṇa*, read *lakkhaṇa*.
At do. , for *lakshaṇakusalā*, read *lakkhaṇakusalā*.
At do. , for *lakshaṇapāthakā*, read *lakkhaṇapāthakā*.
At p. 230, for *lakshaṇāni*, read *lakkhaṇāni*.
At p. 249 footnote, for *Gegether*, read *Gazetteer*.
At p. 277; for *kacchapaṭavāṇija*, read *kacchapaṭavāṇija*.
At p. 309, for *punṇamanathidā*, read *punṇamanorathā*.
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